

**A Linguistic Analysis of a Transplanted Language:  
Thanjavur Marathi**

*Thesis submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University  
in the partial fulfilment of the requirements for  
the award of the Degree of*

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

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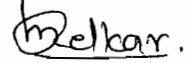
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## ABBREVIATIONS

TM	THANJAVUR MARATHI	SM	STANDARD MARATHI
1.	FIRST PERSON	2.	SECOND PERSON
3.	THIRD PERSON	ABL	ABLATIVE CASE
ADJ	ADJECTIVE	ADV	ADVERB
ANT	ANTERIOR	ASP	ASPIRATED
AUX	AUXILIARY		
CAUS	CAUSATIVE	CONT	CONTINUANT
CONJ.PTCP.	CONJUNCTIVE PARTICIPLE	COR	CORONAL
DAT	DATIVE	DOR	DORSAL
EMPH	EMPHATIC		
ERG	ERGATIVE	F	FEMININE
FUT	FUTURE	GEN	GENITIVE CASE
GL	GLOTTIS	HON	HONORIFIC
IMP	IMPERATIVE		
IMPF	IMPERFECTIVE	INF	INFINITIVE
INDEF	INDEFINITE	LAT	LATERAL
M	MASCULINE		
NEG	NEGATIVE	NOM	NOMINATIVE
HON	HONORIFIC	N	NEUTER
NP	NOUN PHRASE	OBL	OBLIQUE
PART	PARTICLE	PL	PLURAL
POSS	POSSESSIVE	PP	POSTPOSITION
PST PTCP	PAST PARTICIPLE	PTCP	PARTICIPLE
REFL	REFLEXIVE	REL	RELATIVE
SG	SINGULAR	UNASP	UNASPIRATED
VD	VOICED	VL	VOICELESS

## **Abstract**

The proposed thesis is a grammatical description of Thanjavur Marathi, a dialect of Marathi, which is a member of Indo-Aryan language family. Marathi is known to have multiple transplanted varieties, but they have not been studied from modern linguistic and sociolinguistic perspectives. In this dissertation, I propose to present an in-depth study of the linguistic features of TM, with a brief survey of the other transplanted varieties of Marathi against the backdrop of their history and their status as language and speech community.

The main aim of the present study is to provide an exhaustive description of some of the linguistic features of the dialect. It also proposes to highlight the sociolinguistic profile of Thanjavur Marathi with a focus on the domains of its use and the nature of linguistic variations in it.

At the phonetic level, the phonetic properties of the segments (vowels and consonants) are used for description. At the phonological level, it presents the phonemic/allophonic systems, phonological processes as well as a brief note on syllable structure of TM.

At the morphological level, the study describes the morphological processes such as inflection, derivation, and compounding. A description of syntax is not presented in a separate chapter but is interwoven into the discussion of morphology. Thus, information about syntax is embedded in the description of the nominal case system, pronouns, negation, etc. These descriptions of syntactic function indicate a fuller treatment of Thanjavur Marathi syntax, which will be part of future research.

Another ancillary but important objective of the study is to document texts of different genres in contemporary TM.

The details of regional and castewise population distribution of TM are also provided.



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## Chapter 1

### Introduction

The proposed thesis is a linguistic analysis of Thanjavur Marathi (TM, hereafter), a dialect of Marathi, and a member of the Indo-Aryan language family. The Ethnologue (16<sup>th</sup> edition) (reference number ISO 639-3) <http://www.ethnologue.com/language/mar>, describes it as a dialect of Marathi, influenced lexically by Tamil and Kannada, with at least 100,000 speakers<sup>1</sup>, spoken in Thanjavur District and elsewhere in the Tamil Nadu state in India. Alternate names for Thanjavur Marathi include *Dakshini Marathi* (South Indian Marathi), *rayar Marathi* and *amcha Marathi* that means ‘our Marathi’ among native speakers<sup>2</sup>. The current distribution of the Thanjavur Marathi population is in Delhi, Mumbai, Bangalore, Hyderabad, Chennai, Dharmapuri, Krishnagiri, Thanjavur, and surrounding districts like Tiruchirapally, Pudukkottai, Madurai, Thiruvananthapuram, Salem, Coimbatore, and Abroad.

#### 1.1 Motivation for the Study

With the rise of studies on languages in contact (e.g. Thomason 2001, Aikhenvald & Dixon 2007, Matras 2009) transplanted language varieties have come to acquire a special place in linguistic and sociolinguistic studies, on account of the nature of linguistic innovations in them and of their unique historical and sociolinguistic backgrounds. Marathi is known to have multiple transplanted varieties, but they have not been studied from modern linguistic and sociolinguistic perspectives. In this dissertation, I propose to present an in-depth study of the linguistic features of TM, with a brief survey of the other transplanted varieties of Marathi against the backdrop of their history and their status as language and speech community.

The present researcher is a native speaker of standard Marathi and, being married to a Tamil speaker from Thanjavur district for the past seven years, has had a relatively long and continuous exposure to Tamil and to Thanjavur Marathi helping her to carry out the study involving all these three language varieties.

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<sup>1</sup> Annexure I gives regional/caste wise tentative population figures which cross 4,00,000

<sup>2</sup> These names are not found in published literature. However, speakers refer the language with above mentioned names.



## **1.2 Scope and Objectives**

The main aim of the present study is to provide an exhaustive description of some of the linguistic features of the dialect. It also proposes to highlight the sociolinguistic profile of Thanjavur Marathi with a focus on the domains of its use and the nature of linguistic variations in it.

The study mainly focuses on the phonetic, phonological and morphological levels, and takes up prominent syntactic features.

At the phonetic level, the phonetic properties of the segments (vowels and consonants) are used for description. At the phonological level, it presents the phonemic/allophonic systems, phonological processes as well as a brief note on suprasegmental features.

At the morphological level, the study describes the morphological processes such as inflection, derivation, and compounding. A description of syntax is not presented in a separate chapter but is interwoven into the discussion of morphology. Thus, information about syntax is embedded in the description of the nominal case system, pronouns, negation, etc. These descriptions of syntactic function indicate a fuller treatment of Thanjavur Marathi syntax, which will be part of future research.

Various discourse types in Thanjavur Marathi data throw light on the contact-induced language changes that have taken place in it.

Another ancillary but important objective of the study is to document texts of different genres in contemporary TM.

## **1.3 Hypotheses**

The dissertation is based on the following hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1: Thanjavur Marathi shows features that are common to Marathi and Tamil.

Hypothesis 2: As a contact variety, Thanjavur Marathi also demonstrates the presence of features that are unique to it and not found in either Marathi or Tamil.

## **1.4 Research Methodology and Analysis of Data**

The study is based on the methods that involve fieldwork and evaluation of primary and secondary sources through phonetic transcription. The source of data is the contemporary

forms of usage of the language as is reflected in the formal as well as informal speeches. The data from informants are mainly collected and cross-checked as much as possible utilizing the field methodology such as questionnaires, interviews, translation, examples and illustrations, and observations (Abbi 2001).

### **Secondary Data**

Edited and published texts (manuscripts and inscriptions) in Thanjavur Marathi are the lone source of information for 17<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup>-century language. This data is used as background information in the analysis of language.

### **Primary Data**

In general, the data from texts are used as evidence to support the hypothesis/analysis as much as possible. These texts consist of legends, narratives of recent events, instructions for praying, performing rituals, cooking, traveling, and so on. These are recorded and transcribed for analysis. These texts are gathered from participant observation. In the cases where researchers investigate communities of which they are not members, their outsider status poses a challenge to their ability to overcome the observer's paradox. As discussed by Milroy and Gordon (2003, 68-71), in an attempt to change this status, the investigators may adopt the role of participant observer. This ethnographic approach requires long-term association with a community and is a search of local cultural knowledge (Johnstone 2000:82). The principal benefits of participant observation are; (a) the amount and quality of data collected and (b) the familiarity with community practices gained by the investigator. However, there are instances in which elicitation data is needed for contrastive analysis or when targeting specific semantic or Morpho-syntactic domains. In other cases, data from elicitation is clearer than data from texts as it contains only the target morpheme or construction, and not other phenomena that could potentially confuse the reader.

While interviewing the informants, the following factors were considered. A questionnaire consisted of a list of words, phrases, and sentences. Informant selection is made after a screening procedure. The informant must be physically normal (without any hearing or speaking disorder) and psychologically healthy. They must be born in mentioned or targeted place and lived there at least for 15 or 20 years. They must be literate or educated. They must be from age group 20-60 yrs. As mentioned earlier, this language is spoken in five major districts of Tamil Nadu and spread over different parts of southern India. However, the study

will cover the area, especially from Thanjavur District to work and collect data. Questionnaires prepared as typological tools for field linguistics developed by Department of Linguistics, Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology (MPI-EVA) that provides a framework for the description of a language have been taken into account in interviewing. A few improvisations and necessary modifications have been made to this questionnaire wherever TM demanded. Along with it, word list suggested by Abbi (2001) and word lists prepared by SIL have been used for data collection.

PRAAT software is used for identification of the sound system.

Grammatical rules and structures are worked inductively based on the textual corpus, from the utterances observed as the community carries out its daily activities and from the examples gathered during the construction of the lexicon.

For the analysis, data from speakers settled in Thanjavur and surrounding districts is taken as standard. However, there is a continuous reference to other regional varieties of TM to provide a thorough picture of TM.

Total number of speakers investigated – 75 speakers (40 Male + 35 Female)

Data from core area (Thanjavur, Kumbakonam, Tiruchirapally) – 25

Data from regional varieties (Bangalore, Hyderabad, Mumbai, Delhi) – 50

Data collection was conducted in five sessions (one month each) to get familiar with the language under investigation. Respondents' background:

The interview was conducted with 15 families, which represented the Thanjavur Marathi population distributed over different regions in and outside southern India. The sample consisted of mainly four age groups. <sup>3</sup>

0-10 year	crucial period
10-30 years	Generation 3
30-60 years	Generation 2
60 age and above	Generation 1

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<sup>3</sup> Details of field work along with detailed list of informants is attached in the appendix

They are from different educational, professional background. Caste variable is also considered as it plays an important role in community's language dynamics. Places such as Thanjavur and surrounding districts, Chennai and Bangalore where the majority of the speakers are concentrated today are explored for suitable informants. Through the mediator, around 75 Thanjavur Marathi speakers of different age groups, different social and economic class, and both genders are located. Natural conversations (with TM speakers and among TM speakers) are recorded using Philips Go gear digital recorder and Samsung mobile recorder. Moreover, word lists and questionnaires are also used with selected 38 informants for language specific investigation. Therefore, the data utilized for the study is gathered from several different speakers in the initial stages of data collection. However, by the beginning of the third session, Mr. UV Jagannathan, Mrs. Padma Prasad, and Mr. Ramachandran Rao's family members became primary consultants. All the vocabulary lists, paradigms, and texts are rechecked with them; therefore, this description relies primarily on their speech. Instances of variation between various consultants are pointed out in the chapters that follow.

Primary informant Mrs. Padma Prasad has lived in Chennai for most of her life but spent part of her childhood in a nearby area called Kumbakonam. In addition to her native language, TM, she has near-native fluency in Tamil. She attended school with Tamil as the medium of instruction, and so has reading and writing knowledge of the language. She also has speaking and writing knowledge of Kannada, which she learned as a religious language. Also, she has knowledge of English. Whereas the language background of the researcher is concerned, I am a native speaker of standard Marathi and have the communicative ability in Tamil. My proficiency in Tamil was sufficient for the first two field trips when I elicited vocabulary and got few texts transcribed and translated. However, during the last two field visits, Fluent Tamil speakers helped me to ensure that my consultants were given grammatically correct Tamil sentences to translate into TM. Dr. N. Sivakumar assisted me in the field trip. The data consists of formally elicited vocabulary lists and sentence paradigms, as well as texts. Several texts in TM are tape-recorded, transcribed, and translated. Eight texts out of the whole database are analyzed in detail. They consist of two stories, one religious discourse, one interview, two written discourses, one procedural discourse and one song. The purpose of taking different types of discourse genres was to elicit Morpho-syntactic structures that may not show up in the questionnaire-based data, but which might come in natural data. Whole data is cross-checked with written discourse produced by Mr. Rajaram Ramchandran and Mr. Ananda Rao Vasishtha with due permission.

## **1.5 Analytical Approach**

The descriptive and analytic resources of Basic Linguistic Theory (Dixon 2009, 2010) are adopted in writing the TM grammar. Basic Linguistic Theory is essentially a descriptive framework. It attempts to explain what exists in a language and how all the different elements are related to each other.

Dixon (1997: 128-138) and Dryer (2006b) have emphasized that descriptive work on the world's languages resulting in reference grammars is by no means "merely descriptive," but is theoretical. These authors refer to the conceptual framework employed by grammar writers, historical linguists, and typologists as 'Basic Linguistic Theory.'

The expression "basic linguistic theory" refers to the scientific way that is most common in use in the works on language description. Grammatical descriptions of entire languages are based on this framework. Dixon (2009) has elaborated on the methodology, background, and terminology of basic linguistic theory.

The Basic linguistic theory seems to have gained from the structuralist tradition in analyzing phonology, and morphology of the language. Nevertheless, it attempts at describing languages in a more user-friendly manner and allows for semantic considerations alongside. Indirect influences of early generative grammars can also be seen in basic linguistic theory, particularly when it attempts an analysis of language in detail and argues for a particular analysis. As Dryer (2006) Observes, in the past few decades, the prime influence on basic linguistic theory has come from work in linguistic typology. This effect has come mainly from the recognition of recurrent sorts of phenomena cross-linguistically. The basic linguistic theory has included many important concepts debated in the typological literature.

The theoretical concepts or descriptive tools that are used in Basic Linguistic Theory are the kinds of ideas that are presented in works such as Payne (1997) and Shopen (2007).

## **1.6 Division of Chapters**

The dissertation is divided into seven chapters.

Chapter 1: Introduction

This chapter will discuss the motivations for taking up the particular language for investigation, and theoretical framework and methodology adopted for the research.

## Chapter 2: Interlude on the transplanted varieties of Marathi and Literature Review

This chapter will give brief socio-historical and linguistic background of the Thanjavur Marathi Community and will highlight existing research available in this area.

## Chapter 3: Sociolinguistic Profile of TM

This chapter will deal with different variables that contribute to variation in TM. It will also discuss alternate names for the language, role of parents, cultural practices in language retention and give language vitality status of TM with the help of graded scale.

## Chapter 4: Phonological Structures

This chapter will cover the vowel and consonant system of TM. Distribution of segments will also be looked into details. Consonant clusters, Syllable Structure and Stress patterns of TM will be briefly dealt in another section. The section on phonological processes investigates the assimilatory processes, deletion and insertion processes in TM. Variation in aspiration and nasal shift are important features in TM that makes it stand different from SM. These features will be dealt in a separate section. Another section deals with the role of script and correlation with the existence of voiced aspiration in TM.

## Chapter 5: Morphology

This chapter will mainly deal with the inflectional and derivational morphology in Thanjavur Marathi. Compound morphology will also be included.

## Chapter 6: Text Collection

The documentation of different texts in TM is main focus of this chapter. Both spoken and written discourses will be taken for comparison. Five major discourse types story narration, religious discourse, natural conversation, and written discourse are analyzed to see how the influence of language contact is different in different genres.

## Chapter 7: Conclusion

This chapter is the final chapter of the thesis. It will comment on the results of the current research and further research areas in the same direction will be underlined.

## **1.7 Reservations**

Before summarising the introduction chapter, it is important to identify the limitations of the current research. Although this research has attained its aims, I am still aware of its constraints.

First, the scope of the Phonology and morphology section has to be delimited due to constraint of time in analysing the huge amount of data that shows great variation. Second, the variation based on region and literacy background is not recorded for morphology chapter. As the majority of the informants belong to a particular section of the society, further analysis demands to record responses from different sections of the society with different literary and regional background.

Further, it is necessary to note that present study did not examine the verb morphology of TM in details. Though brief picture of TM morphology is provided, this study could not provide complete picture of verb morphology due to unavailability of any written account of TM and inadequate data to analyse the complexity of verb morphology.

Furthermore, analysis of syntax, semantics, and pragmatics of TM might throw light on its interesting development as a transplanted language. These areas are not covered in the scope of the current work owing to limited time.

## **1.8 Summary**

In this chapter, we have seen the motivation for the study of Thanjavur Marathi as a transplanted variety of Marathi. The scope and objectives of the dissertation are defined briefly followed by the hypothesis on which the thesis is built upon. The methodology that is used for the collection of data and analysis of the grammatical system is discussed along with the note on the analytical approach taken to the description of TM grammatical system. The general outline of the thesis is presented followed by the short note on the limitations of the current work.

## Chapter 2

### Interlude on the Transplanted Varieties of Marathi and Literature Review

In the present chapter, we present an interlude on the transplanted varieties of Marathi and a brief review of the literature on their studies.

#### 2.1 Transplanted Varieties of Marathi

This section includes discussion on the literature review of transplanted languages followed by focussed discussions on the transplanted varieties of Marathi language. Historical background of TM, which forms the basis for the discussion in further chapters, is also provided.

##### 2.1.1 Transplanted Languages

Oxford online dictionary defines the noun transplant as “a person or thing that has been moved to a new place or situation”<sup>4</sup>. The similar concept is extended to refer to languages that travel with their speakers to a different land and accommodate themselves among already existing regional languages. Studies of transplanted languages have traditionally been done from two perspectives; the extent to which the transplanted languages has taken root and survived in the new environment, and the linguistic differences, which have developed between the transplanted language and the original language of the homeland. In one of the earliest discussions of transplanted languages, Reinecke (1969) distinguishes between ‘colonial dialects’ and ‘immigrant dialects.’ An immigrant dialect (Reinecke1969:10) is a transplanted language spoken by only a small “socially dominated” minority. It usually does not take root, or if it does, it survives only for a short time as the immigrant group is “assimilated into the mass of the population.” Many studies of transplanted languages have concentrated on accounting for, rather than merely describing the development of the linguistic features, which distinguish them from their parent languages. Some of these features have been attributed to isolation- certain changes have taken place in the parent variety, but not in the immigrant variety. However, more often, the differences are attributed to changes, which have been held as the result of new patterns of language contact in the new environment.

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<sup>4</sup> <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/transplant>



The first area to be affected due to external contact with other languages is usually the lexicon. Moreover, there are new patterns of internal contact among the geographical and social varieties of the transplanted language itself. Dorian (1971:23-32) refers to a high need for unification among speakers of different dialects in a new environment where the new dialect or group of dialects is marked more or less by several dialects of the homeland, yet differing in greater or lesser degree from them all.

While discussing the changes in functions and status, which affected the Dutch language when it was transplanted to Australia, Anne Pauwels marks the observation that "languages often experience a change in status when they are transplanted into a new society which has its language(s). The status of a language is intricately linked to its functions. Usually, the transplantation of a language to a new area or society entails a change in the functions for which the language is or can be used. If the new society is one with a dominant language, the transplanted language(s) will probably be granted the status of minority language(s) rather than obtain equal status with the dominant language of that society".

