

# SEMINAR PAPERS ON DIALECTOLOGY

Editor:  
Dr.S. AROKIANATHAN



Tamil University  
Thanjavur.

# SEMINAR PAPERS ON DIALECTOLOGY

Editor:

**Dr.S. AROKIANATHAN**

M.A.(Tamil),M.A.(Linguistics)

M.A.(Asian Linguistics) Ph.D.(U.S.A),

Associate Professor in Dialectology,

Tamil University, Thanjavur



TAMIL UNIVERSITY  
THANJAVUR  
Tamil Nadu—India



**ISBN: 81-7090-081-6**

**Tamil University**

**Publication No. : 74**

**Thiruvalluvar Year 2018 Masi - February 1987**

**Title : Seminar Papers on Dialectology**

**Editor : S. Arokianathan**

**Price : Rs. 35-00  
\$ 7**

**Edition : First-1987**

**Press : Tamil University (Offset) Press,  
Thanjavur - 613 001.**

## CONTENTS

Preface	i
Acknowledgement	ii
Introduction	iii
Scheme of Transliteration (Tamil)	vi

### PLENARY SESSION PAPERS

1. Tamil Dialectology -- A Survey <i>M. Shanmugam Pillai</i>	3
2. Comments on M. Shanmugam Pillai's Paper Tamil Dialectology -- A Survey <i>J. Neethivanan</i>	65
3. Research Methodology and Theoretical Problems in Dialectology <i>V. Gnanasundaram</i>	73
4. Comments on V. Gnanasundaram's Paper Research Methodology and Theoretical Problems in Dialectology <i>Hans R. Dua</i>	85



5. Future Plans and Work Strategy to be Adopted in Dialect Studies A.P.Andrews Kutty	95
--	----

## GENERAL SESSION PAPERS

6. Roofless Dialects B.P.Mahapatra	111
7. Dakhni Urdu in its Dravidian Linguistic Environment Abdul Gaffar Shakeel	125
8. A Case for Telugu Dialect Survey in Tamil Nadu J.Neethivanan	141
9. Pronouns - A Classification in the Karaikal Tamiil Dialect S.Radhakrishnan	151
10. சமுதாய வட்டாரத் தமிழ்க் கிளைமொழிகள் ஆய்வின் அணுகுமுறைகளும் பிரச்சினைகளும் க. மகாலிங்கம்	165

## PRESIDENTIAL, INAUGURAL ADDRESS

தலைமையுரை

திசை மொழியும் வட்டார வழக்கும்

க. வெள்ளைவாரணனார்

179

Inaugural Address  
V.I.Subramoniam

187

Recommendations of the Seminar

191

List of Participants

193

## PREFACE

This volume presents the plenary session papers and formal comments along with the papers presented in the general session of the Seminar on Dialectology, held on December 12th to 14th, 1983, at Tamil University, Thanjavur. All the papers were received in advance for presentation in the conference and they were circulated to all the participants. Plenary session papers were sent to some of the invitess earlier in order to prepare a formal discussion to be presented during the session itself.

The plenary session took conveniently one paper each morning which was presented by respective authors and was discussed first by the commentator and then by the participants in open discussion. It was decided for various reasons that only the Plenary Session papers and the formal discussions prepared for the conference alone will be considered for publication in this volume. Some of the selected papers presented in the general session are also included in this volume. The inaugural address given by Professor V.I.Subramoniam, Vice-Chancellor and the presidential address of Professor K.Vellaivananar, Dean of Language Faculty, Tamil University, Thanjavur are also included in this volume.

Hope this volume will enlighten the Tamil dialectologists in their theoretical framework and provide earnest guidelines for their research in the field of Tamil dialectology in future.



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The very idea of conducting a Seminar on Dialectology was the result of the valuable discussions I had one evening with our Professor Dr.V.I.Subramoniam, during his tenure as Vice-Chancellor, Tamil University, Thanjavur. I express my sincere gratitude for all his academic suggestions and valuable guidelines, his financial sanction to conduct the seminar, and also for his keen interest to publish this volume.

I thanks to the Professor and Head of the Department and my special thanks to my colleagues Dr.K.Balashubramaniam, Dr.Robert Sathiya Joseph Dr.S.Rajaram and others for their untiring help for the success of the seminar and the publication of its proceedings.

All the participants when approached, understood the urgent need for such a seminar in the field of Dialectology and particularly in Tamil dialectology and they all extended willingly their co-operation unreserved to us. Our grateful thanks to them all.

The staff members of our department deserves our appreciation and thanks for their assistance such as typing, hospitality, etc. My hearty thanks to Mr.Kovai. Elancheran, Publication. Unit and his crew for their interest in its publication with special reference to Miss.K.Hemamalini, Typist who typed the art-pulls for printing. Thanks to those who are not mentioned here but whose help stands significantly through the grand success of the seminar and the outcome of this volume.

nanri!

S.AROKIANATHAN.

## INTRODUCTION

Seminar on Dialectology was held by the Department of Linguistics, Tamil University in order to initiate only its ambitious project Dialect Survey of Tamil Nadu. Nearly fifty eminent scholars in the field of Dialectology came from all over the country to participate in the above seminar held on December 12th to 14th, 1983. The Seminar on Dialectology was intended to convene all the scholars working in dialectology and especially in Tamil dialectology and to share our ideas with them regarding our project Dialect Survey of Tamil Nadu.

Nearly 20 papers were presented at the seminar. Of these, three papers invited for plenary session were received in advance and sent for the comments of selected scholars. It was conveniently arranged in all the three days of the seminar to have the plenary session in the mornings and a general sessions in the afternoons. The papers in the plenary session were directly related to Tamil dialectology while the papers in the general session were related to the practical experience of the dialectologist in the field. Out of nearly 15 papers presented in the general session only five which were revised and submitted for publication were included in this volume.

Every one in the field of Tamil dialectology felt the immediate need to take account of Tamil dialect



studies done so far and their significant contributions. The dialect studies done so far are mostly on the phonological, lexical and morphological levels in decreasing order. The vowel phonemes in all these Tamil dialect studies are found to be almost the same with similar allophones corresponding to them. But, the consonant phonemes of Tamil are the ones which vary very often from dialect to dialect, such as the absence or presence of voiced stops; convergence or maintenance of the alveolar and retroflex laterals, sibilants, pharyngeal fricatives, etc. Frequent use of a particular grammatical form or a lexical item may constitute to the bundles of isogloss to fix a dialect area. There does not seem to be any concurrence among Tamil dialectologists regarding the number of areal and social dialects, the existence of standard regional dialects and the emergence of the standard spoken dialect of Tamil. However the above dialect studies do not seem to establish the basic requirements of fixing the significant isogloss bundles for regionalwise and socialwise dialect areas.

Shanmugam Pillai's critical review of Tamil dialectology in this volume points out the vacuum in the study of Tamil dialectology suffering from inadequate data, subjective analysis and speculative conclusions. Shanmugam Pillai strongly recommends for a thorough dialect study of the whole area of Tamil Nadu with serious commitment to the discipline.

It is true that though studies on the dynamic nature of dialects are necessary for theoretical inquisitiveness, the traditional dialect survey based using elaborate questionnaires which covers a range of phonological, morphological and lexical differences is the immediate need of our time for Tamil language. The plea by Gnana-sundaram in his paper on "The Research Methodology and Theoretical Problems in Dialectology" is towards this approach.

P.Andrews Kutty in his plenary session paper on

"The Future Plans and Work Strategy to be Adopted in Dialect Studies" discusses the practical problems faced by any dialectologist in the field area, the merit of the traditional dialect studies, the nature of the informants, etc, with an aspiration for interdisciplinary approach in the studies of dialect variations with Sociology, Anthropology, etc and recommends strongly for another monumental "Linguistic Survey of India". Commentators have critically reviewed all these plenary session papers and have given constructive suggestions. The general session had papers which are relevant directly or indirectly to the study of Tamil dialectology. An attempt was also made at the general session to find out the problems encountered by dialectologists of other languages. Thus covering the broad spectrum of theoretical and field problems of Dialectology, in general.

In short, the above volume is an humble beginning towards the direction of the ambitious goal of accomplishing a thorough dialect study of Tamil Nadu in the near future.

Thanjavur  
July 13th 1986.

S.AROKIANATHAN,

## Scheme of Transliteration (Tamil)

அ	a	க	k
ஆ	ā	ச	c
இ	i	ஞ	ñ
ஈ	ī	ட	ṭ
உ	u	ண	ṇ
ஊ	ū	த	t
எ	e	ந	n
ஏ	ē	ப	p
ஐ	ai	ம	m
ஒ	o	ய	y
ஔ	ō	ர	r
ஔ	au	ல	l
		ள	ḷ
		ழ	ḻ
		ற	ṟ
		ன	ṇ

# **PLENARY SESSION PAPERS**



CHAS. H. HARRIS & SONS

## **I. TAMIL DIALECTOLOGY-A SURVEY**

M. Shanmugam Pillai

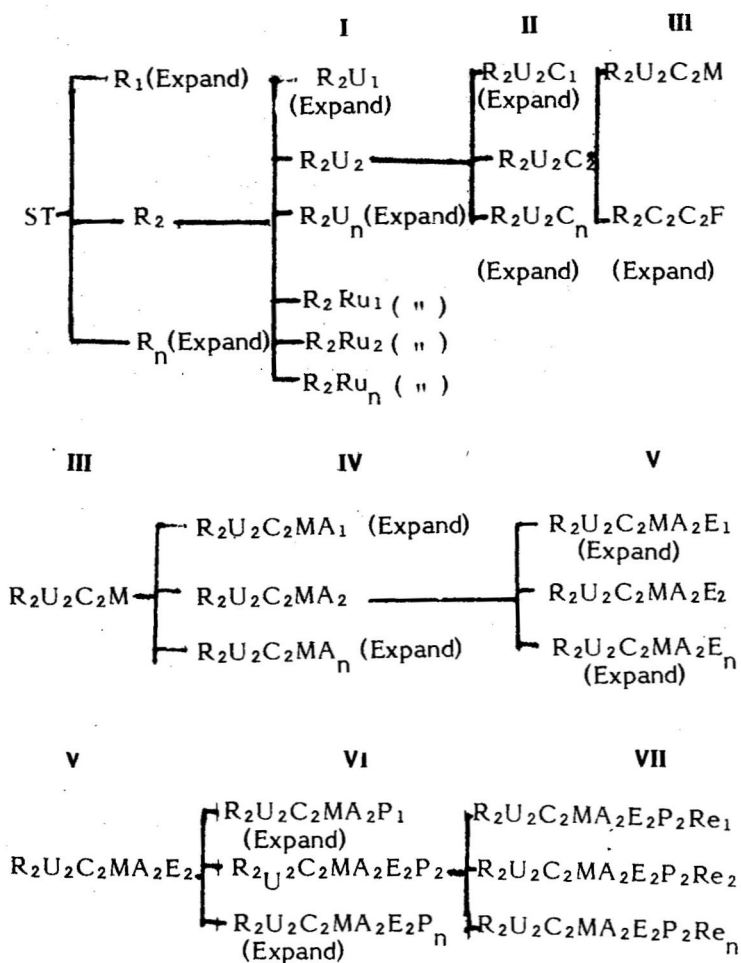
### **I**

Dialect Survey or Linguistic Survey, is different from Dialect Study and Dialect Reference and they are collectively known as Dialectology. We have in Tamil now, a number of Dialect Studies, some Dialect References and very few Dialect Surveys. Dialect Study is a linguistic study of a particular dialect, but a survey involves comparative and contrastive study of a few dialects, either horizontal or vertical; Grierson's Linguistic Survey (1927, reproduced 1967) was the earliest survey for Indian languages. His survey did not cover the old Madras Presidency and hence major Dravidian languages are omitted. He gives specimens of Tamil and other Dravidian languages. He did not attempt to present dialect maps or isoglosses. There is only one horizontal survey for Tamil dialects, and that too, for the Tamil dialects in Malaya, by Rama Subbiah (1966). As for vertical surveys, there is only one paper on the Kinship terms by M. Shanmugam Pillai (1965, reproduced 1981). There can be combinations of various types, combining horizontal and vertical variables. Annamalai University, Linguistics Department, has conducted

a number of surveys with these variables combined, which have not been published yet. Apart from these surveys and studies, we have Dialect References, where, in the course of writing a grammar, or a paper, the author may refer to usage in dialects here and there, but not complete or systematic. We find such references in early Tamil grammars and in commentaries.

In the fifties and sixties new concepts have developed about Dialect Surveys and Studies and the concept of social dialect was given a concrete shape and hence Social Dialectology is very much in talk now. Horizontally, within a geographical area, the concept of Urban and Rural Dialectology was developed, corresponding to Urban and Rural Sociology.

Studies in the social dialects of Tamil, that varieties of Tamil which coexist in the same region with other varieties but are differentiated on the basis of social factors (Southworth, 1976), started in the sixties, with M. Shanmugam Pillai, William Bright and A. K. Ramanujam publishing a few papers. This was pursued vigorously by a number of young scholars and with the development of theories about sociolinguistic research by William Labov and others these studies attained new directions and refinements in the seventies. Early Surveys and Studies of Tamil dialects, with the exception of Jules Bloch (1910), did not concern themselves with social variables. They were concerned only geographical or regional variables ( $R_1 R_2$  etc.). But now the stage has come, to argue, whether any survey or study of this type is worth the name, without any consideration of social variables like caste, sex, age, education, profession, religion etc., combined with regional variables, in various permutations and combinations. A model of these combinations demonstrated by M. Shanmugam Pillai in Tamil Today (1972, reproduced 1981) has to be revised, perhaps as follows, as the study of this subject has developed now.



ST = Spoken Tamil

F = Female

R<sub>1</sub>R<sub>2</sub> = RegionA<sub>1</sub>A<sub>2</sub> = Age

$U_1U_2$	=	Urban	$E_1E_2$	=	Education
$Ru_1Ru_2$	=	Rural	$P_1P_2$	=	Profession
$C_1C_2$	=	Caste	$Re_1Re_2$	=	Religion
$M$	=	Male			

Read  $R_2U_2C_2MA_2E_2$  as education level 2, of Age level 2, of male in caste 2 in city of region 2. Thus for other combinations as well.

The above model demonstrates how complicated an extensive and ideal dialect survey could be. But a survey could be easily undertaken at any one point involving one or more variables, horizontally or vertically.

## II

Sociolinguistic studies, studies in Social Dialectology in Tamil, continuous and more systematic, started early in the sixties with the publication of *Linguistic Diversity in South Asia* (1960). A few American structural linguists, and Indian linguists trained in structural linguistics in the latefifties and sixties in this century, got interested in the subject. They referred to it as social dialects or caste or class differences.

Class differences were noticed even by Tolkaappiyar (Cuutram 444 to 447) where he discusses the uses of *ii*, *taa*, and *kotu* between three levels of people-higher, equal and lower-*uyarntoon*, *oppoon* and *izintoon*. Since equals could be between *uyarntoon* and between *oppoon*, it is possible that he recognized only two classes in the Tamil society, higher and lower. We are not sure whether he meant any caste difference. (C. Yesudhasan, 1981, p. 42-43).

Tolkaappiyar mentions four types of lexical items *iyarcol*, *tiricol*, *ticaicool* and *vatacol* (Tol. Col. eccaviyal 1) where *ticaicool* refers to the regional lexical variants. He also refers to *ceeri mozi* (Tol. porul. ceyyuliyal. 233)

and that certain words, though colloquial could be accepted in literature (Tol.porul. marapiyal 69). These are early references to Tamil dialects. Commentators Ilampuuranar (12th century), Peeraaciriyar (13th century), Atiyaarkkunallaar (13th century), and Naccinaarkkiniyar (14th century) also refer to regionalism in the usage of certain words in Tamil. Pavananti, the author of Nannuul refers to twelve regions in Tamilnadu which has dialect variations-dialect regions, (cuutram 272) and Maylainathar, elaborating it, gives the names of the twelve regions and also some lexical items peculiar for each region (Nannuul ed. 1918).

### III

Early in this century, a few western scholars wrote about the spoken forms of Tamil and very few Tamil scholars were interested in it. Jules Bloch (1910) reported the differences between the Brahmin, Non-Brahmin and untouchable Tamil. L.V.Ramaswamy Aiyar reported differences between Brahmin Tulu and folk Tulu. Beschi wrote a grammar for spoken Tamil-Kotuntamiz (1728, reprint 1971). R.P.Sethu Pillai (1939), for the first time, made an attempt to present the differences between written and colloquial Tamil. Since then, till the sixties, there was almost a complete silence in the study of social dialects or in colloquial Tamil.

Not many native scholars took interest in the spoken form of Tamil till the sixties. Tamil scholarship was identified with the mastery of ancient and medieval classical literature and grammar and it is these scholars who also were interested in language study-philology, as it was then called, and for them spoken Tamil was untouchable, impure, and polluting, with all its implications, though they live with it all the time. The political and social philosophy of the DK and DMK patronized the glorification of ancient Tamil literature and the culture enshrined in them. Another important factor was the dominance of Caldwell's Comparative Grammar

attitude. Philologists of these decades, were interested more in the Problems--Sanskrit verses Dravidian--identified with Tamil, approach to establish the independence or interdependence of one upon the other, initiated by Caldwell. Ever. scholars, who were interested in the scholarly elaboration of Caldwell theories, could not resist this temptation. Perhaps this was a political and social necessity, because of the dominance of the theory that everything came and originated from Sanskrit. Moreover, the studies by these philologists, K.V. Subbayya, C.P.Venkatarama Aiyar, L.V.Ramaswamy Aiyar, S.Anavaratanayagam Pillai, Venkatarajulu Reddiar, P.S.Subrahmanya Sastri, S.K.Chatterji etc., on Tamil and Dravidian, were based on the written form of the languages. It was the western scholars again M.B. Emeneau and T.Burrow, who resorted to the analysis of spoken forms of Dravidian languages, and used those materials for studies in Comparative Dravidian. Dialect studies, whether regional or social, were not thought of, till the end of the fifties. Referring to Jules Bloch's paper in 1910, Susan S.Bean says, that for nearly fifty years his contribution stood virtually alone (1974).

#### IV

The sixties of this century is a landmark in the development of linguistic studies in Tamilnadu after Caldwell and Bloch. This is also true of South Asian languages in general. Some of the American structural linguists and their Indian counterparts in the late fifties and early sixties, got interested in caste dialects, as it was then called, and in the evolution and evaluation of standard forms of Tamil. As for Tamil the papers by William Bright (1960), William Bright and A.K. Ramanujam (1964), Ramanujam (1968), M.Shanmugam Pillai (1965 a, 1965 b, 1968 reproduced 1981) started the discussion of caste dialects. A hypothesis was proposed by William Bright and A.K.Ramanujam concerning the brahmin (B) and non-brahmin (NB) speech. "In general, the Brahmin dialect seems to show great innovation

on the more conscious levels of linguistic change--those of borrowing and semantic extension--while the non-brahmin dialect shows greater innovation in less conscious type of change--those involving phonemic and morphological replacements. Bright explains these tendencies in terms of literacy. He claims that "a possible hypothesis is that literacy, most common among Brahmins has acted as a brake on change in their dialects--that the 'frozen' phonology and grammar of the literary language have served to retard change in Brahmin speech". Another version of this hypothesis (1964) is "On the part of B toward greater use of foreign vocabulary and semantic shifts; on the parts of NS towards shifts in native phonology and in morphology". They conclude that "Upper and lower class dialects innovate independently of one another and in two ways, here labelled conscious and unconscious. They claim that "literacy, where ever it is present in human societies, acts as a brake on the process of linguistic change. Susan S.Bean (1974) by a comparative study of the Sociolinguistic studies so far accomplished for South Asian Languages, formulates some interesting hypothesis and new directions for further research. Bright and Ramanujan's hypothesis has been elaborated and challenged by a few M.Shanmugam Pillai (1968), D.P.Pattanayak (1975), V.Balasubramaniam(1980), G.Sankaranarayanan (1980).

M.Shanmugam Pillai in his paper 'Fishermen Tamil of Kanyakumari (1968 reproduced 1981) compares the Fishermen Tamil (KF) with the Harijan (H), Nadar (N) and Vellala (V) Tamil dialects from the same district, at the phonological, morphological and lexical level, sorting out the common and distinctive features for these dialects, and comparing them, he concludes that innovations in dialects can only be comparative and it is doubtful whether any dialect can enjoy monopoly otherwise. Out of the 83 items discussed, 38 are innovations for KF when compared with other dialects. In a tri-chotomy of Non-Harijan Tamil dialects as (1) Brahmin (2) Higher Non-Brahmin (3) Lower-Non-Brahmin, KF



is found to be nearer to Lower-Non-Brahmin Tamil dialect, i.e., the third group. He also suggested in that paper that dialect switching is due the hierarchy of the caste structure, coupled with its prestige and social politics and not economics or education. The economically and educationally backward low Non-Brahmins (and also the Harijans who are still far below) and the economically and educationally forward Brahmins, both switch on to a dialect of the upper Non-Brahmin castes. Brahmins switch on to this because of social and political necessity.

Susan's (1970) is an assessment of the state of art- here being sociolinguistic research done so far in South Asia. From these studies she formulates the general pattern of the social isoglosses and processes which inhibit the diffusion of linguistic innovations across those social boundaries. In the North the speech of the untouchables are distinguished from the touchables, and in the South, a trichotomy, Brahmin, Non-Brahmins and untouchables could be distinguished. This pattern is reinforced by the perception of the speakers. This distinction between what the speaker perceives as differences and what linguists report, has been neglected and it should be important to set up social isoglosses. Though, there are other variables -education, friendship networks and class, caste status is the dominant variable, education, friendship and class, each significantly dependent on it. The nature of the interdependence is not well understood.

The association of speech forms with social status in the Indian situation is an important factor in preventing high status speakers adopting the forms of low status speakers and in the negative preventing forms used by low status speakers from diffusion to high status speakers.

The isoglosses separating Brahmin, non-Brahmin and untouchable is interpreted in terms of the concept of purity and pollution separating castes.

D.P.Pattanayak's paper *Caste and Language* is full of assumptions and internal contradictions, typical of Indian political approach to problems concerning castes. The paper is not academic and does not deserve the time and space it grabbed. But one good result is, that pattanayak is a little better educated on the subject as is revealed in his *Reply to comments on Caste and Language* (1976). Susan's (1974) is a better and scholarly reply for him though it was not intended that way. Hers is a critical and scholarly summation of fifteen years of intensive beginning research in sociolinguistics in South Asian languages.

Southworth (1976) evaluates the achievements so far in sociolinguistic research in South Asian Language in general and for south Indian languages in particular, under several heads, Regional Dialects, Social Dialects etc. The important contribution of this paper is the last two sections *Ethnography of Communication* and *Application*. The study of constraints on communicative behaviour--who can say, what, when and to whom--has not been undertaken systematically for any part of South Asia. He elaborates it with particular reference to the situation in Malayalam. He concludes illustrating how sociolinguistic studies are relevant to language education, adult literacy programme and choice of medium for communication.

Michael C.Shapiro and Harold F.Schiffman in *Language and Society in south Asia*, in Chapter 5, *Social Dialectology* evaluate the achievements done so far in South Asian Languages and suggest unexplored area for further research.They complain that a large portion of research has relied too heavily on caste as the major independent social variable with which linguistic variable could be correlated and introduced.

This (study)includes an examination of studies which treat caste, age, sex, education, residence and other

variables as determining factors in linguistic variation. We also examine diglossia as a wide spread social phenomenon in South Asia, take another look at diffusion of linguistic tracts within complex sociolinguistic contexts, and discuss the sociolinguistic problems involved in defining languages in relation to their various pseudonyms.

The Bloomfieldian theory that differences in linguistic code are associated with different patterns of social interaction, that groups which exhibit greatest linguistic differences are those most isolated from one another is not found to be true of South Asian situation. They conclude that we have reached the point that when investigators ought to begin to construct dynamic models for sociolinguistic investigation in South Asia.

It is not difficult to see how this might be carried out. First of all, it is imperative that scholars begin to operate within frame works which assume that variability in linguistic structures is a systematic feature of language. Rather than assume that caste is a social property which allows the postulation of individual dialect--where a person either speak the dialect or does not -we can start to consider it as one of a large class of social parameters.

Testing Bright's hypothesis "that semantic differences between caste dialects may reflect differences in value systems from one caste to another", ritual languages on the model of Emeneau's study of the Todas, problems of variation within speech of the individual, how he or she varies his/her speech according to the social situations are some of the directions they suggest for research in conclusion.

Thus the middle of the seventies has been a series of assessment of the research on social dialects in South Asian languages by Susan S.Beans, D.P.Pattanayak, Franklin Southworth and Michael C.Shapiro and Harold

F.Schiffman, and from here we have to start on new lines of research in the subject, suggested and unsuggested.

## V

V.Balasubramaniam (1980) testing the hypothesis of Bright and Ramanujam (1964) in his own way, at lexical, morphological and phonological levels, reports that the features attributed exclusive to B are found in NB dialects also particularly in the Vellala and Mudaliyar dialects of Tanjore and South Arcot District. There was a period, during previous generation, before the Non-Brahmin movement gained momentum, when the Vellalas and Mudaliyars of these districts, considered the B Tamil prestigious and imitated it. They even criticised their children if they will not speak like Brahmins, and spoke NB Tamil. How can one be sure that this has not resulted in the diffusion of these features into their dialect? Unless this is established otherwise, Balasubramaniam's argument cannot be valid. To test the corollary of their hypothesis, he has picked up the Dravidia Smartha Iyer of Mysore, whose ancestors have migrated to Mysore nearly two hundred years before, from Tanjore district--he calls their speech Mysore Iyer Tamil--MIT. He lists a number of changes in their dialect, at phonological, morphological and vocabulary levels. They could not be borrowings from Kannada, according to him. Here B Tamil, MIT, has a number of innovations, which according to Bright-Ramanujam hypothesis could not be. But, how can a Tamil dialect transplanted in midst of an entirely new linguistic surrounding for nearly two centuries, be expected to be similar to B Tamil of Tamilnadu and help to prove or disprove the hypothesis? MIT is entirely a different problem which will not affect their hypothesis in any way, which is concerned with the dialects in Tamilnadu subjected to sociolinguistic stains there in. However his third point, whether literacy is a brake in language change has to be investigated.

G.Sankaranarayanan(1980) criticizes the methodology of the early studies on sociolinguistics. Their data was not collected by sampling across sections of speakers. Two individuals, to represent two caste dialects, one for each, in Mysore, by Bright, is questioned. Then he says that among the Brahmins, there are two groups, Iyer and Iyengar, who differ in speech and culture, and whose speech disproves the hypothesis that 'it is B which has innovated by introducing the loan words B frequently preserves non-native phonology, which NB assimilating to native pattern' (Bright and Ramanujam 1964:160,161). The author who questioned the methodology of these linguists should have followed the method he is advocating, to disprove their hypothesis. He has not done so and unfortunately, ne also follows Bright-Ramanujam method.

Bright-Ramanujam hypothesis may be right and wrong. But in our anxiety to explore the hypothesis, both of them have not followed Labov's or any other more scientific method, which they advocate rightly. On the other hand they also have been following the same method, questionable in the choice of dialects too.

Sociolinguists who are allergic to the expression caste, led by Pattanayak, themselves admit that caste is a dominant variable among the many variables. Who among the caste oriented sociolinguists, has claimed that caste is the only variable? Nor did they claim that their studies represent a homogenous stereotype. Brahmins from anypart of Tamilnadu, the older generation, of them speak in their dialect, I could distinguish the brahminism in it. It has several stereotype caste markers, some of which have diffused to NB also. I cannot claim this for other Tamil castes, though I could easily locate the region. The younger generation both B and NB, which is switching on to a standard spoken form, will not help me in this game. The anti-caste, or may be intercaste sociolinguistics, by the way,

is a good political jargon to hide realities which is typical of Indian politics, know only too well that the early researchers in this field, touched upon the dominant variable, as is natural to begin with, but never refused that there are other variables too, and they have mentioned it more than once in their papers. Pattanayak, like a politician is concerned "In fact, the talk about caste dialects may even have negatively reinforced caste identities and feelings". But my impression is that the talk about caste dialects in the last fifteen years have contributed much to the evolution of a standard spoken form for Tamil, slowly wiping out the caste markers, though it has never been our aim. When the caste markers are overtly demonstrated by the linguists they become very much aware of them, and hence avoid using them—they drop the stereo forms.

Labov's Survey of Martha Vineyard and New York City, and Trudgill's Norwich English, are beginning to have their impact on sociolinguistic research in Tamil, but not very intensive or extensive, yet. K. Karunakaran in his 'A Note on Linguistic Change: A Sociolinguistic Appraisal' (1978) reports that phonetic changes  $i > e$ ,  $i > o$  in terms like *tira*, *tera*, *tora*, and  $i > u$  in items like *piti*, *puti* are socially conditioned.  $i > e$  is found consistently in the speech of educated speakers in their informal speech behaviour and they are also consistent in retaining  $i$  in formal speech. Contrary to this change,  $i > o$  is consistent in the speech of uneducated speakers. In some cases the change  $i > e$  and retention of  $i$ , are conditioned by the social status of the speakers, upper class versus lower class, high occupational status with low occupational status etc. some speakers at Annamalai Nagar who begin using  $u$  and  $o$  for  $i$ , quickly realizing the formal situation, switched over from  $u > a$  (*aru* > *ara*) and  $o > i$ . He also gives a list of such changes in consonants, but does not describe the conditioning social variables. The degree of assimilation of the borrowings, he says, is conditioned by social parameters, education etc., of the speakers. These

are interesting informations which deserve extensive and intensive survey. We may perhaps start with a hypothesis that in phonology, if there is more than one phonological situations, i.e., linguistic environments the differences may be conditioned by variables other than linguistics. The same hypothesis can be extended to grammatical and lexical levels.

In another paper, 'A Study of Social Dialects in Tamil--Methods and Practices (1978), Karunakaran presents a model to present the grammar of a language--here Tamil, in the context of several sociological and other variables. Keeping the caste constant, -Chidambaram Vellala, he introduces many variables, economic status--higher income, middle income and lower income groups, education--higher, secondary and primary, location-- $P_1$ - and  $P_2$ . The number of segmental phonemes, clusters and some grammatical features are presented conditioned by these variables. He also presents model rules with these variables operating in specific linguistic contexts. Perhaps, a careful proof reading is very much deserved, especially in a paper on linguistics.  $n \rightarrow n / -P_1 -L -PE$  eg. /na:yiru/  $\rightarrow$  /na:yiru/ 'sunday', is a rule he gives (p.47). The initial position where this rule operates is not indicated. If Positions do not matter, illustrations are incomplete. Perhaps the rule should read  $\tilde{n} \rightarrow n / -P_1 -L -PE$  eg. /~~na~~:yiru/ /na:yiru/ 'Sunday'. The meaning of the hyphen before  $P_1$  etc. is not clear. Interpretation of a rule should have been demonstrated for the sake of clarity and understanding. There is no interpretation of the tables either. The highest number of clusters in HIG, HE, i.e., high and middle income higher education groups, is very striking. In Pondi, we found more clusters correlating with elderliness and illiteracy, in native items. In this case, it may be due to the highest number of English borrowings found in their speech, and again the clusters are greater in careful speech where they are more conscious of their pronunciation of English. In sociolinguistic descriptions, we cannot stop with the Bloomfieldian type of objective and classified presentation of the data. Interpretations and discussions

of the possible reasons in the context of those variables are equally important, as important as the tables and rules. What do we infer about the sociological behaviour of these Vellalas as a result of this study? The paper has no answer.

As an extension of this model, in Chapter 4, in 'Study of Social Dialects of Tamil' (1981), he demonstrates how rules could be framed to describe the distribution of the linguistic features—the variants, conditioned by sociological and other variables, and in chapter 5, he demonstrates it with particular reference to Tamil at phonological and grammatical levels. Here again we are tempted to ask, if so what?

And thus, the eighties begin with the impact of Labov and Trudgill in sociolinguistic research in Tamil.

## VI

### Standard Tamil

Early in this century, till early fifties, Tamil philologists used to say that modern written Tamil, perhaps as pure as it could be, is the Standard Tamil. The question arose in the late fifties, standard for what? To speak or to write? If it is to speak, it is aiming at a prescriptive norm, as was natural with the grammarians then, who were more prescriptive than descriptive? If it is for writing, the style differs very much between authors. Pandits at one extreme and short story writers and novelists at the other extreme, and in between, there is a wide range of variations, about which they were not concerned.

Kamil Zvelebil, in 1959 in *Archiv Orientalni*, for the first time, argued for the existence of a Standard Spoken Tamil. He called it then colloquial Tamil distinct from modern written Tamil. He writes,



Between the cultivated speech and the folk speech there is another level to be found which may be called common speech and which is, though it may vary slightly from place to place and from community to community, fairly homogeneous for the whole linguistic area. This is usually called 'colloquial Tamil' (p.573).

In 1963, he again discussed this problem in Tamil Culture (Vol.X.No.3) that Standard Spoken Tamil is being evolved out of the Tamil spoken by the educated middle class Pillais of the cities of the districts of Madurai, Tiruchirappally,\* Thanjavur and South Arcot. But he did not support his hypothesis with any data.

Again in 1964, in *Archiv Orientalni*, he suggested that Standard Spoken Tamil evolves out of the middle class speakers, primarily non-brahmin castes, who are involved in mercantile and professional activities in central Tamilnadu i.e. Tiruchi, Thanjavur, Karur and South Arcot regions.

Shanmugam Pillai in his 'Caste Isoglosses in Kinship Terms' (1965, reproduced 1981) suggested that the data presented in that paper may be a small piece of evidence in support of Zvelebil's theory. But later in his paper 'Fishermen Tamil of Kanyakumari' (1965, reproduced 1978) he reported that many of the peculiarities listed among the older generation are being replaced by other forms in the speech of educated younger generation in this dialect. Dialect switching, he reported, is due to the hierarchy of the caste structure, coupled with its prestige and politics, and not due to any economic and educational factors. The educationally and economically forward higher caste--the Brahmins, and economically and educationally backward lower non-brahmins and scheduled castes, switch on to a dialect of the higher non-brahmin castes. The rising fisherman generation switch on to a dialect of the Vellala Community in that district. In 1972, in his paper 'Tamil - Today' he argued for the existence of a regional standard apart

from SST. Also in another paper 'Tamil Literary and colloquial' (1972, a) he referred to the fact that the speech of the younger generation is different from that of the older generation, and SST evolves out of the speech of the educated younger generation, where children of different castes and regions mix together, live together and communicate between themselves, in schools and colleges.

Thus, the early linguists who dealt with this problem, were shifting their stands within a decade, because their hypothesis were based on observations and participation which gave more and more informations as time passed on, and not on any systematic survey.