However, the response of Indian languages to linguistic diversity created by immigrant language contact is different from that of Western languages. Emeneau (1962) observes that after a period of at least fifteen centuries of migrations, Saurashtrian still survives as the home language of the immigrant silk weavers in Madurai (Tamil Nadu state). There are various studies on transplanted languages in Indian context; such as work by Pandit (1978) *Punjabi migrant community in Delhi*; Mukherjee (1981) *Bengali and Punjabi refugee in Delhi*; Satyanath (1982) *Kannadigas in Delhi*; Lal (1986) *Tamil speaking Iyengar in Bangalore*. Elena Bashir et al. (2016) discuss two types of contact situations in case of South Asian languages. While elaborating on this area, Hock (pn.310) talks about localized contact between (generally transplanted) varieties of Indo-Aryan and regional Dravidian languages which has been investigated intensively. He mentions the studies on the cases such as Dakkhini Urdu and Telugu<sup>5</sup>, Mangalore Saraswat Konkani and Kannada<sup>6</sup>, Sinhala and Tamil<sup>7</sup>, Lesser known cases of Saurashtra and Tamil<sup>8</sup>, Urdu and Kannada in Bidar<sup>9</sup>, Bhalavali

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<sup>5</sup> Subbarao, K. V. & Arora, Harbir. 1989. On the extreme convergence of Dakkhini Hindi-Urdu. In A. Mukherjee (ed.) *Language change and language variation*, Hyderabad: Centre for Advanced Studies, Osmania University, 105-122

<sup>6</sup> Nadkarni, M. V., 'Bilingualism and Syntactic Change in Konkani,' *Language* 51 (1975), 672–683.

<sup>7</sup> Gair, James W. 1976[1998]. The verb in Sinhala, with some preliminary remarks on Dravidianization. *International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics* 10(8). 259–273. [Reprinted in part, with additional notes, in Gair 1998:200–209].

<sup>8</sup> Pandit, P.B. 1972. *India as a sociolinguistic area*. Pune: University of Poona

Marathi and Kannada<sup>10</sup>, etc. TM, because of unavailability of any recognized linguistic description, has not found a place in this list.

Pattanayak (1981) has analysed the sociolinguistics of the mother tongue of the transplanted Indian communities whose ancestors had to leave their homeland and their larger speech community more than a century ago. He mentions that it is necessary to check if the descendants of these communities have lost their mother tongue or whether the descendants have successfully resisted the death of their heritage native language but succumbed to language change because of contact with a dominant language/ languages and became native speakers of that too. The choice of a language other than mother tongue for initial and academic literacy is also likely to have a long-term disempowering and disabling influence on the minority mother tongues.

### **2.1.2 Transplanted Varieties of Marathi**

The Marathi language is known to have many dialects<sup>11</sup>. Marathi spoken outside Maharashtra is mainly because of two reasons. Firstly, it has shared boundaries with the states such as Gujarat (north-west), Madhya Pradesh (north), Telangana/ Andhra Pradesh (southeast), Goa (southwest), Karnataka (south) and Chhattisgarh (East). Linguists are investigating different dialects of Marathi in all these areas for a long time.

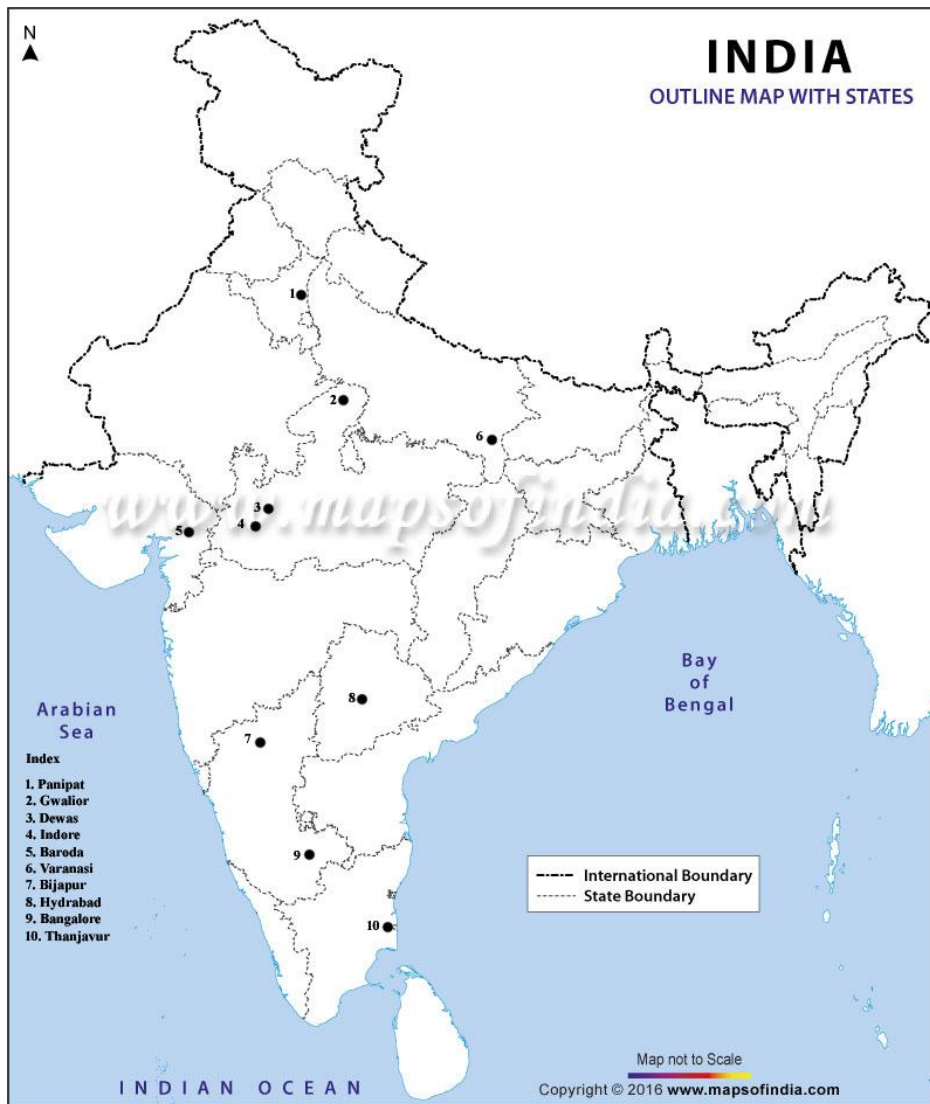
Secondly, as the Maratha Empire expanded across India during the medieval period, the Marathi population started migrating out of Maharashtra along with their leaders. A sizeable population of priests, clerks, clergymen, army men, and workers went along with Bhosale, Peshwa, Holkar, Scindia, and Gayakwad dynastic leaders when they conquered various parts of India and started settling there. Map 2.1 highlights major Marathi population concentration areas with historical significance. Figure 2.1 represents the current population percentage of Marathi speakers at these different places within India.

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<sup>9</sup> Upadhyay 1971

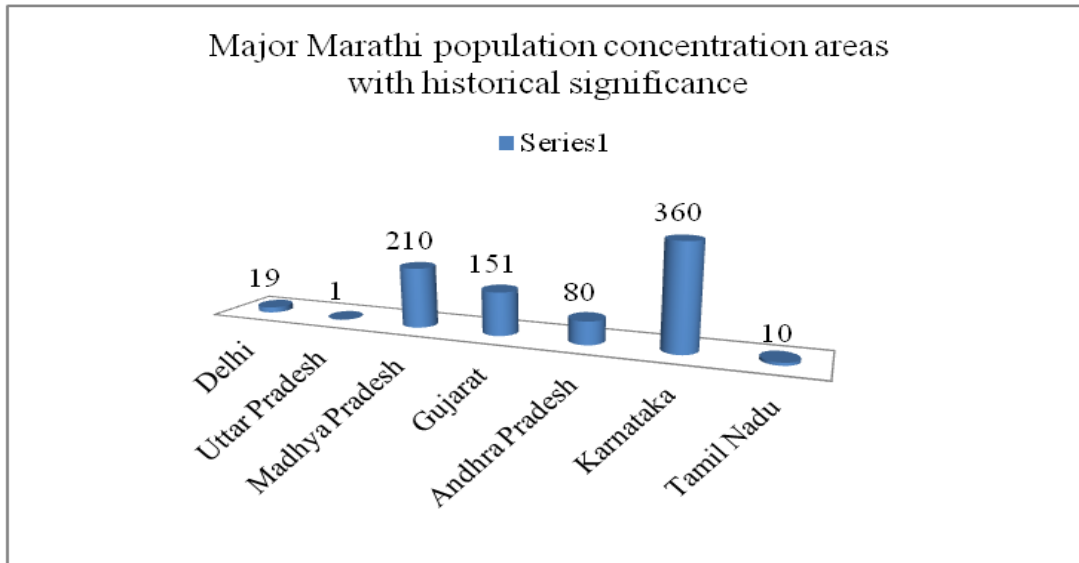
<sup>10</sup> Varija 2005. Syntactic convergence in Bhalavali Marathi. Paper presented at the Prof. m.B.Emeneau Centenary International Conference on South Asian Linguistics, CIIL, Mysore

<sup>11</sup> The terms dialect and variety are used interchangeably in this work.



**Map 2.1 Historically Important Marathi Migrations**

It is visible from Map 2.1 that Marathas migrated to different states crossing the linguistic boundaries of Maharashtra. Towards the north, their campaign stretched from Madhya Pradesh (Gwalior, Dewas, and Indore), Gujarat (Baroda), Haryana (Panipat) and Uttar Pradesh (Varanasi). Towards the south, they were spread in bordering states of Karnataka (Bijapur, Bangalore), Andhra Pradesh (Hyderabad) and extended their campaign to Tamil Nadu (Thanjavur).



**Figure 2.1 Current Populations of Marathi Speakers outside Maharashtra, within India (in percentages)**

As political and linguistic boundaries in contemporary India are slightly different from those of medieval period, the current population of Marathi speakers whose have migrated across boundaries is represented in figure 2.1. It is state wise representation in percentages. As Karnataka has shared major border area towards the south with Maharashtra and historical reasons, the percentage of Marathi population in Karnataka is highest among all other transplanted areas. Next is Madhya Pradesh, which shares a significant portion of boundaries towards North. Gujarat sharing boundaries towards North West comes at the third position, whereas Andhra Pradesh sharing boundaries towards South East occupies the fourth position. Delhi and Uttar Pradesh at extreme North and Tamil Nadu at extreme South shows the relatively lesser percentage of Marathi speakers. Though small in number, the migrants in Tamil Nadu have an important position in preserving the Maratha history, language, and culture.

### 2.1.2.1 Panipat

Panipat is geographically located about 97 km at north of Delhi. The Maratha migrants in this region are the result of the third battle of Panipat between Marathas and King of Afghan in 1761. Marathas lost that war. It is confirmed from local sources that there is around seven lakh Maratha Ror population in Haryana today. Moreover, Bugtis and Marris that is the present-day Baloch tribes are thought to be the descendants of Maratha soldiers and civilians

who were taken as prisoners of war. Despite retaining Maratha culture and identity, these speakers have lost the Marathi language except for few Marathi vocabulary items.

#### **2.1.2.2 Gwalior - Scindias**

Ranoji Scindia was part of the Maratha army. He established the Gwalior as an independent state in the early 18th century, as a part of Maratha Confederacy. Out of total population of the Gwalior city, 20% of the population speaks the Marathi language. Statistically, it is second largest population. Due to Maratha Rule over the centuries, strong Marathi influence is still observed in Gwalior.

#### **2.1.2.3 Dewas - Puar (Pawar)**

Dewas was a province of Madhya Pradesh, which was the capital of two Maratha princely states ruled by Pawar clan of royal Marathas during the British period. Marathi is still spoken in Dewas in equal proportion along with Hindi.

#### **2.1.2.4 Indore – Holkar**

Malhar Rao Holkar (1694-1766) was a Maratha chief in service of Peshwa Baji Rao. He established the rule of Peshwa Empire over Indore. A significant population of Indore can speak as well as understand Marathi.

#### **2.1.2.5 Baroda – Gayakwads**

Maratha General Pilaji Rao Gayakwad conquered the Baroda city from the Mughal Empire in 1721 and originated the Gayakwad rule of Baroda. The Peshwa granted them the city as a controller. Within Baroda city, there is a smooth combination of Gujarati and Marathi cultures. There are various Marathi associations to promote Marathi literature, drama, and folk arts in the city. Because of the co-existence of both communities, there is a mixture of the linguistic system, culture, traditions, and customs.

#### **2.1.2.6 Varanasi**

Varanasi was part of Maratha Empire after 1700 AD. Maratha immigrants in Banaras came to number almost 30000 people by the end of 18<sup>th</sup> century, which included traders, Deccani Brahmins, and retainers of the many noblemen who temporarily or permanently resided in the city (Bayly 1983: 137). Maratha sponsored construction included the present Viswanatha temple in 1777 and many bathing Ghats along the riverfront. There are around 500-700

Marathi families that have migrated to Varanasi. However, their language has completely assimilated with a local variety of Hindi.

### **2.1.2.7 Bijapur**

Bijapur, which is officially known as Vijayapura, is historically, traditionally and legendarily one of the richest districts in Karnataka. Geographically, it is closer to Sangli and Solapur districts in Maharashtra. Historically, being the headquarter of Adil Shahi kingdom, it comprised of many Marathi regions. Especially during the medieval period (15<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> century), many Maratha nobles, bureaucrats, soldiers, and Brahmins migrated to Bijapur to serve the court. Bijapur Marathi enjoyed the status of the second official language. Today, Marathi spoken in Bijapur is rich with Persian influence.

### **2.1.2.8 Hyderabad**

Next to Telugu language population (48%) which is regionally dominant language, Marathi speakers have the second highest population (26%) in Hyderabad. Historically, Marathwada region of Maharashtra was under the Princely state of Hyderabad. After 1720's, there were many Maratha invasions which continued until the beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> century. These invasions resulted in the migration of many Marathi families to Hyderabad. There is significant TM population in Hyderabad.

### **2.1.2.9 Bangalore and Thanjavur**

The historical importance of Bangalore and Thanjavur and existence of Marathi people in these areas will be discussed in section 2.1.3.1.

All these groups in different parts of the country speak some or the other variety of Marathi.

As Kulkarni(2001:1-9) <sup>12</sup> rightly points out, considering the importance of language and culture in the social composition of any community, these transplanted varieties seem to be more important than mainstream Marathi. Different Marathi dialects in southern India show variation depending upon the language and culture of the majority population of that area. Many historically important clues are hidden in these dialects. A sociolinguistic study of these dialects may throw light on the history and development of Marathi language as a

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<sup>12</sup> Kulkarni, S.R. *Dakshin Bharatatil Marathi Sahityache Samshodhan, (Marathi) in History of Marathi literature in South India: Karnataka and Andhra volume*, pp.1-9, published by Rajya Marathi Vikas Sanstha, 2001, Mumbai.

whole. However, it is necessary to have knowledge of both the languages in contact. It is evident that languages in contact borrow vocabulary and other grammatical features. However, without detailed research, arriving at conclusions supporting any one direction of contact-induced changes is very dangerous. Research on transplanted Marathi needs to consider many background currents of political, social, and linguistic history in that region.

### **2.1.3 Thanjavur Marathi as a Transplanted Language**

In this way, Thanjavur Marathi holds a special status due to its geographical location and historical background. It is necessary to go into the details of these historical facts because they provide us with the reason why there are geographical as well as caste variations among the speakers of TM.

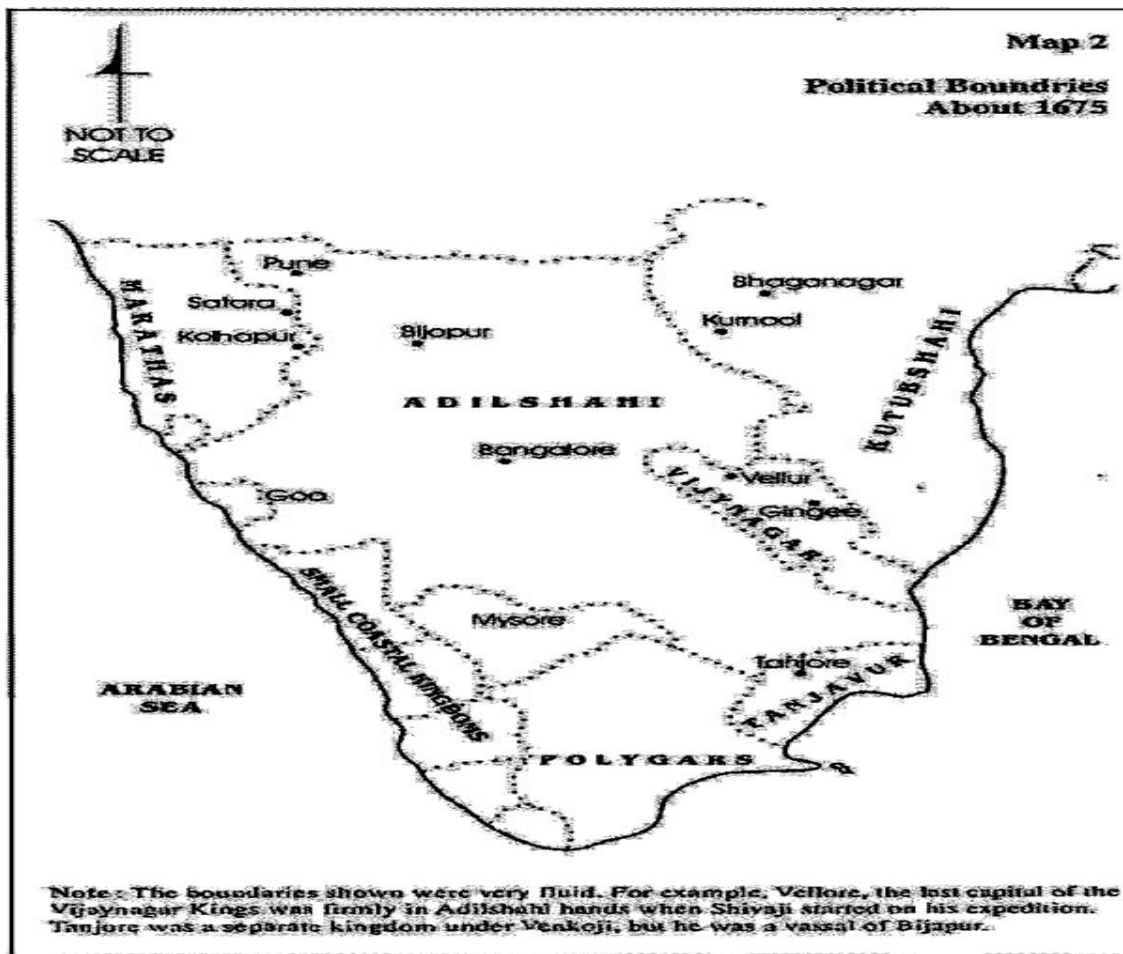
#### **2.1.3.1 Historical Background**

There is archaeological evidence, a copper plate dated 18<sup>th</sup> January 1654, which mentions that grandson of Viraji Sahu has bought a land at Devanathapuram and has built 14 houses. This record indicates that even before Marathas officially established themselves in Tamil Nadu, many Marathi families had already settled there. It is necessary to remember the sequence in which Marathi families were exposed to different Dravidian languages.