Franklin C. Southworth in his paper 'Problems of defining Standard Language in India, England and United States' (1972) deals with the socio-economic factors associated with the establishment of 'Standard Language'. Standard usage is based on the native usage of certain groups. In most cases the standard forms have been shaped by scholars who were more concerned with linguistic purity than with mass communication, and about Tamil he writes.

More recently (mainly since the beginning of the 20th century), as certain high non-brahmin castes gained political and economic power, the Sanskritized form was replaced by what is called 'pure' Tamil, whose vocabulary is extensively borrowed from the classical Tamil, while politically acceptable to many Tamilians as an expression of rejection both of the Brahmins and of the Aryan North, leaves many speakers of Tamil (especially those from illiterates, low-caste backgrounds) in a bad situation as before (IJDL Vol.1, No.2 P.34).

Southworth refers to the modern written form, when he talks about standard language for Tamil. But he explains how the low castes are in a disadvantageous position as before when this standard Tamil is different

from their spoken forms and the situation helps only the privileged class to perpetuate their dominance.

The problem was again raised by Vasanthakumari (1976). She seems to be unaware of what has already been suggested about this problem and this paper would have been all right, if it was published twenty or thirty years back, in the thirties or forties. She puts forth a hypothesis that SST does not evolve out of any particular region or caste or religion, but out of the speech of the privileged class (questioned by E. Annamalai, 1976). May be, she suggested it as a hypothesis, since there is no efficient demonstration in that paper to support her suggestion. Annamalai (1976) raising a number of objections, puts forth an interesting hypothesis that SST is obtained by eliminating the stigmatised stereotyped or marked features of home dialects, which will give a set of neutral items in SST. He further suggests that there should be demonstration for the existence of SST in the following ways:

- (1) The evidence to switch over from home dialect in mixed group.
- (2) Stylistically correlated variations of speech.
- (3) Consistency in the language spoken in mass media, like cinema.
- (4) Hyper-Correction (in Labov's sense 1971) by speakers of non-standard dialects.

V. Gnanasundaram (1981) carried on a small survey to test the first. His findings were that non-stereo forms resist style shift more than stereo forms. There is no consistency in stereo forms undergoing style shift in mixed groups. He also concludes that SST is nearer to written Tamil.

M. Shanmugam Pillai and M. Murugesan, M. Shanmugam Pillai and S. Radhakrishnan (1983) carried on an investigation at Pillayyarkuppam in Pondicherry state, to investigate the age variability in spoken Tamils among the males

as well as among the females, comparing different age groups from the Padayachi community at the phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical levels. Three levels of age groups, one near sixty ( $E_2$ ) another near forty ( $E_1$ ) and the third near twenty (Y) were compared between themselves and they with modern written Tamil (WT).  $E_1$  and  $E_2$  are illiterates and Y has elementary or secondary school education. It was found that  $E_1E_2$  formed one group, distinct from the group WY, each group sharing a number of features at all levels, different from the other group. The data for each of the age group was checked with five educated informants from the city of Pondicherry, selected at random, without any reference to caste, religion, or age. It was found that these five informants shared 93 percent of the lexical items with Y and only 7 percent with  $E_1$  and  $E_2$ . W and Y constitute a single group, distinct from  $E_1$  and  $E_2$ , which form another group sharing a number of items at these levels. WY has many stereo forms distinct from  $E_1E_2$ : Thus Y is nearer to W. At the same time Y,  $E_1$  and  $E_2$  each has a number of stereo forms. Therefore, not only the elimination of the stereo forms, but also the creation new stereo forms, contribute to the evolution of SST. In the light of these investigations, Annamalai's hypothesis may have to be rephrased that SST evolves as a result of the replacement as well as creations of stereo forms in the speech of the educated younger generation, irrespective of caste, region, religion or economic status. The percentage of new stereo forms created is smaller than elimination. Since, WT does not have any stereo forms for caste, or region, Y chooses to come closer to it, to evolve a neutral dialect as SST. Perhaps, if Gnanasundaram's experiment has introduced age and educational variables, the results would have been much better, in favour of the above hypothesis. All his informants were well educated and perhaps not much different in age either, where only regional variables were in operation and it is not as pertinent as age and education in the evolution of SST. That nothing conclusive could be said as a result of his experiment,

may itself be a proof that young age and education are the important variables and most of his informants are tending towards SST.

The younger generation which speaks SST, most of the members in it, do not speak their home dialect, which is still otherwise spoken by the older, uneducated members in their families, and as such, the question of dialect switching in mixed group does not arise for them. We have investigated the first generation educated groups, to contrast with the early illiterate, older generations. What will be the picture if the three age groups are literates? May be, it is true as Annamalai (1976) said,

'No standard dialect is entirely homogeneous and rigid and what is accepted as standard is a range within which variations are permitted. This is perhaps more pronounced in Tamil'

So far we have been trying to answer what is the standard language for Tamil, particularly for speaking. There are other problems in standardisation. K.Karunakaran (1980) in 'Language Standardisation and Linguistic Convergences' demonstrates how minority language features -- grammatical and lexical, are being standardized in majority languages. He illustrates how Malayalam features -- grammatical and lexical are standardized in the Tamil spoken in the border areas of Tamil and Malayalam, and how Telugu lexical items are standardized in Tiruttani Tamil, bordering Telugu country. These are the results of language contact between these languages, and we may add, that a sizable majority in these regions are bilinguals. But the question is will these items be accepted as standard in SST? It is a disputable question. We may say that they are regional standards and standardization processes can operate at different levels.

## VII

### Epigraphy and Historical Dialectology

The use of dialects for historical reconstruction of languages is a fruitful area. M.Shanmugam Pillai's

'Vowel Splits in Tamil Dialects' (1969, reproduced in 1978) was the first attempt in this line, for Tamil. Comparing the vowel systems in classical and written Tamil, with that of SST and Ceylon Colloquial Tamil, he demonstrates how the allophones have developed into separate vowel phonemes in each of those dialects, as a result of the new contrasts introduced, and also discussed the chronology of the development of these new phonemes. Till today, there is no follow up of this study. Another important source material for historical dialectology in Tamil is, Tamil epigraphy.

The existence of inscriptions in Tamil, is perhaps as old as the available Tamil literary texts, and here we are in a very enviable position, compared to other Dravidian languages, where, the earliest available documents of the languages are only inscriptions, and not literature. Paleography-palmleaf manuscripts, cannot be reliable specimens of the writing systems for the corresponding periods of literature, unless the literature itself is very late, because, no palmleaf can be more than three hundred years old. On the other hand, the inscriptions cut on hard rocks, reveal the language, and the script, with no scope for distortions later. Moreover, these inscriptions, most of them, were written in colloquial Tamil, in contrast to the language used in contemporary literary works, and a comparative study of the languages used in inscriptions and literature of contemporary periods, should reveal the differences between written and spoken Tamil. Projection of this study vertically over temporal axis, will reveal the history of Tamil dialects and the language. A comparative study of the language of the inscriptions of a particular period, distributed horizontally, will be geographical dialectology for the early periods, which, when compared over time axis for a particular area, will be historical dialectology, and all the differences could be documented with the help of inscriptions. A similar study of the literary texts will be a historical study for formal Tamil. Documents for the co-existence for these two forms of Tamil are not fully exploited yet.

Though the analysis of the language of the Tamil inscriptions started as early as 1935, with K.Kanapathippillai's thesis for Ph.D., 'A Study of the Language of Tamil inscriptions of the 7th and 8th centuries A.D.', for London University, it gained active momentum only in the sixties, with linguists entering into this field. Early in the sixties, at the guidance of T.P.Meenakshisundaram, a number of scholars started working on the inscriptions for M.Litt. thesis on 'A Study of the language of the inscriptions from the 7th century to the middle of the 11th century A.D.', for Madras University. S.Bhagirathy did her M.Litt. thesis in 1962 on 'The language of the Tamil Inscriptions of 1050-1250 A.D.' for Annamalai University. Velupillai prepared his Ph.D. thesis on 'A Study of the Language of Tamil Inscriptions of the regions of Cattavarman Cuntara Pandya and Maaravarman Kulaceekaran', for University of Ceylon in 1962, and on 'A Study of the Tamil Inscriptions of the period 800 to 920 A.D.', in 1964, for D.Phil. at Oxford University. In 1968, S.V.Shanmugam prepared his Ph.D. thesis on 'The Language of the Tamil Inscriptions of 1350-1700 A.D.', for Annamalai University. R.Panneerselvam did his Ph.D. dissertation in 1969 on the analysis of the inscriptions of 7th, 8th and 9th centuries, for Kerala University. Based on the index prepared by S.Kausalya (1962). S.Agesthalingam and S.V.Shanmugam published in 1970 'The Language of Tamil Inscriptions 1250-1350 A.D.' This is the only published work of all these studies so far, which is very unfortunate. Velupillai's classical work 'Study of the Dialects in Inscriptional Tamil' (1976) is the result of the studies going on in inscriptional Tamil for a decade. It is unfortunate no one is continuing the language study of the inscriptions now.

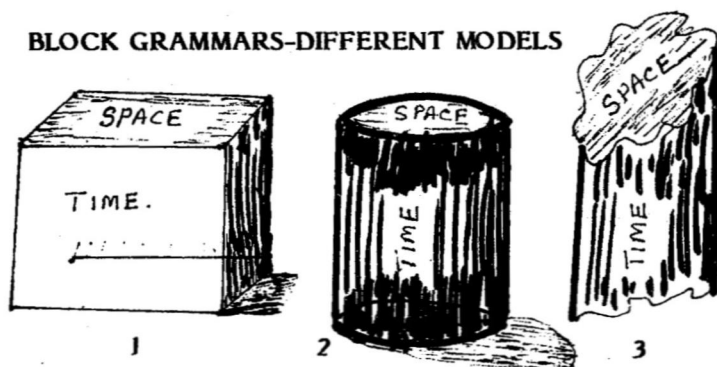
These grammars are written on the basis of hundreds of inscriptions spread over a wide span of time, spread all over Tamilnadu and sometimes even outside. Kana-pathippillai covered two centuries, Jayakumari about five centuries, Bhagirathy two centuries, Velupillai more than one century, S.V.Shanmugam about four

centuries, Panneerselvam three centuries and Kausalya's index one century. What is the basis for the selection of this time span for each, and they differ so much? The overriding consideration seems to be the availability of the number of inscriptions and the period of region of particular dynasties. Later, this type of descriptive grammar was carried over to Tamil literature, in dissertations like, 'A Descriptive Grammar of Purananuuru, 'A Descriptive Grammar of Kuruntokay' etc., which are really grammars for verses over a period of time and over a wide spread of space. But here, atleast we go by individual texts, anthologised on certain principles. Even this is absent in the study of inscriptions.

What is the linguistic theory for a grammar of this sort? It has two axes, time and space. Is it historical? Yes, if it cares to describe the differences spread over a period of time. But it does not. Is it geographical dialectology? Yes, it could be, if it cares to describe the differences between the dialects of different regions, during a specific period of time. But it does not. Is it an over all grammar? Then it has to be for a specific span of time spread over a wide region. It has to present the grammar for common core and from it the deviations, geographical and temporal. None of these grammars, if we take the published one as a model, has any such approach. The inscriptions should have been studied region wise, with a time depth, which would be an historical grammar of the inscriptional dialects of particular region. Or, over a short period of time, they should have analysed the inscriptions region wise and compared them, which would have given the dialect geography for the language of the inscriptions for a short period of time. Descriptive grammars of the inscriptions for five centuries, spread over the whole of Tamilnadu, is beyond the comprehension of any available linguistic theory. The grammar is presented as if it is a single block with no variation. We may call them Block Grammars, with time, and space as the two axes in various shapes. Velupillai (1976) avoids some of these awkwardness.



## BLOCK GRAMMARS-DIFFERENT MODELS



The language of Tamil inscriptions 1250-1350 A.D., the only one available for comments now, has seven sections from phonology to clitics. Section 1.8 'Occasional Spellings' under Phonology (pp.22-35) is perhaps the interesting part in this section. It is presumed that the written forms, given in the first column for comparison, also occur in the inscription, but no reference is available, while the deviant forms have references. One has no instruction as to whether the listed frequency of the occasional spelling form is complete or selective, if selective on what basis? A complete frequency for the written forms and the occasional spelling forms will give us more light on their historicity. What are the principles to decide whether a particular form is scribal error or occasional spelling resulting from historical changes or dialect variations? The decision seems to be subjective, and we have to set up principles to sift them out. Even scribal errors could not be easily brushed aside. Why this error and not the other, will give invaluable information on historical phonological changes, and on pronunciation. Perhaps all phonological changes started as errors. In the arrangement, Velupillai (1976), perhaps, followed this pattern and hence some of these problems were carried over by him.

The authors, in its introduction, say 'allomorphs including phonologically conditional ones are given

without recourse to morphophonemics so that the book could be used by non-linguistic scholars interested in inscriptional language'. If this be the aim, will these non-linguists be able to interpret the sandhi rules in Chapter II? Here perhaps Velupillai satisfies the non-linguists better.

In the classification of the verb system, the several verbal roots under different classes I suppose, occur in the inscriptions too (p.47-55). There is no reference.

S.V.Shanmugam in his paper 'Dialects of Inscriptional Tamil' (1971) discusses geographical, social and stylistic differences at phonological, grammatical and lexical levels in inscriptional dialects and also the movement of linguistic forms between regions. The form *tunnu* for *tinu* was noticed in the Northern dialects for the first time in the 17th century. The *nr > nn* in forms like *onru > onnu* started in 1527 A.D. in Pudukottai, Madurai and Tirunelveli areas and moved to the north. This is a non-Brahmin feature. But the Brahmins used *nnu* in *konru > konnu* 'having killed'. The use of epicene plural suffix *-vaal*, of the Brahmins, as in *ceytavaal* 'those who did', is found from the 17th century on. The variation *ivaikal/itukaal* noticed from the 16th century, is attributed to stylistic differences.

Velupillai's work (1976), 'Study of the Dialects in Inscriptional Tamil' is a landmark in the history of the study of Tamil inscriptional dialects just like the Etymological Dictionary for Dravidian Languages by M.B.Emeneau and T.Burrow. They give the data collected and codified for further research. But unfortunately Velupillai's work has not been much used yet for the study of historical dialectology for Tamil. Let me illustrate my point by a discussion of the very first entry in it, the medial *-a-* changing to *-i-* in items like *meelana > meelina* 'upon, Over'.

Observing this entry dichronically, I may suggest a hypothesis that this change occurred in Northern Tamil Dialect i.e., Tamil spoken in Thanjavur District and

north of it before 8th century. and diffused to the south, up to Kerala and by the 10th to 12th century, it was wide spread over whole of Tamilnadu, including Kerala.

In the table (page.29) we demonstrate the frequency of this change. There are five sections corresponding to the five sections in the book, representing definite periods of time. The first column in the table (page 29) gives the total number of lexical items for this period where this change is found. Column II gives the total number of its occurrence in the northern districts out of the number of items in column I. In column III, I gives the districts, 2 gives the number of occurrence of this change by lexical items in each of the southern districts in (1), out of the total number of inscriptions in (3) in that district, during this period. A percentage of occurrence in relation to the number of inscriptions in the southern districts is worked out which is given last in (4). For the northern districts we give the percentage.

The progressive increase of this change in the southern districts could be easily seen from  $1/106 > 4/78 > 27/62 > 33/164 > 26/144$  that is  $.7\% > 5\% > 9\% > 20\% > 33\%$ . What a beautiful picture it gives demonstrating the theory of diffusion of this phonetic change, starting from the north, slowly spreading to the south as time passes on and spreading all over Tamilnadu and Kerala by the 12th century. No wonder the commentator of Viiracooziyam has to take note of this change and discuss it with examples *unpitu* and *urankuviṭu* and that early and old Malayalam has a number of items demonstrating this change (Velupillai, 1976). On the basis of this particular change an isogloss separates the Northern Tamil Dialects that is Thanjavur and North, from the Southern Tamil Dialects, that is Tiruchy and South, before 8th century A.D. The lone lexical item for this change in Tirunelveli District, before 8th century, has to be explained.

-a->-i-

Period of Time	No.Of Inscrip- tions	Total No.of lexical items	Northern Districts	Southern Districts		
				Districts	No.of Lexical Items	No.of Inscrip- tions
6th-8th Century	220 Inscrip- tions	7	6/114 5%	TRI	--	7
				MADU	--	2
				TIN	1	96
				KER	--	1
					1	106
9th Century	314 Inscrip- tions	16	12/236 5%	TRI	1	30
				MADU	--	26
				TIN	2	12
				KER	1	10
					4	78
10th Century	393 Inscrip- tions	60	33/331 10%	TRI	13	10
				MADU	3	22
				TIN	1	6
				KER	10	24
					27	62
11th Century	357 Inscrip- tions	99	66/195 34%	TRI	8	25
				MADU	--	3
				TIN	14	58
				KER	11	78
					33	164
12th Century	459 Inscrip- tions	64	38/345 11%	TRI	6	21
				MADU	5	19
				TIN	2	16
				KER	13	58
					26	114
						33%

I have taken the very first entry, which itself is revealing. Every one of the listed items has to be studied like this, perhaps the method still more refined, to demarcate the dialect boundaries and to locate the origin and spread of such changes (Aside: Alas! such a valuable work deserves a decent binding. I have spoiled two books, the cardboards fell apart, and the sheets came out, by the time I could finish writing this paper: One becomes mad using this book, particularly when he has to turn the pages back and forth, for an analysis like this).

The author unfortunately has not attempted any isoglossing, but the geographical variations tabulated (p.1080-1098) at the end of the book, is a good start. He reports that the language of the tenth century inscriptions is very different using more colloquial expressions and he suggests that it may be due to the unsettled political life, the Pallavas and Pandyas have declined in power, and Cholas were beginning to assert themselves. After this unsettled political period, with the consolidation of the great Chola power, the eleventh century inscriptions have *meykkiirttis* in *akaval* metre almost in classical Tamil and in the twelfth century regional variations are reasserting themselves. But -a- > -i- change in the northern districts contradicts this hypothesis. There is a slow and steady increase till the 10th century, 5% > 10%. It shoots up to 34% in the 11th century, only to come down again to 11% in the 12th century. But this is a stray example. One has to make a complete study to reveal the validity or not of his hypothesis.

His relating the language with the social and political situations deserves detailed investigations. Classical Tamil, whether it is in *meykkiirtti* or in literary text, always had imperial associations throughout the history of Tamil literature, perhaps reflecting the feudal set up of the Tamil society at that time.

He also observes that till the beginning of the eleventh century, there was clear distribution of iso-

glosses separating the Pallava and Pandya Tamil, and even the scripts used were different, *Grantha* for the Pallava and *Vattezuttu* for the Pandya countries. Pandya Tamil, he says, is nearer to standard Tamil, by which he means the written Tamil of literary texts. There is no such standardisation in Pallava Tamil.

Kerala Tamil is nearer to Pandya Tamil, particularly the inscriptions from Kanyakumari district, Tamil Inscriptions of Kerala show Malayalam influence from the ninth century on, but no such influence could be traced in Kanyakumari inscriptions till the beginning of the twelfth century. North Arcot Tamil was different and inscriptions and hero stones from North Arcot and adjoining Dharmapuri, show influence of Telugu from the sixth and seventh centuries on. But the use of Sanskrit words didn't seem to have started till 12th century in this region. South Arcot and Pondicherry may constitute a separate dialect region. But, he does not illustrate his hypotheses with isoglosses. Perhaps one has to make use of his tabulation on pages 1083-1094.

These are hypotheses the author suggests, which have to be investigated in great detail. Inscriptions of adjoining linguistic areas may give interesting informations about language contact.

I couldn't understand, why there should be springlings and overlappings when the inscriptions under each section, are listed region wise, and here too, an order should be maintained arranging either from North to South or from South to North. The principles behind his order of listing are not clear.

Such a basic work cannot afford to have 34 pages of errata, 1101 corrections, and still the list incomplete.

## VIII

**Geographical Tamil Dialectology**

Geographical Dialect Survey for Tamil, systematic and extensive, aiming at the location of isoglosses, sociological and regional, has yet to begin. There are a number of studies of various dialects, published and unpublished in the form of monographs, most of them Ph.D. and M.A. theses, and also a number of papers. Linguistics Department, Annamalai University, as the introduction to some of the monographs says, has under taken 'The Linguistic Survey of Tamilnadu' and has published under this, a series of monographs, some as the Grammars of the dialects of particular castes, and others, like Tirunelveli Tamil Dialect, Kollimalai Tamil Dialect etc., as the grammars of the dialects of particular regions. We will discuss some of these later.

The earliest references to geographical dialects-regional variations, are found in Tolkaappiyam and in the commentaries to early Tamil grammars, which have been discussed in detail by Kamil Zvelebil (1959), T.P.Meenakshisundaram (1964), G.Srinivasa Varma (1978) and S.Sakthivel (1981). These references are only to lexical variations and not to phonological or grammatical differences.

It was Kamil Zvelebil who started the analysis and presentation of regional variations in modern Tamil dialects late in the fifties and early in the sixties, in his papers 'Dialects of Tamil' I, II and III, (1959, 1960), and in his paper 'Spoken Language of Tamil' (1964) he presented a regional classification of Tamil dialects. 'In Dialect of Tamil I', he presented in phonetic transcription, in segmental and supra-segmental transcription, the materials he collected on tapes for 50 text sentences and also some texts--mostly folk-tales, for eight dialects (1) Madras (2) Madurai (3) Dindugul

(4) Erode (5) Tirunelveli (6) Tuticorin (7) Ramnad (8) Trincomalee (Ceylon). We know his informants by name and place but no details are available about their caste, age, education and other variables pertinent to the study of Tamil dialects.

Zvelebil's 'Dialects of Tamil II' is about Madras Brahmin dialect. It is here that for the first time, he recognizes vertical dialects, though Bloch recognized it as early as 1910. He writes,

Within the limits of local dialects we have naturally to distinguish among different cultural and educational levels. (e.g. an old illiterate woman of Madras suburbs will speak somewhat differently than a school boy of 16 who has passed primary and secondary education, though they may both use the local form of speech.)

Apart from these differences there are distinct forms of speech spoken by different communities, which are, sometimes, commonly used by these communities irrespective of the territorial divisions (e.g. the type of speech spoken by Brahmins in Madras City, by the Chettians of Chettinad etc.) (p.572).

He is starting to recognize a regional standard and Standard Spoken Tamil, but is not clear yet, in himself. It was M. Shanmugam Pillai in 1972 who for the first time recognized a Regional Standard Tamil (RST) and Standard Spoken Tamil (SST) as distinct between themselves and both different from written Tamil and tried to define the contexts for their uses, and recognition.

In his paper, Zvelebil gives 25 specimens of Tamil spoken in and around Madras city, Chingelpet, North Arcot, South Arcot. His informants were of different age, education and caste. He did not distinguish the Iyer and Iyengar speech differences.

In the Appendix to his paper he reproduces the



50 text sentences (which he used for Dialects of Tamil I) for Tiruchirappally, Tirunelveli and Jaffna dialects.

'Dialects of Tamil III', was published in Archiv Orientalni (1960) and on the basis of these data, he wrote his paper on 'Finite Verb Terminations in Colloquial Tamil' in 1963, and 'Spoken Language of Tamilnadu' in 1964. He attempted a regional classification of modern Tamil dialects (1964) as follows: He recognized four dialect regions in Tamilnadu.

Region	Sub groups	Centres of Prestige
1. Northern ( <i>aruvaa vata-talai, aruvaa</i> )	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. North East</li> <li>b. North West</li> <li>c. South Arcot (partly)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— Madras city, Chingelpet</li> <li>— Velur, Chittoor, Krishnagiri</li> </ul>
2. Eastern ( <i>punal, panri</i> )	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Kaveri Delta</li> <li>b. Pudukottai</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— Tiruchi, Thanjavur, Karur</li> </ul>
3. Western	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. West North</li> <li>b. West South</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— Salem, Erode [ → Bangalore]</li> <li>— Coimbatore, Dindugul</li> </ul>
4. Southern ( <i>vatapaanti, tenpaanti</i> )	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Madurai</li> <li>b. south West</li> <li>c. South East</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li></li> <li>— Tirunelveli, Nagercoil</li> <li>— Ramnad, Tuticorin</li> </ul>
5. Ceylon	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. North</li> <li>b. colombo?</li> <li>c. North East</li> <li>d. South East</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li></li> <li></li> <li>— Trinconamalee</li> <li>— Batticaloo</li> </ul>

He discusses the isoglosses for each of these dialects which we give tabulated along with those given by Sakthivel.

S.Sakthivel (1981), based on the survey carried on by the department of Linguistics, Annamalai University, repeats the four regions of Kamil Zvelebil but gives more isoglosses, but also does not mention some, which Zvelebil gives. His regions are,

1. Northern Dialect - Madras, Chingelpet and North Arcot districts.
2. Central Dialect - Tiruchirapally, Thanjavur and South Arcot Districts.
3. Western Dialect - Salem, Dharmapuri, Coimbatore and Nilgiri Districts.
4. Southern Dialect - Madurai, Ramnad, Tirunelveli and Kanyakumari Districts.

The features they attribute to each of these dialects are tabulated as below. X indicates the absence of that feature in his data and ✓ indicates the presence.

### Dialect Regions

#### Dialect Markers - Isoglossers

##### 1. Northern Dialect

Kamil Zvelebil	S.Sakthivel
<b>Phonology</b>	
1. Initial c - > s- sollicci 'it said'	X
2. ẓ > ɭ kuuẓ > kuɭu 'liquid food'	X

3.  $z > y$   
*azukiraay > ayuree* ✓
4.  $z > s$   
*izuttu > isttu* 'having pulled' ✓
5.  $y$  (before consonants)  $\phi$   
*meeykka > meekka* X
6.  $e > o$   
*peṇ > poṇṇu* 'girl' X
7.  $i > o$   
*piṛa > poṛa* 'crescent' X
8.  $u > o$   
*ulakattu > olakattu* 'of the world' X

### Morphology

1. *koṇṭu > kinu > nu* X  
*tolayttukkoṇṭu > tolaccikinu*  
*> tolacciṇu* 'having lost'
2. Past tense from in cci X  
*connatu > colicci* 'it said'
3. *irukkiratu > kitu* 'it is'
4. Feminine suffix  $-cci > -ci$   
*tulukkacci > tulukkaci*  
 'Muslim woman'

5. *viṭṭaal* = *gaṭṭi*

*illaaviṭṭaal* = *illaangaṭṭi*

'without'

6. *aaka* = *kocaram*

*enakkaaka* = *enakkocaram*

'for me'

### Lexical Items

<i>appaale</i>	'afterwards'
<i>amṭan</i>	'barber'
<i>ooci</i>	'free'
<i>kaṭṭe totṭi</i>	'fire wood depot'
<i>kayde</i>	'donkey'
<i>kaava</i>	'canal'
<i>keyvi</i>	'old woman'
<i>kodakkuuli</i>	'house rent'
<i>kasmaalam</i>	'scolding words'
<i>coomaari</i>	'rogue'
<i>jeepi</i>	'pocket'
<i>ḍabba</i>	'tin'
<i>duṭṭu</i>	'money'
<i>nayina</i>	'father'
<i>naaṣṭaa</i>	'tiffin'
<i>nejaaru</i>	'trouser'
<i>budḍi</i>	'bottle'
<i>pejaaru</i>	'trouble'

rava, lava	'little'
vaaraavadi	'bridge'
vattiyaaru	'friend'
gudde	'handkerchief'
geddabaare	'crowbar'

## 2. Central Dialect

### Phonology

1.  $\underline{z} > l$

X

2.  $\underline{r} \begin{matrix} \swarrow r \\ \searrow t \end{matrix}$

X

aaru > aaru 'river'

kaarru > kaattu 'wind'

3.  $k > v$

pooka > poova 'to go'

4.  $p > v$

koopam > koovam 'anger'

5.  $\underline{z} \div \underline{l} \div l$

taze ÷ tale ÷ tale

### Morphology

1. taan and taam used  
as reflexive pronouns

✓

2. atu has att-used as  
oblique form

X

atay      atte'it (acc)

X

X

X

3. *niir* used as plural and*niinge* as honorific4. *vo* denotes plural*maatū/maatūvo* 'cattle'5. *-ccu* denotes transitive*izi/iziccu* 'to make one  
get down'

## Lexical Items

*enpatu* > *emblatu*

'eighty'

*eppaati* > *emman*

'how'

## Lexical Items

*immaam*<sup>1</sup>*ammaam**emmaam**ammaayi**aayi**emṭatu**ekaali**ketaacu**kuntu**Keevuru**kolle**Kavli**kamraaṭṭi**kezvi**tiruṇaa**pariyaati*

'this much'

'that much'

'how much'

'mother's mother'

'mother'

'eighty'

'washerman'

'to throw'

'to sit'

'ragi'

'cultivated land'

'betel leaves  
bundle of 100'

'widower/widow'

'old woman'

'festival day'

'barber'

---

1. It is unfortunate that he does not give the lexical items arranged in alphabetic order. They are reproduced here as he gave them.

<i>tallayyaatu</i>	'sheep'
<i>mallaatte</i>	'groundnut'
<i>yaayi</i>	'my mother'
<i>ettu</i>	'funeral ceremony'
<i>aampateyaan</i>	'husband'
<i>vayppaatti</i>	'concubine'
<i>tiruvīṣaa</i>	'festival'
<i>tukniyunttu</i>	'little much'
<i>antaante</i>	'that side'

### 3. Western Dialect

#### Phonology

1. Tendency to reduce long vowels short, short vowels shorter, and loss of syllables resulting in three, four and even five consonant clusters. X
2. *c* pronounced as affricate X
3. No nasalization of final vowels X
4. Existence of [æ] X  
higher-low front vowel for *a*
5. Initial *o* and *oo* pronounced without bilabial onglide X
6. *i* (before /r/) > *e* X  
*piranta* > *peranta* 'being born'
7. *p* > *v* X  
*poyninru* > *voyninnu* 'having been gone'

8. dipthong /ay/ most

X

often does not change *ommay*, *pullay*

X

9.  $n > \eta$ *enakku* > *eṇakku* 'to me'*tinay* > *tiṇay* 'millet'

X

10.  $\eta > n$ *cāṇaatti* > *caanaatti*

'Nadar woman'

*vaṇṇaan* > *vannaan* 'dhobi'

X

11.  $z > l$ *kizavi* > *kelṭi* 'old woman'*kazutay* > *kalute* 'donkey'

X

12.  $\underline{r} > r$ *kayru* > *kavru* 'rope'

X

13.  $j > s$ *jooli* > *sooli* 'job'

X

14.  $ay > e$ *pillay* > *pulle* 'child'

X

15.  $e > o$ *petti* > *potti* 'box'**Morphology**1. *aviya* for *avarkaḷ*

X

2. *entan*, *untan* used as first and

X

second person possessive

pronouns



- |   |   |
|---|---|
| X | 3. <i>un</i> 'eat' occurs even as imperative. This verb is not used in other dialects. <i>nii cooru ungu</i> 'you eat rice'   |
| X | 4. honorific suffix <i>nge</i> more frequently used<br><i>collipooṭu- nge</i>   |
| X | 5. <i>pooṭu</i> used instead of <i>viṭu</i><br><i>colliviṭa</i> = <i>collipooṭa</i><br>'to say definitely'<br><i>ceytuviṭa</i> = <i>ceytupooṭa</i><br>'to do certainly' |
| X | 6. <i>-cci</i> used as a non-human suffix <i>'atu vanticci</i> 'it came'  |
| X | 7. <i>kuṭi</i> in the meaning 'eat'<br><i>cooru kuṭi</i> 'eat rice'   |
| X | 8. <i>naan</i> and <i>naaṅkal</i> do not have oblique forms <i>eṅ</i> and <i>eṅkaḷ</i><br><i>nanakku</i> 'for me'<br><i>naaṅkaḷukku</i> 'for us'                        |

### Lexical Items

<i>eṭṇuuru</i>	'eight hundred'
<i>ellupaatti</i>	'great grand mother'
<i>ellupaattan</i>	'great grand father'

<i>anti</i>	'evening'
<i>ponnaasaari</i>	'goldsmith'
<i>taasi</i>	'prostitute'
<i>jaladaare</i>	'drainage'
<i>keldi</i>	'old woman'
<i>keldan</i>	'old man'
<i>koḍikkaayi</i>	'groundnut'
<i>nevattadi</i>	'yoke'
<i>paṭṭaasaale</i>	'courtyard'
<i>poyle</i>	'tobacco'
<i>torappukkaay</i>	'key'
<i>kaḍuvan</i>	'monkey'
<i>gesti</i>	'instalment'
<i>sattom</i>	'tax'
<i>aariyam</i>	'ragi'
<i>aviye</i>	'they'
<i>makkyanaalu</i>	'next day'
<i>aṇattaaṇ</i>	'squirrel'
<i>aṭṭaavi</i>	'cooking room'
<i>innikki</i>	'today'
<i>edukkaale</i>	'opposite'
<i>eḷni</i>	'tender coconut'
<i>orucanti</i>	'one time eating'
<i>tunḍi</i>	'bulky woman'
<i>naasuvan</i>	'barber'
<i>kulaycci</i>	'dwarf'
<i>sozundu</i>	'lamp'
<i>naṅgeya</i>	'husband's sister'

## 4. Southern Dialect

## Phonology

1. initial *c* > *š* (palatal fricative) X  
*šonnaah* *ɤ* 'they said'
2. *z* > *ʃ* X
3. *k* has allophones [h] and [x]  
*[ʌ və rha l]* 'they' X  
*[vaaraah* *ɤ]* 'they came'
4. *p* > *v* X  
*pooy* > *vooy*  
*payir* > *vayir*
5. *yt* cluster is preserved X  
*[seyt aah* *ɤ]* 'they did'  
 in other dialects it is  
*seydaange, señjaange*
6. Vowels rarely lost, no tendency X  
 to shorten long vowels.
7. great number of two consonant X  
 clusters  
 X
8. *r* is retained  
*ka<sub>r</sub>i* 'mutton'  
*coo<sub>r</sub>u* 'cooked rice'
9. *c* > *y*  
*uuci* > *uuyi* 'spoiled' 'needle'  
*paaci* > *paayi* 'moss'  
*puucani* > *puuyani* 'pumpkin'

## 10. a &gt; e

*kattu* > *kettu* 'to bind together'

*vaanku* > *veenku* 'buy'

**Morphology**

1. plural marker *rkaḷ*  
corresponds to *aal*, *uka*

X

**South West**

*collutika*  
*collatiya* 'they say'

**South East**

*avuka/avarkaḷ* 'they'  
*collutika* 'they say'

2. Present tense marker *t*  
*varuteen* 'I am coming'  
*collutee* 'you say'

X

3. *maar* as plural suffix  
*akkaamaar* 'elder sisters'  
*naaṭaakkamaar* 'Nadars'

X

4. *vacci* and *konṭu* are used  
as instrumental case suffixes  
(Kanyakumari dialect)

X

5. *kka/ukka* as sixth case  
suffixes

X

6. i present tense, marker  
(Kanyakumari)

ootiyaan 'he runs'

X

7. aava instead of aaka

enakkaava 'for me'

viittukkaava 'for house'

### Lexical items

in <sup>h</sup> ku <sup>h</sup> tu	'here'
a <sup>h</sup> n <sup>h</sup> ku <sup>h</sup> tu	'there'
e <sup>h</sup> n <sup>h</sup> ku <sup>h</sup> tu	'where'
i <sup>h</sup> m <sup>h</sup> pu <sup>h</sup> tu	'this much'
a <sup>h</sup> m <sup>h</sup> pu <sup>h</sup> tu	'that much'
e <sup>h</sup> m <sup>h</sup> pu <sup>h</sup> tu	'how much'
ciyyaan	'grand father'
cemmaan	'fisherman'
pooni	'tumbler'
matini	'elder brother's wife'
ve <sup>h</sup> ncanam	'curry'
kalavaa <sup>h</sup> ni	'thief'
apraa <sup>h</sup> ni	'innocent person'
a <sup>h</sup> n <sup>h</sup> na <sup>h</sup> vi	'agent'
attam	'end'
appa	'then'
ippa	'now'
eppa	'when'

<i>iiraṇkayam</i>	'onion'
<i>cavattu</i>	'hit, press with foot of leg'
<i>ciimattanni</i>	'kerosene'
<i>raave</i>	'night'
<i>vaavaraci</i>	'married woman'
<i>veṇkan</i>	'pauper'
<i>veruvu</i>	'forest cat'
<i>ari</i>	'rice'
<i>kaṇṇamma</i>	'grand mother'
<i>cakke</i>	'jack fruit'
<i>cunṭu</i>	'lip'
<i>tutti</i>	'death'
<i>kaṭuvaay</i>	'tiger'
<i>attaal</i>	'grand mother'
<i>patti</i>	'dog'
<i>paattam</i>	'lease'
<i>vannam</i>	'bulkiness'
<i>kaayal</i>	'backwater'
<i>aṭiyaantiram</i>	'function'
<i>kuppi</i>	'bottle'
<i>uruppati</i>	'ornament'
<i>aacce</i>	'day'

This leads us, ultimately, to think seriously about the problem of evolving a proper procedure and technique for an extensive survey of Tamil dialects.

Sakthivel gives for each region, an inventory of the segmental phonemes, vowels and consonants. There

are differences in the list of consonantal phonemes, particularly in the number of voiced stops and nasals. It is very intriguing that all dialects, and it is true of the monographs published by Annamalai University also excepting perhaps Yerukula dialect, have a neat pattern of five vowels, with length for each, as in Old Tamil, why as in Proto-Dravidian, well preserved with no change in the last three thousand years, which could be accepted only with some reservations. In our survey, we are unable to resist the establishment of atleast one more phoneme for Pondi Tamil. At the beginning a very narrow phonetic transcription is very necessary for any dialect survey, and the field workers have to be given intensive training in phonetic transcription, before being sent to the field to collect data.

The monographs published by Annamalai University, and Karunakaran's tabulation, will give enough materials for the preparation of a questionnaire for Tamil dialect survey in an extensive manner.

These monographs on dialect grammars, all follow a uniform pattern in the presentation of the grammar, as is expected for a project of this type -- in three sections, Phonology, Morphology and Lexical. No analysis of syntax is attempted. There is no discussion of any problem, or alternate analysis presented or preferred. There is no text of the dialect, to compare the grammar presented, nor any comparison with modern written Tamil, which would have served as a reference point. And very few of these grammars (exception Yerukula Dialect), project the peculiar features of the dialects concerned, either in separate chapters or atleast in the introductions. All these shortcomings limit the usefulness of these grammars even to prepare a questionnaire for an extensive dialect survey, which Karunakaran has solved to some extent, by his tabulation referred to earlier. The introductions to some of these give a lot of useful ethnological informations about the concerned castes.

The authors of Kanikkara and Yerukula dialects, labour hard to establish that they are dialects of Tamil. Kanikkara dialect seems to be in between Tamil and Malayalam but nearer to Tamil. An in depth study of this dialect, in comparison with Tamil and Malayalam, may give a good insight into the evolution of Malayalam language. If the expression pidginization could be applied to language mixture of this type, that is between cognate languages, I would like to suggest that Yerukula is an advance stage of pidginization and Kanikkara Dialect is beginning pidginization. But personally I would prefer to use the term 'yerukulization', which has to be given a theoretical definition, for which these dialects may help. We may start on the assumption that what is pidginization between unrelated languages, is 'Yerukulization' between cognate languages. 'Yerukulization' should be existing throughout India, in bilingual and language border areas, which demands intensive study on the model of Southworth's studies on Pidginization of Marathi. The Tamil population transplanted in the midst of other language areas in India, for centuries now, may also help us to develop a theory of 'Yerukulization'.

The question whether these are dialects of Tamil or different languages, cannot be decided by personal preferences (Srinivasa Varma, 1978., p. XIII). It has to be proved, for us linguists, based on well defined theories, and I am not sure whether any good theoretical definition for dialects exists now. And until a better one is available, we will go by what Gumperz and Ferguson say in their introduction to 'Linguistic Diversity in South Asia'.

The series of monographs as grammars of various dialects published by Annamalai University, each one of them deserves a critical evaluation. We will, as an example, discuss Kanikkara Dialect. At the level of phonology the presence of forms like *ile* 'leaf', *iṇe* 'join', *iṭam* 'place', *uṭampu* 'body' *ulakke* 'pestle',



uyattu 'lift' as in written Tamil, present problems about *i/e* and *u/o* alternation in Dravidian. In most of the Tamil dialects, *i* and *u* have changed to *e* and *o*, while this dialect preserves *i* and *u* as in writing.

Occurrence of nasal clusters in some lexical items like *pulĩññi*, *naññili*, *teññu*, *teññambulle*, *kaññi* etc., may perhaps reveal a period in the history of the development of the structural distribution of the nasals in Malayalam, from Proto Tamil-Malayalam.

As mentioned earlier, lack of discussion of the analysis presented, leads to several problems. There is contrast between voiced and voiceless bilabial stops and hence two phonemes /b/ and /p/ are stabilised. What is the argument in favour of assigning the voiced intervocalic fricative [β] to voiceless /p/ and not to /b/? /b/ occurs also after the nasals, and hence, anyway, the pattern is broken.

/s/ and /c/ are in contrast, even initially (p.4). In intervocalic position /s/ occurs in words like /aase/ 'desire'. Is there any contrast between single vs. double /c/ in the intervocal position, that is, is there any three way contrast  $s \div c \div cc$ , in that position? If there is no contrast, what is the justification for double /cc/ in that position as in /acci/? This can as well be written with single /c/ as /aci/. No argument is available for their way of writing. If pattern is the argument, the absence of single /c/ intervocally, also breaks the pattern.

Nasalization of vowels is analysed as an allophone of /n/. The author describes the allophone as follows:

/n/ has three allophones [~], [ŋ] and [n] Nasalization. It occurs as a co-occurring feature of the preceding Vy (vowel-semi vowel) sequence and the vowels /e/ and /a:/

That is according to the description of the distribution given above, all vowels preceding /y/, and the vowels /e/ /a:/ even without /y/ following, wherever they occur, are nasalized, which is phonemically realized as /n/. Then, /mo:yaṇam/ 'theft' (on the same page 16) should have been phonemically written as /mo:yna-ṇam/ : /ceyke/ should be written as /ceynke/; /vella:layn/ (page 17) should have been written as /vellanlayn/; /cenna:yi/ (page 17) should have been written as /cenna:yni/ and so on.

If he meant only the final position, which perhaps one may infer from the illustrations given on page 17, then the description of the allophonemes is defective.

According to the analysis, in words like *paṭam*, *niccayam*, *kuṭumbam* etc., that is words ending in -am, there is no nasal vowel finally, which again is unique for this dialect. In most of the dialects I know of, final -am is realized as a nasalized /ō/ vowel.

/r/ has only one allophone (1.5.2.4.4) which is alveolar voiced trill, with more tapping and it occurs medially. Perhaps by medial author means intervocal position of so, how is the word /orru/ 'touch gently' (v.tr.) (p.130) pronounced? According to the description, it should be double the trilling for single *r*, which I suspect very much, with my knowledge of Tamil dialects. According to the description in /orru/, both *rr* occur medially and there is no indication any where that they are pronounced differently. The same problem could be raised for all words having /*rr*/ as in /aarrite/ 'of the river' (p.45). The usual pronunciation in the dialects is either alveolar or dental voiceless stop, in some dialects with an /*r*/ release.

The dialect has several features peculiar at the grammatical level also. Some of them are discussed below, not all of course.

The masculine singular suffixes are

-ayn	anṇ - ayn	'elder brother'
-aan	vaṇṇ - aan	'dhobi'
-ay	ambatt- ay	'barber'

### Pronouns

I. Sg	naana
Exclusive Plural	naaṇkam
Inclusive Plural	nammam, nammal
II Sg.	niyyu
II Pl.	niṇkal
Reflexive Sg.	taanu
Reflexive Pl.	taṇkam

### III Person

Honorific Sg. has	(1) viyaḷ (u), aviyaḷu
two suffixes.	iviyaḷu, eviyaḷu

This occurs with the demonstrative and interrogative bases a-, i- and e-.

There is another suffix -- *ttiṇkal* (u) which occurs with demonstrative ay-, described as distant demonstrative base (p.39) and it is different from a-, i-, and e-. But the exact semantic difference between a- and ay- is not clear. ay-*ttiṇkal* 'that he/she (hon.)' is the meaning given and there is no more information to differentiate it for a- and ay- semantically.

## Cases

One of the ablative case suffixes is *-te atuttu*

<i>-te</i>	<i>atuttiruntu</i>	
<i>nin-te</i>	<i>aṭutta</i>	'from you'
<i>nin-te</i>	<i>aṭuttiruntu</i>	

The genitive case suffixes are *-te* and *-iṭe* as in *maratt - iṭe* 'of trees', *eṅkaḷ - te eṅkaṭe* 'our' etc. These case suffixes and the absence of pronominal terminations in finite verbs, and the occurrence of nasal sequences in some lexical forms are examples of Malayalam grammatical and phonological layers in this dialect.

Finite Verbs, though they do not have pronominal suffixes, seem to have some sort of suffixes similar to it, the exact analysis of which is not given in the grammar, nor could it be definitely analysed for the gloss available in the grammar.

The following forms, judged by the gloss seem to be imperative singular.

<i>eṇutni</i>	'write'	(p.22)
<i>puḷukuni</i>	'lie'	(p.23)
<i>puusni</i>	'smear'	
<i>tarni</i>	'give'	
<i>otarni</i>	'shake'	(p.24)
<i>eeyni</i>	'do'	

One may be tempted to segment *-ni* in the above lexical items as an imperative singular suffix. But in the list of verbal stems (pp. 67-94), more than ninety percent of the verbs in the present tense have *ni/ini* as suffixes as in *aṭakkini* and *aṭaṅkni*, and the rest of the verbs have *natu*, as in *akal- akalnatu*. *-in-* and *-inatu* (p.65)

are analysed as present tense markers, Verbs in the past tense have the suffix *-ye* after the past tense marker *i*, and elsewhere it is *-c*. We have now to interpret *-ni*, *-iye/e*. No proper analysis is available in the grammar, and the gloss also does not help us to solve the problem. So, I may have to infer, perhaps that these suffixes may refer to the persons addressed and more such suffixes may be available, as in the Fishermen Tamil of Kanyakumari (Shanmugam Pillai, 1968, reproduced 1978). We give below a set, taken for the model paradigm given in the paper.

**Past Tense** verb *Keeḷṭe* 'listen, ask for'

*keeḷṭemle* 'I asked - You male non-honorific'

*kee ṭe ve* 'I asked - You male honorific'

*keeṭe miki* 'I asked - You female non-honorific'

*keeṭemiye* 'I asked - You female honorific'

The suffixes, *le*, *ve*, *miki*, *miye* are addressee suffixes, referring to the person addressed to. They occur with all verbs for all tense (Ref. the paradigm. Shanmugam Pillai, 1968). Finite verbs do not occur without these suffixes. In Ceylon Colloquial Tamil, pronouns occur as personal terminations e.g. *vantanaan* 'I came'. Perhaps in Kanikkara Dialect also, these are addressee suffixes *ni* 'you' in the present, *iye/e* in the past. *inatu* may be *in-atu*, where *-in-* is the present tense marker and *atu*, neuter singular suffix. This is only a hypothesis based on the insufficient data available, which needs further investigation in detail.

Let us now examine this suffix a little more in detail, which reveals, perhaps, interesting facts about the historicity of these suffixes. In Kanikkara dialect, *niyyu* is the second person singular pronoun and not *nii* as in other dialects, and has oblique form *ni-* and *nin-* (p.34). It may be that when *ni* came to be used

as a suffix in finite verbs, the dialect might have developed the new pronoun *niyyu*, but preserving the old form in the oblique. May be, this is a development after the loss of pronominal terminations in finite verbs. Again, this is only a hypothesis.

Detailed and in depth survey of dialects of this type, in border areas is very necessary to discover and to record the missing links in the history of our languages. The Type of Fishermen Tamil, Shanmugam Pillai reported late in the sixties has almost disappeared, even then the data could be collected only from old men, and we have to salvage many of these before they sink deep into the sea and disappear.

A lexical study of Tamil Dialects in Lower Perak by Rama Subbiah (1966) is the only survey available in print, so far conducted for Tamil. It is a survey of the Tamil dialect of the immigrants from Tamilnadu. Lower Perak in Malaya was chosen because of its heavy concentration of the Tamils, and the place is also more or less completely cut off from urbanization.

He selected 44 informants at random from 44 points, one for each, out of whom 25 are men and 19 are women, in the age group 40-80. They had least education and came from eight different districts in Tamilnadu and belong to eight different castes. There is a Muslim informant too. Unfortunately neither social nor age variables were considered pertinent for the analysis and presentation of the data.

The study is confined to Madras which includes Chingelpet, North Arcot and South Arcot districts, which according to the authors, are surrounded by bundles of isoglosses. Trichy includes Trichirapally, Pudukkottai, Salem and Thanjavur districts.

The analysis is presented under four different heads,

(1) speech forms of men and women, (2) Regional Variations, (3) occupational vocabulary and (4) Social Institutions reflected in the survey. Chapter one deals with the history of the immigrants and the method of survey.

Chapter two deals with the speech forms of men and women. Rama Subbiah states that, in the choice of two (or more) synonyms, which are both of Tamil origin, men and women differ in the following areas. 'Home', 'Kinship', 'Religion', 'Wedding' and a few miscellaneous items. Home includes food, dress and ornaments'. We will now examine one of the items as he presents it and see what happens when caste variable is introduced.

Broom has six synonyms in Tamil, out of which only two are common, *totappam* and *maaru*. Totally, nearly half the women use *totappam* (9 out of 19 women and only 5 out of 25 men). About half of women and 2/3 of men use *maaru* in many cases where men and women differ, in a number of cases, they are further restricted by the regions. Out of 8 women who use *totappam* 7 come from Madras areas and informant 34, is the only man who uses this lexicon. The one woman who does not use *totappam* in Malayan born and their parents were from Thanjavur. We do not have any women from Tiruchirapally who use *totappam*. In a number of cases, the restriction is further divided on regional basis. Nearly all woman from Madras use *totappam* while *maaru* is the only form in that area for men. In Tiruchirapalli except Nos.2 and 41, *maaru* is the only term used. We do not get sex distinction here, as in Madras for *totappam*. *Maaru* also occurs in different combination *velakkumaaru*, *kuuttumaaru* and *iikkumaaru*. But no pattern of distribution could be made. Three informants who use *Kuuttumaaru* come from Pudukkottai and they are men. The fourth one who uses it (No.7 from Madras, is also a man. The fifth is a woman. Another observation is that *kuuttumaaru* occurs with more men.

The above observations do not take into consideration the caste differences. According to Table I on page 25, 26, we find *Paraiyan*, *Kavuntar* (Padayachi) and *Mudaliyar* are the three castes which migrated from Madras area. The one male informant No.34, who uses *totappam* is also a *Paraiyan* comes from South Arcot. Our investigation at Pondicherry reveal lot of similarities between these two castes, both of them being agriculture labourers. The similarities within Madras immigrants may be attributed to this fact. On the other hand, from Tiruchirapally area Muslim, Vellalas, Kavuntar, Ottar, Teevar, Pallar, Kallar, Utayar and Mudaliyar have migrated. Thus the migration castewise differ vastly for these two regions. There is greater uniformity in the use of *maaru* in Tiruchi area which cuts across caste and sex. Hence this may be a regional variation. The two informants 2, and 41, who differ, are both from Thanjavur out of the three. Also their caste is not known, and hence this raises a different problem.

The study is in the formant of the early dialect surveys where the main concern was only the regional variations without any concern for other variables. He could have developed the theory of structural dialectology (Weinreich) which he partly does unknowingly, and he has enough materials for that.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Agesthialingom, S. 1970. 'Three Dialects of Tamil' *Pakkā Sangam*, Vol.3, Patiala.
- 1976. *Kanikkara Dialect*, Annamalai University, Annamalainagar.
- Agesthialingom, S. and Karunakaran K. (ed.) 1980. *Socio-linguistics and Dialectology*. Annamalai University, Annamalainagar.



- Annamalai, E. 1976. 'Standard Spoken Tamil -- Some Observations'. *Studies in Dialectology*, Vol.1 No.2. Trivandrum.
- 1982. 'Convergence of Literary and Colloquial Tamil'. S.Vaidyanathan (ed.) *Dravidian Linguistics* Vol.II. Department of Anthropological Linguistics, Punjabi University, Patiala.
- *Language Behaviour and Social Stratification*. Advance Institute of Indian Studies, Simla.
- Bloch, Jules. 1910. 'Castes et dialectes en- Tamoul' *memorie de-la Societe de Linguistique* 16. (pp. 1-30)
- Bright, W. 1960. 'Social Dialect and Language History' *Current Anthropology*.1 (pp. 424-25).
- Bright, W. and Ramanujam, A.K. 1964. 'Sociolinguistic Variation and Language Change'. Wundt (ed.). *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Linguists*, Mouton. The Hague.
- Balasubramanian, V. 1980. 'Social Dialect and Linguistic Change. A Critique of Bright-Ramanujam Hypothesis'. Agesthalingom S. and Karunakaran K. (ed.) *Sociolinguistics and Dialectology*. Annamalai University, Annamalainagar.
- Bean, S. Susan. 1974. 'Linguistic Variation and Caste System in South Asia'. *Indian Linguistics*. Vol.35 No.4 (pp.244-93).
- Clayton, A.C. *An Introduction to spoken Tamil*, Madras.
- Deiva Sundaram, N. 1982. 'Inter-relationship between Written and Spoken Tamil'. S.Vaidyanathan (ed.). *Studies in Dravidian Linguistics* Vol.II. Department of Anthropological Linguistics, Punjabi University, Patiala.

- Ekka, Francis. 1972. 'Men's Women's speech in Kuru'. *Linguistics*, Vol. 81.
- Firth, J.R. 1934. 'A Short Outline of Tamil Pronunciation' Appendix to M.A. Arden. *A Progressive Grammar of Common Tamil*, Madras.
- Southworth, A. Franklin. 1972. 'Problems in Defining Standard Languages in India, England and United States'. *IJDL* Vol.1 No.2. Trivandrum.
- 1976. 'Sociolinguistic Research in South India: Achievements and Prospects'. Burton Stein (ed.). *Essays on South India*, Vikas publishing House Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi.
- Gnanasundaram, V. 1980. 'Standard Spoken Tamil: What and How'. Agesthialingom, S. and Karunakaran, K. (eds.). *sociolinguistics and Dialectology*. Annamalai University, Annamalaiagar.
- 1976. 'Chidambaram Saiva Vellala Speech-some Sociolinguistic Correlations'. *Ayvukkoovai* VIII,
- Grierson, G.A. 1927. (reproduced 1967). *Linguistic Survey of India*, Motilal Banarasidoss, Delhi.
- Gumperz, J. John and Charles A. Ferguson (ed.) 1960. *Linguistic Diversity in South Asia*. Indiana University Research Centre in Anthropology, Folklore and Linguistics. Bloomington.
- Hass, R. Mary. 1964. 'Men's and Women's Speech in Koasati' Dell Hymes (ed.). *Language Culture and Society*, Hopper and Row, New York.
- Irulappan, K.M. 1976. 'Social Differentiation as Reflected in the use of Aspectual Auxiliaries in Tamil'. S. Agesthialingom and G. Srinivasa Varma (ed.). *Seminar*

on *Auxiliaries in Dravidian*. Annamalai University, Annamalai Nagar.

Jayapal S. 1978. *Yadava Dialect of Tamil*, Annamalai University, Annamalai Nagar.

----- 1982. 'Addressing Terms in Tamil' S.Vaidyanathan (ed.). *Studies in Dravidian Linguistics* Vol.II. Department of Anthropological Linguistics, Punjabi University, Patiala.

Kamachinathan, A. 1969. *The Tirunelveli Tamil Dialect*, Annamalai University, Annamalai Nagar.

-----, 1971, *The Kollimalai Tamil Dialect*, Annamalai University, Annamalai Nagar.

Karunakaran, K. and C.Shanmugam Pillai, 1976. *Saiva Vellala Tamil Dialect*, Annamalai University, Annamalai Nagar.

Karunakaran, K. 1976. 'Caste System and Linguistic variations in Tamil-Situation'. *Dravlingpex* vol. 8.3. Washington. Reproduced in *Studies in Dravidian Linguistics*, Vol.II 1982, Patiala.

----- 1978. 'A Study of Social Dialects in Tamil: Methods and Practices'. *Studies in Tamil Sociolinguistics*. Malar Patippu, Annamalai Nagar.

----- 1980- 'Language Standardisation and Linguistic Convergence'. *Linguistic Convergence*. All India Tamil Linguistics Association, Annamalai Nagar.

----- 1981. 'A Note on Linguistic Change', A Sociolinguistic Appraisal'. M.S.Sunkapur and J.S.Kulli (ed.). *Papers in Linguistics*. Dr. R.C. Hiremath Felicitation Volume, Sharat Prakashana, Mysore.

Karunakaran K. and Sivashanmugam, C. 1981. Study

- of *Social Dialects in Tamil*, All India Tamil Linguistics Association, Annamalainagar.
- Krishnamurthy, Bh. 1975. 'Language Varieties and Language Standardisation', *Indian Linguistics* Vol. 36. Poona.
- Meenakshisundaram, T.P. 1958. 'The Tamil of the Seventeenth Century', *Indian Linguistics* 18, Poona.
- 1964. *History of Tamil Language*, Deccan College, Poona.
- 1972. *Dialects in Kamalampaal Carittiram*, Second all India Conference of Dravidian Linguistics, Tirupathi.
- Murugaiyan, A. 1982. 'A Comparison of two Dialects'. S.Vaidyanathan (ed.). *Studies in Dravidian Linguistics* Vol.II. Department of Anthropological Linguistics, Punjabi University, Patiala.
- Pavananti. *Nannuul - Maylaynaatar uray*. (ed.) U.V. Swaminathaiyar, 1918, Madras.
- Ramaswami Aiyar, L.V. 1983. 'Tulu Prose Texts in Two Dialects' Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies Vol. 22. London University, London.
- Rangan,K. and Gnanasundaram,V. 1977. 'Negation in Mysore Tamil -- A Sociolinguistic Study', *IJDL*, Vol. VI, No.1. Trivandrum.
- Sakthivel,S. 1981. 'A Survey of Tamil Dialects'. M.S.Sunkapur and J.S.Kulli (ed.) *Papers in Linguistics Dr. R.c. Hiremath Felicitation Volume*, Sharat Prakashna, Mysore.
- Sam Daniel,P. 1982. 'Dative Case in Golla Tamil Dialect'. S. Vaidyanathan (ed.) *Studies in Dravidian Linguistics*

- Vol.II. Department of Anthropological Linguistics,  
Punjabi University, Patiala.
- Sankaranarayanan, G. 1980. 'Sociolinguistic Exploration  
in Brahmin Tamil'. S. Agesthalingom and K. Karuna-  
karan (ed.). *Sociolinguistics and Dialectology*, Anna-  
malai University, Annamalai Nagar.
- Schiffman, H. & Shapiro, M. 1975. *Language and Society  
in South Asia* University of Washington (mimeo).
- Sethu Pillai, R.P. 1939. 'Tamil Literary and Colloquial'.  
*Annals of Oriental Research of University of Madras*,  
Vol. 3, No.2., Madras.
- Shanmugam Pillai, M. 1965. 'Phonemic Variations of  
Kurriyalukaram in Tamil'. *Indian Linguistics* -- Vol.III  
Comprising Volumes, 9-15. (1944-1956).
- 1972. 'Tamil Literary and Colloquial', *Linguistics*.  
81.
- 1972. 'Tamil Today', *Indian Linguistics* Vol. 33,  
No.1.
- 1978. 'Collected Papers-Part I', Muttu Patippakam,  
Madurai.
- 1981. 'Collected Papers--Part II', Muttu Patippakam,  
Madurai.
- Shanmugam Pillai, M. and Murugesan, M. 1983. *Age Variable  
in a Tamil Dialect at Pondi - Mahe*. XIII All India  
Conference of Dravidian Linguists, Thanjavur.
- Shanmugam Pillai, M. and Radhakrishnan, S. 1983. *Age  
Variable in a Tamil Dialect at Pondi - Female*.  
XIII All India Conference of Dravidian Linguists,  
Thanjavur.

Srinivasa Varma, G. 1978. 'A Note on Dialects in Early Tamil Grammars'. S. Agesthialingom and N. Kumaraswamy Raja (ed.). *Studies in Early Dravidian Grammars*, Annamalai University, Annamalainagar.

----- 1978. *Yerukula Dialect*, Annamalai University, Annamalainagar.

Subbiah, Rama. 1965. *A Syntactic Study of Spoken Tamil*. Ph.D., thesis. London University, London.

----- 1966. *A Lexical Study of the Tamil Dialects in Lower Perak*. Department of Indian Studies, University of Malaya. Kuala Lumpur.

Subramonian, V.I. (ed.). 1973. *Seminar on Dialectology*. Department of Linguistics. Kerala University, Trivandrum.

Tolkaappiyar, (reprint, 1981) *Tolkaappiyam*, New Century Book House, Madras.

Trudgill, Peter. 'Sex, Covert Prestige and Linguistic Change in Urban British English'. *Language and Society*, Vol. I, (pp. 176-195).

Varma, Siddheswar, Reproduced, 1965. Tamil vowels in Connected Speech. *Indian Linguistics* Vol. III, Comprising Volumes 9-15, (1944-1956) (pp. 490-493).

Vasanthakumari, T. 1976. 'Standard Spoken Tamil' *Studies in Dialectology*, Vol. I, No. 1, Trivandrum.

Venkatarama Aiyar, C.P., Subbayya, K.V. and Anavaratavinayakam Pillai (ed.) 1923. *Dravidic Studies*. University of Madras.

Vipulananda, Swami. 1940. 'The Phonetics of Tamil Language', *Modern Review*.

Weinreich, U. 1953. *Languages in Contact* Publications of Linguistic circle. New York.

Williams, T Edward and Jayapal. Y. 1977. *Udaiyar Dialect of Tamil*, Annamalai University, Annamalai-nagar.

Yesudhasan, C. 1981. 'moziveerupaattukkolkayyin camuka kaaranika!'. *moziyiyal. tokuti* 5, en.1, Annamalai-nagar.

Zvelebil, Kamil, 1959. 'Dialects of Tamil I', *Archiev Orientalni* 27.

----- 1959. 'Dialects of Tamil-II', (Madras and Madras Brahmin), *Archiev Orientalni* 27.

-----1960. 'Dialects of Tamil-II', (Appendix) *Archiev Orientalni* 28.

----- 1960. 'Dialects of Tamil-III', *Archiev Orientalni* 28.

----- 1963. 'A Few Notes on Colloquial Tamil', *Tamil Culture* Vol.X, No.3.

----- 1963. 'On Finite Verb Terminations in Colloquial Tamil', *Archiev Orientalni* 31.

----- 1964, 'Spoken Language of Tamilnad', *Archiev Orientalni* 32.

## 2.COMMENTS ON M.SHANMUGAM PILLAI'S PAPER TAMIL DIALECTOLOGY -- A SURVEY

J.Neethivanan

This survey paper on Tamil dialectology by Shanmugam Pillai begins with a definition of 'dialectology' according to which 'dialect survey or linguistic survey, dialect study and dialect reference are collectively known as dialectology' (p.1). The terms 'dialect survey' and 'linguistic survey' are used here as if they are synonyms. Shanmugam Pillai's assertion that there is only one horizontal survey for Tamil dialects by Rama Subbiah (1966) and that Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India did not attempt to do it, further strengthens this view. A linguistic survey is supposed to make an exhaustive field survey and study the distribution and classification of all the languages spoken within a particular geographical entity whereas a dialect survey is directed towards a particular linguistic entity. The underlying reasons for treating both as one and the same could have been elaborated by Shanmugam Pillai to enlighten us.

Shanmugam Pillai proceeds further defining dialect study, as 'a linguistic study of a particular dialect' (p.1). This statement presupposes that a particular variety of speech is identified *a priori* as a dialect



and its linguistic study (structural description?) is to be considered as 'dialect study'. This sums up the whole situation that is prevalent in Tamil dialect studies to-day. Number of works that come up one after another usually turn out to be descriptions of certain idiolects for findings of participant observations rather than the results of large scale field surveys highlighting the variations (J.Neethivanan 1973). Very few works have appeared based on the findings of limited field surveys.

Rama Subbiah's work cannot be considered to be the 'only horizontal survey for Tamil dialects' as claimed by Shanmugam Pillai. It is only 'a lexical study of Tamil dialects in Lower Perak' without taking into consideration any other factor at other levels. Subbiah himself did not claim it to be a full-fledged dialect survey. However it is not very difficult to understand Shanmugam Pillai in his own way of defining a survey as one which involves comparative and contrastive study a few dialects' (p.1).

As far as the study of on kinship terms is concerned Suseendrarajah's paper (1983) is worth mentioning in addition to the only Paper by Shanmugam Pillai (1965). Whereas Shanmugam Pillai has based his findings on a study related to the differences in the kinship terms in thirteen castes in a single village, 'Suseendrarajah has attempted an analysis of the social uses and function of the kinship terms in relation to the social patterns of life in the Jaffna Tamil Society' and for this purpose he has collected data in three villages. Sociolinguistic studies confined to a single village do not always help to generalise the sociolinguistic situation for after all different caste groups are spread out all over the region and their speech is always under pressure from other local speech varieties. For example, Shanmugam Pillai has identified certain caste markers in the speech of every caste in the village under investigation. However these markers cannot be taken to be representative of the caste concerned all over Tamil-

nadu. Among the caste markers identified for Muslim caste, the following are freely used by Nadars in the black-soil region (of Virudhunagar - Sivakasi - Sattur).

<i>appa</i>	'father's father'
<i>maččā</i>	'father's sister's son'
<i>aači</i>	(gloss not given) possibly 'mother's mother' (ās in N speech)
<i>mayni</i>	(madini?) 'elder brother's wife'
<i>maap̄e</i>	'husband'

The Vellala caste markers *sagale* 'wife's sister's husband' and *pon̄i* 'daughter' are also attested in the same speech.

What is to be considered as a Muslim or Vellala Caste marker in one place has to be considered as a Nadar caste (or some more castes) marker in another place (And a folk-story says that the Muslims in Kadayannallur in Tirunelveli district and Kijakkarai in Ramanathapuram district are Nadar converts). Such problems in the study of kinship terms have to be further explored.

Further this paper by Shanmugam Pillai does not seem to have differentiated the terms of reference from address terms. For example, under Padayachi markers we have the following which are obviously terms/phrases of reference:

<i>maamē</i>	<i>magē</i>	'mother's brother's son'
<i>maamē</i>	<i>mavē</i>	'mother's brother's daughter'
<i>atte</i>	<i>magē</i>	'father's sister's son'

Under Harijan markers we have *puḷḷe* 'wife' which is obviously an address term and never a term of reference.

Shanmugam Pillai concludes that 'the higher castes are not anxious to lose their markers whereas the castes

at the lower level are anxious to lose their markers'. It is interesting to make a reference here to G.Sankaranarayanan (1980) who firmly believes that 'due to the threat of ridicule they (the Brahmins) are replacing their linguistically distinct caste form with those of the NB speech'.

Talking about dialect references Shanmugam Pillai mentions about grammars and commentaries, and dismisses them as not complete or systematic (p.1). It would certainly have been quite interesting and revealing if only he had taken the trouble to review them in detail and explain why they are incomplete and unsystematic. At least some works which appeared in the area [T.P.Meenakshisundaram (1964), S.V.Shanmugam (1971), G.Srinivasa Varma (1975), J.Neethivanan (1977) etc.] could have been reviewed by him.

Though Shanmugam Pillai acknowledges that 'Social dialectology is very much in talk now' (p.2), Srinivasa Varma (1977) who attempted a study of six vertical dialects on the basis of field notes and dissertations available at Annamalai University has not been taken note of by him (Shanmugam Pillai) either for review or for a reference. A similar attempt by S.Saktivel (1974) and another by K.Karunakaran (1970) (at horizontal level, of course) have also gone unnoticed. Unless the already available materials are properly evaluated there may not be further thrust in the field. Though Shanmugam Pillai has defined a survey as involving 'comparative and contrastive study of a few dialects' (p.1), Srinivasa Varma's 'Comparative dialectology: A Study of two Tamil dialects' (1971), based on Uriel Weinreich's Dia-System has also escaped notice of his. This paper compares two Vertical dialects and its validity or otherwise could have been demonstrated.

In the linguistic history of India, the early sixties of this century seem to be the golden age for Shanmugam Pillai (He makes repeated references to this point). He traces the development of dialect study beautifully

and rightly emphasises the importance to be given to the study of Social Variables. However, the model proposed by him seems to be highly abstract and over-ambitious. Is it practicable to interpret a speech variety in terms of about ten variables? Shanmugam Pillai is however aware of this fact and admits that it is 'complicated'.

Enthusiastically following few American structural linguists, Shanmugam Pillai tries to identify class distinctions even in Tolkaappiam. We do not have enough evidences to prove that in ancient TamilNadu class distinctions were prevalent. Unless conclusively proved, the terms *uyartoon*, *oppoon* and *izintoon* cannot be taken to mean either this way or that way. It should however be noted that in place of the four-fold *varna* system prevalent in the North, Tamil society has a three-fold *jaati* system Viz., brahmin, non-brahmin and untouchable.