The historical and linguistic background of this language is discussed below. Thanjavur (also spelt as Tanjore) is a city that is the headquarters of the district of Thanjavur in the South Indian state of Tamil Nadu. Tamil is the widely spoken language, with the standard dialect being a Central Tamil dialect. Telugu, Thanjavur Marathi, and Saurashtra are other languages spoken in this region. Thanjavur is the cultural and political centre of the Thanjavur Marathi people. It has been the centre of intense cultural and political activity for many centuries. The district was occupied and governed by Cholas, Pallavas, Pandyas, Chalukyas, Nayakas, Marathas, and British. In these political exchanges, people from Marathi (IA language), and Telugu and Tamil languages (Dravidian languages) came in contact and exchanged their cultural and linguistic elements. As mentioned before, geographically and culturally, Maharashtra shares borders with Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka. For many centuries, due to various matrimonial ties, professional opportunities, natural disasters, warfare, etc. people from Maharashtra are migrating to Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, and Tamil Nadu. This process was accelerated during the period of Shahaji (approximately in 1636 A.D.) and later. A significant aspect of the Adil Shahi Sultanate was the coexistence of both Muslim and

Hindu personnel in the state administration. As described by Stewart Gordon (1998), because of blocking immigration from the North, the Mughals recruited a large number of the local Hindu population into the administrative services. Due to this, Marathas, Lingayats, Brahmins, especially Deshastha from Maharashtra started dominating the bureaucratic posts. Shahaji and many of his sardars, assistants, and officials received inams and vatans in south India. They settled at respective places along with their families. There is an extensive account in *History of the Mahrattas vol.1* by James Grant Duff (1863: 88-89). When Shahaji started his departure on the military campaign, he was presented with extensive Jagirs belonging to the Bijapur sovereign. This was in the year 1638 when the tide of Maratha conquest first flowed towards Karnataka. Shahaji had several successes apart from seizing the Jagirs around Bangalore, and that included Arni, Porto Novo, and Thanjavur. In 1640 AD, Vedaji Bhaskar Pant was awarded the Jagir of Arni in consideration of his services to Shahaji. Shahaji died in 1664. After his death, his younger son Venkoji was given charge of his father's Jagirs. The small province of Thanjavur in Southern India came under Maratha rule around 1665 AD. Shivaji's half brother Venkoji or Ekoji was a Jagirdar (Chieftain) of the small garrison of Bangalore under the Sultan of Bijapur. The Sultan was ruling over parts of present-day Maharashtra State and Karnataka State. Venkoji was required to proceed to Thanjavur to settle a dispute of succession in the kingdom of Thanjavur. At the end of his expedition, Venkoji installed himself as the ruler of Thanjavur.



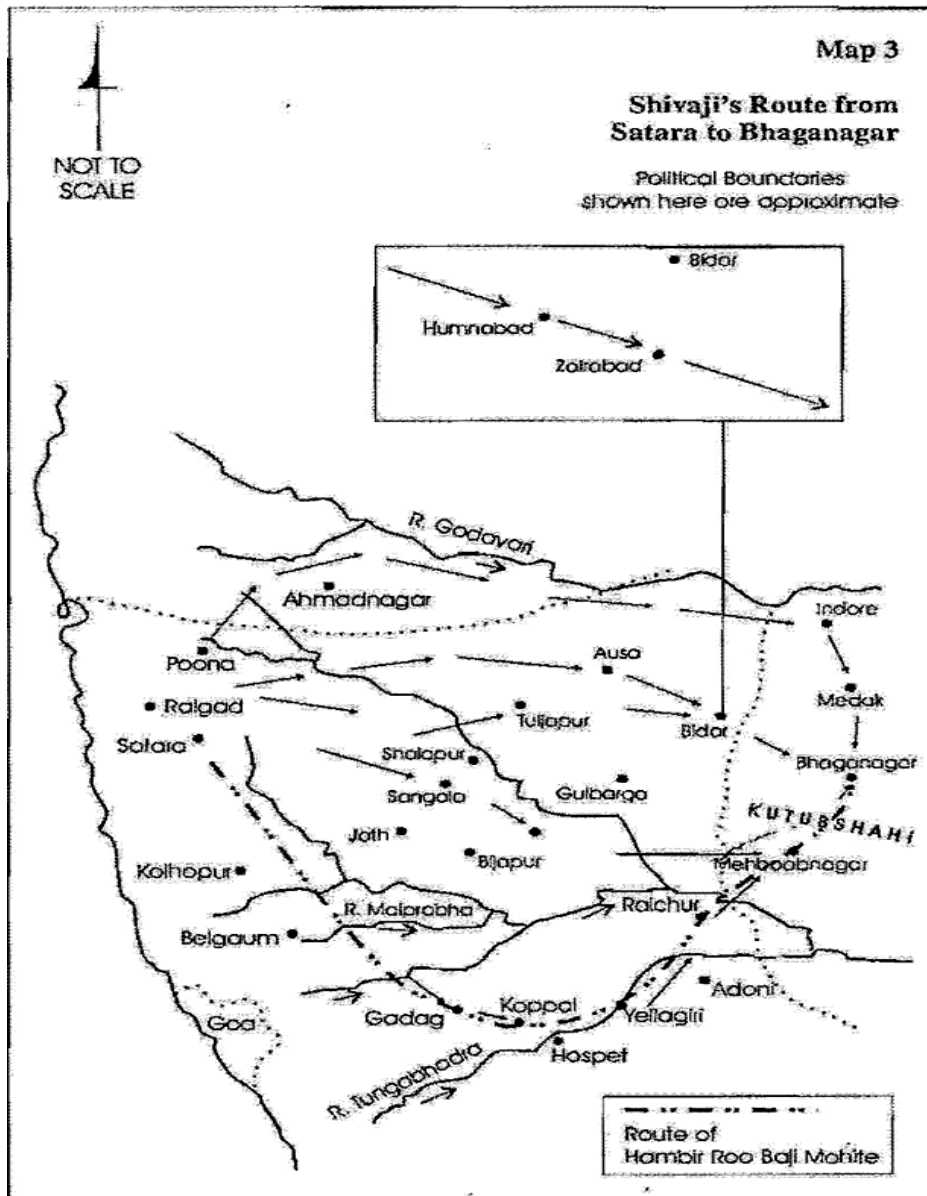


**Map 2.2 Political Boundaries in Southern India (1675 AD)**

**Source- Naravane (2002: 99)**

The map 2.2 roughly plots the political boundaries in the medieval Southern India based on historical evidence. As the map shows, Adilshahi was the biggest power occupying most of the central part of South India with Bijapur and Bangalore as centres of power. Following Adilshahi, Qutubshahi occupied a major portion of Andhra Pradesh/Telangana with Bhaganagar (Hyderabad) and Kurnool as power centres. Marathas were influential in Deccan with Pune, Satara, and Kolhapur as power centres. There were small coastal kingdoms in the western coastal area. Though Thanjavur was a separate kingdom under Venkoji, he was a vassal of Bijapur.

In early 1677, Shivaji and his military forces set out towards Golconda.



**Map 2.3 Shivaji's Route from Satara to Bhaganagar**

**Source- Naravane (2002: 100)**

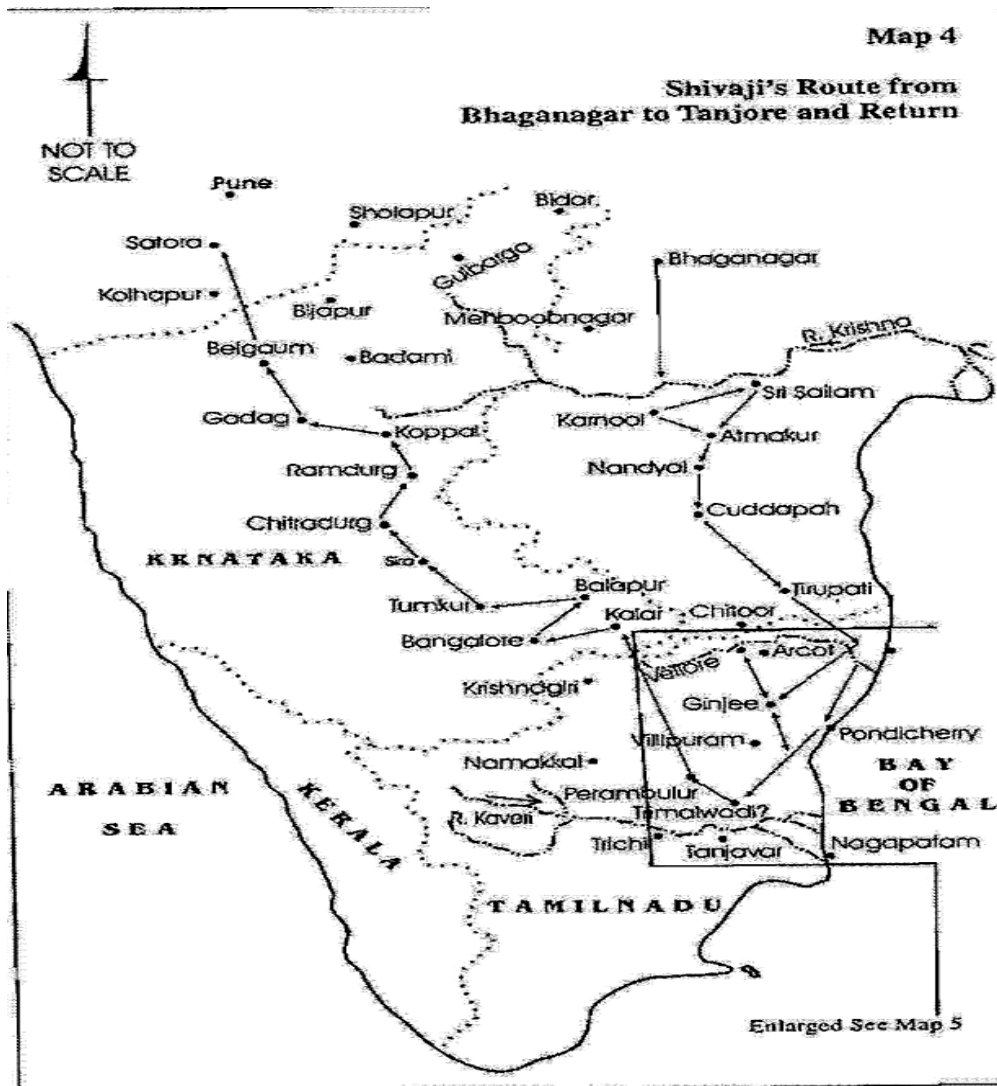
Map 2.3 plots major regions through which Marathas reached Bhaganagar (Hyderabad). Shivaji divided his troops into two-three groups that followed different directions while reaching Bhaganagar. It is quite natural that nobles, bureaucrats, soldiers, and Brahmins from these regions (Kolhapur, Satara, Sangli, Tuljapur, Bijapur, Ausa, Belgaum, Bidar, etc.) accompanied Maratha Army on their way to South conquest. Family histories of many TM families can trace back their roots to the places that are mapped en route Bhaganagar. Also, they worship Kolhapur Ambabai/Tuljapur Bhavani as their family goddess. The tradition of

Gondhal, which is prevalent in Deshasta and Maratha families in areas mentioned above, is still followed by TMs.

As mentioned before, Shivaji met Qutub Shah and negotiated a secret treaty for a division of his intended conquests in the Karnataka. Those areas that earlier belonged to his father, Shahaji were excluded. The booty was to be divided between Shivaji, Qutub Shah, and Bijapur. As the agreement was completed, Qutub Shah gave him money, horses, and artillery. Shivaji, then, started for his invasions via Kurnool, Cadappa, and Madras presidency. He occupied Gingee and Vellore and was thinking of getting control over Thanjavur too. As mentioned earlier, Venkoji left Bangalore and created an empire for himself in Thanjavur. However, by doing so, he left his inherited Jagir unguarded. Minor chiefs, such as that of Kolar, had declared their independence. The Mysore ruler, Chikkadev Raja, had also started interfering in this area. Shivaji could not allow this to happen. Since Thanjavur and other properties had belonged to his father, he tried to seize them after negotiating with his brother, Venkoji. Venkoji was skeptical about him and was not ready to give up his property. Shivaji did not give up and continued his battle. Although Shivaji won over Venkoji, he restored to Venkoji almost all that he had gained. Vedaji Bhaskar Pant, in charge of Arni since the time of Shahaji, brought the keys of the Fort and tendered his services to Shivaji. Shivaji thereby confirmed the award of the Jagir of Arni to him. The Jagir districts of Shahaji consisting of Kolar, Bangalore, Hoskote, Balapoor, and Sira were all taken possession of by Shivaji before the beginning of 1679. On his expedition to southern India, Shivaji carried with him 24000 household cavalry, 25000 Shiledars, and 10000 infantry. He also took Brahmins with extensive administrative and diplomatic capabilities and left most of these forces behind in the conquered territory to control and administer new conquests<sup>13</sup>. He introduced the system of land administration in this area exactly as it was in his Maratha kingdom.

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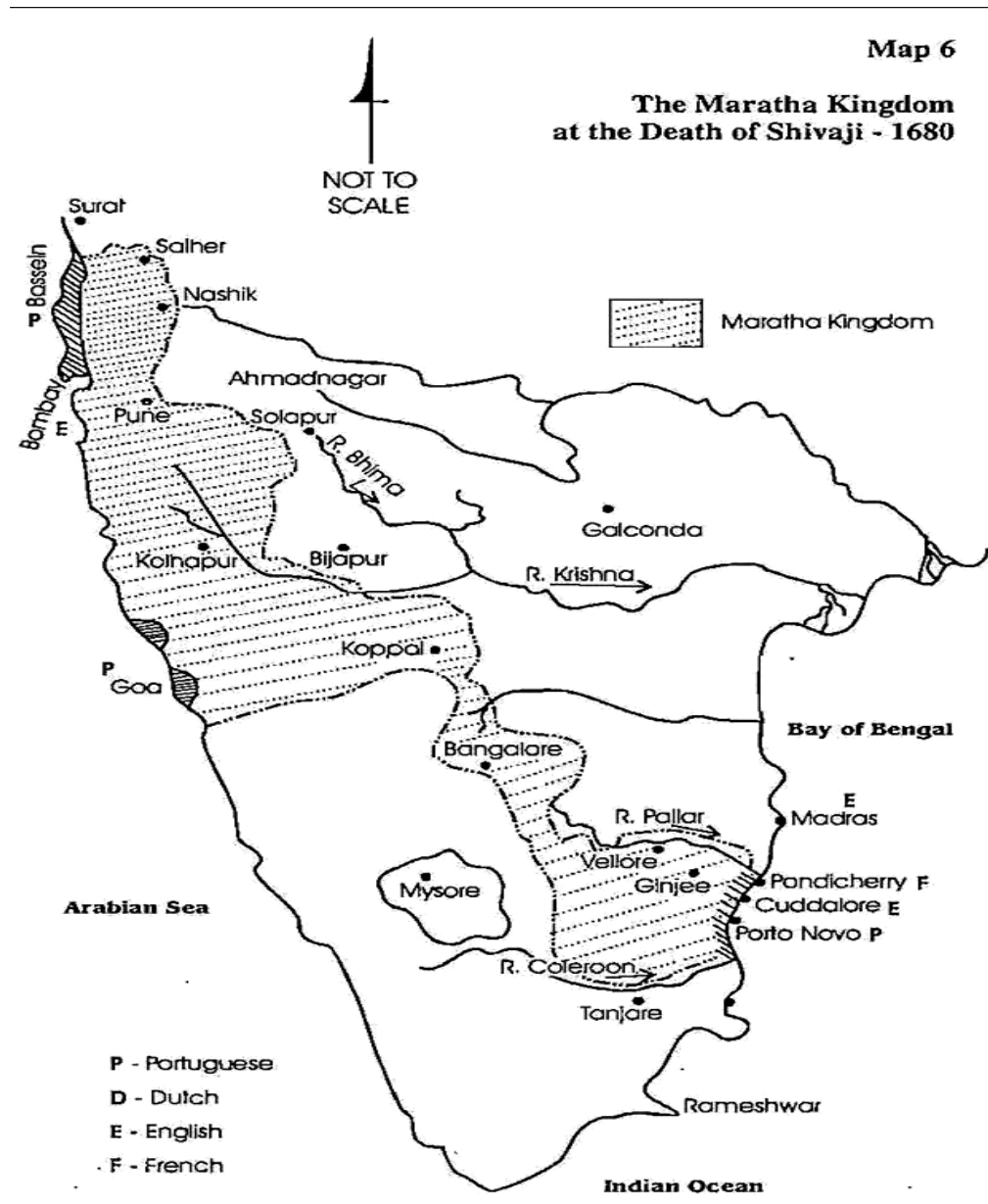
<sup>13</sup> It is important to note that TM community today is composed of descendants of these priests, warriors, and administrators.



**Map 2.4 Shivaji's Route from Bhaganagar to Thanjavur and from Thanjavur to Satara**  
**Source- Naravane (2002: 101)**

Map 2.4 plots the regions that Shivaji crossed while reaching Thanjavur and on his way back to Satara. Shivaji started his conquest from Hyderabad and then proceeded to Kurnool, Srisailem, Nandyal, Cuddapah, Tirupati, Arcot, Vellore, Gingee, Perambalur, and Tirumalwadi. History records that Shivaji rested at this place from where he brought Trichy, Thanjavur, and Nagapattinam under control. As map shows, Viluppuram, Kolar, Balapur, Bangalore, Tumkur, Sira, Chitradurga, Ramdurg, Koppal, and Gadag fall on their way back to Satara. As it is witnessed from the geographical distribution of TM population (Chapter 3), above mentioned regions are the ones with large TM population. It is important to note that

most of the TM families worship Tirupati Balaji as their family deity. Their titles such as Kurnool, Arcot, Vellore, etc. are symbolic of their affiliation with these regions.



**Map 2.5 Maratha Kingdom (1680 AD) Source- Naravane (2002: 103)**

In the Map 2.5, the total area occupied by Maratha Kingdom by 1680 AD is shaded. It consists of regions like Nashik, Pune, Kolhapur, Koppal, Bangalore, Vellore, Gingee, Thanjavur, and their surrounding areas. Among all these regions, Thanjavur and surrounding area are the focus of current work.

### 2.1.3.2 History of Thanjavur Marathas

After incarnation of Venkoji as independent king of Thanjavur, Marathas ruled the land for about 175 years (from 1675 A.D. to 1856 A.D.). The kingdom was then taken over by the British to their Indian possessions at the end of this period.

Venkoji	April 1674 and ruled till 1684
Shahaji II	1684 to 1712
Serfoji I	1712 to 1728
Tukkoji	1728 to 1736
Pratapsingh	1739 to 1763
Tuljaji	1763 to 1773 1776 to 1787
Serfoji II	1798 to 1832
Shivaji II	1832 – 1855

**Table 2.1 Thanjavur Maratha Kings**

Table 2.1 lists the names of the kings of Thanjavur Maratha kingdom along with the details of their tenure.

When it is said Thanjavur, it does not mean that the dialect is spoken only in Thanjavur. Thanjavur was divided into 5 sub-regions (*Subha*) as Tiruvarur, Kumbakonam, Mayladadurai (also known as Mayuram, Mayavaram), Mannargudi, and Pudukkottai. There were total 5753 villages. Marathi population today is spread throughout these regions.

Migrations continued throughout this period. They created their particular identity through their cultural practices and literary activities. The details of this movement are elaborated in various unpublished manuscripts at the Saraswati Mahal Library, Thanjavur. Until the rule of the Maratha king in Thanjavur, literature was being composed in that region. Kings not only supported the scholars but also involved themselves in literary activities. As recorded in *Science of Elephants and Training and treatment of Falcons, Hunting Cheetahs, Rams, and smaller birds* Thanjavur Saraswati Mahal granthmala-vol.40-41, ed. Krishnaswamy Mahadik,

1952, Shahaji II (1684-1710 AD) was a great scholar and linguist and several outstanding works in Sanskrit, Telugu, and Marathi are attributed to his authorship. He was one of the brightest gems of the Thanjavur Maratha line. This period witnessed the greatest literary revival. His patronage of arts and literature was so great that several eminent Sanskrit, Telugu, and Marathi scholars flocked to his court.

In addition to his being a great scholar, Shahaji was a distinguished warrior. He aided Rajaram Chattrapathi of Satara when he shifted his capital to Gingee in South India during the attack of the great Moghul Aurangzeb in Deccan. He personally went to Gingee with 20000 horses to help Rajaram drive out the mogul governor who was investing the fort of Gingee.

There was a rich tradition of dramas, *kirtans*, *lavani* songs, and *harikatha* written in Thanjavur Marathi. Until 1858 A.D. Modi <sup>14</sup> The script was being used for regular writing purposes. Simultaneously, Thanjavur Marathi scholars composed literature in Telugu, Tamil and Sanskrit language also. The Marathi manuscripts of this library consist of the works of South Indian Maharashtrians numbered about 3075, of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the hierarchy of the saints of Maratha country belonging to the Ramadasi and Dattatreya muths. The works composed by the great saints who adorned the muths, the poets during the reign of Mahrattas had left hundreds of original works and translations. The Marathi manuscripts are mostly paper and a few palm-leaves. The paper manuscripts were written in Telugu script (in the Marathi language). These documents deal with the subjects like philosophy, literature, drama, music, lexicon, medicine, and science. The last king, Sarfoji set up the first Devanagari printing press in South India, using stone letters. It was a multilingual community and thus, more or less, an influence of Kannada, Telugu, and Tamil languages in different degrees can be seen on TM.

## 2.2 Literature Review

It is essential to throw light on the Marathi grammatical tradition before commenting on Thanjavur Marathi grammars. The Marathi grammatical tradition is rich and diverse. European tradition (primarily of the Latin grammars), the native Sanskrit grammatical tradition, and the contemporary Western linguistic tradition have influenced the development of Marathi grammatical tradition. The grammars of Marathi written within these three

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<sup>14</sup> Modi was an official script used to write Marathi until the 20th century when the Balbodh style of the Devanagari script was promoted as the standard writing system for Marathi.

different frameworks differ significantly in their target audiences, its objectives, and structures.

The first Marathi grammar written in the framework of Sanskrit grammatical tradition is by Venkata Madhav, a lecturer of Marathi at the Fort St. George College in Madras. His three works on Marathi exist only in the autographs of the author and his assistant Bhima Pandita. The *Maharashtra Prayog Chandrika* (c. 1827) has 227 sutras in Sanskrit and is accompanied by a Sanskrit commentary, a Marathi commentary, and Marathi illustrations. It is fascinating to note that the dialect used by the author in Marathi commentary and illustrations is Thanjavur Marathi as he was the speaker of the same variety. The grammar was composed to introduce Marathi to the neighbouring Tamil speakers.

Another two grammars based on Western linguistic tradition are Kelkar's *The Phonology and Morphology of Marathi* (1958) and Apte's *A Sketch of Marathi Transformational Grammar* (1962). The most valuable contribution of these works is that they present methodological frameworks that allow the authors to recognize the issues of Marathi grammar within the contexts of universal/ language-independent linguistic patterns and thereby provide a method for cross-linguistic comparison.

Some of the studies on Marathi dialects, such as Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India* Vol. VII (1905) and Ghatage's *A Survey of Marathi dialects* (1963) make passing reference to the existence of Thanjavur Marathi as a dialect of Marathi language and are useful in tracing the diachronic development of Marathi.

Pandharipande (1997) is a detailed description of the standard variety of Marathi spoken around Pune. It also discusses significant variation across dialects wherever necessary. This grammar has followed the format outlined in the questionnaire developed by Comrie and Smith (1977) and originally published in *Lingua*, volume 42 and is an excellent source of several aspects in Marathi.

Dhongde and Wali (2009) is an extensive account of Marathi phonology, morphology, word formation, and syntax. It briefly illustrates the accentual system, unique compound verb forms, distinctive pronominal anaphora, complex agreement due to a split ergative system and special pronominal marking. It also contains a case study of a child's acquisition of Marathi and an essay on woman's language.



A considerable body of literature has been published on the history, politics, literature, and the arts in the Thanjavur Marathi kingdom. Documentation of ancient manuscripts and analysis of historical records contributes to the most of the part of research in this area. There has been very little work conducted in the field of linguistics with regards to Thanjavur Marathi. Two lexicographical works *Ramkavikrut Bhashaparakash* (1962) and *Marathi Bhasheche Thanjavury Kosh* (1973), both in Marathi, edited by Prof. S.G.Tulpule and published by Pune University are available which provide information about the Thanjavur Marathi vocabulary as it was used in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Ranade (1988) provides a description of Thanjavur Marathi based on few dated documents. It discusses linguistic features of the language under investigation during a particular period (18<sup>th</sup> century). It describes the orthography, phonology, morphology, and syntax and focuses on word-formation process in the 18<sup>th</sup> century-written Thanjavur Marathi. It is remarkable that native speakers are carrying out a few attempts to document their language.

There are two other important works published in Marathi, which take an in-depth review of Thanjavur Marathi language and literature. *Daakshinaatya Sahitya-sanskriticha maraathishi anubandh* (Rajya Marathi Vikas Sanstha, 1997) and *Thanjavur Maharashtra sahitya va shodh* (Santosh Printing Press, Hyderabad, 2004) both written by Dr. Manik Dhanpalvar. Both these works note valuable observations after a thorough study of written documents in Saraswati Mahal Library as well as detailed fieldwork. His studies were part of a project *Influence of Tamil language on Thanjavur Marathi* undertaken by Tamil Department, Osmania University, Hyderabad.

*Dilya Gharchi Marathi* is a book dedicated to all the transplanted varieties of Marathi. Prof. Dhongade, Pune, bases it on fieldwork and observations. This work includes a chapter on TM.

Prof. Kamal Sridhar's ongoing work published in People's linguistic survey of India, Tamil Nadu volume by Bhasha Research publication centre in 2015 is titled as *Thanjavur Marathi* (Ethnicity and Language Maintenance: Marathi In Thanjavur). The article discusses various reasons for language maintenance among TM despite ethnic separateness for more than three centuries. It is important to note the remarkable long distance language maintenance among TM owing to 'religio-societal isolation' (Heinz Kloss, 1977, p.117) or 'ethnic separateness of home life' (Gumperz & Wilson 1971). It is a sociolinguistic and cultural variable. It is explained as an ability of minority community to maintain their ethnic cohesiveness and

cultural traditions by drawing a rather strict line between their home, and business lives, keeping their heritage and customs in the home domain while participating in the majority or mainstream life of the society outside their homes. The author rightly points out that after the advent of media, internet, and globalisation, the degree of maintenance of TM may get affected in next generations. The said paper also lists different characteristics of TM language along with few examples.

There is an on-going project on electronic media [www.vishnughar.blogspot.in](http://www.vishnughar.blogspot.in) by Mr. Ananda Rao Vasishtha. The project is named as DMP (*Dakshini Marathi Punaroddhaarini*). It consists of two phases: 1) TM-English-TM dictionary with usage and 2) Standardising grammar of TM. Currently, the work is in the first phase.

Most of the published and unpublished literature until date mentions about the variety of Thanjavur Marathi language spoken by Brahmin, upper caste Maratha community and has mentioned about variations by lower caste Shimpi - Bhavsar communities. However, there is one more variety of TM spoken by nomadic groups migrated around the same period along with Maratha Kings who are engaged in puppet art or other related activities for their livelihood. This group is most neglected.

Dr. T. Parasuram's unpublished thesis titled *Marathi dialect of Tamil Nadu puppet artists*, 1986 throws light on the social and economic status of these nomads and then describes their language in detail. The study shows that the culture i.e. the art in these nomadic groups played a significant role to keep the community tight-bound and preserve their home language.

### **2.3 Summary**

This chapter mainly focuses on the transplanted varieties of Marathi and brief review of the literature on the grammatical description of Marathi. The first section includes discussion on the literature review of transplanted languages followed by focussed discussions on the transplanted varieties of Marathi language. The special status of Thanjavur Marathi within different varieties is established by providing the historical background of TM. A detailed description of historical facts forms the basis for the further discussion on the geographical and caste variations among TM speakers. A brief review of the literature of Marathi grammatical tradition along with references of TM is provided followed by the review of literature focused on TM language.



## Chapter 3 Sociolinguistic Profile of Thanjavur Marathi

### 3.0 Introduction

Available literature on sociolinguistic profiles of different languages or language communities or geographical areas mostly addresses various issues related to sociolinguistic dimensions of the structure and function of the language(s) in question. These problems relate to, among others, the impact of language pluralism on language change, the emergence of language variation, the linguistic convergence of languages in contact, and sociolinguistic factors that determine the selection of 'one' code as opposed to others.

As defined by Webb (2002: 64), the term sociolinguistic profile is used to refer to 'a socio-political characterisation of the language situation in a state, region, or community, or the language world of an individual.' The purpose of describing the sociolinguistic profile of a language is to provide a contribution to the improvement of the system of language policy and language planning. Sociolinguistic profiles of languages diverge in scope, depth, and demarcation. The present study of TM will mainly focus on the discussion of its name, classification, the number of speakers (Appendix: region wise/ caste-wise population distribution), regional distribution, population movement, marriage patterns, and linguistic and social acculturation. It will also discuss issues of language vitality, language use, and language attitudes. The study will attempt to portray the current situation regarding the role and status of Thanjavur Marathi within its stated scope.

### 3.1 Name of the Language

This section will throw light on the arguments about the name of the language Thanjavur Marathi versus Dakshini Marathi. If the history of world languages is taken into account, it is visible that world languages are called based on following factors;

- (a) The region where a language is spoken

For example, German language named after the area called Germania

Arabic language named after the area northern to central Arabian Peninsula

- (b) The name of the power/centre where the authority for the language is concentrated (mostly in case of dialect names)

For example, Puneri Marathi named after the capital of the Peshwas (rulers of Maratha Empire)

(c) The name of the caste/ community with which speakers associate themselves

For example, Gaulish named after the Celtic population of Gaul

Francais named after the community Frank

It is also crucial to make a note of how speakers want to be identified themselves. In addition, there are different names in addition to the official name of the language with which members of other communities around them recognize them.

In the case of language, in question, different groups of speakers use two major titles. They are; Thanjavur Marathi and Dakshini Marathi. It is necessary to see the scope of both these titles and benefits/limitations of them.

**Thanjavur Marathi:** The title is assigned because of historical prominence of the place Thanjavur as the capital of Maratha dynasty in Southern India. This title has recognition among scholars as well as native speakers. However, as seen in chapter 2, the population is spread throughout Southern India, and few speakers do not see any ties with the place Thanjavur. They have different religious or professional reasons for migration and thus, prefer the title 'Dakshini Marathi' to 'Thanjavur Marathi.'

**Dakshini Marathi:** As the title suggests, it is argued considering the overall geographical distribution of the community. In this section, literature based, political and geographical scope of the claim is discussed.

The term *Pancha-Dravida* (Five-Dravidian groups) as used in early medieval India literature refers to the listing of Brahmin communities in Deccan and Southern India and their sub-castes. They are the group of people residing in the south of Vindhya. *Rajatarangini* by Kalhana<sup>15</sup> includes Brahmins from following areas in *Pancha-Dravida* group. They are; (a) Karnataka, (b) Talianga<sup>16</sup>, (c) Tamil Nadu and Kerala, (d) Maharashtra and (e) Gujarat.

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<sup>15</sup> *Rajatarangini* (Rājataranginī, "The River of Kings") is a metrical legendary and historical chronicle of the north-western Indian subcontinent, particularly the kings of Kashmir. It was written in Sanskrit by Kashmiri historian Kalhana in the 12th century AD.

<sup>16</sup> Modern day Telangana and Andhra Pradesh states in India.

Politically, modern Southern India comprises the states of Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, and Kerala. Also, Union Territories of Andaman and Nicobar, Lakshadweep and Pondicherry are also included in this area.

Geographically, South India is characterized by a neck of land in the form of a large upturned triangle. Five South Indian states along with Deccan plateau covering a major portion of the states of Maharashtra, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu and Konkan (coastal Maharashtra, Goa, and coastal Karnataka) form the geographical region of South India.

Along with Thanjavur Marathi, Are Marathi, Mysore Marathi, Cochin Marathi, and Marathi that is spoken in the border areas of Maharashtra-Andhra-Karnataka will all be part of South Indian Marathi.

Different Marathi speaking groups in all these areas are speakers of various dialects of Marathi and do not have same historical as well as linguistic features as that of language in question. Thus, if we are to consider any of these criteria of defining South India to support the title South Indian Marathi, it goes beyond the actual scope of the study area.

## **3.2 Migration**

As this is the study of a transplanted language, migration forms the basis for any discussion on TM. Migration has a high sociolinguistic implication as the demographic balance of sending (Mainland Maharashtra population), receiving (South Indian population) as well as migrating (TM) populations is altered. Migrants are on average young and economically active. Parameters of migration and linguistic and sociolinguistic consequences of each of them are discussed by Lewis (1982, 9-19) and Boyle et al. (1998, 34-38). Current section tries to apply these parameters to the context of TM and results are discussed.

### **3.2.1 Space**

The notion of space in migration studies is primarily linked with crossing administrative boundaries. Migration is defined as "movement across the border of an areal unit" (Boyle et al. 1998: 34) whereas move within an areal unit is a "local move" (Lewis 1982: 10).

Movement across the boundary of a state within a country is known as 'internal migration' and people involved in such movement are called 'in-migrants.' Sociolinguistically, the variation involving movements within and across administrative boundaries within a state is of modest consequence unless these limits resonate, or in some cases shape, conflicting

loyalty. Cases where the boundary divides states, a significant disparity of culture, industrial setting, education, and language may be involved. Thus, the result of migration will be higher. The case of TM is one of such cases where movement is within the country but across administrative boundaries of the state. The migration course of TM population has been discussed in Chapter 2. It is; Maharashtra → Karnataka → Tamil Nadu or Maharashtra → Andhra Pradesh → Tamil Nadu

It can be seen that it was rather easy for these migrants to cope with the Tamil society, literature, and culture with this Kannada and Telugu background. They did not feel disassociated while adjusting Dravidian soil. They could achieve peaceful and smooth acculturation. The movement across these boundaries compelled migrants to accommodate with the different language(s), different food, different culture, a different medium of instruction and various professions.

Distance also indicates space. Short distance migrations are different from long-distance migrations in the scope of which individuals can preserve links with the point of origin, as well as for commitment (resources, motivation) needed for movement and maintain relationships. Short distance movements enable existing social ties to be maintained. Intermediate distance moves to socially similar area allow new connections to be established. However, in the case of long distance movements, a very different environment is involved and developing new ties while continuing existing relations may be challenging.

The case of TM is long distance migration where migrants are struggling to maintain or revive their old ties after establishing new relationships in transplanted region. Rest of the cases of Marathi migrations in Madhya Pradesh/ Gujarat as discussed in Chapter 2 are examples of short distance movements where there is regular interaction between mainland Maharashtra and migrated population is still retained.

### **3.2.2 Time**

Migration involves a degree of stability in the movement. Circulation is a category, which cuts across periodic, seasonal, and long-term migration. It refers to an extensive range of movements recurring or cyclical in nature. It is observed that migration with mainly economic or political reasons is long term and there is no plan for return. The second stage of migration is mostly for family reunification. TM movement is long-term migration where initial period of immigration witnessed constant and cyclical circulation of movements.

People kept moving from Maharashtra to South India with or without carrying their families almost for a century until they could adopt a new culture and settle themselves with the new means of livelihood.

It is important to make a note of the status of the community time to time since they have migrated to the southern Indian regions of Maharashtra. Until the power of Thanjavur Empire stayed with Maratha kings, different sections of Marathi community had a traditional source of livelihood. However, after the decline of TM kingdom, there was an impoverishment of a vast number of families of clerks, dependent relatives, and poor relatives and a reduction of sponsorship to many pundits, priests, doctors, performing artists, painters, and the followers of fine arts. Few families went out of Thanjavur and obtained top ranks in British services and the Indian States as administrators and educationists.

### **3.2.3 Motivation**

Migration might be forced or voluntary. Cases of slavery such as in the case of Maratha population in Baluchistan are instances of forced migration where migrants involved in the movement against their will. TM migration, though politically motivated, is voluntary migration. Migrants had given liberty to return to the homeland or settle in the new region according to their choice. As described in Chapter 2, TM migrations were motivated by mainly four reasons;

- a) Military voyages
- b) Establishment of Madhwa/ Ramdasi Muths
- c) Encouragement given by Kings in the form of administrative positions, land Inams etc.
- d) Natural calamities in Maharashtra

According to Boyle et al. (1998: 36), various sub-groups of the migrating population have different migration tendencies. This claim is associated with the proposal that a few migration is *innovative* that is *exciting and challenging*, whereas other occurrences are *conservative* meaning that migrants would like to preserve their home culture as much as possible. Sociolinguistically, the tradition of sending young men to pay a visit the state of origin to take part in arranged marriages has the effect of continually refreshing the supply of Standard language speakers. Such practice is still followed among TM speakers of Maratha caste.



Coleman (1997: 1471) mentions about *segregationist* group among migrants, which maximises its reproductive potential due to fear of extinction, and minimises the contact with the outside world through segregation and by limiting out marriage. Such tendency is found among TM Madhwa Deshastha families where matrimonial ties are mostly sought based on sub-caste (Madhwa Deshastha) and bride/grooms from Kannada speaking Madhwa families are preferred over TM speaking Smartha (another Brahmin sub-caste) or TM non-Brahmin bride/grooms while finding matches. This practice, in a way, shows the priority of religious belief over language identity that ultimately affects the overall process of language maintenance within the community.

It is observed that favourable economic climate and support of internal and external institutions/ legislation leads to maintenance of language over many centuries. In the current century, after the advent of globalisation, there are in-out migrations of TM population in search of better standards of living.

#### **3.2.4 Identity**

The literature on language and identity is based on the post-structuralist idea that social practices (language use) create and recreate the social world, including speaker identities. Foucault (1980: 74) emphasises that self is not fixed, but it is something that is positioned and repositioned through discourse. Human identities are flexible. People do not have specific but multiple levels of identities. These identities are changing and sometimes even conflicting in nature. *Group identity categories* are always negotiated with the change in space, time, and situation. *Solidarity* refers to the reasons that prompt individuals to act together as a group and to feel a shared attachment that shapes their social actions. The language they speak is one of the identity markers and thus, need not essentially decide faithfulness of a group of people. Power plays an important role in solidarity decision.