Like many Western scholars Shanmugam Pillai also confuses the philosophies of DK and DMK as one. The political and social philosophy of DK did not patronize 'the glorification of ancient Tamil literature and culture enshrined in them' (p.5). In fact the leader of DK, Periyar E.V.Ramasamy has very often vehemently condemned the ancient literature and culture. It was one of the important reasons why C.N.Annadurai left DK and formed his party (J.Neethivanan 1982). It should be pointed out that Periyar E.V.Ramasamy always used spoken language even on the platforms.

The bias of the post-Caldwell scholars towards the written form is quite understandable, as the Saussurian concepts had not yet swept this part of the globe during that period. However it should be recorded that even before Emeneau and Burrow, Tolkaapiar did analyse spoken forms in his work which is evident from many internal evidences (J.Neethivanan 1977).

The much-publicised Bright-Ramanujan hypothesis has been critically evaluated by many scholars as pointed

by Shanmugam Pillai (p.7). His Criticism against G.Sankaranarayanan (p.11) that he (G.S) has not followed the method he is advocating to disprove the hypothesis and that he also follows Bright-Ramanujan method, perhaps holds good for most of such works in the field of Sociolinguistic study. People usually criticise others for not collecting data 'by sampling across sections of speakers' but those very scholars seldom care to follow it. Most of the works that have appeared in his field have usually relied upon very few informants, not representing the cross sections of the society, and the data supplied by them turn out to be very meagre not worthy enough of a survey. Another factor to be mentioned here is the 'skill' of many investigators in identifying number of dialects either on the basis of caste or an administrative boundary even before actually entering the field.

As has been pointed out by Shanmugam Pillai, the papers by Susan Bean, Southworth and Shapiro and Schiffman are directed towards 'accessing the research on social dialect in South Asian languages' (p.10) and as such they do not offer much to the study of Tamil dialects in particular. Pattanayak's paper has been reviewed and challenged by a number of scholars. His paper is also directed towards the general trend in Indian dialectology and the illustrations that he provided chanced to be from Tamil.

While seriously criticising Pattanayak, Shanmugam Pillai concludes by a sweeping statement that his 'impression is that the talk about caste dialects in the last fifteen years have contributed much to the evolution of a standard spoken form for Tamil, slowly wiping out the caste markers, though it has never been our aim' (p.12). If Pattanayak's view that 'the talk about caste dialects may even have negatively reinforced caste identities and feeling' represents one extreme; Shanmugam Pillai's view represents the other extreme. Shanmugam Pillai has not supported his hypothesis with evidences. It is only his *impression*; not an empirical

study. At a time when we do not have any scientific dialect survey worth the name in Tamil Nadu, it is hazardous to jump to such risky conclusions on the basis of a few samplings collected at random. Further, by asserting that 'the talk about caste dialects have contributed much to the evolution of a standard spoken form', Shanmugam Pillai has grossly underplayed the role of literacy and subsequent social mobility followed by close inter-personal and mass communications.

### REFERENCES

1. Karunakaran, K. 1970, *Tamil Dialects--A Classification* 2nd Seminar, Indian Universities Tamil Teachers Assn., Trichy.
2. Meenakshisundaram, T.P. 1964, *A History of Tamil Language*, Deccan College, Poona.
3. Neethivanan, J. 1973, 'A Survey of Dialect works done in India' in V.I. Subramoniam (ed.) *Seminar on Dialectology: Paper and Discussions*, University of Kerala, Trivandrum.
4. ----- 1977, 'Tolkaappiattul Vattaara Valakkuk kuuRugal' in Muthu Shanmugan et al (ed.) *Vaiyai*, Vol. 4, Madurai University.
5. ----- 1982, *Dravidian Polity and Language Issues*, III International Conference on South Asian Languages and Linguistics, CIIL, Mysore.
6. Rama Subbiah, 1966, *A Lexical Study of Tamil Dialects in Lower Perak*, Kaulalumpur.
7. Saktivel, S. 1974, 'Horizontal and Vertical Dialects of Tamil' in *Aayvukkoovai*, Vol. 6, Pondicherry.
8. Sankaranarayanan, 1980, 'Sociolinguistic Explorations in Brahmin Tamil' in *Agesthialingom*, S. et al (ed.)

*Sociolinguistics and Dialectology (Seminar Papers)*,  
Annamalai University, Annamalai Nagar.

9. Shanmugam, S.V.. 1971, 'Dialects in Inscriptional Tamil' *ORBIS* XX : 1.
10. Srinivasa Varma, G. 1971 *Comparative Dialectology: A Study of Two Dialects*, Seminar on Dravidian Linguistics, Annamalai University.
11. ----- 1975, *A Note on Dialects in Early Tamil*, Seminar on early Dravidian Grammars, Annamalai University.
12. ----- 1977, *Kilaimoliyiyal*, ALL India Tamil Linguistics Assn., Annamalai Nagar.
13. Suseendrarajah, 1983, 'Kinship Terms in Jaffna Society: A Sociolinguistic Appraisal', *IJDL*. Vol. XII, No.1.

### **3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND THEORETICAL PROBLEMS IN DIALECTOLOGY**

V. Gnanasundaram

There are a number of 'Regional' and 'Caste' dialect studies in Tamil. Many of them though claim themselves as either Regional or Caste dialect studies, in reality and in general each one of them under question is nothing but a descriptive study of one variety of Tamil language or the other. In these studies no doubt some of the dialect features of a region or caste may be found hidden, because they are interspersed with the common core features of other dialects. These studies begin, in fact, after assuming each of the varieties into 'dialect' and then start describing. Dialectology with respect to regional variation would map linguistic variables with geographical areas and define a dialect or say a dialect region. But the studies under question generally, are nothing but the descriptive grammars of different varieties. The point to be made clear is that a 'dialect' is not describing a variety.

The studies which are interested in caste dialects in Tamil generally start from the Caste and they do not indentify a cluster of Linguistic variables with



social groups and define a social group. Again they are nothing but descriptions of the speech of a Caste based on data collected from a representative member of that Caste or at the most a few members selected for their representativeness of the Caste. Many such linguistic descriptions of the dialects of Castes may then be compared and the distinguishing linguistic features of a Caste which are not shared by other Castes may be identified and Caste dialect may be defined in terms of their features. This is a static approach to the study of Language varieties and it ignores the dynamics of speech. Any variation found within a caste dialect either between members or in the same member in different situations is usually kept aside. And such variations are generally considered to be falling outside the norm because due to the influence of other dialects, education, economic status etc. This approach in fact assumes the existence of homogeneous Caste dialects and proceed with their description with 'abstracted data'. Many questions have already been raised about this approach (Pattanayak (1975) and its commentators).

Between Caste and Sub Caste there is a large number of Castes in most linguistic communities. We cannot say that the Dialectologists who describe the 'Caste dialects' believe that there are as many Caste dialects as there are Castes. Many studies in Tamil speak of a trichotomous classification of variation into Brahmin Dialect, Non-brahmin Dialect and Harijan Dialect (Bright 1960; Srinivasa Varma, 1977). These names are not at all the names of Castes. Some include dialects based on religious differences such as Muslim dialect, Christian dialect etc. under Caste dialects. It is quite evident from the above that the Linguists use the term Caste in Caste dialect rather loosely and not in any precisely defined manner. Secondly from this stand point, it appears that Caste Dialects do not have a Linguistic basis but only a Social basis. (Annamalai : forth-coming and Thirumalai : 1983).

The studies in Caste dialects in Tamil seem to

show the following:

If Caste has to be treated as an independent variable one should necessarily have to show that the dialect has linguistic features shared by all the members of that caste irrespective of the region they belong, the religion they follow, the economic and educational status they have attained etc. If this rigid criterion is applied, perhaps only Brahmins may be said to have a Caste dialect as far as Tamil is concerned. Again by this rigid criterion there may not be a regional dialect even because all Castes in a region may not share all the features. For example, the use of /-d/ and / $\phi$ / to mark present tense in weak and strong verbs respectively which is a feature of the dialect of the Tirunelveli region (Srinivasa Varma, 1977) may not be shared by a predominant section of the population. Instances of this kind may compel to modify the criterion; to say that a linguistic feature must be shared by a predominant section of the population. The notion of predominance may be defined by numerical strength. The dialect then is a quantitatively or statistically defined notion. When applied to a caste dialect it would mean that the majority speakers of the Caste share a feature. Then if a Caste is spread over non-contiguous region the dialect of that Caste will be defined by the features found in the region where the majority of the Castes live. 'If, by definition, for a regional dialect to exist, all the Castes in the region must share features, there cannot be Caste dialect; if for a caste dialect to exist, a caste across regions must share features, there can't be a regional dialect'. (Annamalai, forth-coming). The criterion has to be quantitative for another reason also. Factors like education etc. cause the speakers to give up the home dialect and use the standard dialect in all domains including home.

A section of the members of a Caste may not have the features attributed to the Caste dialect.

This is actually the problem of the static approach

to the study of variation and the solution lies in a dynamic approach, which is not based on the linguistic characteristics of an individual but on the characterisation of interaction between individuals. Infact, many of the models on variation (Gnanasundaram, forth-coming) seem to have static approaches. According to Daniel Jones 'a Language' is to be taken to mean the speech of one Individual pronouncing in a definite and consistent style i.e. an Idiolect. It does not include sounds used in different styles of speaking by the same person. Daniel Jones conceive Language as a system of homogeneity and he conceals variation under 'Diaphone'. Like Language is an abstraction so too 'dialect' for Daniel Jones. This is precisely because of the static approach, Daniel Jones follows. Hockett's (1958; 336-337) common core approach, treats variation at the sub system level of the language. Idiolects of a language after having taken together are abstracted into common core system. From this abstract system the individual systems are arrived at. The differences of Idiolects are accounted in the sub system level through the common core system. Hockett's over all pattern approach also does in the same way. The merit of these approaches is that it is possible to (a). correlate the individual systems i.e. dialects from the abstracted common system and (b). a neat comparison of one dialect with another dialect is possible. The demerit of these approaches is that a single person's speech in various social contexts (styles) is abstracted by ignoring them.

As far as language is concerned there is commonness as what is called as similarities between the Idiolects. But at the same time there are structural differences among the Idiolects. That is, on the one hand we have partial similarities and on the other hand structural differences between one Idiolect to another Idiolect. Some of the approaches described above abstract the invariant units by means of the partial similarities pushing the differences to the sub or individual systems. But in the Dia system as proposed by Weinreich (1971) both the commonness as well as the structural differences

between Idiolects are captured.

The merit of this approach is that it captures the differences (i.e. dialects) in addition to representing the commonness (i.e. abstracting the dialect differences into a common system) and both are represented in the same system what is called as Dia system.

The draw back of this approach is that like the other approaches, it also ignores the different styles of a single person's speech that emerges due to his contact with other persons in different social contexts. From this point of view Uriel Weinreich's approach is also static approach.

Instead of starting from a singleman's speech (idiolect) which is correlated either with a geographical region or with a caste, the other approach could be, one can first identify linguistic variables in terms of geographical points and castes at the (a) phonological (b) morphological and (c) Lexical levels and then identify who speaks which of the forms of the identified variables and on the basis one can determine dialects.

We have discussed so far the notion of 'Dialect' on the basis of observed data. Also one can identify dialects on the basis of perceptual data. In spite of our difficulties in identifying dialects the speakers of a language are able to identify the caste of a speaker and/or the region to which he belongs by 'Linguistic features'. They perceive certain linguistic differences as indicative of a region or caste of a speaker and on that basis identify the caste or region of a speaker. These linguistic features are called stereo types of markers (Labov, 1966). For example the use of /-nd/ in reflexive conjugation /uuṭṭu/ as a possessive marker and Lexical items such as /innaa/ 'what' /atte/ 'that -it'. /kayde/ 'donkey' etc. are generally taken to be linguistic markers for Brahmin, Nattukottai Chettiyar and Madras slum dialects respectively. These markers or stereo types are not necessarily used by all and

only to the caste or region to which they are attached. The speakers perceive them to be so. On the basis of this perception, 'perceptual dialect zones' may be formulated and then may be correlated with the 'actual dialect zones'. If there is no correlation of perceptual dialect zone and actual dialect zone, then there will be two types of dialect zones.

In the field of Tamil Dialectology as it stands today, the notion of Standard Spoken Tamil as expressed by Kamil Zvelebil seems to have gained some currency. Zvelebil (1969) claims that the standard spoken Tamil i.e. the Informal standard is based on the common informal speech of (i) the educated Middle Class non-brahmins who reside in the Central part of Tamil Nadu comprising the areas of Thanjavur, Tiruchirappalli and some parts of South Arcot as well as (ii) the educated Middle Class residents of Madras. His further claim is that the differences between the Informal Tamil used in the above variety and standard spoken Tamil are less than the differences between any other Tamil regional dialect and the Standard spoken. In other words by implication, a *region based* middle class educated non-brahmins speech is a model for the standard spoken Tamil. Kamil Zvelebil seems to have drawn inspiration from several other linguistic situations, such as English, French, Marathi, Telugu and Kannada. In all these language situations one can find in common, there is something like an educated urban middle class (and/or upper class) speech of a particular region (or regions). In other words in all the language situations, the model for standardisation seems to be *one of the regional varieties* (marked with education) *of the respective languages*.

There is also another school of thought in the area of Tamil Dialectology which questions the validity of Kamil Zvelebil's proposition with respect to standard spoken Tamil. According to this school of thought (Annamalai, 1976 and others), standard spoken Tamil is not a representative speech of a region, caste or religion

but it is a speech obtained by eliminating the stigmatized, stereo typed or marked features of the home dialect. This gives a set of natural neutral items in Standard spoken Tamil which are claimed to be nearer to formal Tamil. Standard spoken Tamil is not the speech of a privileged class. But irrespective of Caste, religion and region a person may acquire the standard spoken Tamil features provided he or she gives up the marked features of his region, caste etc. Acquiring the standard spoken Tamil features may lead to social classes as follows: A set of Brahmins, Harijans, Pillais, Muslims, Christians, etc. who completely acquiring the standard spoken Tamil features will form themselves into a class and those Brahmins, Harijans, Pillais, Muslims, Christians, etc. who do not acquire or still in the process of acquiring the standard spoken Tamil features will form into another class.

The existence of standard spoken Tamil and the process involved in acquiring the standard spoken Tamil as discussed now, have been demonstrated in a small way with lot of limitations (Gnanasundaram, forth-coming). How the speakers in mixed group situations shift their style of speech to neutral variety (which is the basis for standardisation) by dropping their home dialect marked features (marked for region and/or Caste) are discussed. The approach followed here is, dynamic approach. Perhaps a detailed study is required to study the standard spoken Tamil--which is in the process of evolving, and its features.

Dialect survey work is conducted generally using elaborate questionnaires which covers a range of phonological, morphological and Lexical differences. Points are chosen enormously for the survey work. Isoglosses are prepared and bundles of isoglosses that are mapped, decide the dialects or dialect zones. This is one method.

Morrish Swadesh's 100 word list, which was originally designed to study the distance between languages in terms of time depth of their historical separation

may be utilised to study the distance between dialects synchronically. In Central Institute of India languages, Mysore; Morrish Swadesh's 100 word Basic Vocabulary list is taken as a base for questionnaire and dialect differences are accounted on the basis of the changes that take place in dialects with respect to the 100 word list. Besides, Morrish Swadesh's vocabulary list, variables at the phonological and grammatical levels are also utilised. As an experiment, Gondi, Santali and Kurukh dialects are getting identified in this way. The merit of this approach is one need not have to prepare isoglosses and then decide the dialects or dialect areas. Rather, on the basis of the shared forms by points, dialect zones are decided.

### NOTES

1. The subject matter of this paper is dealt in the light of illustrations, drawn mostly from the Tamil Dialectology area. My utmost thanks are due to Dr.E.Annamalai, Director, Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore for having discussed with me on number of points related to this paper.
2. This point may be illustrated; /p/ is a phoneme in a particular Tamil variety. /p/ and /b/ are phonemes in certain other Tamil variety (Gnanasundaram, 1973). This may be represented in the Dia System as follows:

$$1,2// \frac{1p}{2p \neq b} //$$

The common phonemes between the two individual systems on the one hand is represented i.e. /p/ and on the other hand the difference between these two dialects is also represented. Secondly, the varying nature of the distribution of allophones to the common phoneme because of the differences in

these two idiolects is also brought out. The phoneme /p/ found in a particular idiolect:

- i) is not the same as the phoneme /p/ found in another idiolect;
- ii) because of the varying nature of the distributions of allophones.

The phoneme /p/ with respect to a particular idiolect may have four allophones viz;

- [p] bilabial voiceless stop
- [p̚] bilabial voiceless lax stop
- [ᵇ] bilabial voiced slit fricative
- [b] bilabial voiced stop

whereas in another Idiolect the phoneme /p/ may have two allophones viz: [p] and [p̚] because of the phonemic contrast with /b/

Secondly the phoneme /p/ found in the Discrete system (1) is not the same as of the phoneme /p/ found in the Discrete system (2) in terms of the relationship of /p/ with the number of other phonemes found in each system. In system (1) the relationship may be with 22 phonemes whereas in system(2) the relationship may be with 28 phonemes.

3. The point may be illustrated variables (a) at the phonological level p/b (example *palli/balli* 'Lizard') or l/ɭ/y (example *Kalute/Kal̥ute/Kayute* 'Donkey') (b) at the morphological level: -kkosaram/ -kka; ka (purposive case) (example *enakkosaram/enakkaa-ke* 'for my sake')

-nt̪/t̪ -kitt̪ - reflexive conjugation. (Example: *eṭuttun̪t̪en* / *eṭuttukitt̪en* 'I took myself') and (c) at the Lexical level; example *KaaVaaykkaa* 'Channel' etc. may be identified. Here in the examples, the



example given under morphological level namely -*nt* / -*tt* reflexive conjugation may represent as a variable for caste and others represent for region.

### REFERENCES

- 1.(a) Annamalai,E. 1976, 'Standard spoken Tamil: Some observations' in R.V.K. Thampuran (ed.) *studies in Dialectology*, Vol.I. No.2. Trivandrum: Linguistics Department.
- (b) -----, 1976 'Caste and variation in language form and Language use'(forth-coming)
2. Bright, William 1960, 'Social dialect and Language History' *Current Anthropology* 1; 5/6
3. Gnanasundaram,V. 1973, A pilot dialect survey of Thondai mandalam, Annamalai Univeristy (Ph.D, thesis).
4. ----- 'The role of Diglossia in the emergence of Standard Spoken Tamil' to appear in *Diglossia in South Asian Languages*. Hyderabad, Osmania University.
- 4.(a) 'Study of Variation: different model' in *Towards Greater Heights* part.II,C.I.I.L. publication (in press).
5. Hockett,C.F. 1958, 'Common core and Overall pattern' *A course in modern Linguistics*. MacMillan Company, New York.
6. Labov,W. 1969, *The Social Stratification of English in New York City*, Washington, Centre for applied Linguistics.

7. Pattanayak, D.P. 1975, 'Caste and Language' *I.J.D.L.*, Vol.IV No.3 and Vol.II No.1.
8. Srinivasa Varma 1977, *Kilaimozhiyiyal* (Dialectology) Annamalai Nagar, All India Tamil Linguistics Association.
9. Thirumalai, M.S. 1983, *Aspects of Language Use* Annamalai Nagar, All India Tamil Linguistics Association.
10. Weinreich, Uriel. 1971, 'Is structural dialectology possible'. Harold B. Allen and Gary N. Underwood (ed.) (*Readings in American Dialectology*. Meridith Corporation, New York.



#### **4. COMMENTS ON V.GNANASUNDARAM'S PAPER RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND THEORETICAL PROBLEMS IN DIALECTOLOGY**

Hans R. Dua

##### **Introduction**

As the title of the paper by Dr.Gnanasundaram indicates that there could be any number of problems which he could discuss in his paper. He has not specified the problems or the objectives of his paper, and as such it is difficult to point out the issues which did not concern him or which form the main focus of his paper. I would therefore try to summarise the main themes of his paper, discuss how he has dealt with them, and raise certain issues which need to be explored in dialectology in general and in Tamil dialects in particular. My comments are organized into five sections. The first section deals with the notions of caste and regional dialects, the second with the approach to the study of variation, the third with the distinction between the observed and perceptual data, the fourth with standard Tamil and the final section with research methodology.

### Caste and Regional Dialects

The author points out that the studies of Tamil dialects 'are nothing but the descriptive grammars of different varieties'. Whether it is a caste dialect or a regional dialect, each is assumed to exist to begin with, and data is collected from a single or a few persons from a particular region or caste to establish and confirm their existence. However, the author does not refer to any specific studies of caste and regional dialects of Tamil. It is therefore difficult to say whether the contention of the author is true or false for all dialect studies.

A lot has been written on the notion of caste in dialect studies. That the notion has a social basis, that is loosely defined by linguists, that it is mixed up with religious differences that it does not necessarily represent a homogeneous group--all these have been pointed out by the author. However, it would be questionable to infer from this that 'caste dialects do not have a linguistic basis'. In fact the author himself shows that caste dialects do have 'linguistic features' both observed and perceptual. The problem is then how to identify and establish these features and how to correlate them with caste. The author does not come to grip with this problem. He seems to be inclined to accept caste as an independent variable. Accordingly he sets up the rigid criterion that the linguistic features must be 'shared by all the members of that caste irrespective of the region they belong to, the religion they follow, the economic and educational status they have attained etc'. According to this criterion the author finds that 'perhaps only Brahmins may be said to have a caste dialect as far as Tamil is concerned'. But he rejects the trichotomous classification of variation, Brahmin dialect, Non-Brahmin dialect and Harijan, dialect as he considers that 'these names are not at all the names of castes'. It is therefore quite confusing to say that Brahmins is not the name of a caste and that Brahmins may be said to have a caste dialect.

The author finds the criterion of defining caste dialect too restricted in application and is therefore prepared to modify it by bringing in quantitative considerations. He therefore holds that 'the dialect then is a quantitatively or statistically defined notion', and that 'a linguistic feature must be shared by a predominant section of the population' that the notion of predominance may be defined by numerical strength'. This raises three important issues which the author has not raised either because he is unaware of them or because he thought it better to ignore them. First, it would be necessary to give weightage to different linguistic features and determine the overall value which would be characteristic of a particular dialect. Second, it would be necessary to study how different linguistic features are spread in the population and to determine the degree of numerical strength. It could be further complicated if there is conflict between the value of linguistic features and the degree of their spread. Finally, it may create problems in the case of a caste spread over non-contiguous region. The author says that the dialect of the caste 'will be defined by the features found in the region where the majority of the castes live'. It is not clear how the dialect of a caste will be determined if it is in minority in a region.

The author has quoted Annamalai to the effect that caste and regional dialect are mutually incompatible. This is a complicated issue as both caste and regional dialect features cut across each other in intricate ways. I cannot but refer to Shanmugam Pillai's study (1965) of caste isoglosses in kinship terms which clearly shows that the notion of regional dialects may be highly abstract.

It appears to me from the discussion above that both the notions of caste and region need not be taken as given or considered as independent variables. On the basis of available studies of Tamil dialects we must identify characteristic linguistic features, conduct a survey over wider regions and collect data from repre-

sentative sample, and then study how these features are spread with respect to social and regional variables, how they overlap or distinguish various varieties in relation to these variables.

### Approaches to variation

The author has made a distinction between the static and dynamic approaches to the study of language variation. He seems to think that the fault in dialect studies lies in that they have followed the static approach to language variation. As far as it is possible to gather, by the static approach the author means the study of dialect based on a single person's speech which ignores the use of different styles in different social contexts. He does not specify the type of person he has in mind. But presumably he has in mind the speech of an older rustic person from predominantly a rural area. If this is the case, then, it refers to the concern of traditional dialectology, and I don't see how all traditional dialectology is not good since it does not follow a dynamic approach.

At this point it would be necessary to point out what is meant by a dynamic approach to variation. But before this, let us consider in some detail the number of static models mentioned by the author. At least three models have been briefly stated and a reference is made to a forthcoming paper of the author. These models include Daniel Jone's 'Diaphone' approach, Hockett's, 'common core' approach, and Weinreich's 'diasystem' approach. It would make our discussion very lengthy if all the approaches are considered here. We will simply show how the diasystemic approach has not been properly evaluated by the author. It is rightly pointed out that both the structural differences and similarities between idiolects/dialects are represented in a diasystem which is a higher order construct built by comparing the phonological systems of two or more varieties. However, the diasystemic approach is restricted not because it does not follow the dynamic approach,

as the author implies, but because of it 'can handle inventory differences successfully, but it can deal with incidence and distribution differences only' with difficulty (Chambers & Trudgill, 1980:45).

Now, let us consider the notion of dynamic approach (Dua, 1981b). The author has not specifically discussed this notion. However, some idea about this can be formed on the basis of few statements made here and there. Reference is made to dynamics of speech which refers to individual differences in speech in different situations. Dynamic approach is said to be based not 'on the linguistic characteristics of an individual but on the characteristics of interaction between individuals'. Reference is made to different styles of a single person's speech. On the basis of these statements I assume that by the dynamic approach the author means is the study of variation in which social and stylistic variables are taken into account. This is the area of urban dialectology which has emerged as a distinct field of enquiry, which has been explored at length by sociolinguists mainly by Labov, Trudgill and others, and which is beginning to influence traditional dialectology both in research methodology and theory. Some issues related to research methods will be raised in the last sections, issues which the author has neither raised in connection with the dynamic approach nor in dealing with the problems of questionnaire. However, it is necessary here to point out one very important aspect of dynamic approach which has been totally ignored by the author. This concerns the time factor. As Trudgill (1982a) points out, the historical bias in traditional dialectology has been to record and preserve older dialect forms. The concern of the sociolinguists engaged in urban dialectology has been the study of linguistic change in progress as opposed to dialectologists interest in change that has already taken place. The study of linguistic change in progress has relied more on studies in apparent time rather than in real time. And the studies of linguistic change in 'apparent time' can proceed with confidence if earlier dialectological data is available (Petyt, 1982;



Chambers and Trudgill, 1980). Thus, the dynamic approach seems to be quite promising in that it might not only provide an integration of traditional dialectology and sociolinguistically oriented dialectology, but also leads to the development of an integrated discipline.

### **Observed and Perceptual Data**

Gnanasundaram makes a distinction between the observed data, by which he obviously means the objective differences between dialects, and the perceived data which refers to perceived linguistic differences as indicative of a region or a caste. The latter are called stereo types or markers. As far as perception of linguistic differences is concerned, the speakers show different degrees of awareness and competence. It is therefore essential to distinguish stereo types from markers but they have not been distinguished by the author.

The perception of dialect differences has another important dimension, to which the author has not drawn any attention. It must be distinguished whether the person belongs to the same or different dialect when he perceives dialect differences. In the latter situation we are concerned with the passive competence of the person which may range from mere exposure to perception of dialect differences to interpretation and reproduction. This issue relates to the question of writing polylectal or pan-dialectal grammar and the notion of speech community and has been discussed at length by several scholars (Labov, 1973; Bailey, 1973; Bickerton, 1975; Trudgill, 1982b; Petyt, 1982; Dua, 1981d).

### **Standard Tamil**

As regards standard Tamil, Gnanasundaram presents two views, the one by Kamil Zvelebil according to whom the model of Standard Tamil, by implication, is a region based middle class educated non-brahmin's speech, and the other by Annamalai and others according to whom it is a speech form obtained by eliminating the

stigmatized, stereo typed or marked features of the home dialect. He himself holds the second view, and remarks further that 'the speakers in mixed group situations shift their speech to neutral variety' that those who succeed in acquiring this form one social class and those who do not another; that the standard Tamil is in the process of evolving and therefore needs to be studied in detail. The issues related with standard Tamil are quite interesting and important and need to be studied. However, it is not clear to me in the present context how these issues impinge upon research methodology and theoretical problems in dialectology.

### Research Methods

Not only has Gnanasundaram devoted less than a single page to the important question of research methods but also has ignored certain crucial issues of research Methodology in dialectology. Let me first summarise what he has to say about research methods. He seems to suggest two methods. The first method involves use of elaborate questionnaires, collection of data from many points, preparation of isoglosses and determination of dialect zones. In the second method Morris Swadesh's 100 word list is used as a base for questionnaire, some phonological and grammatical variables may also be utilized, and dialect zones may be decided not on the basis of isoglosses but 'on the basis of the shared forms by points'. The basic differences in the two methods are (i) isoglosses are prepared in one, not in another, (ii) phonological and grammatical variables are not used in one but are used in another and (iii) the list of lexical items may be large in one, but not in another. Both the methods involve one-word elicitation technique and in both cases the number of points and respondents are not specified.

Several methodological points can be raised about the methods as presented above. First, it is not clear how phonological and grammatical variables are selected.

Second it is not shown how dialect zones will be decided if there is conflict between the findings based on variables and those based on Morris Swadesh's list. Third, as sharing of forms by points is expected to differ in degree and is not discussed how the forms will be weighted and what degrees of sharedness will determine the commonness of dialect. Fourth, in the context of dynamic approach which requires data from interaction between individuals, the one-word elicitation techniques has restricted value since it may elicit not only formal variety due to the amount of attention it requires, but may also lead to hyper-dialectalism particularly when the informants are disposed to the local dialect (Trudgill, 1982a). The limitations of one-word elicitation technique have not been discussed by the author. Finally, the issue of isoglosses has not been given the attention it deserves. Except for its casual mention the author has not discussed how it fails to represent a dynamic situation of dialect continuum, and what improvements have been made in evaluating or grading isoglosses in terms of dialectometry, linguistic structure, or distribution of lexical items to which attention has been drawn by Chambers & Trudgill (1980).

Before concluding my comments I must say that I find myself in an awkward position in being forced to make an embarrassing remark in the interest of academic honesty. Anyone who goes through the paper under discussion will find that the author has quoted from Annamalai's forthcoming paper, but will fail to find how heavily he has been influenced by him. However, if someone happens to read this paper and Annamalai's paper together, he will find not only the degree of influence by Annamalai, but also the amount of material which the author has borrowed verbatim without acknowledging it. I do not want to show this in detail, but say that this should be discouraged as it is against scholarly convention.

## REFERENCES

1. Annamalai, E. (Forthcoming) Caste and Variation

in Language Form and Language Use.

2. Agesthialingom, S and Karunakaran, K. (ed.) 1980 *Sociolinguistics and Dialectology*, Annamalai University Annamalainagar.
3. Bailey, C.J. 1973, *Variation and Linguistic Theory*, Centre for Applied Linguistics. New York.
4. Bickerton, D. 1975. *Dynamics of a Greole Continuum*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
5. Chambers, J.K. and Trudgill, P. 1980. *Dialectology*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
6. Dua, Hans R. 1981a. 'Recent Developments in Quantitative Analysis of Language Variation'. Paper presented at Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore.
7. 1981b. 'Static Dynamic Models of Linguistic Discription', Paper presented in the Course on 'Relevance of Ethnography and Linguistics for Fieldworkers'. CIIL, Mysore.
8. 1981c. 'Problems of Variation', paper presented in the Course on 'Relevance of Ethnography and Linguistics for fieldworkers', CIIL. Mysore.
9. 1981d. Dimensions of Speech Community, *International Sociology of Language*, 32 : 85-119..
10. Labov, W. 1973 'Where Do Grammars Stop in Roger W. Shuy (ed) *Sociolinguistics: Current Trends and Prospects*. Georgetown University Press, Washington, D.C.
11. Pattanayak, D.P., 1975. Caste and Language. *International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics*. Vol.IV No.1: 97-104.

12. Petyt, K.M. 1982. 'Who is Really Doing Dialectology'. In Crystal, David (ed) *Linguistic Controversies*, London: Edward Arnold.
13. Shanmugam Pillai, M. 1965. 'Caste Isoglosses in Kinship Terms', *Anthropological Linguistics*. Vol.7; No.4.
14. Subramoniam, V.I., 1973. *Seminar on Dialectology: Papers and Discussion*. Dravidian Linguistic Association, Publication No.13.
15. Trudgill, Peter 1982a. 'The contribution of Sociolinguistics to Dialectology', *Language Science*, Vol.4:2: 237-50.
16. Trudgill, Peter 1982b 'On the limits of Passive 'Competence': Sociolinguistics and the Polylectal Grammar Controversy'. In Crystal, David (ed), *Linguistics*.
17. Varma, G.Srinivasa 1980. 'Different Dialects of Tamil' In: S.V.Subramoniam and K.M.Irulappan (ed.) *Language and Grammar*. Madras: International Institute of Tamil Studies.

## 5. FUTURE PLANS AND WORK STRATEGY TO BE ADOPTED IN DIALECT STUDIES

A.P. Andrews Kutty

Although systematic dialect investigation is only a century old, a lot of work has already been done in the field in a number of countries including India (Sebeok, 1968: Blanch, Mayers, Egerod, Grootaers; and also Keller 1961, Mintosh 1961, Kurath 1939, Grierson 1903-28 (rpd) 1967, Subramoniam 1974 etc.). As this paper does not intend to discuss problems of defining the term 'dialect', a linguistic form which shows variation within the same language is taken here as a dialect variation. However the terms 'language' and 'dialect' are used to 'distinguish phenomena in several different dimensions with resultant confusion and overlapping' (Haugen, 1966). As Martinet puts it 'there is no form of the language that is not a dialect, (Gill, 1973). Studies like the ones referred to above were generally concerned with the structural and functional aspects of dialects in their own respective ways.

The synchronic dialect investigations generally viewed the question of variation through the geographical, social and stylistic dimensions (Bright & Ramanujan, 1964). Origin, spread and adoption of changes are the important aspects of linguistic variation. There are

various factors which are instrumental to these processes. Besides, the substratum influences are relevant in dialect studies which are to be investigated systematically only if the cultural history of the region is well studied. As dialects exhibit variations in all the levels of linguistic structure, study of a dialect as a consequence, will have to be its complete linguistic description. Formation or extinction of dialects are due to the processes of convergence and divergence. Generally, dialect studies or surveys although they recognise the interaction of various factors other than geographical distance only a few factors are often taken as the basis of the investigation by keeping others constant as in the study of the Ezhava/Tiyya dialect (Subramoniam, 1974) distributed in 921 Panchayats of the Kerala State. Caste is taken as an important parameter in this study. Validity of calling a dialect as a caste dialect even in Indian setting is objectionable to some (Pattanayak, 1975). Pattanayak argued that the notion 'caste dialect' is unscientific and unnecessary which consequentially invited equally vehement comments against the tone of his argument in Tiwari, Gopinathan Nair et. al. (1975) leading to a temporary retreat on the part of Pattanayak to a more moderate position in his reply: 'The fact that caste dialect has now been put within quotes and from the status of sole determinant, caste is accorded recognition as the dominant variable makes me feel amply rewarded, (Pattanayak, 1976). However, since the purpose of such studies like Subramoniam (1974) were specific in the sense that there was commitment to certain proposed objectives, they were able to state their delimitations and hence there is not much of a point in expecting yields beyond certain limit from them. Furthermore, limitations would not make them unimportant in any sense as they too would provide specific insights in understanding the phenomenon of language.

When we talk of future plans and strategies for dialect studies it is profitable to limit the discussion primarily to the Indian setting and then review it with

reference to advances made in the field elsewhere in different settings. Not only study of individual dialects but comparison of various dialects with respect to specific linguistic features is also part of dialect studies. Dialect surveys if conducted systematically would provide insights into the composition of different dialects in a linguistic area. Dialect surveys follow varying types of methods in achieving their proposed objectives which may vary from survey to survey. So, as a first step towards planning for the future any serious effort in the field of dialect studies can start profitably with a comprehensive survey and evaluation of the work already done in India in particular and elsewhere in general.

A quick survey of the works done in the field of dialect studies in India would reveal that the descriptive theoretical framework is mostly favoured by the majority of them (e.g. Neethivanan, 1973). Evidently, they fall into two types of studies (1) undertaken by individuals as partial fulfilment of requirements leading to academic degrees or a report on personal research (e.g. Panikkar 1973, Nair 1979, etc.), (2) undertaken as or as part of a small or large scale project or programme in an institution by a team of researchers (e.g. Subramoniam 1974, Radhakrishna 1974, etc.). The individual efforts have generally resulted in dialect grammars appended with sample vocabulary and narrative data for verificational purposes. Works of the institutional types are generally wider in scope and reach, presenting exhaustive list of variations, dialect rooms, details of distribution and quantification of attested variations across the area of investigation. So an evaluation of the past work done in the field of dialect studies when attempted may begin with correctly identifying the respective strategies made use of by each of them and proceed with testing their utility -- theoretical, methodological and practical in future work. This by no means is an easy task. It requires a team of good researchers who are able to probe deeper into the various aspects of



the studies. They will have to evaluate also the tools used for such studies, details of the conduct of the projects, their financial resources, etc. Much for the future planning must be considered by really appreciating the agonies and ecstasies of our past dialectologists, their constraints, struggles for survival, confrontation with funding bodies and authorities to impress on them the need for such studies, etc. How far the insights can be integrated intelligently is to be looked into.

Before we jump into the 'dynamic theory' of variation it is pertinent to discuss few issues emanating from the 'non-dynamic' dialect studies already conducted in India for the benefit of self realisation. Although sociolinguistic methodology has been proposed, tested and improved further, its real influence and relevance in Indian linguistic scene is yet to be illustrated by way of systematic studies. Serious studies of efforts in the 'dynamic' lines on Indian linguistic communities are definitely few. It is often felt that what appears often in the name of sociolinguistic studies are not methodologically rigorous thus by resulting as mere modified versions of 'non-dynamic' type of investigations. Suitability of a methodology is to be decided by taking into consideration factors related to the nature of the issue under investigation, its characteristic features which requires methodological refinement or revision etc. It is argued here that a commitment to a 'dynamic' theory of variation for the Indian context is to be justified on the basis of compelling facts emanating out of earlier studies.

Dialect survey of Malayalam (Subramoniam, 1974) is considered here as a sample study for purposes of evaluation as it is a comprehensive work on a Malayalam dialect and also is a part of an extensive project in which the present author was a participant. The following would provide a brief description of the above said study.

The purpose of the Malayalam dialect survey was to demarcate the dialect boundaries and to find out whether or not there are caste specific variation in Malayalam, and if so, what is its nature and spread. Enthused by the outcome of the pilot survey of the Pulaya dialect of Malayalam (1963), the dialect survey unit in the 'Department of Linguistics, University of Kerala' had been conducting the survey of the various dialects of Malayalam since 1963. It was proposed to survey each time the speech of a single community like Ezhava, Nair, Harijan etc. The purpose of the Pulaya survey of 1963 was to broadly demarcate the dialect boundaries of Malayalam based on the dialect of Pulayas and the diagnostic words that differentiated the areas (Subramoniam 1974, p.2). the yield of this survey and the grammars prepared in connection with it was against expectation, limited due to various reasons. Nevertheless, it could help in broadly demarcating five dialect boundaries in Kerala. Pulaya survey was limited in two ways, firstly it was based on only a 430 items word list administered in district head quarters (only 9) and secondly, it was not preceded by a preliminary survey. It itself was only a pilot survey by any standards. But the Ezhava/Tiyya survey was sufficiently extensive in that it involved an initial but elaborate investigation in the form of a preliminary survey preparing dialect grammars identifying variations and also a final survey by administering a specialised questionnaire to 921 informant one each from each of the equivalent number of Panchayats in Kerala State. Twelve dialect areas were identified by the survey along with the identification of various sub dialect areas (Subramoniam 1974, pp.655-674). It was made possible by finding out the isogloss items preparing carefully the frequency list of items, spread maps and isogloss maps. The dialect grammars and dictionary were prepared for ready reference. This survey highlighted a few assumptions which were crucial for the survey. They are representative of the typical assumptions of similar surveys from where departures for a more 'dynamic' approach if necessary can be made since our plans for the future need to

be according to our needs only, not merely for following theories innovated from elsewhere.

The proposed assumptions of the Malayalam survey (Subramoniam, 1974), can be briefed as given below:

1. The structural description provides the basis for the survey (ibid, p.3),
2. Function determines the form of the survey, grammar, maps and dictionary (p.689).
3. Informants of the age group 55-60 is preferred since higher rate of retention of ancient features were expected in the speech of the older generation especially in the lower strata of the community with minimum educational attainments.
4. Single form of questionnaire may be administered throughout the state.
5. One will not be sensitive to one's own speech (ibid, p.8).
6. Comparable items are to be secured from the informants (p.10).
7. Concentrate on rural population than urban population.
8. If a word has more than one meaning the other meanings be noted within brackets so that the elicitation might be limited to one meaning only.
9. An isolated word is likely to be misunderstood differently at different points by informants who will have minimum education (p.300).
10. If the question is imprecise the answer of the informant in all likelihood will be more imprecise (p.300).

11. Put the questions if needed in a sentence frame with other words (p.300).
12. The items (in the questionnaire) should exhibit regional variations or variations in special groups, otherwise the yield of the form in any dialect survey will be very little (p.303).

Although the study could attest a wealth of information on the dialects it could not really mark out all the diagnostic words of the dialect because it required survey of other dialects as well. This is a point important for future work. When only a number of dialects are investigated, dialect forms which belong to a particular dialect can be identified. This is not very often done in most of the cases. The preference for old informants is based on the assumption that if older in age the greater will be the possibility of retention of ancient forms. This assumption is worth investigating further especially in the light of studies in sociolinguistics by taking different age groups within a speech community. Attitudes of the speakers and other socioeconomic factors are also to be taken into account. Labov (1971) draws our attention to the higher degree of linguistic insecurity score for the age group of 50-75 in the lower middle class speakers in New York city showing a tendency to even surpass the younger members of their community in adopting the latest prestige markers of the younger upper middle class speakers (Labov, 1972).

It is often assumed that the typical investigator for a speech community is one who is an outsider because one tends to be not sensitive to one's own variety of speech. This is a point to be examined. The trends in one's sensitivity to his own speech would be valuable in investigating the totality of his speech behaviour in the community. It is true that in an overt situation minute variations may not be noticed by a native investigator. It may be easy for one who speaks a particular dialect to identify a new feature present in another dialect.

Assumptions (6) & (9) above are typical of any studies of the type under discussion. Future studies will have to consider them seriously. Subramoniam (1974) indicates that 'the Corporation and Municipal towns are not included in the survey due to the homogeneity of the population on the recentness of the settlements (p.12). But the rural population is more homogeneous in a different sense than the urban population although what is said about the recentness of the settlements is pertinent. With the advent of modern techniques of communication rural vs. urban distinction is becoming less conspicuous at least in a state like Kerala. The increase in literacy of the population also would contribute to make the distinction less evident. Geographical as well as social distance are important in the spread of linguistic forms (Trudgill, 1974). It seems that phonological and grammatical features require geographical contiguity before diffusion of new innovation can take place. It is assumed that lexical items appear to be able to spread across much greater distance and words can be borrowed from one language to another regardless of proximity.

Regarding the questionnaire and pattern of elicitation points (8) - (12) are noteworthy. Different investigations use different types of questionnaires. To facilitate comparison of dialects a unified sample questionnaire for related languages can be planned for. For a single study different types of questionnaires for elicitation of different types of variation can also be experimented. Dialectologists can propose a unified questionnaire for Indian languages having prepared through phonological, grammatical details of these languages. This would mean the consolidation of individual efforts by a set of researchers.

Perhaps an important point which attract attention in the above said survey is a realisation that the differences in phonology between dialects were 'unconditioned, varied and complex. The variations if numerous and unpredictable would be really problematic. Within the framework of ordinary dialect studies it is difficult

to propose conditioning factors for the variations. In other words our dialectologists are not very successful in providing explanation for the distributions of variations attested in a dialect. It is not possible to provide explanation for phenomena for which there is insufficient information. It may be possible to effect an improvement in our discussion of geographical dialects and hence in our ability to explain dialect phenomena by adopting a geographical and sociolinguistically influenced methodology (Trudgill, 1973).

This would not be taken as proposing that all ills will be cured once the sociolinguistic methodology is adopted. Dialect geography can achieve certain useful results both in theoretical as well as applied areas in Linguistics. Dialect surveys can help forming a data bank which is the result of collecting, archiving and analysing linguistic material (cf. Twaddell, 1954, Newman, 1954). An archive of languages will certainly be possible with dialect studies. This data bank can be depended upon by dictionary makers. Dialect dictionaries are perhaps the most useful product of a dialect study. In fact, we lack good dialect dictionaries in our languages. Rather than individual efforts, institutional commitment and involvement is required in this respect. This is thought for further planning. The problems of planning, execution and bringing out dialect dictionaries can be discussed in detail and extensive projects with sufficient resources can be launched. The information gathered by various surveys can be integrated for this purpose.

Demarcation of dialect forms will be useful for standardisation efforts. Series of surveys can ultimately distinguish dialect forms and 'standard' forms. The trends in lexicalisation and lexical replacements can also be attested. Once a survey is attempted it will itself be a guide for further surveys. For instance consider the following forms attested in Subramoniam (1974).

1. Bed:     *kiṭakka, koosati, metta, paay*
2. Repined :   *veḷaññu, muuttu, cenaccu, paḷuttu*
3. Face     :   *mokam, moolu, muññi, moonṭa*

(1) is a typical instance where the item 'bed' is identified as different types of things used as bedding. This probably is indicative of the need for providing syntactic frames in the questionnaire, (2) is an instance where a concept is being differently interpreted by the informants while in (3) are variations which are to be conditioned by contextual factors. The point is that even an ordinary study would be able to indicate variations which can be further tested with better linguistic tools. The lexical choices made by the speakers are conditioned by various factors. The 'dynamic' dialectology can supplement what the 'non-dynamic' ones could not provide by way of further improvement.

The study of the so-called idiosyncratic variations and also variations existing within the same community have shown that such changes are patterned and form a part of a highly complex and regular structure. The density of communication is attested as an important factor influencing linguistic diversity. The growth of sociolinguistics was mainly due to the awareness that many avenues in the study of linguistic change remain unexplored. The overall directions of linguistic evolution, constraints upon linguistic change, the mechanism of its spreading and adaptive function have become issues for further investigation (Labov, 1976). Labov tries to deal with the issues by bringing them into three separate problems: the problems of transition, embedding and evaluation (1976 pp.161-162). Labov (1976 pp.205-206) provides sources of reference for further study of language in its social context.

The field of sociolinguistics provide ample scope for interdisciplinary approach in the studies of dialect variation with its relevance to Linguistics, Sociology, Anthropology etc. Language is viewed as a social insti-

tution and its use is a mode of interaction. It can be legitimately argued that the study of language in its social context is imperative in Indian linguistic situation to attest various co-existing systems in ones speech, their function, variations etc. As Labov correctly points out (1978), these are the questions that linguists, can answer if they know how to gather data, there would be answers that their fellow citizens need to decide what forms of what languages would be used in schools, in primers, in texts, in public meetings and in communication between the government and the people. Further more for those who are interested in planning for a sociolinguistic investigation, Labov (1978) would be an excellent guideline impressing on every details of strategies to be adopted in organising and proceeding with a sociolinguistic project. In this connection it is to be remembered that different approaches are present in the field of sociolinguistic studies. Whether or not any one of them or even integrated combination of them are really suitable to our context is to be examined. This can be done only by doing systematic but preliminary case studies in specified contexts. Before we venture on any large scale sociolinguistic study in our states, it is worthwhile to encourage guided group or personal investigations to begin with as test case.

As we all know it is almost impossible for one to simply list all the future plans and work strategies to be adopted in dialect studies. One can plan only by experience from the past and aspirations for the future. Strategies cannot be evolved before typical studies are being completed in Indian linguistic contexts. It is strongly felt that in Indian context we can profitably plan for two types of works in dialect studies, (1) the traditional types of studies (2) the sociolinguistic type. One can choose between these two according to his own research needs. The selection will have to be done, for all practical purposes, on the basis of what is expected as the yield of the study. It must also depend upon the availability of resources and facilities.



In India, where a large number of young linguists are still without proper placement and encouragement, it is worthwhile for the universities and Institutes to plan for another monumental Linguistic Survey of India. So in my opinion all future plans in the field of dialect studies should be addressed to ultimately a pan Indian context in planning and evolving strategies which can be suitably adopted with individualistic variation in regional contexts.

### REFERENCES

1. Andrews-kutty, K.P. 1976. Malayalam 'Dialect Survey in retrospect', *Studies in Dialectology*. 1:2.
2. Bright, W and Ramanujan, A.K. 1964, 'Sociolinguistic variation and language change' in Pride, & Holmes (ed.), *Sociolinguistics*, Penguin, Baltimore.
3. Gill, H.S. 1973, *Linguistic Atlas of Punjab*, Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi.
4. Grierson, George, A. 1903-28, *Linguistic Survey of India*, 11 Volumes, Calcutta (rpd), 1967, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi.
5. Haugen, E. 1966, 'Dialect, Language, and Nation' in Pride & Holmes (ed), *Sociolinguistics*, Penguin Books, Baltimore.
6. Keller, R.E. 1961, *German Dialects: Phonology and Morphology with selected Texts*, Univ. of Manchester, Manchester.
7. Kurath, Hans, 1939, *Handbook of the Linguistic Geography of New England*, Brown University Providence, Rhode Island.
8. Labov, Williams, 1971, 'Hypercorrection by the lower middle class as a factor in linguistic change', in William Bright (ed.) *Sociolinguistics*.

9. ----- 1972. *Sociolinguistic patterns*. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.
10. -----, 1978, 'A Design of a Sociolinguistic Research Project'. *Papers in Indian Sociolinguistics*, C.I.I.L, Mysore.
11. McIntosh, Angus. 1961. *An Introduction to a Survey of Scottish Dialects*. Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd, New York.
12. Nair, Somasekharan, P. 1971. *Cochin dialect of Malayalam*, DLA, Trivandrum.
13. Neethivanan, J. 1973. A Survey of Dialect Work done in India. in Subramoniam, V.I., Nair, P.S. and Nair, G. (Eds) *Seminar on Dialectology*. DLA, Trivandrum.
14. Newman, Stanley, 1954, 'Suggestions on the Archiving of Linguistic Material', *IJAL*:20.
15. Panikkar, G.K. 1973, *Description of the Ernad Dialect of Malayalam*, DLA, Trivandrum.
16. Pattanayak, D.P. 1975. 'Caste and Language', *IJDL*:IV-1.
17. ----- 1976, Reply to comments on 'Caste and Language' *IJDL*, V-1.
18. Radhakrishna, B. 1974. *The Karimnagar Dialect*. Telugu Academy, Hyderabad.
19. Sebeok, Thomas, A (ed), 1968, *Current Trends in Linguistics-IV* Mouton, The Hague.
20. Subramoniam, V.I., 1974, *Dialect Survey of Malayalam (Ezhava/Tiyya)*. Department of Linguistics, Univ. of Kerala.

21. Trudgill, Peter, 1973, 'Linguistic change and diffusion: description and explanation' in *Sociolinguistic dialect geography*. *Language Society*.2.
22. ----- 1974, *The Social Differentiation of English in Norwich*, Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.
23. Tiwari; Nair Gopinathan; et. al, 1975, Comments on D.P. Pattanayak's Paper on Caste and Language, *IJDL:IV-2*.
24. Twaddell, W.F., 1954, 'A Linguistic Archive as an Indexed Depot', *IJAL:20*.

## **GENERAL SESSION PAPERS**



## 6. ROOFLESS DIALECTS

B.P. Mahapatra

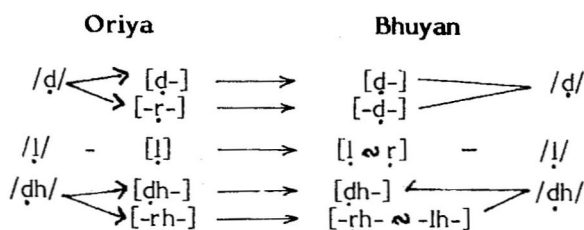
According to Chambers and Trudgill -- 'Dialectology is the study of dialect and dialects', and in common usage a dialect is a substandard, low status, often rustic form of language. It is also a term which is often applied to forms of language, which have no written form (Chambers, and Trudgill, 1980, p.3). And dialects are also often regarded as some kind of deviation from a norm -- as aberrations of a correct or standard form of language. Thus, the term dialect is understood as *dialects of a language*, or as subdivisions of a particular language. This obviously leads to a problem how to distinguish between a *Language* and a *Dialect*, and the related problem of how to decide what a *language* is. One way of looking at this has often been to say that 'a language is a collection of mutually intelligible dialects'. This definition characterises dialects as subparts of a language and provides a criterion for distinguishing one language from the other. 1

This characterization of 'language' and 'dialect', however, is not entirely successful, mainly because there are considerable difficulties with the criterion of mutual intelligibility. The main problem is that it

is a criterion which admits of degrees of more or less. Elaborating on this point Hudson says that 'Mutual intelligibility is a matter of *degree*, ranging from total intelligibility down to total unintelligibility' (Hudson, 1980, p.35). This is notwithstanding the efforts made by Sankoff for calculating degrees of mutual intelligibility (Sankoff, 1969, p.35). Restricting it further, Robins says that 'A special situation obtains in some areas, in that there are successions of different dialects lying next to one another so that each is mutually intelligible with its near neighbours but those at either end are mutually unintelligible (e.g. a succession ABCDEFGH, in which ABCD, DEFG, and FGH are sufficiently inter-comprehensible to rank as dialects, but not A and F, B and H, etc.). Here the linguist must either recognize some mutually unintelligible tongues as comprised within one language, or, better, divide the area into several languages with the admission that some dialects of one may be also intelligible with some dialects of another that lie adjacent to them. Or he may fall back on extralinguistic, political, or geographical divisions'. (Robins, 1964, p.47). Posing 'mutual intelligibility' against 'sameness of language', Hudson claims that the former which is an intransitive relation cannot be used to elucidate a transitive relation, which the latter is. To illustrate the situation, if A is the same language as B, and B is the same language as C, then A and C must also be the same language. But if A and B are mutually intelligible, and B and C are mutually intelligible, C and A are not necessarily mutually intelligible. (Hudson, p.36).

Furthermore intelligibility is not really a relation between varieties, but between people, since it is they, and not the varieties, that understand one another. This being so, the degree of mutual intelligibility depends not just on the amount of overlap between the items in the two varieties, but on qualities of the people concerned. One highly relevant quality is 'motivation': how much does person A want to understand person B?

This Psychological and personal motivation, make mutual intelligibility test as a dependable linguistic tool highly unsatisfactory. Even the quantification of mutual intelligibility levels as proposed by Hockett do not take into consideration the extra-linguistic factors, which may affect the intelligibility between speakers to such an extent that is not wholly warranted by linguistic reality (Hockett, 1958, pp. 321-29). In an earlier paper, the present author has shown the vulnerable character of the mutual intelligibility test from the point of linguistic reality (Mahapatra, 1968, pp. 185-208). For example, consider the distribution of the retroflex sounds /ḍ/, /ḍh/ and /ḷ/ are phonemes, but there is considerable overlapping between them in the allophomic level.



Considering the high frequency of the retroflex sounds in intervocalic position in both these dialects even purely sub-phonemic difference could lower the intelligibility score to a very low level.

Secondly, the mutual intelligibility test is only a device to quantify the dialectal diversities and offers no explanation of the diversities as such. From a linguistic point of view, it is of fundamental importance to know why A and B are mutually intelligible rather than the verdict that A and B are so. The former like of investigation makes the status of A and B, a linguistically predictable phenomenon, even though no test is conducted or if conducted then found linguis-



tically unaccountable. Linguistic unaccountability is that which presupposes more than one system for any two sets of speech varieties, allegedly representing a single language. If the varieties represent two systems then obviously they belong to two languages. On the other hand, speech materials from two sources are mutually transformable only if they share an identical system. Speech differences which are not idiolectal but shared uniformly in a group of idiolects opposed to another are dialects provided the dialects are transformable in terms of a single system. Bhuyan is a dialect of Oriya, because both these varieties share a single system and they should be mutually intelligible given certain rewriting rules. (See for example Brown Gillian, *Phonological Rules and Dialect variation*). As an example:

- (i) Oriya /o/ → /ɔ/ in Bhuyan

Examples: /gɔɖ/ → /gɔɖɔ/ - 'leg'

/ɖoli/ → /ɖɔli/ - 'swing', etc.

Exceptions where Oriya /o/ is to be written /u/ in Bhuyan.

/ɔɖɔɔ/ → /uɖɔs/ - 'bed beg'

/phɔɖka/ → /phuɖka/ - 'abscess'

- (ii) In the Nouns,

Oriya word-final /ɔ/ → /ɸ/ in Bhuyan

Examples: /gɔɔchɔ/ → /gɔɔchɸ/ - 'tree'

/kuɔ/ → /kuɸ/ - 'well'

Exceptions: /kɔɖhɔ/ → /kɔɖhɔɔ/ - 'bud'

/puɔ/ → /puɔɔ/ - 'son'

- (iii) In root structures

Oriya cvcvcv/cvccv → cvc-cv/cvcc-cv in Bhuyan

Examples: /ɖɛbiri/ → /ɖɛbri/ - 'left hand'

/phɔɖka/ → /phɔɖka/ - 'abcess', etc.

A similar supposition is apparently also inherent in Kelkar's preanalysis of language isolates (Kelkar, 1969, p.8). He isolates in a survey the speech habits of the following kinds:

- (i) The use of a given whole linguistic system  $L_1$  (a particular homogeneous dialect or variety)
- (ii) The use by the speaker of any one or a group of family of whole linguistic system  $L_1$  or  $L_2$  or  $L_3$  (a particular dialect family or language family or language group); or
- (iii) The use by the same speaker of each one of a group of whole linguistic systems  $L_1$  and  $L_2$  and  $L_3$  (typically the standard variety plus one non-standard variety or the prevailing language of the region plus a minority language or bordering language or link language).

However, it is important to note here, that isolating a language or that matters a dialect is not entirely a linguistic decision. The delimitation of language-dialect dichotomy has been traditionally tackled from other points of view as well, like : purely sociological or purely juridical besides purely linguistic. Some authors use this dichotomy from an exclusively sociological angle by reserving the designation 'language' to those tongues that are carries of a literary tradition and withholding it from all pre-literary vernaculars. Thus, Khubchandani says that both British rulers and Indian elite once tended to regard all minority languages not having a written tradition as dialects of the dominant language in the region (Khubchandani, 1972). Thus, the term 'language' was reserved for those varieties which could boast of a written literary tradition and relegating other pre-literary varieties to a position of mere 'dialects'. In the United States, it has been customary to call 'dialects' the minority tongues spoken by Amerindians and Eskimos. While nobody doubted that the immigrant minorities from Europe, like the

Germans, Italians, Pole etc. spoke out right 'languages'.

A worse situation evolves by adopting a juridical view point, in withholding the term 'language' from any tongue which is not an official language of the country. For example, consider the recent developments in the status of several mother tongues in the Hindi belt. The Bihari dialects like Maithili, Magahi; the Rajastani dialects like Mewari, Mewati; the Pahari dialects like Kumaoni, Garhwali or even Lamani/Lambadi which is the mother tongue of a nomadic tribe predominantly returned from parts of Southern India are now mere varieties of Hindi and therefore for a Maithili professing knowledge of Hindi is officially speaking not a 'bilingual'. Officially both Maithili and Standard Hindi belong to a single language, thus depriving Maithili the official status of a 'language'. In spite of the fact that Maithili, Mewati, Kumaoni etc. are autonomous linguistic systems, their official derecognition has led to their progressive dialectisation. The various domains of societal use for a language beginning from primary education to use in public places are increasingly impinged upon by Standard Hindi. In consequence, the languages are now restricted to home and informal domains only, regressing to a real dialect--like position. This is the consequence of juridical criteria being employed in defining a language.

Finally, the linguistic criteria applied to the task of separating languages from dialects. The mutual intelligibility test, which apparently is the primary criterion in making this distinction has been discussed earlier, and it has been argued that mutual intelligibility between varieties is the result rather than the cause. Language viewed as a system and the dialect a sub-system presuppose the possibility of complete information transfer between the varieties in redictable terms. Although this is very crucial for structural dialectology it is a narrow exercise. There is no linguistic region which is drawn by purely linguistic criterion. Reality shows that language boundaries, as followed in India

in demarcating the boundaries of linguistic states, are a product of various considerations. Similarly, Yerukula variety of speech inspite of its intrinsic or linguistic distance from Tamil, that is to say no transformation of information is possible between these two systems could yet be treated as a dialect of Tamil not for linguistic reasons but for pressing sociological ones. Such possibilities lead to looking at the language not from a purely linguistic point of view but also sociological. In view of these two dimensions, the German sociolinguist Heinz Kloss introduced the concepts of *abstand* and *ausbau* corresponding to what he calls 'language by distance', a linguistic one, and 'language by development' -- a sociological one, respectively (Kloss, 1972). An *abstand* language is a linguistic unit which a linguist would have to call a language by virtue of its intrinsic distance from all other living tongues. An *ausbau* language on the other hand has deliberately been reshaped so as to become vehicles of variegated literary expression. Many of the leading tongues of the world among them English, Tamil, French, Marathi are both *abstand* and *ausbau* languages i.e. they are called languages of both because of their intrinsic distance from all other languages and because of having been made over. However, the concepts are not new to the field of Indian dialectology. Even Grierson used both sets of Criteria in identifying languages in the Indian context. For example, Assamese whose *abstand* status was doubtful was recognised as a language by virtue of its *ausbau* characteristics. Such could be the case also with Malayalam. The only point of interest is, although Grierson uses 'literary expression' as a criterion, it remains non-descript while Kloss is quite specific about the nature of 'literary expression' which he says helps in reshaping a language. 'I wish to emphasise at least one point that in our age it is not so much by means of poetry and fiction that a language is reshaped but by means of non-narrative prose. Achievements in the realm of information, not of imagination, lend lasting prestige in our age to standard languages old and new', Further, he provided steps to measure the levels of planned language reshaping.

The three levels of non-narrative prose (np) he isolates are:

1. Popular np (roughly corresponding to primary school level) : community development, devotional and/or political booklets etc.
2. Refined np (roughly corresponding to secondary school level).
3. Learned np (roughly corresponding to higher education) intricate research on group-oriented problems; other original research work. (Kloss : p.241).

The important contribution of Kloss to dialectology is not in providing both linguistic and sociological criteria in identifying a language, but in providing tools to measure the level of language development along sociological dimensions, which to my knowledge remained by far unexplored. Kloss's thought mostly based upon European data is yet to be put to Indian linguistic situation. Language Division in collaboration with the International Centre for Research on Bilingualism, Canada, has undertaken a survey of Indian languages which will provide linguistic and sociological data in identifying both *abstand* and *ausbau* languages and more importantly the level of *ausbau* developments.

However, coming back to the question of development of a standard language, we have to remain aware of the circumstances which have encouraged separate developments for two variants of a single language thus bringing about a polycentric standard language. An obvious example of a polycentric standard language is English with British and American English standards. Development of polycentric standards is quite normal where a language is dominant in two or more geographically separated countries, as in the case of Bengali in Bangla Desh and India, or even Tamil in Sri Lanka and

India. But unless the twin standards show intrinsic differences of high magnitude, it would be quite natural to treat them as a single language. Therefore, it is not necessarily true that a language should have only one standard. Under geographical or political circumstances a language could be polycentric. In purely linguistic terms even Hindi and Urdu could be treated as two standards of a single language.

Now consider the other side of the story, i.e., from multiple standards to lack of standards. It is quite possible to view of a linguistic situation where a dialect or a group of dialects no longer overlaid, and thus shielded by the received standard naturally corresponding to them. Illustrating this situation Kloss says -- 'In any given geographical area, two forms of language A may exist side by side or rather one top of the other; a spoken regional dialect and a written standard language that in daily conversation is used by no one or only by members of a small upper stratum of society. Let me call the standard A<sup>1</sup> and the dialect A<sup>2</sup>. Supposing now A is gradually being replaced by B -- the language of the dominant ethnic majority group. In many cases what disappears first is A the standard language -- while A<sup>2</sup>, the dialect, may continue to live on for decade, being a 'roofless dialect' (Kloss : p.242). It is quite clear that the concept 'roofless dialect' presupposes the pre-existence of a written standard language corresponding to it. It is quite possible to apply the term erroneously particularly in Indian context, to dialect or dialects which were never standardised or written. For example, many of our tribal languages, show distinct dialects. These languages are neither standardised nor written. Should these dialects be called 'roofless dialects'? To quote S.B. Bhattacharya -- 'There are few places on earth like India where there is very little standardisation in language and other spheres of culture yet achieved, where the society has not yet lost its mobility, where, besides the physical and social isolation of the people, there is still a predominance of rural life among them, all these being important factors which help

the formation and maintenance of dialects' (Bhattacharya 1973, p.88). Elsewhere he says -- 'We wish to stress now that these tribal tongues do not have any literary or standard colloquial form. They are a conglomeration of dialects each having equal claims for superiority over others' (Bhattacharya, 1973, p.89).

For example: Malto shows the following kind of dialect variation roughly corresponding to three sub-tribes like Sawaria Paharia, Malpaharia and Kumar Paharia.

In the lexical level:

<i>Sawaria</i>	<i>Mal</i>	<i>Kumar</i>	
<i>kakali</i>	<i>kaṛme</i>	<i>kaṇme</i>	'waist'
<i>eeto</i>	<i>masla</i>	<i>baasla</i>	'cockroach'
<i>sabṛi</i>	<i>siri</i>	<i>moñe</i>	'ladder'
<i>punu</i>	<i>gaai</i>	<i>gaayi</i>	'wound, etc'

(For details see Mahapatra, 1979, pp.202-219).

It is needless to say that none of these dialects are standardised nor are these put to any written convention. Should these be called roofless dialects then? Further, could we extend the concept to the so-called unclassified speech varieties of Grierson which he daubs as 'unclassified Gipsy languages' or the large number of Tibeto-Chinese dialects which are according to him -- 'formless, ever moving, ant-horde or dialects' (Grierson, 1926, p.40). In the same vein, nearly 527 dialects for the language census, 1961 have been isolated by Nigam as 'unclassifiable' -- (Nigam, 1961, P.GL XXVIII). An unclassified variety merely signifies that the variety in question has apparently no counterpart with which it can share transfer of information, and this should be possible only when language is viewed as a 'system consisting of sub-systems' (Andrewskutty, 1973, p.41). This can also happen within a language irrespective of the fact whether the language is standardised or not. For example, the Malto dialects are true sub-systems

of a single language Malto, although none of the dialects is standardised. All the dialects are on equal footing and the identification of a particular variety as the norm will rest upon some amount of arbitrariness. The Kumarbhadg might claim that he is the highest in social hierarchy and it is natural that his variety alone is given the status of standard Malto. The Sawria might claim the same position in view of its largest size and Malpharia its equi-distance from both the varieties. The evolution of a standard is matter of various social processes, and until the dialects undergo that sea of change, they do remain bound to each other as sub-systems and should not be called 'roofless dialects', in Kloss's sense. The true roofless dialect is the one which has lost its once existing standard form to another language. Such a situation has developed in case of many varieties presently grouped under Hindi, the striking of these being the case of so-called Bihari dialects. The three main speeches which belong to this group are Bhojpuri, Maithili and Magahi. Bhojpuri and Magahi do not have much of a literary history, yet Grierson argues that Bhojpuri is a standardised speech. The varieties of Bhojpuri isolated by him are : 'The Standard, the Western and Nagpuria' (Grierson, Vol.V, Pt.II, p.42). In case of Maithili, he is equally positive. 'The standard dialect is the language which is specially called Trihutiya by people in other parts of India. It is called Maithili by its speakers. It is spoken in its greatest purity by Maithili Brahmins, and the other higher castes of its habitat' (Grierson, above, p.54). With regard to its development Chatterji remarks that 'The Brahmins of Mithila did not despise their mother-tongue, and we have an unbroken literary record in Maithili from the beginning of 14th century, probably even earlier, down to the present day' (Chatterji, 1926, p.102). And with reference to its present position he adds a note saying -- 'maithili as language of public life and literature has been largely suppressed by High Hindi and Urdu during the latter part of the last century' (Above, p.102). In the process, Maithili has lost its



original script, its literary standard, and its elite speakers. In a recent survey, undertaken by the Language Division, it has been established that though Maithili still continues to exist as a spoken tongue, the language functions of Maithili are progressively taken over by Hindi. Even, it is very doubtful, if mother tongue education in the primary level is any more available to the Maithili children. And to that Kloss forewarns -- 'Wherever the language of the primary schools above the first grade is Hindi, and Hindi only, you might presume that the local speech variety is in the process of becoming dialectised and that within the foreseeable future the speakers of the vernacular will consider their vernacular to stand to Hindi in a dialect-like relationship. You thus add their number to that of the speakers of Hindi' (Above, p.255). This is precisely what happened not to Maithili alone, but to scores of others who are no longer shielded by a standard. These are not merely 'ant-horde' of dialects, but have become truly roofless dialects.