Vajpeyi (2005: 240) mentions that 'Maratha' was a *jati* (Caste). The three important characteristics of Maratha identity and movement were *control over land, martial prowess, and a connection to the linguistic-cultural region of Maharashtra*. In the case of TM, as a result of migration, regional identity, caste identity and language identity are in conflicting positions which make the language and society relations more complicated.

### **3.3 Sociolinguistic Situation: Social Variables Affecting Language**

This section will discuss various social variables that play an important role in determining the nature of language. In the case of TM, caste, age, the composition of family, literacy, and regional affiliation are taken as important factors affecting variation within TM.

#### **3.3.1 Caste**

Bright and Ramanujan (1964: 157-166) mention that caste is determining factor in language variation in India. It is seen that in the case of TM, migration Pattern depends on caste. It is observed that different castes had different motivations for migration. It must be mentioned that the castes that have higher status have retained some features of old Marathi that bring them closer to SM. However, as we move towards lower castes, the variety becomes more and more unintelligible due to the heavy influence of Tamil and constant code-switching.

##### **3.3.1.1 Brahmin**

This community started migrating around 1637 AD onwards. Professionally, they served as administrators in King's court or with Britishers; they established muths as priests or pundits. A well- educated community enjoyed royal patronage until British came. Later, they could get good opportunities in British administration/ in government jobs in the post-independence period. There are two sub-groups within Deshastha Brahmins; Smartha Deshastha and Madhwa Deshastha Brahmins. They differ in their customs and practices. However, linguistically, the distinction is negligible.

##### **3.3.1.2 Maratha**

This community migrated around 1637 AD onwards. Professionally, they served as warriors in the troop of the king, enjoyed royal patronage until Maratha kings ruled Thanjavur and surroundings. Later, shifted to farming which was their traditional source of income/ engaged themselves in low-wage jobs in the same region.

##### **3.3.1.3 Bhavsar- Shimpi**

Weavers and other castes migrated to Southern India around 1676 AD onwards to search for better opportunities using their traditional skills. This community settled in a comparatively later period to stitch uniforms for British militants. Most of them are located near Kumbakonam (known as '*acchadiray*' in locals) and found their origins at places where

British camps used to be located. Their dialect shows variation from Brahmin dialect but still intelligible.

#### **3.3.1.4 Other Nomadic Groups**

The community of Killekyathas is a Marathi-speaking nomadic community of folk artists. They were settled in Karnataka sometime in the Vijayanagar period (1336–1646 AD). They were known for their meaningful and crude public performances. They existed on the boundaries of the conventional social order but were never abhorred by rest of the community members as lower caste.<sup>17</sup>

Traditional shadow puppet performers describe themselves as a migrated community originally from Maharashtra. They speak a dialect of Marathi among themselves. However, they are comfortable in Tamil with an extraordinary command over a range of Tamil dialects. They correspond to a caste community called '*mantigar*.' Among them, the proper name of the male will find a suffix '*rao*' while the female will have '*bai*.'

#### **3.3.2 Age (Division in Three Age Groups)**

Young children speak differently from older children and in turn, children speak differently from mature adults. The social organization of age groups has an effect on the language used in these groups.

Results are discussed considering following constructs, their generation wise distribution, and role in acculturation process.

(a) Image of self/others- Complex identity. Generation 1 maintains caste identity along with language and regional identity; generation 2 has conflict in image setting-caste/region/language identity; Generation 3 and below have more inclination towards leaving language identity.

(b) The motivation for acculturation- all generations have high motivation in the form of social/economical belongingness.

(c) Knowledge of host language- native-like fluency is found in all generations.

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<sup>17</sup><http://mahamultipedia.com/forms/9#>

(d) Quantity of media use- mother tongue media use is least (both audio/video/audio-visual); seldom use of social media in native language; host language is used mostly.

(e) Choice of media content- avoidance of mother tongue

(f) Interaction potential- comfortable in host language still maintaining mother tongue fluency

### **3.3.3 Family Structure and Role of Parents**

It is found that joint family is the common trend in TM community, probably preferred family structure with the intention of maintaining cultural and linguistic identity. However, due to recent migration of members for livelihood and because of limited opportunities within the native (Thanjavur), the third generation in most of the families is away from main home.

The community is found to be closely bound to the group at the same time is open to outside group. This tendency has helped the whole community to maintain their simultaneous multilingualism over 350 years. Family gatherings are frequently held for different social as well as religious events, which offer the opportunities for socialization with the speakers of the same language. Stories of ancestors' past achievements, large literature available in the library and various songs/ lullabies are the only source to create pride for language. It is found that there is a difference in the proficiency of children's command over home language depending upon whether he/she is the only child/first born/ second born/is living with grandparents etc. If all the four functional categories are to be set to check the proficiency, reading and writing score is zero generation 2 onwards. It is observed that TM is used as an instrument for receiving information from the older generation and English/ Tamil/ Kannada are used as the primary vehicle for active communication. However, they do have positive or at least an accepting attitude about being spoken in TM.

Parents' report about what they speak in informal domains, over phone conversations and the actual observation differed. They do make an effort to transfer the language in the next generation. Some use only TM at home with spouse and children. Some insist children use TM at home. Some take the help of songs/bedtime stories or lullabies to attract kids' attention. Most of them feel that language is going to die in next few years as children are abandoning the use of language even at household. However, they wish to retain and nourish

the language as the form of their cultural identity and are ready to participate actively in any organized effort to preserve and promote the language.

Following are the specific observations about the role of parents in language maintenance and loss in case of TM.

100% Parents encourage multilingualism since birth in the home environment.

5 % Parents support in the home literacy environment.

75% Parents choose to maintain the use of the home language alongside the acquisition of English.

20% Parents opt to continue speaking the home language to enable children to form relationships with members of their family who do not speak English.

90% Parents feel that family-based care is particularly influential in supporting home language development.

15% Parents believe that the support of home languages in educational settings can provide children with continuity of language use between home and school environment.

### **3.3.4 Literacy**

Modi, Telugu, Tamil, and Devnagari scripts have been used to write the dialect. Until early decades of 20<sup>th</sup> century, Marathi scholars and Kirtankars kept visiting Thanjavur and exchanged discourses. Group studies of Marathi discourses like Dasbodh, Jñāneshwari, and Marathi Bhajans were part of TM daily activities. TM community has always attempted to maintain ties with Marathi language and literature until last century. However, the environment changed post-independence period. Most of the community members opted to keep a distance from mainland Maharashtra. Changes in the formal education system through dominant regional language or English as a medium of instruction, lack of access to Devnagari script as a result of Anti-Hindi policies of Tamil government have inevitably affected the TM language.

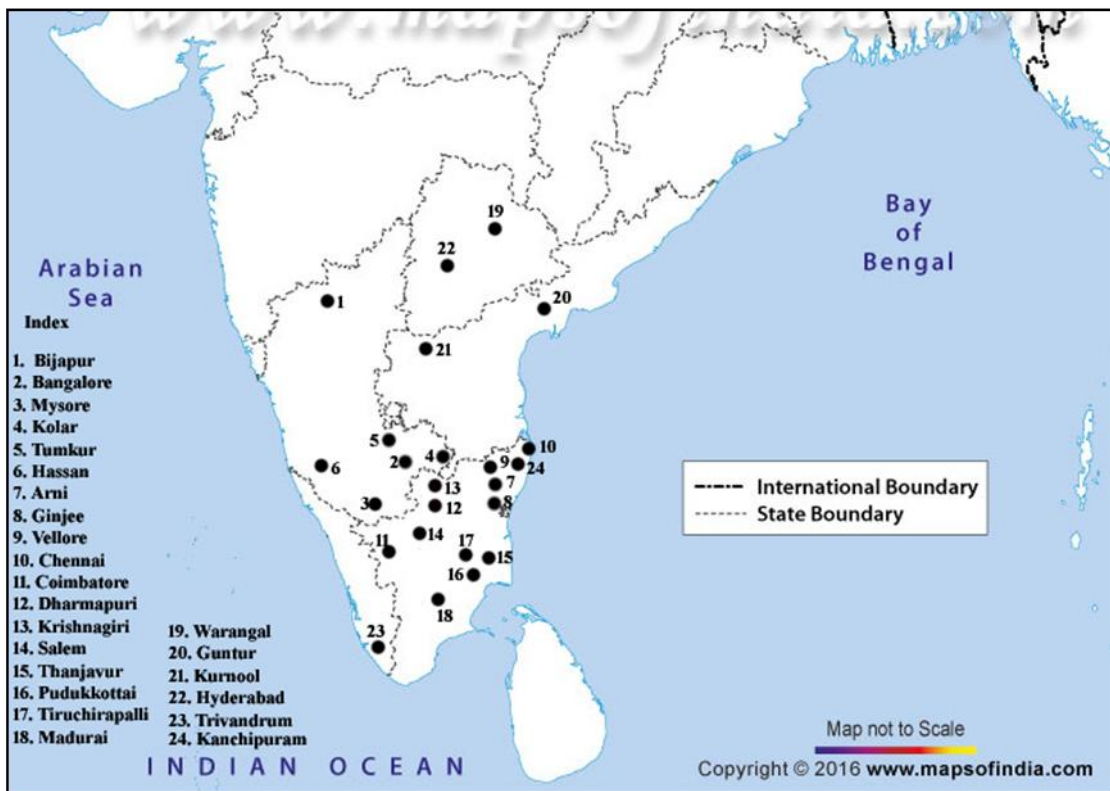
TM today has no script. Roman or Tamil script is used to write in TM on social media. Few sections of the society are acquainted with Devnagari script. However, lack of training in language is resulting in a lot of variations on the phonetic level.

Effects of the medium of instruction, knowledge of certain scripts have affected the nature of TM. These effects will be discussed in details in the further chapter on phonology.

### 3.3.5 Region

The description of population distribution is based on the data gathered from website <http://joshuaproject.net>. The website mentions that it is a research enterprise interested in highlighting the ethnic people groups of the world and mainly focussed on finding the percentage of the supporters of Christianity.

The district wise and caste-wise distribution of TM speakers presented in the form of pie-diagram and tabular representation in percentages can be found in Appendix I. Following is the summary of the data appended.



**Map 3.1 Thanjavur Marathi Populations Distribution**

Various places in southern India where TM population is scattered through are plotted on the portion of the Indian map. These areas are further analysed based on political state affiliation in contemporary India, Dominant regional language spoken in those areas, etc. Table 3.1 presents the data in tabular form.

<b>State</b>	<b>Kerala</b>	<b>Tamil Nadu</b>	<b>Andhra Pradesh</b>	<b>Telangana</b>	<b>Karnataka</b>
<b>Dominant regional language</b>	Malayalam	Tamil	Telugu	Telugu	Kannada
<b>Districts with TM population</b>	Trivandrum	Arni, Gingee, Vellore, Chennai, Kanchipuram, Coimbatore, Dharmapuri, Krishnagiri, Salem Thanjavur, Pudukkottai,	Guntur, Kurnool	Warangal, Hyderabad	Bijapur, Bangalore, Mysore, Kolar, Tumkur, Hassan

**Table 3.1 Population Distributions: State Wise**

As the data archived through <http://joshuaproject.net> also provides the castewise distribution of the speakers of TM, it is attempted to see whether particular caste population is concentrated in specific districts, and if so, what the motivation behind such distribution is. Table 3.2 presents this data in tabular form.

<b>Caste Name</b>	<b>District where it is spoken by majority</b>	<b>Motivation</b>
<b>Deshastha</b>	comparatively large in Bangalore, Chennai, Tiruchirapalli, Kanchipuram, Guntur, Hyderabad and Trivandrum	As administrators or priests of temples and muths

<b>Maratha</b>	all districts	Along with the rulers
<b>Koli</b>		
<b>Koshti</b>		
<b>Kasar</b>		
<b>Bhavsar-Shimpi</b>	Kumbakonam	better opportunities for traditional skills
<b>Mahar</b>	Arni, Gingee, Vellore, Chennai, Kanchipuram	along with Shivaji as part of his army

**Table 3.2 Population Distribution: Caste wise**

As the table 3.2 suggests, Deshastha population is comparatively large in Bangalore, Chennai, Tiruchirapally, Kanchipuram, Guntur, Hyderabad, and Trivandrum. It should be noted that all these districts are historically centre places of administration and religion. Therefore, Brahmins who were skilled administrators and traditionally priests could get easily accommodated in these districts.

Maratha, Koli, Koshti, and Kasar population is found equally spread in all districts as they travelled along with Shivaji and his army during their South conquest. They could continue their traditional professions in the transplanted area.

Bhavsar-Shimpi community is mainly located in Kumbakonam where they got better opportunities for their traditional skill that is, tailoring.

Mahar population is concentrated in Arni, Gingee, Vellore, Chennai, and Kanchipuram where major military actions were conducted. They came along with Shivaji as a part of his army.

As the figures in the data Appendix-I suggest, Maratha population forms 50% of total population, Brahmins 25%, and rest castes 25%.

### **3.4 Culture and Society**

Goodenough's (1957:167) defines culture as follows. Any society's culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe to operate in a manner acceptable to its members



and to do so in any role that they accept for any one of themselves. In this perspective, culture is equivalent to communicative competence.

Acculturation is defined as a cultural modification of an individual, group, or people by adapting to or borrowing traits from another culture; *also*: a merging of cultures because of prolonged contact<sup>18</sup>. Group level effects of acculturation often include modification in food habits, clothing style, and characteristics of language. As the history of migrations throughout the world has witnessed, various socio-political-economic reasons go ahead to migrations. Immigrants progress towards the new culture with the different choices of customs and principles. The extreme degree of hesitation that exists in the initial stages reduces gradually. Acculturation as a process has been dealt with at different times from the fields of psychology, anthropology, and sociology. Thus, several theories and definitions have come forward to illustrate elements of the acculturative process. One of the viewpoint deals with acculturation as communication being a significant underlying process as well as an outcome of the acculturation process. Communication is the means that encourage immigrants to foster effective relationships with the host culture environment. The more they catch hold over the communication process, more they become acculturated.

TM as a community seems to have maintained their ties with the Maharashtrian culture at the same time have accommodated features of South Indian culture. This mixture of cultural patterns can be observed in different aspects of everyday life of TMs. Some of the aspects are described below;

#### **(a) Religious Practices and Festivals**

Almost all TM families celebrate festivals based on Hindu calendar that is followed in Southern India as well as Calendar that is followed in Maharashtra. Though the festival has the same name, the myths, and stories associated with the particular festival, nature of celebration differs from land to land. TM seems to have adopted the style of worshipping that is followed in Southern India.

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<sup>18</sup> <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/acculturation>

## **b) Marriage Rituals and Ceremonial Customs**

Marriage rituals are similar to their caste equivalents in Maharashtra. However, the formal traditions and way of celebrations related to marriage are akin to that of South Indian marriages.

## **(c) Food Habits**

Many food items also show the combination of Maharashtrian and South Indian cuisine where the name of the dish is similar to the mainland, but preparation and serving style is of the Southern India. The almost whole community has Rice and Dal as the main course along with varieties of side dishes.

## **(d) Clothing**

TM men wear *dhoti/lungi* in the similar style of that of their Tamil counterparts. It is different from the Maharashtrian way of dressing up with *dhotar* or *zabba-lenga*. Women wear five/six or nine yards sari similar to Marathi style. Younger generations, globally, wear pant/shirt.

## **3.5 Linguistic Situation**

In this section, social domains of language use such as media, religious places, and academic/scholarly circles are discussed. Use of TM as home language is discussed in different sections while commenting on the role of family and parents in language retention.

### **3.5.1 Social Domains of Language Use**

A domain is an area of human activity in which a particular speech variety or a combination of several varieties is regularly used. A useful way of classifying social situations is to analyse them into three defining characteristics. They are; place, role-relationship, and topic. Speech communities are made up of some domains that organize and define social life. Typical domains in a speech community include family, religion, education, employment, and friendship. In bilingual speech communities like TM, in certain domains, one language is used while in other domains the other language is spoken. TM has reduced just as the home language. Only in social gatherings like marriage or religious ceremonies, TM is used in public domain along with Tamil/Kannada. English or regional language occupy work domain.

### 3.5.1.1 Language Use in Media

While discussing media, it is necessary to consider both print and audio-visual media. In historical times, Marathi dramas, dance performance based on Marathi songs, few folk forms such as *Abhang*, *Kirtan*, *Harikatha*, *Lavni* were famous among locals. Public performances were encouraged to reach and connect more and more people through language. It helped to build language solidarity among speakers. Also, literature was continuously composed and published. Today, Ramdasi Muths use language in public domain for *Nirupan*, *Katha-kirtan*, *Pravachan* not exclusively but along with Tamil and/or Kannada wherever necessary. Native speakers to write in TM on social media using Roman or Devnagari script officially use no script for documenting TM except for few attempts. There is no availability of audio-visual media except few Youtube posts and Podcast serial.

### 3.5.1.2 Language Use in Academics

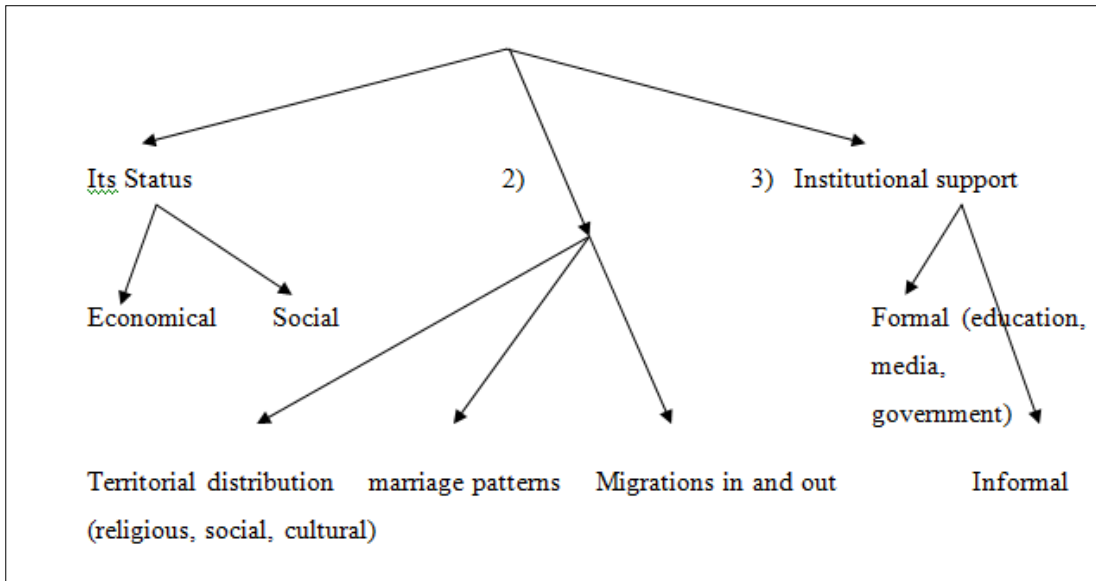
Until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there is vast literature written through TM addressing various branches of scientific inquiry. Medicine, Diet, Science of animals, Natyashastra, Lexicography, and Grammar are some of the faculties in which TM is used as the language of expression. Until the 1920s, there were Marathi schools to encourage the use of TM in academics. However, there are rarely any attempts to use TM in academics today. Few attempts to conduct Marathi classes in Thanjavur and Chennai have failed due to poor response from the community.