#### REFERENCES

1. Andrewskutty, A.P. 1973. 'Speech Investigation and the General Linguistics Theory' in V.I. Subramoniam (ed.) *Seminar on Dialectology*, University of Kerala, Trivandrum.
2. Bhattacharya, S.B., 1973. 'Tribal Dialect Survey', In V.I. Subramoniam (ed.) *Seminar on Dialectology*, University of Kerala, Trivandrum.
3. Chambers, J.K. & Trudgill Peter, 1980. *Dialectology*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
4. Chatterji, S.K. 1926. *The Origin and development of the Bengali language*, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., Pt. I.

5. Grierson, G.A. 1926. *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol.V, Pt.I.
6. -----, 1926. *Linguistic Survey of India*. Vol.V, Pt.II.
7. Hockett, C.F. 1958. *A course in Modern Linguistics*, The Macmillan Company, New York.
8. Hudson, R.A., 1980. *Sociolinguistics*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
9. Kelkar, A.R., 1969. 'The Scope of linguistic Survey', In S.Channessian, C.A.Ferguson, E.C. Polome (ed.) *Language Surveys in Developing Nations*. Centre for Applied Linguistics, Virginia, 1975.
10. Khubchandani, L.M. 1972. 'Fluidity in Mother tongue Identity', in *Theoretical Issues in Sociolinguistics*, (Mimeograph).
11. Kloss, Heins. 1972. *Indian Census Centenary Seminar*, Vol.I. Registrar General of India, New Delhi.
12. Mahapatra, B.P. 1968. 'Bhuyan Dialect'. In *Bulletin of the Anthropological Survey of India*. Vol.XII, No.2.
13. -----, 1979, *Malto -- an Ethnosemantic Study*, Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore.
14. Nigam, R.C. 1961. *Census of India*, (Language Tables), Vol.I, Pt.II - C (ii).
15. Robins, R.H. 1964. *General Linguistics*, Longman, London.
16. Sankoff, G. 1969, 'Mutual Intelligibility, bilingualism and linguistic boundaries'. In *International Days of Sociolinguistics Rome*.



## **7. DAKHNI URDU IN ITS DRAVIDIAN LINGUISTIC ENVIRONMENT**

Abdul Gaffar Shakeel

### **Urdu - a Pan-Indian Language and its Dialects.**

Urdu is a Pan-Indian language and is one of the major languages of India that have been recognised and specified in the 8th Schedule of the Constitution of India. Linguistically speaking, it is an Indo-Aryan language. Owing to the different geographical and social environments in which Urdu has been in use since its inception in the 13th century A.D. to the present day, it has split into several dialects and sociolects spread all over the Indian sub-continent.

In accounting for the heterogeneity of the Urdu language, Consideration of the types of Variation, regional, social and historical has been over looked. Sometimes these varieties of Urdu are broadly divided into two groups:

- (i) Urdu of North India, and
- (ii) Urdu of South India.

These two varieties developed in two different

geographical regions under different linguistic environments and social contexts. Sir George Grierson in his 'Linguistic Survey of India' Volume I and IX has given a brief account of the dialects of Urdu of North and South India. In South India it is named as 'Dakhni Urdu', whose development took place in a totally different non-Aryan linguistic environment, that is in the multiplicity of the Dravidian languages of South India. But Grierson's account of these varieties of Urdu is not Comprehensive, adequate and satisfactory.

Both the varieties of Urdu of North and South India show differences at the phonological and grammatical levels and also in vocabulary to some extent, which force us to further divide them into sub-dialects. In the Linguistic survey of India reference is made to Delhi Urdu, Lucknow Urdu, Bombay Urdu, Madras Urdu and so on.

The investigation of these regional dialects and their characteristics and the mapping of these characteristics by making isoglosses provide important information about the variation in Urdu throughout the country. Besides these regional varieties Urdu includes different codes namely local varieties within a single code such as 'Standard Urdu' employed for formal speech, education, printing of books, newspapers and broadcasting.

Next to these varieties, social class dialects of a particular regional variant such as Urdu of the educated and uneducated persons, of the upper class, middle class or of the lower class people, stylistic varieties, registers and idiolects come into the realm of sociolinguistics. Each of these varieties can be studied from the dialectal and sociolinguistic point of view.

### **Dakhni Urdu**

Dakhni Urdu of South India as used today in Tamil Nadu, Andhra, Karnataka and Kerala shows not only regional variation in these states but also stylistic

diversity from state to state. A study of these varieties has great importance and bearing to scholars of Indo-Aryan and Dravidian linguistics and also to the scholars of dialectology and sociolinguistics. Connected with the study of these varieties are certain problems of language use, the role of language in language teaching and learning by the bilinguals and multilinguals of South India. In the Indian dialectal and sociolinguistic context, dialects of Urdu have much to offer and open new vistas for finding relationship between linguistic and social behaviour among different speech communities who use these dialects as bilinguals.

A thorough and intensive study of the Urdu dialects particular of Dakhni Urdu in its Dravidian linguistic environment, which needs much field work, time, labour and resources has not been attempted so far.

I venture here to draw the attention of scholars to some areas of research and to some problems of Indo-Aryan and Dravidian dialectology, particularly to the problems of Dakhni speakers in Dravidian states.

### **Historical Background of Dakhni Urdu**

It is appropriate here to first give a brief account of the historical background of the evolution of Dakhni Urdu in South India before going into the details of Dakhni Urdu dialect studies.

\* Dakhni Urdu is that form of Urdu whose historical and linguistic evolution took place in the Deccan. The original home of Urdu is the area in and around Delhi in North India. During the 13th century A.D. while Urdu was still in the making and passing through its early stage of evolution, it was just a spoken tongue. Persian was the official language and all administration was carried in it, after the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate. The masses of this area employed this early form of Urdu for their daily conversation and interaction.

### Linguistic Waves of Urdu in the Deccan

For the first time, Urdu which was still in its infancy was brought to the Deccan with the soldiers of Alauddin Khilji in 1294 A.D. who were speaking Urdu as their mother tongue. Alauddin expanded his domain beyond the Vindhya and conquered Devagiri. Thus the first linguistic wave of Urdu reached the 'Dravida land' with its major languages Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam.

Later in the year 1307 A.D. Alauddin after ascending the throne of Delhi sent his general Malik Kafur whose army victoriously advanced as far as Dwara-samudram. This second invasion of the army people from the north brought another linguistic wave which was again followed by a third one, when Mohammad Tughlaq conquered a greater part of South India and made Daulatabad his capital. Besides these successive waves a number of muslim saints (Sufis) from North India came and settled in the Deccan to preach the doctrines of Islam amongst the emigrants from North India who had made their homes in this part of the country. This created a fertile ground and suitable atmosphere for the development of Urdu in the South.

The speech Community of the immigrants included in it people of different strata; government officials, soldiers, tradesmen, saints and common people. When these people settled in the Deccan they found themselves surrounded by the different Dravidian languages which were quite alien to them. There was no other alternative before these people but to use the common speech that is Urdu which they had brought with them for their daily conversational needs.

With the establishment of the Bahmani Kingdom with Gulbarga as its capital in 1347 A.D. the ties between North and South India were broken. This indirectly helped the fast development of Urdu in South as Persian was

dominating in the north and there was no royal support to Urdu there where as the Bahmani Kings become patrons of Urdu in the South.

Later after the fall of the Bahmani Kingdom five independent kingdoms viz. Adil Shahi, Qutub Shahi, Ahmed Shahi, Nizam Shahi and Surced Shahi came up. Of these Adil Shahi, Qutub Shahi and Nizam Shahi kings gave royal support to the development of Urdu. Gradually spoken Urdu became the Vehicle of literature and several prose writers and poets contributed to Dakhni Urdu literature. A few kings like Ibrahim Adil Sha, Quli Qutub Sha, etc. composed Urdu poems. From the 13th century to the 16th century A.D. Dakhni Urdu developed rapidly both as a language of literature and daily communication in the Dravidian linguistic environment. On it there was the influx of Perso -- Arabic words on the one hand and to a lesser degree of the Dravidian words which was the result of the language contact.

The causes of this influx which are responsible for bringing in dialect variation in Urdu and giving it a new name viz Dakhni Urdu are manifold:

- (i) The mutual contact of the different speech communities demandad a mixed vocabulary intelligible to both Urdu and Dravidian language speakers;
- (ii) The Muslims had brought a new culture quite distinct from that of the Dravidian culture. With it many new things and their names were introduced into the Dravidian languages;
- (iii) Since Persian and Arabic were the languages of the ruling muslims, both the speech communications were delighted to use Perso-Arabic words in their conversation and particularly the use of Perso-Arabic administrative and judicial terms was inevitable.



Indirectly the phonology of the Urdu language was influenced and resulted in the incorporation of certain new phonemes alien to it. Dravidian words were borrowed into Urdu but the number of such words is comparatively less.

On the other hand Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam borrowed hundreds of words of Perso-Arabic origin and they are still in use with some difference in their pronunciation.

The two speech communities which, in the beginning were alien to each other came closer as centuries passed and this alienation disappeared and a need was felt by both for a common link language. Dravidian languages have their own speech traits and characteristic linguistic features, because of which they are different from each other. No one of these could become a link language the diverse speech communities of South India. In the complexity of these Dravidian languages, Dakhni Urdu was the only language which had spread all over South India and was best suited to all to serve as link language.

The nature and influence of the contact of Urdu speakers in different Dravidian states and their respective languages has been historically, socially and linguistically different. Dialectal differences are significant to identify the 'Competence' and 'Performance' of Dakhni speakers of different Dravidian states and classify it into sub-dialects such as Dakhni Urdu of Tamil Nadu, of Andhra, of Karnataka and of Kerala. It is not possible to go into the details of these dialect studies in this short paper. It is a vast area and need much linguistic research and endeavour. As an illustration a few observations with reference to the linguistic contact of Dakhni and the influence of the Dravidian languages on its phonology and vocabulary are given below within one Dravidian State viz Karnataka and its language Kannada.

### Kannada and Dakhni Urdu

Kannada is the major language of the state of Karnataka. It is both the regional and official language of the state claiming majority in the number of speakers. Dakhni Urdu speakers form a minority. Besides these two languages there are linguistic minorities speaking Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Marathi. Most of the people are bilingual and a few are multilingual, particularly in big cities like Bangalore, Mysore, Bijapur, Gulbarga, Bidar, Tumkur, people are mostly bilingual. This situation has prevailed in Karnataka since many centuries and continues even to the present day and has affected the various levels of the Kannada and Dakhni languages.

At the Phonological level we see that in Dakhni certain Phonemes of Dravidian origin through Kannada have crept in. A look at the phonological system of Dakhni is worth here.

### The Phonological System of Dakhni Urdu

Dakhni Urdu of Karnataka has the following segmental Phonemes:

#### Consonants:

p	t	t̪	c	k
ph	th	ṭh	ch	kh
b	d	ḍ	j	g
bh	dh	ḍh	jh	gh
m	n	ṇ		ṅ
mh	ṇh			
f	s		ʃ	x
	z			ɣ

r	r̥
rh	
l	l̥
lh	

**Vowels:**

i	u
I	U
e	o
ə	a

Of these phonemes, the phonemes /ŋ/, /mh/, /nh/, /rh/, /lh/ and /l̥/ are unique to Dakhni Urdu in the sense that these phonemes are not the phonemes of Urdu of North India. /ŋ/ and /l̥/ which are retroflex nasal and lateral sounds are an integral part of Dakhni Urdu phonological system. How these two Phonemes of Dravidian origin made their way into the phonological system of Dakhni Urdu and what historical linguistic facts led to their appearance is yet to be investigated. Undoubtedly these Phonemes have been borrowed from Kannada where it is found in such words as:

/mensu/	'Chillies'
/mɛɳa/	'Wax'

and a number of other Dakhni Urdu words with these phonemes are:

/tɛɳɳa/	'to stand erect'
/cɛɳɳa/	'to climb'
/suɳ/	'trunk of a elephant'
/kani/	'squint eyed (female)'

In the Urdu of North India /ŋ/ phoneme is absent and in few words it occurs not as a separate phoneme but as an allophone of /n/ the alveolar nasal followed by a retroflex consonant phoneme.

Similarly the retroflex lateral phoneme /ɭ/ is also a Dravidian sound borrowed in Dakhni Urdu phonology. Kannada words with this phoneme are

/məɭe/	'rain'
/kəɭla/	'thief'
/bahaɭa/	'too much'

In Dakhni Urdu /ɭ/ occurs in the following words:

/təɭ/	'a dry coconut'
/pəɭ/	'barren, unfertile land'
/uəɭla/	'a vessel to feed the baby'

In North Indian Urdu [ɭ] occurs not as a phoneme but as an allophone of /l/ in the environment of retroflex consonant.

/mh/, /nh/, /rh/ and /lh/ are the aspirated counterparts of /m/, /n/, /r/ and /l/ respectively. All these are separate phonemes in Dakhni Urdu and contrast with unaspirated phonemes. /mh/ and /nh/ occur only in the initial position and they are not found medially and finally. Kannada speakers deaspirate these sounds while talking to the Dakhni speakers in Dakhni Urdu. Although deaspiration is a significant feature of Dakhni in medial and final position, all the above aspirated phonemes are fully aspirated if they occur initially in words. How far the deaspiration of phonemes in medial and final position in Dakhni is due to the influence of Dravidian and whether or not it is under Dravidian influence is to be investigated.

Dakhni Urdu has a peculiar vowel sound [æ] which is an allophone of the phoneme /o/. Other allophones



of this phoneme are [o] and [oo]. The three allophones of /o/ differ in height as well as in their distribution. [oo] occurs in close syllables, e.g. : [coor] 'thief'; [o] in final syllables, e.g. [do] 'two' and [ɔ] occurs in close syllables before double consonants, e.g. : [pɔ t̪ta] 'a vagabond'

The allophone [ɔ] is absent in the Urdu of North India and it may be presumed that it might have been borrowed into Dakhni from Kannada Borrowings and other Dravidian words having this sound. Dr.S.M.Qadri Zor's book noted this allophone in 1930 in his book 'Hindustani Phonetics', but did not trace its origin. In Kannada it appears in words like:

/mɔ t̪te/	'egg'
/dɔ sse/	'a rice cake'

As pointed out earlier, in Karnataka mostly the speakers are bilinguals. Their mutual accent and intonation patterns also have played a significant role on the speakers of the two communities. Research on this aspect of intonation may give very interesting results. It is worth mentioning here that Dakhni Speakers of Tamil Nadu speak Urdu with the Tamil accent; in Andhra with the Telugu accent and in Karnataka with Kannada intonation which shows regional divergence.

As a result of these linguistic and sociolinguistic influences, Dakhni Urdu of South India could not keep up its uniformity and has given rise to sub-dialects creating heterogeneity in Dakhni speech. Since both forces of homogeneity and heterogeneity are at work, Dakhni speakers of different Dravidian states face no problem of mutual intelligibility, though they are quite aware of the sharp regional differences of pronunciation and vocabulary.

### Echo - Word Formation

Another significant influence of Dravidian on Dakhni



can be seen in the formation of echo-words. There is similarity in both Kannada and Dakhni Urdu in this regard. Jules Bloch and M.B.Emeneau have taken note of the echo-word formation in Dravidian languages where generally a construction in which a basic word formulated as C V X is followed by an echo-word in which C V is replaced by a morpheme {-gi} or {-u} and X echoes X (C= any Consonant and V= any Vowel). The meaning of the echo-word is 'and the like'. Nearly all the Dravidian languages have {-gi} in the construction of an echo-word. In Indo-Aryan it is not {-gi} but it is {-u...}. Dakhni Urdu which is Indo-Aryan language does not use {-u...} but uses {-gi} in the formation of its echo-words

e.g. /paani-giini/ 'water and the like'

On the Cannada pattern:

/puḷi giḷi/ 'tiger and the like'

/niiru giiru/ 'water and the like'

Of all the Indo-Aryan languages, Dakhni Urdu is the only dialect which follows the pattern of the Dravidian languages. This is clearly an instance of language contact which shows the process of ethnic and cultural assimilation which reached its culmination in linguistic traits.

Echo-word formation is a Pan-Indian feature. Indo-Aryan languages received it from Dravidian a non-Aryan family of languages. Indo-European does not have this feature to have come into Indo-Aryan.

### Syntactic Pattern of Dravidian Languages and Dakhni Urdu

The syntactic patterns of certain sentences are similar in the Dravidian languages and Dakhni Urdu. A sentence in Kannada becomes ordinarily a good Dakhni Urdu sentence by substituting Dakhni words for the Kannada words. Ordinarily the word order in both languages is subject-object-verb (SOV). The omission of the copula is common in both.



Another significant influence of Dravidian on Dakhni Urdu is in the use of Conjunctive, meaning 'having said' or 'having done'. It is an idiomatic use in the sense 'as, because', recapitulating and introducing a conditional clause.

### Borrowings in Kannada

By the end of the 16th century Dakhni Urdu had spread almost all over South India. In Karnataka it had the patronage of the Adil Shahi Kings and later in the 18th century it witnessed a rapid growth when Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan ruled over Mysore between 1761-1799 A.D. The permanent settlement of Urdu speakers in Karnataka may be traced back to the conquest of Bijapur in 1686 when the Moghals conquered it. A large number of officials and common people consisting of many families made their homes in various parts of Karnataka. Perso-Arabic words pertaining to administration, judiciary, military, book-keeping, revenue, etc. were borrowed in Kannada. A few such words are listed below and attention of the scholars is drawn to the phonological treatment given to these words by the Kannada speakers who bring in phonetic features and tendencies of the Dravidian languages while using the Perso-Arabic words.

Perso Arabic Words	Kannada usage	Meaning
/xərc/	/kharou/	'expenditure'
/daxile/	/dakhile/	'vouchers'
/zəbti/	/jəpti/	'attachment under a court order'.
/fəisla/	/phəisla/	'judgement'
/mahzər/	/mahjər/	'a document signed by the chief person of an office in attestation of the truth of things.'

/xəridi/	/kharidi/	'net price'
/nəfa/	/nəphe/	'profit'
/nɪrx/	/nɪrkhu/	'price'
/sərraf/	/sərapha/	'a jeweller'
/qʊbul/	/khəbuli/	'confession'
/xuni/	/khuni/	'a murderer'
/jurmana/	/jurmana/	'fine' (N)
/təqsir/	/təksiru/	'mislike, crime'
/fəujdari/	/phəujdari/	'criminal'
/mucəlka/	/muccəlge/	'a penalty bond'
/səza/	/səja/	'punishment'
/lštehar/	/lštiyaru/	'notification'
/qaeda/	/kaida/	'rule, law'
/gošwara/	/gosware/	'an abstract'
/tərbɪt/	/tərbetu/	'training'
/laɪq/	/laik/	'able, fit'
/hazri/	/haJiri/	'presence'
/nəql/	/nəkəlu/	'a copy, true copy'
/rUJU/	/rUJU/	'signature'
/fərarɪ/	/phərarɪ/	'a run away' (N)
/dərɒxast/	/dərkhast/	'an application'
/səbəb/	/səbəbu/	'reason, cause'
/marɪfət/	/marɪphət/	'by means of'

We can add hundreds of such borrowings to the above list but we will not do so because the space does not permit. However looking at the above list of borrowed words we see that the Perso-Arabic sounds like /f,z,x,q



and j/ are alien to Kannada and in Kannada they change to /ph, ʃ, kh, K and g/ respectively. Such phonetic changes with reference to the borrowings is a field of further study.

Another interesting thing to note is the addition of a vowel at the end of a borrowed word ending in a consonant. This is a characteristic feature of the Dravidian languages in which no word ends in a consonant. It ends only with a vowel. e.g.:

/mubləʃ/ (A)	/mubləgu/ (K)	'price'
/əhwal/ (A)	/əhwaʊ/ (K)	'state of circumstances'
/hoʃiar/ (P)	/hUʃara/	'alert, healthy'

How the phonologies of the two languages have been influenced by each other particularly in the treatment of borrowed words is an area for dialectologist for further investigation. When two unrelated languages in contact such as Kannada and Dakhni Urdu show some similarity and difference at the various linguistic levels, it gives us a situation which cannot be accommodated within the assumption of classical historical theory. Research is essential about the origins of the bilingual and multilingual communities and the social functions of these aspects and factors that perpetuate or discourage them.

### Conclusion

As pointed out earlier, Dakhni Urdu is the mother tongue of almost all muslims in Karnataka and a few Rajput and Maratha families. Kannada is their second language. These two languages have been in use by the respective speech communities side by side since last seven centuries and have exerted their mutual linguistic influence on each other. The study of their influences, their causes and results have never been

studied in detail. Such a study is not only important and useful for the dialectologists but also to scholars of Indo-Aryan linguistics and Indian sociolinguistics.

This paper has attempted to point out some of the areas for study and research in Dakhni Urdu and Dravidian dialectology. Till now no thorough and intensive study of the mutual influences of Dakhni and Kannada and other Dravidian languages has been done. I would like to draw the attention of the scholars of the respective Dravidian states to undertake a pilot project and field work. The results of such an endeavour will be a laudible contribution to Indian dialectal studies and will also help to solve problems of language teaching and learning among the millions of bilinguals and multilinguals of South India who have set an example of co-existence with affection and respect to each other through the bonds of their linguistic codes.

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bloomfield, L. 1933, *Language*, New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston.
- Chatterji, S.K., *Languages and Literatures of India*.
- Emeneau, M.B., 1956. 'India as a Linguistic Area', *Language* Vol:32.1. pg.3-16.
- Ferguson, C.A. and Gumperz, J (ed.) 1960. 'Linguistic Diversity in south Asia', *IJAL* Vol.26.3. part.II.
- Grierson, G. 1903-28. *Linguistic Survey of India*. Delhi: Motilal Banarasidass, 1967 (reprint).

Southworth, F. Sociolinguistic Research in South India.

Sakeal, A.G. Dakhni Urdu. A Descriptive Analysis (mimeo).

----- Phonological and Morphological Structure of Urdu.

Thampuran, R.V.K. (ed.) 1976. Studies in Dialectology, Trivandrum, University of Kerala (mimeo).

Zore, Qadri, S.M. Hindustan Phonetics.

## **8. A CASE FOR TELUGU DIALECT SURVEY IN TAMIL NADU**

J. Neethivanan

The state of Tamil Nadu has a considerable number of minority languages whose speakers constitute about seventeen percent of the total population of the state. Every sixth person in this state speaks a non-Tamil language as his mother tongue. In some districts this number swells nearly upto thirty percent and above. (Census 1961). In Coimbatore it is 32.46%, in Nilgiris 60.42% and in Madras 29.06%. Districts like North Arcot (18.51%), Salem (24.72%) and Madurai (21.02%), also have a large number of minority languages. In fact these districts constitute the bilingual belt of Tamil Nadu and other districts such as South Arcot, Trichy, Thanjavur, Ramanathapuram, Tirunelveli and Kanyakumari constitute the core of unilingual belt.

According to 1961 Census, which is more detailed, Telugu (3,363, 864), Kannada (947, 828), and Malayalam (404, 346) are the prominent minority languages belonging to the same family as that of the regional language while Urdu, belonging to a different family, is another prominent language spoken by 615, 503 persons. According to the same source, the above four languages and Tamil are the first five numerically strong languages

of the state. The next five languages, Saurashtra, Badaga, Marathi, Hindi and Hindustani are spoken by a total number of about 3.3 lakh of persons which is little more than one percent of the state's population. Kannada, Urdu and Malayalam are spoken by about 5% while Telugu is spoken by about ten percent (9.99% to be exact). Telugu is the most prominent minority language of the state. Outside Andhra Pradesh, it is in Tamil Nadu that Telugu is spoken by a large number of people.

Minority communities in India could broadly be classified into two categories viz., (1) settled minorities and (2) floating minorities. Settled minorities are those who do not have any other homeland other than the state where they now live. They do not go back to their original land of emigration for choosing brides or grooms for their children, they do not remit their earnings outside the place where they earn their bread. By and large they would have assimilated their life-style with the main stream of the regional culture. And sometimes, the homelander may not accept the speech of these groups as 'correct' and 'standard'. For example the brand of Telugu that is spoken by the Telugus in Tamil Nadu is considered as 'corrupt' and it is contemptuously referred to as 'Arava Telugu'. The events and developments that take place in Andhra Pradesh do not have any relevance to the 'Arava Telugus'. Such negative attitudes of the homelander has forced the Telugu minorities in Tamil Nadu to quickly get themselves lost in the regional culture. Such minorities in Tamil Nadu, according to K.Rajayyan, the historian, could very well be labelled neo-Tamils. Except as a cultural language, their mother tongue is not used in other social domains where the regional language is freely used.

The floating minorities, on the other hand, are those who send back their earnings to their homeland. They do not seek any cultural assimilation with the people of the region and they try to maintain their separate identity for ever. At the first opportunity they will move over to another state in search of their

bread and they do not develop any loyalty to any particular soil.

The neo-Tamils have achieved a near total identity with the regional linguistic community and their mother tongue does not have any functional value outside the houses of these speakers and they have given it up in all formal domains such as education, business, administration etc. Linguistic labels such as Telugu, Kannada etc. are used only as identity markers of a particular caste or group. For example, the Telugu speaking Naidu Youth Association in Madurai or the Reddiar Association in Madras is known only as a caste organization and never as a linguistic Organization. Such organizations are never known to have attempted to do anything to promote Telugu studies or culture. According to Perialwar (1983) most of these speakers are not very much enthusiastic about having a Telugu medium school in their area even if provisions are made to start one such school for their children. Literacy in their mother tongue is quite unknown to these neo-Tamils who have but contributed much to the Tamil studies.

Consequent upon such developments the Telugu situation in Tamilnadu is an ideal one for conducting a sociolinguistic survey. Number of sociolinguistic problems remain unstudied and unexplored. The problems relating to mother tongue identity, maintenance or shift, attitude towards the regional language, bilingual education are quite a few to mention. Neither these sociolinguistic problems nor the dialect distributions within TamilNadu have been taken up for serious study by any responsible agency. Except for writing an occasional paper or for partial fulfilment of the requirements for a Master's degree, study and survey of minority languages are still a far cry. This trend could be explained in terms of different factors.

- (i) These neo-Tamils, themselves do not want to be distinguished from the dominant community. When Perialwar went to the field for collecting

data for his project on 'Sociolinguistic aspects of Kammavar Telugus, he was advised by many Telugus not to undertake such studies (1983). Perhaps such communities fear that once they are identified as a distinct group there might develop a threat to whatever political power and social status they enjoy now.

- (ii) Consequent upon the linguistic re-organization of Indian States, most of the state governments assume that every state is unilingual in character and the development of other minority languages is left to the concern of the respective home states. For example, in Madurai Kamaraj University, We have a Malayalam chair with the Financial assistance provided by the Kerala Government, a Telugu chair supported by Andhra Government and a Kannada chair with the grace of Karnataka Government. This is the case everywhere. The plight of those language which do not have a home state is indeed miserable.
- (iii) Recent development in the linguistic field has also contributed its share to such a trend. The emphasis on native intuition as a basic requirement for understanding the underlying linguistic structure has perhaps forced many linguists to operate mostly within the framework of their own mother tongue.

These factors have definitely affected serious linguistic research vis-a-vis minority languages. Sociolinguistic problems among the minority communities are very much alive. One cannot predict as to when will these problems surface to the ground. Problems relating to minority communities in Canada, Sri Lanka, Cyprus, India and a number of other countries have a direct bearing on language and related areas. Perhaps such problems are the result of a failure to understand and solve the sociolinguistic problems of the minority communities.

Studies in minority languages in TamilNadu, particularly with the case of Telugu, as the most prominent minority language become very relevant in this context. Knowledge about the linguistic situation in an area is a pre-requisite for planning any kind of sociolinguistic survey. Telugu in TamilNadu is spoken in all the districts by a number of castes and professional groups. Results of a dialect survey of Telugu language in TamilNadu might resolve some basic questions with regard to the period of migration from the homeland, the migratory route, interference of the regional language and vice versa, and the acceptability or rejection by the homelander.

According to Census 1961, Telugu in TamilNadu is spoken by more than 10% of the population in the following districts:

Madras (14.15%), Chingleput (13.92%),  
N. Arcot (11.13%) Salem (14.82%),  
Coimbatore (20.01%), Madurai (12.50%)

In other districts, Telugu speakers constitute less than 10%. They are as follows:

S. Arcot (4.93%), Nilgiri (7.36%),  
Trichy (6.27%), Thanjavur (6.27%),  
Ramanathapuram (8.27%), Tirunelveli (5.44%),  
Kanyakumari (0.26%).

(Figures relate to the position before the bifurcation of the districts of Salem, Coimbatore, Trichy and Thanjavur).

Among the districts within the bilingual belt, Nilgiri district, a hilly area, alone has less number of Telugus. Among the core unilingual belt, Ramanathapuram is a dry region. This pattern of distribution throws some



light on the migratory route and the settlements. The fertile wet lands fed by Kaveri and Tampiraparani and the hilly region have not been preferred by the Telugu migrants. Their settlements are mostly found along the drylands and plateaus and their agricultural produce is mostly based on black-soil. In Coimbatore the Telugus took up to industries based on cotton -- a produce of dryland. Geographers are of the opinion that when a community migrates from one region to another, it looks for a region with similar geographical factors as a favourable place for settlement (E.Swaminathan, 1983). We may tentatively conclude on this basis that the Telugus of TamilNadu might have migrated from the dry Rayalaseema area of Andhra Pradesh and travelled through the bilingual belt, not going into the core unilingual belt at the first phase. A recent study on the place names in Madurai district (P.A.Manimaran, 1981) has also supplied evidences to prove this. Most of the villages with the surname *patti* in Madurai drylands are mostly inhabited by Telugus. A full fledged Telugu dialect survey in TamilNadu might decisively prove this hypothesis regarding the migration of Telugus. Comparison of Arava-Telugu features and kinship terms with those of Royalaseema features might provide a clue to this hypothesis.

Due to the interference of the regional language, the structure of the minority language is very much affected at all levels. Subsequent innovations, borrowings and adaptations are responsible for the emergence of a variety of Telugu much different from that of the home state which is not recognised by the homelands. Arava-Telugu as it is contemptuously referred to by the Andhraites, has definitely come to stay and this has to be first recognised by Telugus in TamilNadu.

A link variety of Arava-Telugu has to be identified and grammar and dictionaries be prepared. Whatever little amount of Telugu that is taught in the Universities should be the Arava-Telugu since the homeland Telugu will have no role to play within TamilNadu and anyone

who has mastered this will not be able to communicate with his Telugu neighbours. On line with Pattanayak's definitions, Telugu is a second language within Tamil Nadu for a Tamilian while Bengali is a foreign language. While teaching a foreign language, the home variety might be taught; but while teaching a second language the variety used around should be taught.

Some characteristic features of most varieties of Arava-Telugu are the following: (Neethivanan, 1975)

- (i) The absence of aspirated plosives
- (ii) Change of high rounded, back vowel /u/ to high, open, central vowel /ɨ/ in medial and final positions.
- (iii) Frequent occurrence of enunciative vowel /ɨ/ and a subsequent, gradual loss of consonantal ending words.
- (iv) Change of /a/ to /e/ in the final position (e.g.  
yeenike → yeenuga 'elephant')
- (v) Retention of /NP/ forms as in Old Telugu whereas Modern Telugu has only /P/
- (vi) Using the plural marker /-ɨ/ as a derivative marker while borrowing from Tamil  
e.g. todaaɨ → todaɨ 'thigh'

A dialect survey will bring to light many more features such as these which might justify the recognition of Arava-Telugu as an entity of its own. Further, the feature No.(v) just mentioned might throw a clue as to the date of emigration of Telugus from their original homeland.

Following illustrations will support this view:

Old Telugu	Modern Telugu	Arava Telugu	Gloss
<i>iṅga</i>	<i>ṭiga</i>	<i>iṅgaṭ</i>	'fly'
<i>koonti</i>	<i>kooti</i>	<i>koonti</i>	'monkey'
<i>ceempa</i>	<i>ceepa</i>	<i>ceempa</i>	'fish'

It is quite probable that Telugu migration into TamilNadu might have started prior to the period when NP cluster in OT dropped the nasal as in MT. Some more features of OT have also been noted in AT (Perialwar: Personal communication).

Dialect survey and analysis of minority languages might be helpful in quantifying the degree of interference of the regional language over minority languages belonging to different language families. A study of a few samplings from Gavara Telugu speech, Devanga Kannada speech and Saurashtra speech within TamilNadu has demonstrated that the influence of the regional language over the minority languages of same family is much pronounced at the phonological level than at the grammatical level as found with the language of a different family (Neethivanan, 1975). This hypothesis may also be put to test at dialect surveys of minority languages.

The factors that are responsible for the attitude of the homelander in rejecting one variety of their own language as 'corrupt' and unstandard' could also be evaluated through such surveys. Though it is possible to answer this problem simply in terms of social attitude, it is quite probable that some 'linguistic distance' is also responsible for this. A study of few samplings has brought to light some six differences between the home variety and AT. A survey of different varieties of AT would definitely help us to quantify the linguistic distance between these varieties. As the gap goes on widening, the attitude towards acceptance is lessened. It is after all a question of accepting or rejecting a

variety which is less intelligible. Perhaps this explains why the variety of Tamil spoken at Madras city is considered by most of other Tamil speakers as 'Corrupt'. However the reason for not branding the Jaffna Tamil variety as 'corrupt' in spite of the linguistic distance, could be explained only in terms of social attitude right now. This problem needs further explorations.

Dialect surveys of minority languages followed by sociolinguistic surveys in a multilingual country like India would go a long way in promoting mutual respect and understanding between different communities. And to quote Fishman (1977) 'our political and cultural foundations are weakened when large population groupings do not feel encouraged to express, to safeguard, and to develop behavioural patterns that are traditionally meaningful to them'.

#### REFERENCES

1. Fishman, J. 1977, *Language in Socio-Cultural Change*, Stanford University Press, Stanford.
2. Manimaran, P.A. 1981, *Madurai Maavatta Uurppeyargal: Oor Aayvu*. Unpublished Ph.D., dissertation, Madurai Kamaraj University.
3. Mitra, A. (ed.) 1964 *Census of India, 1961 Vol.I, Pt.II C (ii)*, Language Tables, New Delhi.
4. Neethivanan, J. 1975, *The Influence of a Regional Language Over The Minority Languages*. V All-India Conference of Dravidian Linguists, Cochin.
5. Perialwar, R. 1983 *Sociolinguistic Aspects of Kammavar Telugus of Southern Districts of Tamil Nadu: Interim Report on the Survey* (Mimeo).
6. Swaminathan, E. 1983, *Geography and place names in Madurai district* XIII All-India Conference of Dravidian Linguists, Thanjavur.



## 9. PRONOUNS - A CLASSIFICATION IN THE KARAIKAL TAMIL DIALECT

S. Radhakrishnan

This study is concerned with the investigation of the differences in Pronouns in the spoken Tamil from the Karaikal Region of Union Territory Pondicherry. Pronouns in the dialect are compared with written Tamil.

Pronouns in the dialect are classified as personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, reflexive pronouns and interrogative pronouns. They show differences in their ability to distinguish number, gender and person.

Personal pronouns are classified into first person (PN<sub>1</sub>) and second person (PN<sub>2</sub>); singular (PN<sub>1</sub> sg, PN<sub>2</sub> sg.) and plural (PN<sub>1</sub> pl, PN<sub>2</sub> pl). PN<sub>1</sub> pl is further classified into inclusive plural (PN<sub>1</sub> Incl. pl) which includes the speaker and hearer and exclusive plural (PN<sub>1</sub> Excl. pl) which does not include the hearer. PN<sub>2</sub> is classified as (PN<sub>2</sub> sg) and (PN<sub>2</sub> pl). Personal pronouns, PN<sub>1</sub> and PN<sub>2</sub> have distinctions of number, but not gender.

The third person pronouns ( $PN_3$ ) are classified into pronouns human ( $PN_3H$ ) and pronouns non-human ( $PN_3NH$ ) and are also treated as demonstratives. This type of pronouns ( $PN_3H$  and  $PN_3NH$ ) distinguish three genders viz., masculine (M), feminine (F) and neuter (Neut.) and two numbers viz., singular and plural.

Third person human pronouns ( $PN_3H$ ) are again classified into human singular pronoun ( $PN_3H$  sg) and human plural pronoun ( $PN_3H$  pl).  $PN_3H$  sg is divided into human singular masculine pronoun ( $PN_3H$  sg M) and human singular feminine pronoun ( $PN_3H$  sg F). Both of these two genders, masculine and feminine, have separate honorific forms; masculine ( $PN_3H$  sg Hon.M) and feminine ( $PN_3H$  sg Hon.F).  $PN_3H$  Pl is divided into human plural pronoun ( $PN_3H$  pl) and human plural honorific pronoun ( $PN_3H$  pl Hon). All the sub-categories of  $PN_3$  have remote and proximate distinction.

Non-human pronouns at all levels are classified into non-human singular pronouns ( $PN_3NH$  sg) and non-human plural pronoun ( $PN_3NH$  pl). A diagrammatic demonstration of the classification of  $PN_3$  is given. (Diagram:1)

Under the title of other pronouns ( $PN_4$ ) interrogative pronouns ( $PN_4I$ ) and reflexive pronouns ( $PN_4$  Refl) are classified and discussed. Interrogative pronouns can be divided into the two kinds, one distinguishes numbers whereas the other distinguishes both gender and number. Reflexive distinguishes only number.  $PN_4$  classification is demonstrated (Diagram:2) [N indicates nasalization of the preceding vowel].

#### Personal Pronouns

##### First Person ( $PN_1$ )

##### First Person Singular ( $PN_1$ sg)

{naaN} / eeN-∞ ene-∞ Nenn - ∞ naaN/

∞ ene- occurs before dative case suffix -ku

∞ee occurs before case suffixes other than -ku and φ and before free particles such as *meele*, *kiize*, *edure*, *pakoN*, etc.

<i>eeN</i> (φ) <i>nellu</i>	>	<i>eeN nellu</i>	'my paddy or Paddy I Possess'
<i>eeN+te</i>	>	<i>een<sub>te</sub></i> ( <i>eengite</i> )	'with me, in me'
<i>eeN+kuude</i>	>	<i>eenguude</i>	'along with me; with me'
<i>eeN+meele</i>	>	<i>eeNmeele</i> ( <i>eemeele</i> )	'on me'

*Nenn* - Occurs before vowels

<i>enn-oode maveN</i>	>	<i>'my son'</i>
<i>enn-e paataange</i>	>	<i>enne paataange</i> 'they saw me'
<i>enn-aale mudile</i>	>	<i>ennaale mudile</i> '(it) is not by me'

∞ naaN occurs elsewhere

naaN 'I'

naaN *onnuN* *seyle* 'I did not do anything'

First Person Pronoun Plural (PN<sub>1</sub> Pl)

First Person Pronoun - Inclusive Plural (PN<sub>1</sub> Incl. pl.)

PN<sub>1</sub> Incl. pl. is denoted by the morpheme

{(namme ∞ nambe)} 'having allomorphs'

/ (namme ∞ (nambe), ∞ name-∞ nambl - /

∞name occurs before dative case suffix -ku

*name-ku* > *nameku* 'to us'



*nambɪ-* occurs before vowels

*nambɪ-e* > *nambɪe* 'us (Acc.)'

*nambɪ-aale* > *nambɪaale* 'by us'

*nambɪ-oode* > *nambɪoode* 'with us/our'

*nambɪ-uku* > *nambɪuku* 'for us'

∞ *namme* (*nambe*) occurs elsewhere.

*namme* (*nambe*) 'we'

First Person Pronoun Exclusive Plural (PN<sub>1</sub> Excl.pl)

First person exclusive plural is denoted by the morpheme { *naange* } having allomorphs

/*naange*, ∞ *enge-* *Nengɪ-/*

*Nemɪɪ-* occurs before vowels

*engɪ-uku* > *engɪuku* 'for us'

*engɪ-aale* > *engɪaale* 'by us'

*engɪ-oode* > *engɪoode* 'with us'

∞ *enge-* occurs before genitive suffix -  $\phi$  and free particles viz., *meele*, *kiize*

*enge-( $\phi$ ) vaye* > *engevaye* 'our paddy field'

*enge-meele* > *engemeele* 'on us'

*enge-kite* > *engekite* 'with us'

∞ *naange* occurs elsewhere

*naange* 'we'

Second Person (PN<sub>2</sub>)

Personal Pronoun - Second Person Singular (PN<sub>2</sub> sg)

PN<sub>2</sub> sg is denoted by the morpheme { *nii* } having allomorphs /∞ *ooN* ∞ *nii/*

- ∞ ooN- occurs before consonants and  $\phi$   
 ooN-kite > oongite 'with you' (loc)  
 ooN- $\phi$  uudu > ooN uudu 'your house'  
 ooN-kuude > oonguude 'with you  
 (Association)

- ∞ one- occurs with dative suffix -ku  
 one-ku > oneku 'to you'

- ∞ onn- occurs before vowels  
 onne-e > onne 'you (Nom)'  
 onn-oode > onnoode 'with you'  
 onn-aale > onnaale 'by you'

- ∞ nii occurs elsewhere.  
 nii 'you'

#### Personal Pronoun Second person Plural (PN<sub>2</sub> pl)

PN<sub>2</sub> pl has the morpheme { niinge } having three allomorphs /onge-~~n~~ongl- ∞ niinge/

- ∞ onge- occurs with genitive, locative and associative case suffixes.  
 onge- $\phi$  uuru > onge uuru 'your native place'  
 onge-kite > ongekite 'with you'  
 onge-kuude > ongekuude 'with you'
- ∞ ongl- occurs before vowels.  
 ongl-aale > ongl<sup>a</sup>aale 'by you'  
 ongl-uku H ongl<sup>u</sup>uku 'to you'  
 ongl-e > ongle 'you (Acc.)'
- ∞ niinge occurs elsewhere.  
 niinge 'you'



## Remote (R):

Remote (R) demonstrative pronoun has only one morpheme { a- } having allomorph /a-/

## Singular (Sg)

## Masculine (M)

- a-vuru* > *avuru* 'that - he' (PN<sub>3</sub> H sg M. Hon<sub>1</sub>R)  
*a-vunge* > *avunge* 'that - he' (PN<sub>3</sub> H sg M Hon<sub>2</sub> R)  
*a-veN* > *aven* 'that - he' (PN<sub>3</sub> H sg M Hon R)

## Feminine (F)

- a-du* > *adu* 'that - she' (PN<sub>3</sub> H sg F Hon<sub>1</sub> R)  
*a-vunge* > *avunge* 'that - she' (PN<sub>3</sub> H sg F Hon<sub>2</sub> R)  
*a-ve* > *ave* 'she - that' (PN<sub>3</sub> H sg F Hon R)

## Neuter (NH)

- a-du* > *adu* 'it-that' (PN<sub>3</sub> NH sg R)

## Plural (pl)

## Masculine (M)

- a-vunge* > *avunge* 'that-they' (PN<sub>3</sub>H pl M Hon R)  
*a-vununge* > *avununge* 'that-they' (PN<sub>3</sub> H pl M Hon R)  
 (*avunuvo*)

## Feminine (F)

- a-duvo* > *aduvo* 'that she-they' (PN<sub>3</sub> H pl F Hon R)  
 (*adunge*)  
*a-vuluvo* > *avuluvo* 'that she-they' (PN<sub>3</sub> H pl F Hon R)  
*a-vunge* > *avunge* 'that-they' (PN<sub>3</sub> h Pl F Hon R)



## Neuter (NH)

*a-duvo* > *aduvo* 'they-that' (PN<sub>3</sub> NH pl R)

## Proximate (P):

Proximate (P) demonstrative pronoun has only one morpheme {/i-/} having allomorph /i-/.

## Singular

## Masculine (M)

*i-vuru* > *ivuru* 'he-this' (PN<sub>3</sub> H sg M Hon<sub>1</sub> P)

*i-vunge* > *ivunge* 'he-thi' (PN<sub>3</sub> H sg M Hon<sub>2</sub> P)

*i-veN* > *iveN* 'he-th.' (PN<sub>3</sub> H sg M N Hon P)

## Feminine (F)

*i-du* > *idu* 'this-she' (PN<sub>3</sub> H sg F Hon<sub>1</sub> P)

*i-vunge* > *ivunge* 'this-she' (PN<sub>3</sub> H sg F Hon<sub>2</sub> P)

*i-ve* > *ive* 'this-she' (PN<sub>3</sub> H sg F N Hon P)

## Neuter (NH)

*i-du* > *idu* 'this-it' (PN<sub>3</sub> NH sg P)

## Plural

## Masculine (M)

*i-vunge* > *ivunge* 'they-this' (PN<sub>3</sub> H pl M Hon P)

*i-vununge* > *ivununge* 'they-this' (PN<sub>3</sub> H pl M N Hon P)

## Feminine (F)

*i-duvo* > *iduvo* 'this-she-they' (PN<sub>3</sub> H pl F Hon P)

*i-vuluvo* > *ivuluvo* 'this-she-they' (PN<sub>3</sub> H pl FN Hon P)

## Neuter (NH)

*i-duvo* > *iduvo* 'they-this' (PN<sub>3</sub> NH pl p)



Other Pronouns (PN<sub>4</sub>)Interrogative Pronoun (PN<sub>4</sub> I)

Interrogative pronoun is classified as in the Diagram-2.

{ yaa- } /yaa- ∞ be-/

∞yaa- occurs with non-neuter suffix -ru

yaa-ru > yaaru 'who'

∞e- occurs elsewhere.

## Singular

e-vuru > evuru 'who' (PN<sub>4</sub> I sg M N Hon<sub>1</sub>)

e-vunge > evunge 'who' (PN<sub>4</sub> I sg M Hon<sub>2</sub>)

e-veN > eveN 'who' (PN<sub>4</sub> I sg MN Hon)

e-ve > eve 'who' (PN<sub>4</sub> I sg F N Hon)

e-du > edu 'who' (PN<sub>4</sub> I sg Neut)

## Plural

e-vunuvo > evunuvo 'who' (PN<sub>4</sub> I pl M N Hon)

e-vunge > evunge 'who' (PN<sub>4</sub> I pl M Hon)

e-duvo > eduvo 'who' (PN<sub>4</sub> I pl F Hon)

(e-dunge) (edunge)

e-vu<sub>l</sub>u<sub>v</sub>o > evu<sub>l</sub>u<sub>v</sub>o 'who' (PN<sub>4</sub> I pl F N Hon)

(evu<sub>l</sub>unge)

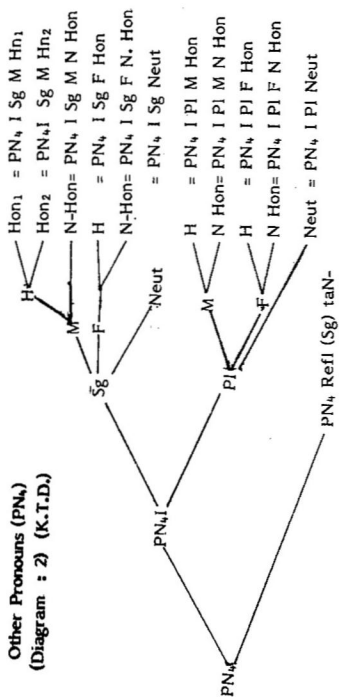
## Neuter

e-duvo > eduvo 'who' (PN<sub>4</sub> I pl Neut)

Reflexive Pronoun (PN<sub>4</sub> Refl)

PN<sub>4</sub> Refl. singular pronoun alone is available in this dialect and it is denoted by the morpheme { taan } having allomorphs

Other Pronouns (PN<sub>4</sub>)  
(Diagram : 2) (K.T.D.)



Interrogative Pronoun (in W.T.)

evan  
evan  
evai  
etu  
evay  
yaar  
enna  
een

Reflexive Pronoun

Sg  
taan (tan)  
tankai (Hon)

Pl  
taam  
tankai

W.T = Written Tamil  
K.T.D. = Karaikkal Tamil dialect

evuru  
evunge  
even  
edu  
eve  
edu  
evunge  
evunuvu  
eduvo  
evujuvu  
(evujunge)  
eduvo  
(edunge)

/taaN ~ tann-    ootane-    ootaN-/

- ootaN- occurs with locative case suffix {kiṭe} and before free particles {kiiṣe} and {meele}

taN-kiṭe	>	tangiṭe	'with oneself'
tan-Kiiṣe	>	tangiile	'under oneself'
taN-sotu	>	taNsotu	'one's property'

- ootane- occurs before dative case suffix -ku

tane-ku	>	taneku	'to oneself'
---------	---	--------	--------------

tann- occurs before vowels

tann-ooḍe	>	tannooḍe	'with oneself'
tann-e	>	tanne	'oneself (Acc)'
tann-aale	>	tannaale	'by oneself'

- ootaaN occurs elsewhere-

taaN 'oneself (Nom)'

Oblique forms:

Pronouns have the following oblique forms before case suffixes.

PN <sub>1</sub>	sg	naaN 'I'	→	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">[</div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">eeN- ene- enn-</div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">]</div> </div>
PN <sub>2</sub>	sg	nii 'You'	→	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">[</div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">ooN- one- onn-</div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">]</div> </div>
PN <sub>4</sub>	Ref. sg	taaN 'oneself'	→	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">[</div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">taN- tane- tann-</div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">]</div> </div>



## Pronouns in Written Tamil (W.T.)

First Person		Second Person		Third Person	
sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
naan	naam	nii	niinkal (2)	avan (M)	avarkal
(en-oblique form)	naankal (1)	un- (oblique form)	nitr	avai (F)	avar (3) avaykal

1. *tankal* is used as honorific
2. *nitr* is used politely as 'you' in English
3. *avar* is used politely or as an honorific
4. *atukal* the regular plural, is sometimes used, but is rather antiquated.

## Reflexive Pronouns

sg.	pl.
taan (tan)	taam taankal (1)
tankal (Hon)	

**Colophon**

I express my sincere thanks to Dr.M.Shanmugam Pillai for his valuable suggestions and encouragements for the preparation of this paper.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Shanmugam,S.V., 1970, *Dravidian Nouns*, Annamalai University, Annamalai nagar.

Venkatarajulu Reddiar,V. 1939, *Dravidic Pronouns*, Madras University, Madras.

Pope.G.U. 1979, *A Hand Book of the Tamil Language*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi.



## 10. சமுதாய வட்டாரத் தமிழ்க் கிளைமொழிகள் ஆய்வின் அனுசுழைகளும் பிரச்சினைகளும்

க. மகாலிங்கம்

ஒரு மொழி பேசப்படுகின்ற அந்த நாட்டில் / பகுதியில் அம்மொழியில் பல்வேறு வகைப்பட்ட மொழிக்கூறுகளில் (Linguistic features) வேறுபாடுகள் இருப்பது இயற்கையே. குறிப்பாக இனம், இயற்கைச் சூழல், நாகரிகம், பண்பாடு, கலாச்சாரம், பழக்கவழக்கம், அரசியல் சூழல், சமுதாய அமைப்பு ஆகியவற்றால் வேறுபட்டுக்கிடக்கின்ற இந்தியா போன்ற பெரிய நாடுகளில் அங்கு வாழும் மக்களால் பல்வேறு மொழிகள் பேசப்படுவது தவிர்க்கமுடியாத ஒன்றாகும். அதே போன்று ஒரே மொழிக்குள்ளும் அவர்கள் பேசுகின்ற பேச்சுக் களில் வேறுபாடுகளும் மாறுபாடுகளும் இல்லாமல் இருக்கும் என்று எதிர்பார்க்க முடியாது. எனவே இப்பல்வகைப்பட்ட வேறுபாடுகளைக் கொண்ட பேச்சு வழக்குகளைப் பல்வேறு காரணிகளைக் கொண்டு கிளை மொழிகளாகப் பிரிக்கும் ஆய்வுகள் உலகெங்கிலும் நாடெங்கிலும் நடந்து கொண்டு இருக்கின்றன. தமிழ்மொழிச்சூழலில் இம்முயற்சி எத்தகைய அளவுக்கு நடைபெற்றுக்கொண்டிருக்கிறது என்பதை ஆராய்வதே இக் கட்டுரையின் குறிக்கோளாகும்.

வ. அய். சுப்பிரமணியம் (1973) அவர்கள் தமிழ்க்கிளை மொழிகளை வட்டார அடிப்படையில் கீழ்க்கண்டவாறு பிரிக்கின்றார்.

## வட்டாரக் கிளைமொழி

## பேசும் மாவட்டங்கள்

நாஞ்சில் நாட்டுக் கிளைமொழி  
தென் பகுதிக் கிளை மொழி

கன்னியாகுமரி  
திருநெல்வேலி, இராமநாத  
புரம்

மத்தியப் பகுதிக் கிளைமொழி  
மேற்குப் பகுதிக் கிளைமொழி  
கிழக்குப் பகுதிக் கிளை மொழி  
சென்னைப் பகுதிக் கிளைமொழி  
வடக்குப் பகுதிக் கிளைமொழி

மதுரை, திருச்சி  
கோவை  
தஞ்சை, தென்னார்க்காடு  
செங்கற்பட்டு, சென்னை  
வடஆர்க்காடு

சேலம், தருமபுரி மாவட்டங்களை எந்தக் கிளைமொழியில் சேர்ப்பது என்று இதில் குறிப்பிடப்படவில்லை, கருணாகரன் மற்றும் சிவசண்முகம் (1981) நகரத்தில் பேசப்படும் தமிழைத் தனியாகப் பிரித்து, நகரக் கிளைமொழிகளின் அடிப்படையில் சென்னைத்தமிழ், கோவைத்தமிழ், திருநெல்வேலித்தமிழ், தஞ்சைத்தமிழ் என்றும், மீதி உள்ள பகுதிகளை வட்டார அடிப்படையில் பிரித்து வடபகுதி, கிழக்குப்பகுதி, மேற்குப்பகுதி, தெற்குப்பகுதி, நாஞ்சில் நாடு என்றும் குறிப்பிட்டிருக்கிறார்கள். நாஞ்சில் நாட்டுப்பகுதியைத் தவிர மற்ற ஒவ்வொன்றுக்கும் அதுஅது பேசப்படும் பகுதிகள் குறிப்பிடப்படவில்லை, நகரக்கிளைமொழி, நகரம் அல்லாத கிளைமொழி (கிராமியக் கிளைமொழி) என்று தனித்தனியாகப் பிரித்தாலும் நகரக்கிளைமொழிகளில் கிராமியக்கூறுகளும், கிராமியக்கிளைமொழிகளில் நகரக்கூறுகளும் இல்லாமல் இருக்க முடியாது. இருபது வயதுக்கு மேற்பட்டவர்கள் கிராமங்களில் இருந்து நகரத்திற்குக் குடியேறினாலும், தங்களுடைய பேச்சு வழக்கை மாற்றிக் கொள்வது மிகவும் கடினம் என்று ஆப்தே (1962) அவர்கள் கூறி இருக்கிறார்கள். நகரச் சூழலின் கட்டாயத்தினால் புதியமொழிக்கூறுகள் சிலவற்றைக் கற்றுக்கொண்டதாலும் கிராமியக்கூறுகள் அவர்கள் பேச்சு வழக்கில் இருந்து மாறுவது இல்லை. எனவே நகரக்கிளை மொழி என்றோ, நகரம் அல்லாத பகுதிகளின் கிளைமொழிகள் என்றோ தனித்தனியாகப் பிரித்துக் கூறுவது அவ்வளவு பொருத்தமாகத் தெரியவில்லை.

தமிழ்நாடு முழுவதும் கிளைமொழிஅளவைச் (Dialect survey) செய்துபார்த்தால், நோக்கமாகக் கீழ்க்கண்டவாறு வட்டார அடிப்படையில் கிளைமொழிகளைப் பிரிக்கலாம். சென்னை நகரம், செங்கற்பட்டு, வடார்க்காடு மாவட்டத்தின் பிழ்பகுதி, தென்னார்க்காடு மாவட்டத்தின் வடபகுதி,

இவற்றை ஒரு கிளைமொழிப்பகுதியாகவும், திருச்சி, தஞ்சை, புதுக்கோட்டை மாவட்டத்தின் கிழக்கு வடக்குப்பகுதி, தென்னார்க்காடு மாவட்டத்தின் கிழக்கு வடக்குப்பகுதி, ஆரியவற்றை ஒரு கிளை மொழிப்பகுதியாகவும், தென்னார்க்காடு மாவட்டத்தின் மேற்குப்பகுதி சேலம், தருமபுரி, மாவட்டங்கள் அடங்கிய பகுதியை ஒரு கிளை மொழிப் பகுதியாகவும், கோயம்புத்தூர் ஈரோடு மாவட்டங்களை ஒரு கிளை மொழிப் பகுதியாகவும், புதுக்கோட்டை மாவட்டத்தின் தெற்கு மேற்குப் பகுதி, மதுரை, இராமநாதபுரம், திருநெல்வேலி மாவட்டங்களை ஒரு கிளைமொழிப் பகுதியாகவும், கன்னியாகுமரி மாவட்டத்தை ஒரு கிளைமொழிப் பகுதியாகவும் பிரிக்கலாம்.

தமிழ்நாட்டில் வட்டார அடிப்படையில் நிகழ்ந்த கிளை மொழிகளின் ஆய்வைக் காட்டிலும், சமுதாய அடிப்படையில் நிகழ்ந்த ஆய்வுகளே அதிகம். சமுதாயக் காரணிகளாகப் பலவற்றைக் காட்டினாலும், சாதி அடிப்படையில் நிகழ்ந்த ஆய்வுகளே அதிகம். கருணாகரன் மற்றும் சிவசண்முகம் (1981) ஆகியோர் மொழிக் கூறுகளில் காணப்படும் வேறுபாடுகளைச் சாதியின் அடிப்படையில் நிறுவலாம் என்று கூறி, கீழ்க்கண்ட சாதிகளின் பெயர்களைக் கூறுகின்றார்கள். அவையாவன: அய்யர் அய்யங்கார், வேளாளர், முதலியார், செட்டியார், நாடார், வன்னியர் (படையாச்சி), யாதவர், பறையர் மற்றும் பள்ளர்.

பட்டநாயக் கட்டுரைக்குக் (1975) குறிப்புரை எழுதிய வில்லியம் பிளரட்டு (1975) அவர்கள் மேலைநாட்டு வகுப்பு அடிப்படை சமுதாயத்தை (class based society) இந்திய நாட்டுச் சாதி அடிப்படைச் சமுதாயத்தோடு (caste based Society) ஒப்பிடவில்லையென்றும் கள ஆய்வில் தன்னுடைய தகவலாளிகள் (Informants) சாதி அடிப்படையில் மொழி வேறுபாடு இருக்கிறது என்று கூறியதாகவும் எழுதி உள்ளார்கள். இக்கூற்றிலிருந்து இரண்டு விதமான உண்மைகளை உணர்ந்து கொள்ளலாம். ஒன்று அந்தத் தகவலாளிகள் சாதி அடிப்படையிலேயே மொழி வேறுபாடுகள் இருக்கின்றன என்று கூறியதாலேயே இவரும் அப்படிச் கூறி இருக்கலாம்; அல்லது தகவலாளிகள் சாதி அடிப்படையில் கிளை மொழி உண்டு என்று கூறித் தங்களுடைய பேச்சு வழக்கை மாற்ற விரும்பாமல் தங்களின் தனித்தன்மைகளை நிலைநிறுத்திக் கொள்ளவேண்டும் என்று எண்ணி அவற்றைச் சாதியின் பெயரால் செய்துகொள்ள

விரும்பிச் சாதிப்பெயரைச் சொல்லி இருக்கலாம். ஆனால், இன்று மக்களுக்கு இடையே இருக்கும் இடைவெளி குறைந்து கொண்டே வருகிற சூழலில் சாதி அடிப்படையில் மொழிக்கூறுகள் வேறுபடுகின்றன என்பது சற்றும் பொருந்தாத வாதமாக உள்ளது.

ஒரே சாதியைச் சேர்ந்த மக்கள் இருவகைப்பட்ட பகுதியில் இரண்டு விதமாகப் பேசுகின்றனர். அதோடுமட்டுமல்லாமல், ஒரே மாவட்டத்தில் கூட ஒரே சாதியினர் ஒரே விதமாகப் பேசவில்லை. வட்டத்திற்கு வட்டம் மாறுபடுகிறது. திருச்சி மாவட்டத்தில் பெரம்பலூர் வட்டத்தில் உள்ள வன்னியர்களும் அரியலூர் வட்டத்திலுள்ள வன்னியர்களும், இரு வேறுவிதமாகக் கீழ்க்கண்டவாறு பேசுகின்றார்கள். இதுவே சிதம்பரம் வட்டத்தில் இருக்கும் வன்னியர்களின் பேச்சு வழக்கிலிருந்து இன்னும் வேறுபட்டு நிற்கிறது, (நேரடிக்கருத்துப்பரிமாற்றம்) (நடனசபாபதி)

**அரியலூர் வட்டம் பெரம்பலூர் வட்டம் சிதம்பரம் வட்டம்**

நீ	நீனு	நீ
ஒப்பன் (உன் அப்பா)	தொப்பன்	வெப்பன்
ஓயா (உன் ஆயா)	நோயா	வோயா
ஒக்கா (உன் அக்கா)	நொக்கா	வொக்கா

ஒரே வட்டத்திற்குள்ளேயும் ஒரே சாதியில் பேச்சு வழக்கு ஒன்றாக இருப்பது இல்லை. எடுத்துக்காட்டாக அரியலூர் வட்டத்திற்குள்ளேயே 4 (நான்கு) கல்தொலைவிலுள்ள இரண்டு ஊர்களில் (பொன்பரப்பி, குமிழியம்) இருக்கும் வன்னியர்கள் இரண்டு விதமாகப் பேசுகின்றனர்.

**பொன்பரப்பி**

-ஆயா

வந்தியா

**குமிழியம்**

அம்மாயி

அப்பாயி

வந்தியே

நீதிவாணன் (1975) அவர்கள் மதுரையில் நாடார் சமூகத்தில் மட்டுந்தான் அப்பாவுக்கு 'அய்யா' என்றும், மற்ற சமூகத்தினர் அப்படிச் சொல்வது இல்லை என்றும் கூறி, 'அய்யா' என்ற சொல்லை நாடார் சமூகத்திற்கு மட்டும் உரியதாகினார். ஆனால் 'அய்யா' என்ற சொல் வன்னியர் சமதாயத்திலும் 'அப்பா' என்ற பொருளைக் குறிக்கப் பயன்படுத்தப்படுகிறது. மேலும் பிசைட் ராமானுஜம் (1964) இருவரும் சேர்ந்து பார்ப்பனர், பார்ப்பனர் அல்லாதார் என்று இருவகை

யாகப் பிரித்து அதற்கு எடுத்துக்காட்டாகக் கீழ்க்கண்ட சொற்களைச் சான்று காட்டினார்கள்:

## பார்ப்பனர்

## பார்ப்பனர் அல்லாதார்

ஜலம்

தண்ணி

தீர்த்தம்

..

தண்ணி

தண்ணி

ஆம்படையான்

புருசன்

அலம்பு

கழுவு

தூங்கு

உறங்கு

போச்சு

போச்சு

ஆச்சு

ஆச்சு

வந்தது

வந்துச்சு

பன்றா (ன்)

பண்ணுகா (ன்)

பார்ப்பனர் சமூகத்தில் காணப்படும் 'ஆம்படையான்' 'அலம்பு' 'தூங்கு' என்ற சொற்கள் முழுவதும் பார்ப்பனர் அல்லாத சமூகத்திலேயும் நிலவுகின்றன. குறிப்பாக, திருச்சி தஞ்சை, தென்னார்க்காடு மாவட்டத்தில் வாழும் (அநேகமாக பிற மாவட்டங்களிலும்) எல்லா வகை மக்களிடையேயும் இச் சொற்கள் நிலவுகின்றன. அவர்கள் சமூகத்தில் காணப்படும் 'பன்றா (ன்)' என்ற சொல் பார்ப்பனர் அல்லாத சமூகத்திலும் நிலவுகின்றது. அத்துடன் பண்ணுகா (ன்) என்ற சொல் மேலே சொன்ன பகுதியில் பார்ப்பனர் அல்லாதார் பேச்சு வழக்கில் இல்லை. ஆப்தே (1962 : 8) என்பவர் பாம்பே நகரத்தில் வாழும் பார்ப்பனர் பேச்சு வழக்கிற்கும், மகாராட்டிரத்தில் மற்ற வேறு பகுதியில் வாழும் பார்ப்பனர் பேச்சு வழக்கிற்கும் வேறுபாடு உண்டு என்று கூறி நிறுவுகின்றார். சுவராசியலட்சுமி (1977 : 57) என்பவர் தெலிங்கானா பகுதியில் பார்ப்பனர் மற்றும் பார்ப்பனர் அல்லாதார் இரு வருமே ஒரே வகையான வினைச் சொற்களைப் பயன்படுத்துவதாகக் கூறி உள்ளார். எனவே சாதி அடிப்படையில் மொழிக் கூறுகளின் வேறுபாடுகளை விளக்கி சாதிக் கிளைமொழி உண்டு என்று கூறுவது முற்றிலும் பொருத்தாது.

சண்முகம் பிள்ளையின் கருத்துப்படி (1978 : 88) பார்ப்பனர்கள் கூட பார்ப்பனர் அல்லாதவர்களின் பேச்சு வழக்கைப் பின்பற்றுகின்றனர். இது இன்றைய இளைய தலைமுறையினரிடையே காணப்படும் நிலையாகும். அரசியல் சமுதாய அமைப்புக் காரணங்களால் ஏற்படும்



மாற்றங்கள் மொழிகளிலும் பிரதிபலிக்கத்தான் செய்யும். குறைந்தபட்சம் வீட்டுச் சூழல் அல்லாத இடங்களில் பார்ப்பனர் அல்லாதாரின் பேச்சுவழக்கிலேயே பேசுகின்றனர், அப்படியே தங்களுக்கு என்றே தனிப்பட்ட பேச்சு வழக்கை வைத்துக் கொண்டாலும், சமுதாயத்தில் தங்களை மற்றவர்களிடம் இருந்து வேறுபடுத்திக் காட்டிக் கொள்ளவும், தனித்தன்மைகளை நிலை நிறுத்திக் கொள்ளவும்தான் வேண்டுமென்றே அப்படிப் பேசுகின்றார்கள் என்பதும் அனைவரும் அறிந்ததே. இச்சூழல் எல்லாம் இப்போது மாறிவருகின்றன. எனவே பார்ப்பனர்கள் எந்தப் பகுதியில் வாழ்ந்தாலும் ஒரே விதமாகப் பேசுகின்றனர் என்ற கூற்றில் வலு இருப்பதாகத் தெரியவில்லை.

ஆரம்பக்காலத்தில் சாதியின் அடிப்படையில் பேச்சு வழக்கு இருக்கிறது என்று மேலைநாட்டார் சொன்னதும் ஒத்துக்கொண்ட நாம், பட்டநாயக்கு கொள்கை அளவில் சந்தேகத்தை எழுப்பியவுடன் இன்று 'ஓரளவிற்கு உண்டு, ஓரளவிற்கு இல்லை' என்ற அளவிற்கு வந்து இருக்கிறோம், அநேகமாக இல்லை என்றே சொல்லலாம். சண்முகம் பிள்ளையின் கீழ்க்கண்ட கூற்று இதை உறுதி செய்கிறது, "திரைப்படம், செய்தித்தொடர்பு, டீலிவி போன்றவற்றினால் இளைய தலைமுறையினரின் பேச்சுவழக்கில் சாதிகளின் பிரதிபலிப்பே இல்லை". (1972 : 70) எந்த ஒரு மாற்றுமுமே முழு அளவுக்கு வெற்றி அடைவதும் இல்லை. மாற்றம் ஏற்பட்டு இருக்கிறது என்பதை ஒத்துக் கொண்டாலே அது தற்சமயத்தில் எந்த விளைவை உண்டாக்கி இருக்கிறது என்று பார்ப்பதைவிட அது முடிவில் எந்த விளைவை உண்டாக்கும் என்று கணித்துப் பார்ப்பது பொருத்தமாக இருக்கும், எனவே இந்த அரசியல், சமுதாய, மாற்றங்களினால் ஏற்படும் ஏனைய மாற்றங்களும் ஒன்றாகச் சேர்ந்தபின்பு, சாதி அடிப்படையில் மொழிக் கூறுகளின் வேறுபாடுகளை விளக்க முயலுவது வெற்றி அடையுமா என்பது சந்தேகமே.

கிளை மொழிகள் ஆய்வுக்கு எந்த மாதிரியான மக்களைத் தகவலாளியாக எடுத்துக் கொள்வது ?

கிளை மொழிகளை அடையாளம் காணும் போது எல்லா மொழி அளவுகளிலும் வேறுபாடுகளைக் காணமுடியாது. அப்படிச் சொற்கள் அளவில் வேறுபாடுகள் இருந்து கிளை

மொழிகளை அடையாளம் கண்டால் அது சொல்கிளைமொழி (Lexical Dialectology) என்று ஆகாதா ?

கள ஆய்வில் தகவலாளியைக் கேள்வி கேட்கும்போது தகவலாளி எல்லாக் கேள்விகளுக்கும் உண்மையான பதில்களைக் கொடுப்பாரா? பொருளாதாரம், ஆண்டு வருமானம் பற்றிய கேள்விகளுக்கு விடை அளிப்பாரா?