## 3.5.2 Questionnaire Based Survey

As discussed earlier in chapter 2, there are two possibilities in case of transplanted languages; language shift or language maintenance. Giles et al. (1977: 309)<sup>19</sup> provide a framework within which Ethnolinguistic vitality of a language's; i.e. how likely it is to be maintained, can be assessed. Vitality is tested in association with following domains. Figure 3.1 symbolises various domains of language vitality that is to be analysed for detailed study of TM.

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<sup>19</sup> <http://lepo.it.da.ut.ee/~ehalam/pdf/Giles%20et%20al%201977.pdf>



**Figure 3.1 Domains to test vitality of TM**

From the questionnaire referred<sup>20</sup>, only some questions, which are found relevant to the concerned community are considered for discussion. The answers match the various scales given in the guidelines. The collective analysis of all the parameters will give the overall picture of Language vitality status of TM. The assignment of vitality scores is based on evidence from fieldwork and direct observation. (Appendix V- UNESCO Vitality Diversity Questionnaire)

Issue	Vitality Score	Note
<b>Overall vitality/ endangerment score</b>	4 Unsafe/ vulnerable	Most but not all the children speak their language as their first language, but it is restricted to specific social domains.
<b>Generational language use</b>	4	Language is used by all generations, including most children

<sup>20</sup> Dwyer, Arienne M. 2011. Tools and techniques for endangered-language assessment and revitalization. In *Vitality and Viability of Minority Languages*. October 23-24, 2009. New York: Trace Foundation Lecture Series Proceedings.

<b>Absolute number of speakers</b>		around 5 lakh including different caste variants
<b>Proportion of speakers within the reference community</b>	2 severely endangered	A minority speak the language (30-50%)
<b>Domains of language use</b>	2 limited or formal domains	Language is used at home where grandparents reside. It is also used at the time of some social functions/ rituals/ other occasions where elders in the community unite
<b>New domains, i. e. new media, including broadcast media and the Internet</b>	2 coping	The language is sometimes used in new domains. For example, Facebook groups/ what's app groups/ podcasts, websites, etc.
<b>Domain of traditional knowledge (TK)</b>	4 Sometimes	For conveying TK, this language is used along with Tamil and Kannada language
<b>Materials for language education and literacy</b>	0 No orthography is available to the community	There is no knowledge of Modi/ Devnagari scripts used for writing Marathi, no study materials available/ accessed; with very few exceptions.
<b>Governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies,</b>	3 Passive assimilation	The dominant language prevails in the public domain, and no explicit policy exists for non-dominant languages. <sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> It is important to mention that tolerance shown by southern Indian states towards assimilating migrants has helped to retain the language even after centuries. There is no forced assimilation/ prohibition on the use of ethnic languages.

<b>including official status and use</b>		
<b>Reference community members' attitudes towards their own language</b>	2	Some members support language maintenance; some are indifferent or may even support language shift
<b>Type and quality of documentation</b>	1 Inadequate	There are only a few grammatical sketches, short wordlists, and fragmentary texts existing in TM. Audio and video recordings do not exist, are of unusable quality, or are completely un-annotated.
<b>Status of language programs</b>	0 None	There is no language program and no interest in starting one.
<b>In everyday life, how many languages would a typical member of this community encounter?</b>	4 languages	Hear      Speak      Read      Write =            =            =            = (Marathi, Tamil, Kannada, English)
<b>In how many languages is an average member of this community fully fluent?</b>	3 languages	Marathi, English, Tamil/Kannada/Telugu/Hindi
<b>How many languages are represented in the local schools? Tolerated/</b>	2 languages	English and regional language  Community language is never represented in formal education.

<b>Taught as subject Used for instruction</b>		
<b>How many languages are represented in the local media? Television / Radio/ Print</b>	2 languages	English and regional language
<b>How is TV presence (broadcast time) distributed across the various languages?</b>	2  One language	Local language predominates, but other language(s) are well-represented  It depends on the choice of speakers over the selection of the channel.
<b>Would you say this language is characterized by high internal (dialectal) diversity?</b>	3 Moderate internal diversity	Caste variation/ regional variation/ variation depending on the knowledge of script
<b>In everyday life, how many dialects would a typical member of this reference community encounter?  Hear/ Speak / Read/ Write</b>	1 dialect	the dialect of respective caste
<b>In how many dialects is a typical member of this community</b>	1 dialect	Dialect of respective caste

<b>wholly or partially fluent?</b>		
<b>How equal are the dialects in speaker numbers?</b>	3 Two dialects predominate	Brahmin and Maratha dialects are well recognized within the community, the dialect of nomads speaking the same language is never recognized as part of the language.
<b>How equal are the dialects in symbolic status and prestige?</b>	4 Several dialects have parity in status/prestige	

**Table 3.3 Language vitality parameters**

### **3.6 Analysis of Sociolinguistic Questionnaire**

This section will mainly deal with the theoretical discussion on language endangerment, language vitality, and language loss. Based on the results of the survey, it is attempted to fix the status of TM on the scale of language endangerment.

#### **3.6.1 Language Endangerment and Language Vitality**

As asserted in the introduction of Ethnologue, language endangerment is a significant concern for linguists and language planners in the previous few decades. Due to a range of intentions, speakers of several minor, less dominant languages discontinue the use of their traditional language. They start using a different language that has more prospects for their survival.

In this period of globalization, parents may perhaps favour the use of only the dominant second language with their children. Slowly, the intergenerational transfer of the mother tongue/heritage language is decreased. As a result, there may be no speakers using the language as their first or primary language. In due course, the language may no longer be used at all. As language endangerment is a matter of grade, at one end of the scale, there are



vigorous languages. This means that these languages are still expanding in numbers of speakers or functional areas of use, however, on the other hand, exist under the shadow of a more dominant language whereas, at another end, there are languages that are on the edge of death. In between are many degrees of greater or lesser vitality.

Sociolinguists and linguistic anthropologists try to find the tendencies in language use through the description of any direct measures of language vitality. In addition to high level of bilingualism, many economic, political, and social factors have an effect on a community's self-perception and motivations to use language.

When data are available, Ethnologue report the following factors that may be a factor in the estimation of language endangerment;

- a) Residency and migration patterns of speakers
- b) The use of second languages
- c) Language attitudes within the community
- d) The age range of the speakers/informants
- e) The active versus passive domains of use of the language
- f) Official recognition of the language varieties within the nation or region
- g) Means of mother tongue transmission (whether children are learning the native language at home or it is being taught as the language in schools)
- h) Non-linguistic factors such as economic opportunity or the lack thereof

These factors interact within a society in dynamic ways. Though these ways are not completely expected, they follow peculiar patterns and tendencies. However, scholars agree upon intergenerational transmission of the language as the key factor in estimating the relative safety of an endangered language.

### **3.6.2 Status of TM on EGIDS**

The Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale or EGIDS<sup>22</sup> evaluates a language by answering five key questions regarding the identity function, vehicularity, and status of intergenerational language transmission, literacy acquisition status and a societal profile of a generational language user. As various levels and numbers are described in EGIDS, the first two steps down from the endangerment side of the EGIDS scale are levels 6b (Threatened)

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<sup>22</sup> Lewis, M. Paul, Gary F. Simons, and Charles D. Fennig (eds.). 2015. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Eighteenth edition. Dallas, Texas: SIL International.

and 7 (Shifting). In these two levels, the Intergenerational transmission is in the process of being broken, but the child-bearing generation can still use the language. The yellow bars in the summary graphs represent these languages; as a class, they are referred to as "In Trouble" languages. Since parents can still use the language, there is still a possibility to revive the intergenerational transmission process naturally in the home. There is a possibility that revitalization efforts could achieve this by focusing on the motivations of parents. In its status, yellow bars can represent Thanjavur Marathi. Being a minority linguistic group in another linguistic state namely Tamil Nadu, the speakers are shifting rapidly to Tamil/Kannada or English. Earlier, the language was being used as a medium of instruction in a few Marathi medium schools in Tamil Nadu. It was being used as the language of rituals along with Sanskrit. Most importantly, it was the language of literature. However, as observed by native speakers, the use of Thanjavur Marathi has now reduced as a community language, which is spoken only at home by the descendants of the Thanjavur Marathi people. Younger generations are abandoning the use of language even at the household. There is a possibility that the dialect may become extinct because its usage is being reduced in most domains of usage. In the view of functional theories of grammar, form follows function. Therefore, languages that are being used for hardly any domains of life also tend to lose structural complexity. This tendency, in turn, may have effects on the attitudes of users regarding the appropriateness of the language for use in a broader series of functions. This trend can result in a downward spiral that in the end results in the complete loss of the language.

### **3.6.3 Language Loss**

Language loss is the replacement of a home language with the dominant language of the context (Fillmore, 2000: 203-210)<sup>23</sup>. It can be seen that language loss commonly occurs when immigrant groups are incorporated into dominant ethnolinguistic communities. It is also referred to as language shift. Early research in this field, especially concerning the situation in U.S.A and Europe, recognized that shift to the dominant language of community and loss of the home language, in general, happened two generations after migration took place. However, the case with Thanjavur Marathi (and rest of the Indian languages) is different. Indian bilingualism shows the tendency of language retention even after many generations of migration. Now, with the spread of English as the global language and the notion of power associated with it, children have started acquiring and most importantly, using English even

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<sup>23</sup> [http://dx.doi.org/10.1207/s15430421tip3904\\_3](http://dx.doi.org/10.1207/s15430421tip3904_3)

at households. If not English, then the dominant language of the region is replacing the home language to assure more benefits in the society. It is considered to provide more success in future education than home language. Parents of TM in low social strata show the tendencies to cease speaking a home language with their children if that language is of a low social status. Children of TM speakers have also indicated their preference to avoid the use of home language due to peer pressure and/or identity confusion in some cases. In some cases, parents' own struggle with language also seems to play a role in their decision to provide limited home language input to their kids.

### **3.7 Discussion**

It is critical to note that several efforts of preserving the language are taking place using social media. However, they are not sufficient. Speakers with the support of language specialists can work towards reinforcing the threatened language. Geographical distance and political unawareness/ignorance from Maharashtra government have resulted in total cut off between TM and SM. There are no administrative and collective efforts to provide access to Standard Marathi. Any language is maintained not just because of attitudes of speakers. History has witnessed that support from religious/ political power centers is equally important. In ancient and medieval India, political forces encouraged the creation of literature in different languages. No discrimination about language or region was shown through their policies. It is bitter fruit of today's politics and social conditions to treat people differently based on language or region. The medieval period was the time when religion was the primary source of recognising people more than their linguistic or regional affiliation.

The results of the survey indicate that though there are efforts on the part of parents to use TM in a home environment, they are not sufficient. Children have their own world where they locate home language just as having a limited functional role at home. As they cannot see any part of home language in most of the external domains and there is reduced the sense of identity-related to language among the generation three, parents are consciously required to direct their efforts, if they intend to retain the language for further generations.

It can be concluded that home language is represented as the compromise between parental perceptions of risks and benefits to children's language skills. This tendency leads them toward strategies of language maintenance or shift at home and children's linguistic preferences.

### **3.8 Summary**

In this chapter, we dealt with the characterization of TM regarding its name, migration pattern, and social variables responsible for the variation within TM. In the section on migration, various parameters of migration such as space, time, motivation and identity are discussed along with their linguistic and sociolinguistic consequences. In the next section, the role of different social variables such as caste, age, the composition of family, literacy, and religious affiliation are argued for having an effect on the language-internal variation. We also examined the TM culture and society concerning religious practices and festivals, marriage rituals and ceremonial customs, food habits and clothing. In the next section, we presented the social domains of language use such as media, religious places, academic circles followed by a detailed discussion on the role of family and parents in language retention in TM. Vitality status of TM is tested using questionnaire-based survey and analysis is presented.



## **Chapter 4 Phonology of Thanjavur Marathi**

### **4.0 Introduction**

This chapter is mainly concerned with identifying and describing the phonemes of Thanjavur Marathi (TM). It deals with vowels and consonants. After phonemes are introduced, it goes on to look at larger speech units such as syllable and consonant clusters. Phonological processes observed in TM are also discussed followed by a note on loanword phonology.

### **4.1 A General Introduction to TM Phonological System**

The available literature on TM, as we saw in chapter 1, considers it as a dialectal variety of Marathi spoken in Thanjavur District and elsewhere in Tamil Nadu, influenced lexically by Tamil and Kannada. Historical accounts of TM (Ranade 1988, 1997; Dhanpalvar 1997, 2004 and Sridhar, Kamal 2015) claim that TM has developed from medieval Marathi. There are three possibilities that follow this claim regarding the nature of contemporary TM. Firstly, it has retained features of middle Marathi; secondly, it has borrowed features from Dravidian languages retaining few features of middle Marathi and thirdly, it has developed internally in the course of time. There are a few attempts such as Dhanpalvar (1997:180-185) to describe the phonology of TM. Statements such as Tamil has influenced TM are limited to mere observation, lacking in attestation and confirmation through empirical analysis of data. In the present chapter, an attempt is made to present a discussion of the phonological features of TM and to inquire into its similarities and differences in relation to Standard Marathi and present-day Tamil. The description covers the following main topics: (1) Segmental inventories of vowel and consonant phonemes based on minimal pairs, (2) the phonotactics and distribution of the segments within the word, (3) Syllable structure, and consonant clusters and (4) phonological processes. In addition, the phonology-orthography relation in TM is briefly looked into at the beginning of the discussion below, and a brief discussion of the loan in TM is presented at the end followed by a section on the discussion and interpretation of the data presented in this chapter.

#### **4.1.1 TM Orthography**

As described in Section 3.3.1.4, TM does not have any official script. Devanagari which is the official script used for Marathi along with many other Indo-Aryan languages was being used along with Modi script until the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century. However, use of Devanagari

has seized after that and TM shrank as a spoken language. Alternatively, Tamil/Roman script is used to express in TM, in case somebody wants to write<sup>24</sup>.

Following are conventional ways used by TM speakers to write using different scripts. In Devanagari script, the consonant letters have inherent /ə/. The Roman script transliteration thus has additional ‘a’ that represents the phoneme /ə/. Similarly, in Tamil script, consonant letters are represented in the form of *uyirmeieluttu*, which means a combination of consonant + vowel.

Transliteration in Roman Script	Orthographic Representation in Devanagari Script	Orthographic Representation in Tamil Script
pa	प	ப
pha	फ	
ba	ब	
bha	भ	
tha <sub>1</sub>	त	த
tha <sub>2</sub> <sup>25</sup>	थ	
da	द	
dha	ध	
Ta	ट	

<sup>24</sup> Text C and F in chapter 6 provide sample writings in TM.

<sup>25</sup> It can be seen that there is confusion in the written expression of voiceless aspirated and voiceless unaspirated alveolar stops resulting from the standard orthographic practice of Tamilians while transliterating [t] sound. For instance, in Tamil language, the name [səŋgita] in transliteration becomes ‘Sangitha’ and it is pronounced as [səŋgida].

Tha	ठ	
Da	ड	
Dha	ढ	ॢ
ka	क	
kha	ख	
ga	ग	ॣ
gha	घ	
ca	च	
cha	छ	
ja	ज	
jha	झ	।
sa	स	॥
sha	श	०
ha	ह	ॠ <sup>26</sup>
ma	म	ॡ

<sup>26</sup> ॥, ०, and ॠ are used only in case of Sanskrit borrowed vocabulary. Tamil script has adopted its orthography to accommodate [s], [ʃ] and [h] sounds.



na	ந	ண
Na	ன	ணா
la	ல	ல
La	ழ	ள
ra	ர	ர
ya	ய	ய
va	வ	வ

**Table 4.1 TM Orthography**

It is important to note that, in the case of stops, Tamil orthography have only one grapheme to represent four phonemes. [p], [p<sup>h</sup>], [b], and [b<sup>h</sup>] are represented by only one grapheme ன in Tamil. It is the case with other voiced and aspirated stops also. [k], [k<sup>h</sup>], [g], and [g<sup>h</sup>] are represented by ழ; [t], [t<sup>h</sup>], [d], and [d<sup>h</sup>] are represented by த, [t], [t<sup>h</sup>], [d], and [d<sup>h</sup>] are represented by ட; and [tʃ], [tʃ<sup>h</sup>], [dʒ], and [dʒ<sup>h</sup>] by ச. It is interesting to note that while using the roman script for expressing TM, speakers make use of capital versus small letter distinction to mark retroflex versus alveolar stops.

In this section, I am posing a problem of orthography and phonology correlation in the case of TM. With the help of Corpus and analysis, I will try to establish, if the problem of orthography has resulted in the different phonological processes in TM.

#### **4.1.2 Method**

For the analysis, data from speakers settled in Thanjavur and surrounding districts is taken as standard. However, there is a continuous reference to other regional varieties of TM in order to provide a thorough picture of TM phonology.

Total number of speakers investigated – 38 speakers (18 Male + 20 Female)

Data from core area (Thanjavur, Kumbakonam, Tiruchirapally) – 19

Data from regional varieties (Bangalore, Hyderabad, Mumbai, Delhi) – 19

Data analysed for phonological analysis – 3 Male + 3 Female

It is important to keep a separate note of the regional background and literacy of speakers in order to observe the effect of orthographic knowledge and phonology correlation among TM speakers. Above sample is taken as representative sample and results are verified with transcribed data of rest of the informants. First two speakers on the list have no knowledge of Devanagari script and SM. Third and fourth speakers are acquainted with Hindi language and learning SM while being fluent in Tamil and TM. Last two speakers are well acquainted with SM and Devanagari script along with Tamil and TM. For the convenience of further description, Speaker 1 and 2 are termed as Category A, speaker 3 and 4 as category B and speaker 5 and 6 as category C.

Speaker	Regional background	Knowledge of script	Category
		Knowledge of languages	
1	Srirangam	Tamil, Roman	A
		Tamil, TM, English	
2	Kumbakonam, Chennai, Dubai	Tamil, Roman	
		Tamil, TM, Kannada, English	
3	Arni, Chennai, Hyderabad	Learning Devanagari, Telugu, Tamil, Roman	B
		Tamil, TM, Learning SM, English, Telugu, Hindi	
4	Kumbakonam, Mumbai, Chennai	Tamil, Roman	
		Tamil, TM, English,	

		Kannada, little Hindi	
5	Thanjavur, Chennai, Mumbai	Tamil, Devanagari, Roman	C
		Tamil, TM, SM, Sanskrit, English, Hindi	
6	Kumbakonam, Mumbai, Bangalore	Devanagari, Roman, Kannada	
		Tamil, TM, SM, Kannada, English, Hindi, Gujarati	

**Table 4.2 Informant Information**

Recorded questionnaires (Appendix –II, III and IV) and different types of discourses collected from 6 speakers (cf. chapter 6 –Text Collection) are transcribed using IPA broad transcription. Data is glossed using Leipzig glossing rules<sup>27</sup>. Recordings in wav format are used for acoustic analysis using PRAAT software (version 6.0.28). Phonological descriptions of SM as recorded in Pandharipande (1997) and Dhongade and Wali (2009) are used for comparative analysis.

In the following sections, I will be primarily describing vowel system, consonant system, consonant clusters, and syllable structure,. I would not go into the details of stress pattern and intonation pattern of TM, as it requires further inquiry. However, basic observations of TM intonation will be recorded. This will be followed by a discussion on phonological processes in TM and Phonology-Orthography correlation will be established.

### 4.3 Vowels in TM

An IPA chart of all contrastive oral and nasal vowels in TM is provided in this section. In addition, the description of all the vowel sound segments along with the minimal pairs is also

<sup>27</sup> <https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/pdf/Glossing-Rules.pdf>

discussed. Vowel inventory of TM is compared with SM vowel inventory. The analysis is based on the distribution of vowels in morphological words.

### 4.3.1 TM Vowel Inventory

Based on corpus that is presented in section 4.3.2 and 4.3.3, we arrive at vowel inventory of TM as follows. It is divided into three sections, oral vowels of TM, diphthongs of TM and nasal vowels of TM. Phonetic description of each of these vowels is also provided.

#### 4.3.1.1 Oral Vowels of TM

As defined in Crystal (2008: 514), phonetically, a vowel is defined as a sound lacking any closure or narrowing sufficient to produce audible friction. Phonologically, it is a unit, which functions at the centre of syllables. Vowel inventory of TM, is presented in the following table.

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i		u
Mid	e		o
Mid-Low		ə	
Open		a	

**Table 4.3 TM Vowel Inventory: Oral Vowels**

Table 4.3 presents the vowel inventory of TM, which includes the primary cardinal vowels. The vowels listed in the above table are monophthongs. As defined by Katamba (1989:12), monophthongs are the vowels whose quality remains virtually unchanged throughout their duration.

#### 4.3.1.2 Diphthongs of TM

A vowel sound forming a single syllable, but including a change from one quality to another is called a diphthong (Ladefoged, 2001). In TM, the mid-central vowel /ə/ has a one-way relationship with front and back close vowels /i/ and /u/. It forms the diphthongs /əi/ and /əu/ in TM.

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i		u
Mid-Low	əi	ə	əu

**Table 4.4 TM Diphthongs**

In terms of length, diphthongs are similar to long vowels. Diphthongs are the sounds, which consist of a movement or glide from one vowel to another and are part of the same syllable.

#### 4.3.1.3 Nasal vowels of TM

Close or high vowels /i/ and /u/ are nasalised. Mid vowels /e/ and /o/ are nasalised. Open vowel /a/ and diphthong /əi/ is also nasalised. All nasalised vowels are long as they are derived from a lost /\*\_n/ or /\*\_ŋ/ in the coda during historical language development. Orthographically they are marked by titled above the vowel symbol. Distribution of nasal vowels is discussed in section 4.3.3.

	<b>Front</b>	<b>Central</b>	<b>Back</b>
<b>Close</b>	ĩ		ũ
<b>Mid</b>	ẽ		õ
<b>Open</b>		ã	

**Table 4.5 TM Nasal Vowels**

Vowel nasalisation is an important phenomenon in TM phonology. Nasalised vowels did exist in Old Marathi. Bloch (1970: 87) discusses the existence of nasalised vowels in old Marathi along with denasalization process in contemporary Marathi.

Old Marathi(OM)	Gloss	SM	TM
<i>b<sup>h</sup>oĩ</i>	earth	<i>b<sup>h</sup>ui</i>	retained the OM form
<i>oraṇṇẽ</i>	scratch	<i>oraṇṇe</i>	retained OM form
<i>hãṣṇe</i>	to laugh	<i>hasṇe</i>	retained OM form

We will see in section 4.3.4 that SM has dropped this feature in the course of time. However, TM seems to have retained it.

### 4.3.2 Minimal Pairs for Oral Vowels

In order to establish the phonemic status of TM vowels, minimal pairs for few contrastive vowels are presented in this section.

1	/ə/ vs. /a/	<i>dʒə.ŋə</i>	people	<i>dʒa.ŋə</i>	to go
2	/əi/ vs. /e/	<i>əi.kə</i>	listen	<i>e.kə</i>	one
3	/əu/ vs. /o/	<i>kəu.lə</i>	roof tile	<i>koʃ.ŋə</i>	to take essence
4	/u/ vs. /o/	<i>uʃ.ŋə</i>	to fly	<i>oʃ<sup>h</sup>.ŋə</i>	to pull
5	/i/ vs. /e/	<i>ge.li</i>	go 3 F.SG.PST	<i>ge.le</i>	go 3 PL. PST go 1 F. SG.PST
6	/a/ vs. /ã/	<i>kap.ŋə</i> <i>vaʃ.ŋe</i>	to cut to grind/crush	<i>kãp.ŋə</i> <i>vãʃ.ŋe</i>	to shiver to feel
7	/e/ vs. /ẽ/	<i>vetʃ.ŋe</i>	to spend	<i>vẽʃ.ŋe</i>	to pick

**Table 4.6 Minimal Pairs: TM Vowels**

It can be observed that there are comparatively less contrasts in vowels at word initial position. We may see the reason behind it in the phonotactic constraints in section 4.5. As empty onset at word initial position is not allowed in TM, most of the contrastive pairs are observed in word medial position. In the available data, /əi/ versus /e/ and /u/ versus /o/ are the only contrasts observed in the word initial position. There are examples of word initial /i/ in the corpus. That means, any vowel can occur at word initial position. However, they are not much productive in native lexicon. In the case of word final /i/ versus /e/ contrasts, these are morphologically motivated. /i/ is third person feminine past tense morpheme whereas /e/

is third person neutral past tense morpheme. In the case of nasal vowels, very few nasal-non-nasal vowel contrastive pairs are observed.

### 4.3.3 Distribution of Vowels in TM

Distribution of oral vowels, diphthongs and nasal vowels within a morphological word is discussed in this section. Distribution refers to different contexts and positions in which particular sounds can occur.

#### 4.3.3.1 Distribution of Oral vowels

This section presents the distribution of oral vowels in TM. Corpus is presented so as to give complete view of vowels at word initial position, word medial position and word final position. Words are also marked with syllable boundary so that the further analysis of the phonotactics and syllable structure is possible.

	<b>Initial</b>	<b>Gloss</b>	<b>Medial</b>	<b>Gloss</b>	<b>Final</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
i	<i>it.tə</i>	here	<i>ki.du</i>	insect	<i>kʰo.li</i>	room
	<i>if.tə</i>	desire	<i>hi.mə</i>	snow	<i>hət.ti</i>	elephant
	<i>ik.də</i>	here	<i>hi.fo.bə</i>	accounts	<i>a.ɲi</i>	and
u	<i>u.dja</i>	tomorrow	<i>pu.də</i>	next to	<i>ba.dʒu</i>	on the side of
	<i>upə.ka.rə</i>	obligation	<i>pu.ra</i>	complete	<i>hã.su</i>	smile
	<i>uɟ.nə</i>	to fly	<i>kuɲ.də</i>	pit	<i>kʰə.du</i>	chalk
e	<i>e.kə</i>	one	<i>ve.də</i>	mad	<i>ɟo.le</i>	eyes
	<i>e.və</i>	income	<i>kem.ma</i>	when	<i>kev.dʰe</i>	how much
	<i>e.rəɲ.dəl</i>	castor	<i>kə.tʃe.ri</i>	office	<i>tʰor.le</i>	elder-PL
o	<i>o.piɲ.gɲə</i>	accept	<i>do.nə</i>	two	<i>to</i>	he
	<i>oɟʰ.ɲə</i>	pull	<i>koɲ.ki</i>	somebody	<i>ho</i>	be-IMP

	<i>o.kʰə.də</i>	medicine	<i>moʃ.tə</i>	big		
ə	<i>a.mi</i>	we	<i>mə.dʒə</i>	mine	<i>gʰə.rə</i>	house
	<i>ək.ra</i>	eleven	<i>nəŋ.kʰərə</i>	little	<i>pʰəʃ.kə</i>	cloth
	<i>əs.kī</i>	all	<i>sa.dʰə.kə</i>	worshipper	<i>bə.ro.rə</i>	correct
a	<i>a.dʒa</i>	grand father	<i>na.kə</i>	nose	<i>təm.ma</i>	that day
	<i>a.ʒə</i>	well	<i>pʰəʃ.ka</i>	torn	<i>kər.na</i>	not doing
	<i>a.ʃə.jə</i>	purpose	<i>dʒa.nəv.sa</i>	marriage ritual	<i>gə.riv.pə.ŋa</i>	poverty

**Table 4.7 Distribution of TM Oral Vowels**

It is observed that all the vowels appear in word initial position. Vowel /e/ at word final position is mostly the result of morphological processes. As witnessed in examples such as *ʒole* ‘eye-PL’ /e/ at the word-final position is a plural marker. Word final /o/ has rare occurrences in Noun lexicon. It is found mostly in pronominal or verbal inflectional paradigms as seen in examples *to* ‘he’ and *ho* ‘be-2SG.IMP’.

#### 4.3.3.2 Distribution of Diphthongs

This section presents the distribution of diphthongs in TM. Corpus is presented to give complete view of vowels at word initial position, word medial position and word final position. Words are also marked with syllable boundary so that the further analysis of the phonotactics and syllable structure is possible.

əi	<i>əi.kə</i>	listen	<i>bəi.sə</i>	sit	<i>dʒa.vəi</i>	son-in-law
	<i>əi.sə (imp)</i>	wait	<i>bəi.lə</i>	bullock	<i>sə.məi</i>	light
	<i>əi.kjə</i>	unity	<i>tʃəi.nə</i>	train	<i>tʃen.nəi</i>	Chennai city
əu	<i>əu.dʒo.gi.kə</i>	commercial	<i>tʃəu.kə</i>	towel	<i>məu</i>	soft



	<i>əu.pə.tʃa.ri.kə</i>	formal	<i>kəu.tu.kə</i>	praise		
	<i>əu.da.rjə</i>	generosity	<i>kəu.lə</i>	roof-tile		

**Table 4.8 Distribution of TM Diphthongs**

Word final diphthong /əi/ has minimum occurrences in native phonology. It is mostly found in Tamil borrowed vocabulary. In such cases, too, /əi/ is sometimes phonetically realised as /e/ or /ə/<sup>28</sup>. Word final occurrences of diphthong /əu/ are also recorded just once in whole data.

#### 4.3.3.3 Distribution of Nasal Vowels

This section presents the distribution of nasal vowels in TM. Corpus is presented to give complete view of vowels at word initial position, word medial position and word final position. Words are also marked with syllable boundary so that the further analysis of the phonotactics and syllable structure is possible.

ĩ	<i>ĩ</i>	conjunction indicating inclusiveness	<i>hĩ.və</i>	snow	<i>pə.ŋĩ</i>	also
ũ	<i>ũ</i>	head lice	<i>pũ.sə</i>	tail	<i>pũ</i>	pus
			<i>g<sup>h</sup>ũ.sə</i>	doe (female rat)	<i>je.ũ</i>	come- CONJ.PTCP
ẽ			<i>t<sup>h</sup>ẽ.tʃa</i>	spicy food item	<i>dʒa.tẽ</i>	go-1SG.F.PRS.
õ	<i>õ.t<sup>h</sup>ə</i>	lip			<i>vãtʃ.lõ</i>	read- 1SG.M.PRS.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. section 4.6.2

ã	ã.tə	inside	vãtf.ɳe	to read		
əĩ	əĩ.fi	eighty				

**Table 4.9 Distribution of TM Nasal Vowels**

Word initially, high nasal vowels have only one instance each of the whole data set. At word initial position, there is no evidence for /ẽ/. Word medial occurrences of nasalised /ẽ/ mostly precede the alveopalatal voiceless affricate /tʃ/. Occurrences of /ẽ/ and /õ/ at word final position are morphologically motivated. /ẽ/ is marker of first person singular feminine, present tense; whereas /õ/ is the marker of first person singular masculine, present tense. Nasalised diphthong /əĩ/ is attested just once in at word-initial position. Word final position for nasalised open central vowel /ã/ is found empty.

#### 4.3.4 Comparison of TM and SM Vowel Systems

Vowel inventory of TM is compared with that of SM in order to see which features from Middle Marathi are retained in TM/SM and where do these languages differ from each other.

##### 4.3.4.1 SM Vowel Inventory

This description is based on the account of SM in Pandharipande (1997). There are only two points where TM clearly shows the difference from SM inventory; Length of high vowels and inclusion of æ\* and ɔ\* borrowed sounds. However, there is no consensus on the issue of vowel length in SM. Though the length difference is retained in the script, Dhongade and Wali (2009) claim that length in i and u is not phonemic rather it is positionally determined.

#### SM Oral vowels and diphthongs

		Front	Central	Back
Close	Long	i:		u:
	Short	i		u
Mid		E		o
Mid-Low		əi æ*	ə	əu ɔ*

Open			a	
------	--	--	---	--

\* in borrowed vocabulary

Pandharipande (1997, p.537)

**Table 4.10 SM vowel inventory**

#### 4.3.4.2 Observations

TM vowel inventory is compared with SM vowel inventory and historical accounts of old Marathi so that the unique characteristics of TM can be highlighted.

##### (a) Vowel length in TM

Phonologically, there is no length distinction in TM. Phonetic length variation does occur with all vowels in the case of stress. Stress causes short vowel to become long. Therefore, the instances of long vowel are because of stress placement. Moreover, where vowel is dropped at word-final position in continuous speech, the vowel in the preceding syllable is lengthened.

Examples,

*/bəhiŋə/* ‘sister’ → *[bəhi:ŋ]*

*/jeunə/* ‘come-conj.ptcp’ → *[jeū:]*

*/ũptʃə/* ‘tall’ → *[ũ:ptʃ]*

This is the case of compensatory lengthening as discussed by Katamba (1989: 172). In TM, if an underlying syllabic segment is deleted or is released as nonsyllabic, an adjacent syllabic gets lengthened 'in compensation'.

##### (b) Nasal Vowels

It is another important feature of TM, which needs more attention.

There are no inherently nasal vowels in contemporary SM. As Kelkar (1958:12) claims, vowels are semi-nasalised before a nasal. In SM, as observed by Cardona and Jain (2003-719), nasal vowels of old Marathi are realized either as a sequence of a nasalised vowel and a nasal consonant homorganic with the following consonant such as *mulā:-na:* child-pl.dat. → *mulānna*, or it is realized simply as oral vowel, such as *g<sup>h</sup>ərāt* house-loc → *g<sup>h</sup>ərat*. However, this nasalization from old Marathi is retained in orthography (मुलांना, घरांत).

Where SM presents numerous examples of de-nasalisation, TM seems to retain the nasality. The editions of Jñaneśvari (13<sup>th</sup> c. Text written by Saint Jñaneśvar in Marathi) often preserves the nasality in the following lexical items, which is disappeared from SM, TM retains it, as shown in the following table.

TM	Gloss	SM
<i>pāhətə</i>	looking at	<i>pahat</i>
<i>hāsṇe</i>	to laugh	<i>hasṇe</i>
<i>pāṭfə</i>	five	<i>pats</i>
<i>Lēṅkru</i>	child	<i>lekru</i>
<i>vānsru</i>	calf	<i>vasru</i>
<i>ṭēṭfə</i>	hurt	<i>ṭ<sup>h</sup>ets</i>

**Table 4.11 Nasal Vowel contrast between TM and SM**

Nasal vowels in TM can be categorised into three groups.

(a). Word-final nasalised vowels in verbal inflection as seen in examples *gelō*, *dzatō*, etc.

*dʒa* is the root verb.              *dʒato* go-1 M.SG.PRS              *dzatō* go-1 M.PL.PRS.  
                                                         *gelo* go-1 M.SG.PST              *gelō* go-1 M.PL.PST.

*ō* is plural marker which contrasts from masculine singular marker *o*.

(b). Nasalised vowels in other word-classes (generally case of nasalisation retained from Middle Marathi).

Various examples given above throw light on the fact that nasal vowels in TM have their root in old Marathi.

(c). Vowels preceding palatal/alveo-palatal consonants are mostly nasalised as seen in examples such as *ṭ<sup>h</sup>ēṭfə*, *pāṭfə*, etc. Vowels preceding high consonants such as tʃ, s, ʃ, t<sup>h</sup> are

nasalised. It needs further investigation to see whether environment is responsible for nasal vowels in these cases.

#### 4.4 Consonants in TM

An IPA chart of all contrastive consonants in TM is provided in this section. In addition, the description of all the consonants along with the minimal pairs is also discussed. Consonant inventory of TM is compared with SM consonant inventory. It is based on the distribution of consonants in morphological words.

##### 4.4.1 TM Consonant Inventory

Based on corpus presented in the section 4.4.2 and 4.4.3, here is the consonant inventory of TM. There are 31 consonants. They occur mainly at bilabial, dental/alveolar, alveo-palatal and velar positions. There are plosives, nasals, flap, fricative, affricate, approximant, and laterals. The following table gives full inventory using IPA symbols. On this chart, the different places of articulation are arranged from left to right and manner of articulation are arranged from top to bottom. In case of mentioning voicing distinction, the symbol for the voiceless is placed to the left of the symbol for its voiced counterpart.

	<b>bilabial</b>	<b>labio-dental</b>	<b>Dental</b>	<b>Alveolar</b>	<b>Post-alveolar</b>	<b>retroflex</b>	<b>Alveo-palatal</b>	<b>velar</b>	<b>glottal</b>
<b>Plosive Unaspirated</b>	p b		t d			ʈ ɖ		k g	
<b>Plosive Aspirated</b>	p <sup>h</sup> b <sup>h</sup>		t <sup>h</sup> d <sup>h</sup>			ʈ <sup>h</sup> ɖ <sup>h</sup>		k <sup>h</sup> g <sup>h</sup>	
<b>Nasal</b>	m		n			ɳ			
<b>Flap</b>							r		

<b>Affricate Unaspirated</b>							tʃ dʒ		
<b>Affricate Aspirated</b>							tʃ <sup>h</sup> dʒ <sup>h</sup>		
<b>Fricative</b>			s	ʃ					h
<b>Approximant</b>		ʋ					j		
<b>Lateral Approximant</b>			l			ɭ			

**Table 4.12 TM Consonant Inventory**

#### 4.4.1.1 Description of TM Consonants

In this section, detailed phonetic description of TM segments is given. Various concepts are elaborated with reference to Ladefoged & Maddieson (1996). It is grouped into two sections depending upon the manner of articulation. The broader classification criteria depending upon obstruction of airflow is taken as a parameter for an explanation. Thus, the TM consonants are grouped into obstruent and sonorants.

##### A. Obstruent

As defined by Crystal (2008), Obstruent is the term used in the phonetic classification of speech sounds to refer to sounds involving a constriction which impedes the flow of air through nose or mouth, as in plosives, fricatives and affricates.

### **a. Stops**

The stops are produced by complete closure where the articulators seal off the flow of air completely. Ladefoged & Maddieson (1996) refer to plosives as pulmonic stop and restrict its scope as oral occlusive. In TM, Plosives appear in bilabial, dental, velar, and retroflex positions. [p] and [b] are bilabial plosives since lips are pressed together. [t] and [d] are dental plosives since the tongue blade is pressed against the front teeth. [k] and [g] are velar plosives as the back of the tongue is pressed against the area where the hard palate ends and soft palate begins. [ʈ] and [ɖ] are retroflex plosives where the tip of the tongue is curled upwards to touch the hard palate. TM has contrast between following stops.