மொழிக்கூறுகளில் காணப்படும் வேறுபாடுகளை வைத்துக்கொண்டு சமுதாயத்தில் காணப்படும் வேறுபாடுகளுடன் ஒப்பிடலாமா அல்லது சமுதாயத்தில் காணப்படும் வேறுபாடுகளை எடுத்துக் கொண்டு பிறகு மொழிகளின் வேறுபாடுகளைத் தேடுவதா அல்லது இரண்டும் ஒரே சமயத்தில் ஒன்றை யொன்று சார்ந்து இருப்பதாக எடுத்துக் கொண்டு ஆராய்வதா?

அமெரிக்கக் கிளைமொழிச் சங்கம் (American Dialect Society) (1889), ஆங்கிலக் கிளைமொழிச்சங்கம் (1870), முதலியவை போல இந்திய மொழிகளின் கிளைமொழிச் சங்கம் (Dialect Society of Indian Languages) நிறுவ வேண்டும்.

விவரமான முறையில் பகுதி பகுதியாக மொழிக்கூறுகளின் எல்லைப் பரப்புகளைக் கண்டு அறிய வேண்டும்.

ஒவ்வொரு தொழிலுக்கும் அகராதி தயார் செய்ய வேண்டும், உதாரணமாக விவசாயத் தொழிலுக்குச் சொல் அகராதி தயார் செய்ய முயலும்போது எந்தெந்தச் சொல் எந்தெந்தப் பகுதியில் வழக்கில் உள்ளது, என்று நிச்சயமாக அறிந்து கொள்ள முடியும். இது போன்ற தொழில் அகராதிகள் கிளை மொழிகளின் வேறுபாடுகளைக் கண்டு அறிய உதவும்.

இப்படி எதையும் அறிவியல் முறைப்படி ஆய்வுகளை மேற்கொண்டு நடைமுறைப்படுத்தாமல் கொள்கை அளவில் பேசிக் கொண்டு இருப்பது பயனுடைய முடிவுகளைக் கொடுக்காது என்பதை அனைவரும் உணர்வதால் இந்த நடவடிக்கையை உடனடியாகத் துவங்க வேண்டும்.

களஆய்வு முறைகள் தகவலாளியினுடைய முழுமையான பேச்சு வழக்குகளை (Total range of speech behaviour) பெறும்படியாக அமையவேண்டும்.

மேலை நாட்டாரின் கொள்கைக் கோட்பாட்டுக்கு நமது மொழியில் உதாரணங்களைக் கண்டுபிடித்து அவர்கள் கொள்கைகளை வலுவடையச் செய்வதைவிட நமது மொழியை வைத்துக் கொண்டு நாமே கொள்கைக் கோட்பாடுகளை உருவாக்க வேண்டும்.

ஒருவன் பேசுகின்ற பேச்சுவகையை மட்டும் அறிந்து கொள்வதை நிறுத்திவிட்டு அவனுக்கு எத்தனை வகையான பேச்சு வழக்கு தெரியும் என்பதையும் அறிந்து கொள்ளும்படிகள் ஆய்வு முறைகள் இருக்க வேண்டும்.

### துணை நூல்கள்

- Annamalai, E. 1975. Comments on D.P. Pattanayak's paper 'Caste and Language', *IJDL* 5,1 : 71-72.
- Apte, M.L. 1962, 'Linguistic Acculturation and its Relation to Urbanization and Socio Economic Factors', *IL*. 23 : 5-25.
- Bright, W. 1960. 'Linguistic Change in Some Indian Caste Dialects' in by C.a. Ferguson and J.J. Gumperz, (ed.) *Linguistic Diversity in South Asia*, The Hague : Mouton & Co.
- , 1964. 'Social Dialect and Language History', in Dell Hymes (ed.). *Language in Culture and Society : A Reader in Linguistics and Anthropology*, Madras : Allied Publishers Private Ltd.
- , 1968. 'Social Dialect and Semantic Structure in South Asia', in M. Singar and B. Cohern (ed.). *Structure and Change in Indian Society*, New York : WGFAR.
- 1975. Comments on D.P. Pattanayak's paper 'Caste and Language', *IJDL* 5,1:65-8.
- and Ramanujam, A.K. 1962. *A Study of Tamil Dialects* (Mimeo) Chicago, University of Chicago.

- Bhat,D.N.S. 1973. 'Methods and Principles of Dialect Survey' in V.I.Subramoniam (ed.) *Seminar on Dialectology*, Trivandrum, University of Keraia.
- Gopinathan Nair,B. 1973. 'Tools for Dialect Survey' in V.I.Subramoniam, (ed.). *Seminar on Dialectology*, Trivandrum, University of Kerala.
- 1975. Comments on D.P.Pattanayak's paper 'Caste and Language', *IJDL* 4.2 : 365-79.
- Gumperz,J.J. 1964. 'Speech Variation and the Study of Indian Civilization' in Dell Hymes (ed.). *Language in Culture and Society : A Reader in Linguistics and Anthropology*, Madras, Allied Publishers Private Limited.
- 1968. 'Types of Linguistic Communities',in J.A.-Fishman, (ed.). *Readings in Sociology of Language*, The Hague : Mouton & Co.
- Holliday,M.A.K. 1977. *Explorations in the Functions of Language*, London : Edward Arnold.
- Hymes,D. 1962. 'The Enthnography of speaking', in J.A.Fishman, (ed.). *Readings in Sociology of Language*, 99-138. The Hague : Mouton & Co.
- Karunakaran,K. 1980. 'Study of Social Dialects in Tamil', in S.Agesthialingom and K.Karunakaran, (ed.) *Socio-linguistics and Dialectology (Seminar papers)*, Annamalainagar, Annamalai University.
- and Sivashanmugam,C. 1981. *Study of Social Dialects in Tamil*, Annamalainagar : All India Tamil Linguistics Association.
- Labov,W.1976.'The Study of Languages in Social Context', in J.A. Fishman, (ed.). *Advances in the Sociology of Language*, 152-216. The Hague : Mouton & Co.

Mc Cormack, W. 1960. 'Social Dialects in Dharward Kannada', *IJAL* 26: 79-91.

-----, 1968. 'A Casual Analysis of Caste Dialects', in Bh.Krishnamurthy (ed.). *Studies in Indian Linguistics (Emeneau Sastrapurtive volume)* Annamalai University and Deccan College.

Neethivanan, J. 1973. 'A Survey of Dialects works Done in India', in V.I.Subramoniam, (ed.). *Seminar on Dialectology*, Trivandrum, University of Kerala.

----- 1975. Comments on D.P.Pattanayak's paper 'Caste and Language', *IJDL* 5.1 : 77-8.

Pattanayak, D.P. 1975. 'Caste and Language', *IJDL* 4.1 : 94-104.

Petyt, K.M. 1980. *The Study of Dialectology : An Introduction to Dialectology*, London : Andredeusch.

Prakasam, V. 1980. 'General Remarks on Language Variation', in S.Agesthialingom and K.Karunakaran, (ed.). *Sociolinguistics and Dialectology (Seminar papers)*, Annamalainagar, Annamalai University.

Shanmugam Pillai, M. 1972. 'Tamil To-day', *IL* 33.1: 67-71.

----- 1978. *Collected papers-1*. Madurai : Muthu Patipakam.

Sivaramamurthy, N. 1977. 'Address A System in a Telugu Village : Class/Caste consciousness', *Seminar and Sociolinguistics*, Hyderabad : Telugu Academy.

-----, 1980. 'Social Mobility and Language Variation', in S.Agesthialingom and K.Karunakaran, (ed.). *Sociolinguistics and Dialectology (Seminar papers)*, Annamalainagar, Annamalai University.

Somasekaran Nair,P. 1975. Comments on D.P.Pattanayak's paper. 'Caste and Language', *IJDL* 5.1. : 68-70.

Subramoniam,V.I. 1971. 'History of Tamil', *Souvenir*, First All India Conference of Dravidian Linguists, Trivandrum, University of Kerala.

----- (ed) 1973. *Seminar on Dialectology*, Trivandrum, University of Kerala.

Swarajya Lakshmi,V. 1977, 'Some Sociolinguistic observation on Cuddappa Dialect', *Seminar on Sociolinguistics*. Hyderabad : Telugu Academy.

Trudgill,P. 1974. *The Social Differentiation of English in Norwich*, London : OUP.

Upadhyaya,U.P. 1975. Comments on D.P.Pattanayak's paper 'Caste and Language' *IJDL* 5.1 : 79-81.



## PRESIDENTIAL, INAUGURAL ADDRESS





## தலைமையுரை

### திசை மொழியும் வட்டார வழக்கும்

க. வெள்ளைவாரணனார்

தலைவர், மொழிப்புலம்,  
தமிழ்ப் பல்கலைக் கழகம், தஞ்சாவூர்.

தமிழ் மொழியின் வழக்கும் செய்யுளுமாகிய இரண்டினையும் ஆராய்ந்து நூல் செய்த ஆசிரியர் தொல்காப்பியனார் செய்யுள் இயற்றுதற்கு இன்றியமையாத சொற்றொகுதியை இயற்சொல், திரிசொல், திசைச்சொல், வடசொல் என நால்வகையாகப் பகுத்துள்ளார் என்பது அறிஞர் பலரும் நன்கறிந்ததே. மேற்குறித்த நால்வகைச் சொற்களுள் திசைச் சொற்களின் இலக்கணங் கூறுவது,

“செந்தமிழ் சேர்ந்த பன்னிரு நிலத்தும்  
தங்குறிப் பினவே திசைச் சொற்களிவி” 1

என வரும் சூத்திரமாகும். “செந்தமிழ் வழக்கினைப் பொருந்திய பன்னிரு நிலத்தினும் ஒரு நிலத்தா றிடையே மட்டும் நிலைத்த வழக்கினைப் பெற்று சொற்கள் அந்நிலத் தார் குறித்து வழங்கும் அப்பொருளிலேயே ஏனைய நிலங்களினும் சென்று வழங்குவன திசைச் சொற்களாகும்” என்பது மேற்குறித்த சூத்திரத்தின் பொருளாகும்,

“செந்தமிழ் சேர்ந்த பன்னிரு நிலத்தும்” என வரும் இத்தொடரின் கண் உள்ள ‘செந்தமிழ்’ என்பதற்கு

செந்தமிழ் மொழி எனப் பொருள் கொள்ளாது 'செந்தமிழ் நிலம்' எனப் பொருள் கொண்டனர் இளம்பூரணர் முதலிய உரையாசிரியர்கள். நன்னூலாசிரியராகிய பவணந்தி முனிவரும் இளம்பூரணர் முதலிய உரையாசிரியர்கள் கொள்கையினை ஏற்றுச் "செந்தமிழ் நிலஞ்சேர் பன்னிரு நிலத்தினும்"<sup>3</sup> என்றார்.

"வடவேங்கடம் தென்குமரி ஆயிடைத் தமிழ் கூறும் நல்லுலகத்து"<sup>3</sup> எனப் பனம்பாரனார் கூறுதலால் மேற்குறித்த எல்லையுடங்கிய நிலப் பரப்பு முழுவதுமே செந்தமிழ் நாடாகும் என்பது நன்கு தெளியப்படும். தொல்-காப்பியனார் காலத்தில் தமிழகம் சேரநாடு, சோழநாடு பாண்டிய நாடு என மூன்று பெரும்பகுதிகளாகவும், பன்னிரண்டு உள் நாடுகளாகவும் வகுக்கப் பெற்றிருந்தது. இவ்வமைப்பு

"வண்புகழ் மூவர் தண்பொழில் வரைப்பு"<sup>4</sup> எனவும்,

"செந்தமிழ் சேர்ந்த பன்னிரு நிலத்தும்"<sup>5</sup> எனவும் வரும் தொல்காப்பியத் தொடர்களால் நன்கு புலனாகும்.

"பன்னிரு நிலமாவன: பொங்கர் நாடு, ஒளி நாடு, தென்பாண்டி நாடு, குட்ட நாடு, குட நாடு, பன்றி நாடு, கற்கா நாடு, சீத நாடு, பூழி நாடு, மலை நாடு, அருவா நாடு, அருவா வடதலை எனச் செந்தமிழ் நாட்டுத் தென்கீழ்பால் முதலாக வடகீழ்பால் இறுதியாக எண்ணிக்கொள்க"<sup>6</sup> என்பர் சேனாவரையர். இவர் கூறும் பன்னிரண்டு நாடுகளுள் புனல் நாடாகிய சோழநாடு இடம் பெறவில்லை. இவர் 'வையையாற்றின் வடக்கும், மருதயாற்றின் தெற்கும், கருவூரின் கிழக்கும், மருவூரின் மேற்கும் அமைந்த சோழ நாடாகிய புனல் நாட்டினைச் செந்தமிழ் நாடாகக் கொண்டு இதனைச் சூழவுள்ள தென்பாண்டி முதலிய நாடுகளைச் செந்தமிழ் நாட்டினைச் சூழ்ந்த புற நாடுகளாகக் குறித்துள்ளார். யாப்பநங்கலக் காரிகையுரையாசிரியர் முதலியோரும் சோழ நாட்டையே செந்தமிழ் நாடாகத் தம்முரையிற் குறித்துள்ளனர். சங்கம் நிறுவித் தமிழ் வளர்த்த பாண்டி நாட்டினையே 'தமிழ் நாடு' என்ற பெயராற் சேக்கிழாரடிகள் பெரிய புராணத்திற் சிறப்பாகக் குறித்துள்ளமை இங்குக் கருதத்தகுவதாகும். இவ்வரையாசிரியர்கள் செந்தமிழ் நாடு எனச் சிறப்பாகக் குறிப்பிடத்தக்கவாறு தமிழ்

நிலைபெற்ற பாண்டி நாட்டினைச் செந்தமிழ் நாட்டினைச் சூழ்ந்த புறநாடுகளுள் ஒன்றாகக் கூறுவது பொருந்தாது என உணர்ந்த சிவஞானமுனிவர் பாண்டிநாடே செந்தமிழ் நாடு என வலியுறுத்தியுள்ளமையும் இங்குக் கூர்ந்து நோக்கற்பாலதாகும்:

வடவேங்கடந் தென்குமரியிடைப்பட்ட தமிழ் நிலம் அனைத்தையும் தமிழ் கூறும் நல்லுலகம் எனப் பனம் பாரனார் கூறுதலானும் 'வண்புகழ் மூவர் தண் பொழில் வரைப்பின் நாற்பெயரெல்லையகத்தவர் வழங்கும்யாப்பு' எனச் சேர சோழ பாண்டியநாடுகள் மூன்றையும் செந்தமிழ் வழங்கும் நாடாக ஆசிரியர் தொல்காப்பியனார் தெளிவாகக் குறித்துள்ளதனாலும் வடவேங்கடம் தென்குமரியிடைப்பட்ட பெருநிலப்பரப்பில் உள்ள தென்பாண்டி முதலிய பன்னிரு நாடுகளும் செந்தமிழ் வழக்கினையே மேற்கொண்டவை என்பது,

“தென்பாண்டி குட்டம் குடம்கற்கா வேண்பூழி  
பன்றிஅருவா அதன் வடக்கு - நன்றாய  
சீத மலாடு புனல்நாடு செந்தமிழ்சேர்  
ஏதமில் பன்னிருநாட் டெண்” 7

என்ற பழைய வெண்பாவில் வரும் “செந்தமிழ் சேர் ஏதமில் பன்னிரு நாடு” என்னுந் தொடரில் தெளிவாகக் குறிக்கப் பெற்றிருத்தலானும் நன்கு தெளியப்படும். அன்றியும் தென் பாண்டி நாடென்பது தமிழ் நாட்டின் தென் பகுதியாகிய பாண்டி நாடு என்ற பொருளில் வழங்குவதன்றிப் பாண்டி நாட்டின் தென்பகுதி என்ற பொருளில் வழங்குவதன்று.

“செந்தமிழ் சேர்ந்த பன்னிரு நிலத்தும்” எனவரும் தொல்காப்பியத் தொடர்க்கு விளக்கம் கூறப்பெற்ற தெய்வச் சிலையார், “பன்னிரு நிலமாவன: வையையாற்றின் தென்கிழக்காகிய பொதுங்கர் நாடு, ஒளி நாடு, தென்பாண்டி நாடு, கருங்குட்ட நாடு, குட நாடு, பன்றி நாடு, கற்கா நாடு, சீத நாடு, பூழி நாடு, மலாடு, அருவா நாடு, அருவா வடதலை என்பன. இவை செந்தமிழ் நாட்டகத்த” 8 எனத் தெளிவாகக் கூறியுள்ளார். பன்னிரண்டு நாட்டின் பெயர்கள் இளம்பூரணர் முதலிய உரையாசிரியர்கள் உரைகளிற் குறிக்கப்பட்டனவே ஆயினும் “இவை செந்தமிழ் நாட்டகத்த” என்ற தெளிவான

விளக்கம் தெய்வச் சிலையார் தந்திருப்பது, திசை மொழி பற்றிய ஆராய்ச்சிக்குப் பெரிதும் ஊக்கம் அளிப்பதாக அமைந்துள்ளமை காணலாம்.

தமிழ் நாட்டின் உட்பிரிவுகளாகிய பன்னிரு நிலங்களிலும் வாழும் மக்கள் தத்தம் குறிப்பினவாக அவ்வள நாட்டின் எல்லைக்குட் பேசப்படும் சொற்கள் அதே பொருளில் தமிழ் நாட்டின் பிற பகுதிகளிலும் வந்து வழங்குமாயின் அவை திசைச்சொற்கள் எனப்படும் என்பதே தொல்காப்பியனார் திசைச் சொற்களைப் பற்றிக் கூறிய விளக்கமாகும். தமிழ் நாட்டிற் பன்னிரு நிலங்களாகப் பகுக்கப் பெற்றுள்ள அக நாடுகளில் மட்டுமன்றி அவற்றைச் சூழ்ந்துள்ள நாடுகளில் வழங்கும் தமிழோடொத்த பிறமொழிச் சொற்களாகத் தமிழ் நாட்டில் வந்துவழங்கும் சொற்களும் திசைச் சொற்களெனவே கொள்ளத் தக்கன என்ற கருத்து பிற்காலத்தில் உருப்பெறுவ தாயிற்று. தொல்காப்பியனார் காலத்திற்குப் பன்னூறாண்டுகள் பிற்பட்டது தோன்றிய தமிழிலக்கியங்களில், தமிழொடு மிக நெருங்கிய தொடர்புடைய திராவிட மொழிச்சொற்கள் இடம் பெற்றுள்ளமையால் அவையும் திசைச் சொற்களாகவே கொள்ளப்பெற்றன என்பது தொல்காப்பிய உரையாசிரியர்கள் உரைப்பகுதிகளினாலும் திசைச் சொற்களுக்கு அவர்கள் எடுத்துக் காட்டிய உதாரணங்களினாலும் நன்கு புலனாகின்றது. எனவே, செந்தமிழ் நிலத்தைச் சேர்ந்த பன்னிரு நிலத்தினும் தமிழகத்தையொட்டி இந்தியப் பெரு நிலப்பரப்பிலும் அதன் புறத்தும் வழங்கும் பதினெண் மொழிகளில் தாம்மொழியாகிய தமிழ். நீங்கலாக எஞ்சியுள்ள பதினேழு மொழிகளும் பரவி வழங்கும் பிறதிசைகளிலும் வாழும் அவ்வந் நிலத்து மக்கள் தாம் தாம் கருதின குறிப்பின வாய்த் தமிழகத்தில் வழங்குவன திசைச் சொற்களாகும் எனத் திசைச் சொற்களின் இலக்கணம் விரிவுபெறுவதாயிற்று. இதன் விரிவுநிலையினை நன்குணர்ந்த பவணந்தியார்

“செந்தமிழ் நிலஞ்சேர் பன்னிரு நிலத்தினும்  
ஒன்பதிற் றிரண்டினிற் றமிமொழி நிலத்தினும்  
தங்குறிப் பினவே திசைச்சொல் லென்ப”<sup>9</sup>

எனத் திசைச் சொற்களுக்கு இலக்கணங் கூறுவாராயினர்.

செந்தமிழ்ப் பன்னிரு நிலம் என்னாமல் செந்தமிழ் சேர்ந்த பன்னிரு நிலம் எனக் கூறினமையால் அந்நிலம் பிற

நாடாக இருத்தல் வேண்டும் எனக் கருதிய அறிஞர்கள், திசை மொழி வழங்கும் பன்னிரு நிலமாவன: குமரியாற்றின் தென்கரைப்பட்ட பழந்தீபமும் கொல்லமும் கூபகமும் சிங்களமும் சையத்தின் மேற்குப் பட்ட கொங்கனமும் துவளமும் குடகமும் குன்றகமும் கிழக்குப்பட்ட கருநடமும் வடுகும் தெலுங்கும் கலிங்கமும் என்று கொள்ளப்படும் என்பர். இக்கருத்து தெய்வச் சிலையார் உரையில் அகத்தியச் சூத்திரம் என்ற பெயரால் மேற்கோளாகக் காட்டப் பெற்றுள்ள பழஞ் சூத்திரத்தில் இடம் பெற்றுள்ளமை காணலாம். இதன்கண் 'கன்னித் தென்கரைக் கடற் பழந்தீபம்' எனப்பட்டது 'முந்தீர்ப் பழந்தீவு பன்னிராயிரமும்' <sup>10</sup> என இராசராசன் மெய்க் கீர்த்தியிற் குறிக்கப் பெற்றுள்ளமை காணலாம். இவற்றுள், கூபகமுங் கொல்லமும் கடல் கொள்ளப்படுதலின் குமரியாற்றின் வடகரைக்கண் அப்பெயரானே கொல்லமெனக் குடியேறினார் போலும் <sup>11</sup> எனத் தெய்வச் சிலையார் கூறுதலால் அகத்தியச் சூத்திரத்திற் குறிக்கப்பட்ட கொல்லம் என்பது குமரியாற்றின் தென்கரைக்கண் இருந்தது என்பதும், அது கடல்கோளால் அழிவுற்றதென்பதும், இப்பொழுது குமரியின் வடபால் உள்ள 'கொல்லம்' என்பது பிற்காலத்தில் அப்பெயரால் அமைத்துக் குடியேறிய நிலப் பகுதியென்பதும், புதியதாகக் கொல்லத்தை அமைத்துக் கொண்ட காலத்திலிருந்து கொல்லத் தோன்றிய ஆண்டு என மலையாள நாட்டில் ஆண்டு எண்ணப் பெற்று வருகின்றதென்பதும் உய்த்துணரத்தக்கனவாகும். 'பஞ்சத்திராவிடம் எனவும் வடநாட்டார் உரைப்பவாகலான் அவையைந்தும் வேங்கடத்தின் தெற்காதலும் கூடாமையுணர்க' <sup>12</sup> எனத் தெய்வச் சிலையார் கூறும் கூற்று விந்திய மலையின் தெற்கே வழங்கும் ஆந்திரம், கன்னடம் முதலிய ஏனைத் திராவிட மொழிகள் தமிழக எல்லைக்கு அப்பாற்பட்டனவாதலேயன்றி வடவேங்கடத்தின் தெற்கெல்லையுட்பட்டு அடங்குவன அல்ல என்பதனை நன்கு புலப்படுத்துவதாகும்,

மேற்குறித்தவாறு தமிழ் நாட்டின் உட்பகுதிகளாகிய பன்னிரு நிலங்களிலும் தமிழகத்தைச் சார்ந்துள்ள புற நாடுகளிலும் வழங்கும் சொல்லாகித் தமிழ் நாட்டில் வாழ்வார் அனைவர்க்கும் தெளிவாகப் பொருள் தரும் இயற்சொல்லின் வேறுபட்டு வருவன திசைச் சொற்கள் என்பதும், அவற்றுள் செய்யுட் சொற்களாக வருவன நீக்கப்பட்டா என்பதும் 'அந்நிலத்து வழங்குஞ் சொல்லாகிச் செஞ்சொல்லின் வேறு-

பட்டுச் சான்றோர் செய்யுளகத்து வருவன நீக்கப்படா” 13 எனவரும் தெய்வச்சிலையார் உரைப்பகுதியால் நன்கு தெளியப்படும்.

குட்ட நாட்டார் தாயைத் தள்ளை என்பர். பூழி நாட்டார் தாயை குமலி என்பர் (இளம்பூரணர்) 14

தென்பாண்டி நாட்டார் ஆ, எருமை என்பவற்றைப் பெற்ற மென்றும், தம்மாமி என்பதனைத் தந்துவையென்றும் வழங்குப (சேனாவுரையர்) 15

குட நாட்டார் தந்தையை அச்சன் என்றும், கற்கா நாட்டார் வஞ்சரைக் கையரென்றும், சீத நாட்டார் ஏடா என்பதனை எலுவன் என்றும், அருவா நாட்டார் செய்யைச் செறுவென்றும் சிறுகுளத்தைக் கேணியென்றும், அருவா வடதலையார் குறுணியைக் குட்டையென்றும் வழங்குப. இனிச் சிங்களம் அந்தோ என்பது, கருநடம் கரைய, சிக்க, குளிர என்பன வருகு செப்பு என்பது, தெலுங்கு எருத்தைப் பாண்டில் என்பது, துளு மாமரத்தைக் கொக்கு என்பது ஒழிந்தவற்றிற்கும் வந்துழிக் காண்க (நச்சினார்க்கினியர்) 16

ஒரு மொழி பேசப்படும் நாட்டின் பல்வேறு பகுதிகளுள் வாழும் மக்களுள் ஒரு குறிப்பிட்ட பகுதியில் வாழ்வோரிடையே மட்டும் நிலவும் மொழி வழக்கினை வட்டார வழக்கென்பர். இவ்வழக்கிற்கும் திசை மொழி வழக்கிற்கும் ஓரளவு தொடர்பிருத்தல் கூடும் என எண்ணவேண்டியுள்ளது. ஆசிரியர் தொல்காப்பியனார் மொழி வழக்கினைச் சேரி மொழி எனவும், செய்யுள் மொழியெனவும் இரு திறமாகப் பகுத்துக் கூறியுள்ளார். அவற்றுட் சேரிமொழி என்பது கற்றோர், கல்லாதோர் என்னும் வேறுபாடின்றி எல்லா மக்களுக்கும் தெளிவாகப் பொருள் புலனாகும்படி எளிய சொற்களால் அமைந்த பேச்சு மொழியாகும். செய்யுள் மொழி யென்பது ஓரளவு மொழிப் பயிற்சியுடையோர்க்கு மட்டுமே புலனாவதாகும். இவ்விரு வகை மொழியமைப்பில் சேரி மொழியினை அடியொற்றியதே வட்டார வழக்கு எனவும், செய்யுள் மொழியின் உறுப்பாவனவே இலக்கணநூலார் கூறும் திசைச் சொற்கள் எனவும் ஒருவாறு பாகுபாடு செய்து கொள்ளுதல் மொழியாராய்ச்சிக்கு ஏற்புடையதாகும் என்பது எனது கருத்தாகும்.

அடிக்குறிப்புகள்

1. தொல்காப்பியம், எச்சவியல் சூத்திரம் — 4
2. நன்னூல் சூத்திரம் 273
3. தொல்காப்பியச் சிறப்புப் பாடிரம் — 1 - 3
4. தொல்காப்பியம் செய்யுளியல் — 78
5. தொல்காப்பியம் — எச்சவியல் — 4
6. மேலது சேனாவரையர் உரை  
அ) பெரிய புராணம் திருநாவுக்கரசர் - 400  
ஆ) நன்னூல் சூத்திரம் 273 சிவஞான முனிவர் உரை  
மேற்கோள்
7. மேலது உரை மேற்கோள்
8. தொல்காப்பியம் — எச்சவியல் 4) தெய்வச்சிலையார் உரை
9. நன்னூல் — சூத்திரம் 273 சிவஞானமுனிவர் உரை  
மேற்கோள்
10. முதலாம் இராசராசன் மெய்க்கீர்த்தி
11. தொல்காப்பியம் எச்சவியல் 4) தெய்வச்சிலையார் உரை
12. மேலது
13. மேலது
14. மேலது — இளம்பூரணருரை
15. மேலது — சேனாவரையருரை
16. மேலது — நச்சினார்க்கினியருரை





## INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Dr. V. I. Subramoniam,  
Vice-Chancellor, Tamil University, Thanjavur.

I have great pleasure in welcoming you all in the developing campus of the Tamil University, Thanjavur and to share with you our ideas of dialect survey which has been proposed by Dr.s.Arokianathan to be carried out in Tamil Nadu.

Kerala has been covered through out, for two communities for Malayalam of which one for Ezhava/Tiyyas was published. For the Nair survey the maps were ready, but the identified isoglosses were not shaped into a report. I hope it will soon be published. At Pondicherry the dialect survey is in full swing for Tamil. This will be followed by Telugu in Yanam and Malayalam in Mahe.

While interviewing candidates, the experts were able to identify /l ~ ɭ/ change as /paalam ~ paaɭam/ 'bridge' specially after the long back vowel in Thanjavur, Pudukkottai areas and the reverse, /paaɭam ~ paalam/ 'strip of metal' is also found. This extends up to Srivilliputtur near to the Kerala border. This is a powerful isogloss extending over a long area covering many communities, specially the non-brahmins. More isoglosses are possible. The need for an immediate survey has become imperative.

Among the three motives of the surveys, (1) lexical

collection (2) dialect spread and (3) dialect change, the dialect spread has implication to linguistics as well as for the spread of communities, whose past history is not well known because of the paucity of records. One has to construct it from contemporary evidences like the dialects and the spread of the castes.

Recent studies have helped to hypothesise that the boundaries of early kingdoms can be guessed through the spread of certain communities which were martial in their profession. The maravas for instance live in Madurai, Ramnad, Tirunelvely districts in large numbers. The Kallars live in considerable numbers in Thanjavur and South Arcot. The concentration of the Padaiyaacciis is found in South Arcot, North Arcot and Dharmapuri. The Kaikkolars live in large numbers in North Arcot and South Arcot districts. All these communities were known to have served in the army of the Pandyas, Cholas and Pallavas. The Naicker and Naidus were the military personnel who fought for the Vijayanagara Kings. Where evidences in history are scanty the spread of the communities can indicate, the boundaries of the erstwhile kingdom. Though there are some hazards in such inferences, in the absence of other evidences these are the best guesses that one can make.

If all dialect changes are due to borrowings, then the spread of change depends upon the a) distant, from other language and b) intimacy from other dialects. As Hoenigswald once indicated, the dialect differences in the regions can help us to guess about the pre-history of the people who speak it. We have the uncontroverted example of Sowrashtas speaking Tamil in the Madurai, Kumbakonam regions which can be due to the influence of Sowrashtia language. The speakers of Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam speaking Tamil will have the influence of their mother tongue giving rise to isoglosses of a different type. We infer the features of the substratum languages. In many cases we can be certain. In a few we may. But a guess of this type will help us in inferring the heterogeneity of the speakers of Tamil giving rise

to different dialects. If this inference has a semblance of probability, there is another cause for the multiplicity of dialects in Indian Languages i.e. migration and merger of other language speakers in Tamil Nadu. Dialect formation to a great extent in Tamil Nadu, Kerala, etc. is due to merger of other language speakers. Besides linguistic history, details of migration and composition of society can be inferred. Linguistics specially dialectology will thus become a tool for tracing the migration of population, in other words, Demography, a fact which has not been noted in clear terms by others.



## RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE SEMINAR

The dialect survey of Tamil Nadu proposed by Tamil University must appoint sufficiently large number of well trained personnels as Research Assistants in this project.

The number of informants must be a fair representation of the population of whom the survey is made.

Study of social organizations of the society must precede any linguistic study of that society.

A pilot dialect survey must be undertaken before the elaborate dialect survey.

The term 'jaati' may be used instead of caste since the term 'caste' seems to be a cover term for caste clusters.

For a dialect survey to be conducted throughout Tamil Nadu one may take first a particular caste (jaati) across the whole area of Tamil Nadu and establish caste isogloss after weeding out the regional markers.

All the available dialect materials (theses, dissertations, articles, books, etc.) regarding Tamil language must be documented in the library and informations regarding current works in Tamil dialectology must

also be stored for any academic retrieval whenever necessary.

Dialect maps and dialect dictionaries must also be published as part of the dialect survey project.

A quarterly bulletin in dialectology need to be started to provide a forum to exchange views and discuss field problems encountered by the dialectologists in and around the country.

District-wise linguistic hand books and caste-wise linguistic hand books must be published as the result of the dialect survey project.

An yearly meeting of all the dialectologists must be initiated by Tamil University.

## LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

1. Abdul Gaffar Shakeel,  
Dept. of Linguistics,  
Aligarh Muslim University,  
Aligarh, (U.P.).
2. Aditi Mukherjee,  
Dept. of Linguistics,  
Osmania University,  
Hyderabad, (A.P.).
3. Andrews Kutty,  
Dept. of Linguistics,  
University of Kerala,  
Kariyavattom,  
Trivandrum, Kerala.
4. Arokianathan, S.,  
Dept. of Linguistics,  
Tamil University,  
Thanjavur.
5. Balasubramanian, K.,  
Dept. of Linguistics,  
Annamalai University,  
Annamalainagar.
6. Dua, H.R.,  
Central Institute of Indian Languages,  
Manasagangotri,  
Mysore, Karnataka.
7. Gopinatha Nair, B.,  
Dept. of Linguistics,  
University of Kerala,  
Kariyavattom,  
Trivandrum, Kerala.



8. Mahalingam, K.,  
Dept. of Linguistics,  
Osmania University,  
Hyderabad, (A.P.).
9. Mahapatra, B.P.,  
Office of the Registrar General,  
Language Division,  
Calcutta, (W.B.)
10. Murugesan, M.,  
International School of Dravidian Linguistics,  
Regional Centre,  
47, 1st Street,  
Elango Nagar,  
Pondicherry.
11. Neethivanan, J.,  
Dept. of Linguistics,  
Madurai Kamaraj University,  
Palkalai Nagar,  
Madurai, Tamil Nadu.
12. Radhakrishnan, S.,  
Central Institute of Indian Languages,  
Manasagangotri,  
Mysore, Karnataka.
13. Rangan, K.,  
Dept. of Linguistics,  
Tamil University,  
Thanjavur.
14. Robert Sathiya Joseph, D.,  
Dept. of Sociology,  
Tamil University,  
Thanjavur.
15. Selva Ganapathi, S.,  
Dept. of Tamil,  
Raja's College,  
Thiruvaiyaru, Tamil Nadu.

16. Shanmugam Pillai, M.,  
International School of Dravidian Linguistics,  
Regional Centre,  
47, 1st Street,  
Elango Nagar,  
Pondicherry.
17. Sivathanu, C.,  
Dept. of Linguistics,  
Annamalai University,  
Annamalainagar.
18. Thirunavukkarasu, R. M.,  
Dept. of Tamil,  
Higher Secondary School,  
Coimbatore, Tamil Nadu.