- (a) voiceless stops characterised by no vibration of vocal fold where arytenoids cartilages are usually apart;
- (b) voiced stops (or modal voice as defined by Ladefoged & Maddieson, 1996) characterised by regular vibrations of the vocal folds at any frequency within the speaker's normal range exists in all the places of articulation;
- (c) voiceless aspirated stops ([p<sup>h</sup>], [t<sup>h</sup>], [k<sup>h</sup>], [ʈ<sup>h</sup>]) having a greater rate of airflow than occurs in modal voice for a longer period before or after a stricture; and
- (d) breathy voiced (will be referred to as voiced aspirated stops) ([b<sup>h</sup>], [d<sup>h</sup>], [g<sup>h</sup>], and [ɖ<sup>h</sup>]) with vocal fold vibrating but without appreciable contact.

It is interesting to note that the status of aspiration in TM is not stable. There is phonetic variation in the data from category A, category B and category C. This will be discussed in details in a separate section.

### **b. Fricatives and Affricates**

Fricatives sounds are those in which a turbulent airstream is produced within the vocal tract. In TM, s, ʃ, and h are fricatives that are produced at alveolar, post alveolar and glottal position respectively. In the case of [s], sibilant alveolar fricative, air escapes through a narrow passage along the centre of the tongue. In the case of [ʃ], posterior sibilant alveo-palatal fricative, the tongue is in contact with an area slightly further back than that for [s]. The existence of [h] is very complex in TM. It will be discussed in a separate section.

[tʃ] and [dʒ] are alveopalatal affricates which have aspirated counterparts [tʃ<sup>h</sup>] and [dʒ<sup>h</sup>]. Affricates are stops in which the release of the constriction is modified in such a way as to produce a more prolonged period of friction after the release. It is considered as an intermediate category between simple stops and a sequence of a stop and a fricative. Phonological considerations play a part in the decision as to whether a stop and a following fricative is to be regarded as an affricate which is a single unit as in *g<sup>h</sup>ə.ra.tʃe* house-POSS or as two segments forming a sequence of a stop and a fricative as in *g<sup>h</sup>ə.r.ãnt.su.nə* house-LOC-ABL.

## B. Sonorants

Manners without obstruction of airflow are called sonorants. Nasals, glides, and liquids are grouped under sonorant category. As defined by Crystal (2008), Sonorant sounds are defined articulatorily, as those produced with a relatively free airflow, and a vocal fold position such that spontaneous voicing is possible, as in vowels, liquids, nasals and laterals. Its opposite is **non-sonorant** (or obstruent), referring to sounds where there is a stricture impeding the airflow, as in plosives, fricatives and affricates. An analogous term is resonant.

**A Nasal consonant** is one in which velum is lowered and there is a closure in the vocal cavity somewhere in front of the velic opening. Ladefoged & Maddieson (1996: 107) talks of Marathi having two series of contrasting nasals. (1) modally voiced nasals, [m] is bilabial nasal; [n] is dental nasal, and [ɳ] is retroflex nasal and (2) breathy voiced [n<sup>h</sup>] and [ɳ<sup>h</sup>]. The second series of breathy voiced is not present in TM. However, it is interesting that during phonological processes, these breathy voiced nasal forms are observed. As discussed in the earlier section, alveo-palatal and velar nasals are positional allophones of /n/. There is a tendency for word-final nasal to erode and being replaced by nasalisation on the preceding vowel.

**Glides** [j] and [v] are produced at alveopalatal and labiodentals positions in TM. Phonetically they are like vowels, but phonologically they are consonants. This term is used in phonetics to refer to a transitional sound as the vocal organs move towards or away from an articulation. Few works on phonology describe them as semi-vowels.

**Liquids** are traditionally described as a group of voiced lateral approximants and rhotics. Sounds in which the tongue is contracted in such a way to narrow its profile from side to side so that a greater volume of air flows around one or both sides than over the centre of the



tongue. [l] is alveolar lateral approximant and [ɭ] is retroflex lateral approximant. They are also known as frictionless continuants.

**Rhotics** are the segments in which there is a single or repeated brief contact between the tongue and a point on the upper surface of the vocal tract, i.e. principally apical trills, taps and flaps. In TM, [r] is a trill. Its allophonic status needs further enquiry.

#### 4.4.2 Minimal Pairs for TM Consonants

In order to prove the phonemic status of TM consonants, minimal pairs for few consonants are given below.

- |    |                         |                           |
|----|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. | /p/                     | /b/                       |
|    | <i>pəɭə</i>             | <i>bəɭə</i>               |
|    | run 2 SG.IMP            | strength                  |
| 2. | /b/                     | /b <sup>h</sup> /         |
|    | <i>bara</i>             | <i>b<sup>h</sup>arə</i>   |
|    | twelve                  | burden                    |
| 3. | /p <sup>h</sup> /       | /b <sup>h</sup> /         |
|    | <i>p<sup>h</sup>arə</i> | <i>b<sup>h</sup>arə</i>   |
|    | very much               | burden                    |
| 4. | /t/                     | /d/                       |
|    | <i>nati</i>             | <i>nadi</i>               |
|    | relations               | river                     |
| 5. | /d/                     | /d <sup>h</sup> /         |
|    | <i>derə</i>             | <i>d<sup>h</sup>airjə</i> |
|    | brother-in-law          | courage                   |
| 6. | /t <sup>h</sup> /       | /d <sup>h</sup> /         |

	<b><i>artʰə</i></b>	<b><i>ardʰə</i></b>
	meaning	half
7.	/k/	/g/
	<b><i>kajə</i></b>	<b><i>gajə</i></b>
	what	cow
8.	/k/	/kʰ/
	<b><i>kāmpə</i></b>	<b><i>kʰambə</i></b>
	cut	pole
9.	/g/	/gʰ/
	<b><i>gaŋə</i></b>	<b><i>gʰaŋə</i></b>
	song	stink
10.	/kʰ/	/gʰ/
	<b><i>kʰaŋə</i></b>	<b><i>gʰaŋə</i></b>
	food	stink
11.	/t/	/d/
	<b><i>tāntʃə</i></b>	<b><i>dāntʃə</i></b>
	heel	mosquito
12.	/d/	/dʰ/
	<b><i>kəɖi</i></b>	<b><i>kəɖʰi</i></b>
	latch	dish made using buttermilk
13.	/t/	/tʰ/
	<b><i>ətəvŋe</i></b>	<b><i>ətʰiŋŋe:</i></b>
	to boil	to remember

14.	/t/	/t̥/	
	<b>takə</b>	<b>t̥akə</b>	
	buttermilk	throw 2 SG.IMP	
15.	/d/	/d̥/	
	<b>vedə</b>	<b>ved̥ə</b>	
	scripture	madness	
16.	/l/	/l̥/	/r/
	<b>ukəl̥ə</b>	<b>ukəl̥ə</b>	<b>ukər̥ə</b>
	to open	to boil	to dig
17.	/m/	/n/	
	<b>kamə</b>	<b>kanə</b>	
	work	ear	
18.	/n/	/n̥/	
	<b>sənə</b>	<b>sən̥ə</b>	
	year	festival	
19.	/tʃ/	/dʒ/	
	<b>tʃaɭə</b>	<b>dʒaɭə</b>	
	to clean	to burn	
20.	/s/	/tʃʰ/	
	<b>sadi</b>	<b>tʃʰadi</b>	
	dress	complain	

Most of the minimal pairs listed above show the contrast in word-initial position and a few at the word-medial position. To be specific, in the case of TM, the contrasting consonants are

found mostly in syllable onset position and rarely at coda position inside a word. Wherever, minimal pairs are not found, near minimal pairs are provided to prove the contrast.

#### 4.4.3 Distribution of Consonants in TM

Distribution of consonants within a morphological word and distribution of allophones, if any is discussed in this section.

	<b>Initial</b>	<b>Gloss</b>	<b>Medial</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
p	<i>pajri</i>	staircase	<i>kapɔə</i>	clothes
	<i>pəʃisə</i>	by the side of	<i>səmpakə</i>	cooking
	<i>pəttəɔə</i>	thin/liquid	<i>erpaɔə</i>	effort
p <sup>h</sup>	<i>p<sup>h</sup>uŋkəŋi</i>	blower	<i>kəp<sup>h</sup>ə</i>	cough
	<i>p<sup>h</sup>əɖkə</i>	cloth	<i>ekdəp<sup>h</sup>ə</i>	one-time
	<i>p<sup>h</sup>əlləm</i>	old currency	<i>kəp<sup>h</sup>i</i>	coffee
b	<i>bajko</i>	female	<i>umbra</i>	threshold
	<i>bərorə</i>	with	<i>rubbəŋə</i>	to wet grind
	<i>bəŋɖi</i>	car	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ambe</i>	pole
b <sup>h</sup>	<i>b<sup>h</sup>atə</i>	cooked rice	<i>dʒib<sup>h</sup>ə</i>	tongue
	<i>b<sup>h</sup>e</i>	fear	<i>gəmb<sup>h</sup>irə</i>	majestic
	<i>b<sup>h</sup>ərunə</i>	plenty	<i>arəmb<sup>h</sup>ə</i>	start/ beginning

t	<i>takə</i>	buttermilk	<i>katadə</i>	skin
t <sup>h</sup>	<i>t<sup>h</sup>orle</i>	elder	<i>met<sup>h</sup>i</i>	fenugreek
d	<i>dalla</i>	husband	<i>tandulə</i>	row rice
d <sup>h</sup>	<i>d<sup>h</sup>arə</i>	stream	<i>virod<sup>h</sup>ə</i>	opposition
t	<i>to:lə</i>	grasshopper	<i>paʈə</i>	wooden plank used to sit on the floor
t <sup>h</sup>	<i>t<sup>h</sup>amə</i>	place/location	<i>kaʈ<sup>h</sup>i</i>	stick
ɖ	<i>ɖəməru</i>	small drum	<i>kiɖu</i>	insect
ɖ <sup>h</sup>	<i>ɖ<sup>h</sup>ēɲkunjə</i>	bed bug	<i>kəɖ<sup>h</sup>ətə</i>	warm
k	<i>kelə</i>	banana	<i>pikɲə</i>	to ripen
k <sup>h</sup>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>iɖki</i>	window	<i>rak<sup>h</sup>ə</i>	ash
g	<i>go:ɲi</i>	sack	<i>rəgətə</i>	blood
g <sup>h</sup>	<i>g<sup>h</sup>ōɲtə</i>	sip	<i>əng<sup>h</sup>olə</i>	bath
tʃ	<i>tʃimɲi</i>	sparrow	<i>k<sup>h</sup>itʃəɖi</i>	vegetable rice
tʃ <sup>h</sup>	<i>tʃ<sup>h</sup>əttri</i>	umbrella	<i>lətʃtʃ<sup>h</sup>əmi</i>	goddess of wealth
dʒ	<i>dʒəntə</i>	tapeworm	<i>radʒa</i>	king

dʒ <sup>h</sup>	<i>dʒ<sup>h</sup>adə</i>	tree				
s	<i>səmpakə</i>	cooking	<i>kilsatə</i>	doorlock		
ʃ	<i>ʃivŋe</i>	to stitch	<i>uʃi</i>	pillow		
h	<i>hatə</i>	hand	<i>h word medially gets assimilated with neighbouring consonant or gets dropped between vowels</i>			
l	<i>lāŋkəɖə</i>	wooden pieces	<i>kilupə</i>	lock		
ɭ	<i>not allowed word initially</i>		<i>pəɻi</i>	serving spoon		
r	<i>rubbəguŋɖə</i>	grinding stone	<i>suri</i>	knife		
j	<i>jəvɖə</i>	this much	<i>b<sup>h</sup>ojə</i>	earth		
ʋ	<i>vag<sup>h</sup>ə</i>	tiger	<i>kivəɖə</i>	door		
m	<i>molə</i>	value	<i>amba</i>	mango	<i>aram</i> <sup>29</sup>	rest
	<i>majə</i>	mother	<i>ʃəməkətə</i>	glittering	<i>pəllam</i> <sup>30</sup>	money
n	<i>natoŋɖə</i>	grandchildren	<i>sonarə</i>	goldsmith	<i>pan</i> <sup>31</sup>	leaf

<sup>29</sup> found in only one example which is borrowed word from Persian

<sup>30</sup> /pəllam/ is an Indian ounce where of twelve makes an English pound. This word is borrowed from medieval Tamil. It is not in regular use in contemporary Tamil.

<sup>31</sup> found in only one example which is borrowed word from Persian

	<i>nəŋkʰərə</i>	little	<i>dʰanjə</i>	grains		
ŋ	<i>not allowed at initial position</i>	<i>kər-ŋara</i> <sup>32</sup>	doer	<i>əŋgəŋ</i> <sup>33</sup>	ground	
		<i>kʰaŋi</i>	story			
		<i>dʰoŋdʰa</i> <sup>34</sup>	stone			

**Table 4.13 TM Distribution of Consonants**

In terms of distribution within a word, all the consonants except ŋ and ʎ, which are nasal and lateral retroflex sounds respectively, appear word initially. In the core phonotactics of TM, we do not find CVC syllable structure at word final position. However, it is interesting to note how the speakers accommodate borrowed CVC structures in the language. Few instances of consonant ending words are of borrowed words as seen in examples *aram*, *pəlləm*, *pan* and *əŋgəŋ*. If any word ends with a consonant in continuous speech, the preceding vowel gets the length as witnessed in section 4.3.4.2.

#### 4.4.3.1 Allophones of Nasals

/ŋ/ and /ɲ/ are allophones of /n/ where /ŋ/ appear preceding velar plosives and /ɲ/ occurs before palatal fricatives. It does not appear at the word-initial or word-final position.

/ŋ/	<i>ləŋgda</i>	‘lame’
	<i>nəŋkʰərə</i>	‘little’
	<i>leŋkru</i>	‘kid’
/ɲ/	<i>gāɲdʒəŋə</i>	‘tortured’

<sup>32</sup> /ŋ/ at syllable initial position

<sup>33</sup> found in only one example which is borrowed word from Persian

<sup>34</sup> /ŋ/ due to assimilation with following /d/

*māṇḍarā*

‘cat’

*kāṇḍi*

‘food item’

#### 4.4.4 Comparison of Consonant Systems

Consonant inventory of TM is compared with SM in order to see which features from middle Marathi are retained in TM/SM and where do these languages differ from each other.

##### 4.4.4.1 SM Consonant Inventory

This description is based on the account of SM in Dhongade & Wali (2009) which is more inclusive. Aspirated nasals, laterals, flaps, and semivowels are regarded as phonemes. The gap in the pattern in case of affricates, where voiceless aspirated alveolar affricate [tʰ] is missing, is highlighted in the above-mentioned description. In addition, the alveolar affricates occur only before vowel [a], whereas alveo-palatal affricates have more occurrences.

	<b>bilabia l</b>	<b>labi o- den tal</b>	<b>Dental</b>	<b>Alveolar</b>	<b>Post- alv eol ar</b>	<b>retroflex</b>	<b>Alveo- palatal</b>	<b>velar</b>	<b>glot tal</b>
<b>Plosive Unaspira ted</b>	p b		t d			ʈ ɖ		k g	
<b>Plosive Aspirated</b>	p <sup>h</sup> b <sup>h</sup>		t <sup>h</sup> d <sup>h</sup>			ʈ <sup>h</sup> ɖ <sup>h</sup>		k <sup>h</sup> g <sup>h</sup>	
<b>Nasal Unaspira ted</b>	m		n			ɳ			
<b>Nasal Aspirated</b>	m <sup>h</sup>		n <sup>h</sup>			ɳ <sup>h</sup>			



<b>Flap Unasp.</b>							r		
<b>Flap Asp.</b>							r <sup>h</sup>		
<b>Affricate Unaspirated</b>				ts dz			tʃ dʒ		
<b>Affricate Aspirated</b>				dz <sup>h</sup>			tʃ <sup>h</sup> dʒ <sup>h</sup>		
<b>Fricative</b>			s		ʃ				h
<b>Approximant unaspirated</b>		ʋ					j		
<b>Approx. asp.</b>		ʋ <sup>h</sup>							
<b>Lateral Approximant Unasp.</b>			l			ɭ			
<b>Lat. approx. asp.</b>			l <sup>h</sup>						

**Table 4.14 SM Consonant inventory**

**Dhongade & Wali (2009:11)**

Comparing the system in table 4.14 with the TM consonant system mentioned in the preceding section, following observations are presented.

- (1) Alveolar affricates [ts] and [dz] and [dz<sup>h</sup>] does not exist in TM phonology.

(2) Aspiration and Voicing are two important features of IA languages. Standard Marathi consonant system is highly complex with all voiceless, voiced plosives, affricates, fricatives and sonorants having aspirated versus unaspirated phonemic contrast.

For example, (Dhongade & Wali 2009)

<i>par</i>	totally	<i>p<sup>h</sup>ar</i>	very much
<i>bar</i>	a charge of a gun	<i>b<sup>h</sup>ar</i>	burden
<i>tap</i>	temperature	<i>t<sup>h</sup>ap</i>	a lie
<i>dap</i>	scold	<i>d<sup>h</sup>ap</i>	panting
<i>dol</i>	to rock	<i>d<sup>h</sup>ol</i>	drum
<i>toke</i>	ends/edges of things	<i>t<sup>h</sup>oke</i>	heart beats
<i>tfakka</i>	kind of cheese	<i>tf<sup>h</sup>akka</i>	impotent
<i>dzara</i>	a bit	<i>dz<sup>h</sup>ara</i>	underground stream

Freely varying aspiration is observed in TM where it shows the difference from middle Marathi and SM. TM does not have phonemically contrastive aspirated nasal, and liquid consonants. However, during a few phonological processes related to the realization of /h/, nasals and liquids get phonetic aspiration. (cf. the section on aspiration, *nəhato* → *n<sup>h</sup>ato*, *rahto* → *r<sup>h</sup>ato*, and so on).

Often in spontaneous speech, the voice aspirates lose their aspiration in all the places – word initial, medial, and final. (cf. Section 4.7). However, it has been noticed that some speakers keep aspiration in particular positions. Both realizations are frequent in TM.

This completes the examination of the consonant phonemes in TM.

#### 4.5 Syllable Structure and Consonant Clusters

In this section, syllable structure, syllable weight, and distribution of consonant clusters (geminate as well as non-geminate) are discussed in details.

### 4.5.1 Syllable Structure

This section discusses the nature of syllable in TM. The subsections within this title comprise of the phonological structure of simple monosyllabic/ disyllabic and trisyllabic words, characteristics of onset, nucleus, and coda in TM.

#### 4.5.1.1 Phonological Structure of Simple Words

Discussion of syllable structure, where the restrictions on the sequencing of sounds at particular positions of the word are discussed, provides cues for phonological processes such as segmental epenthesis and deletion as they conform to preferred syllable templates.

Simple words in TM may have one syllable (Monosyllabic) to three syllables (trisyllabic).

Examples of Syllable structure

#### (a) Monosyllabic Words in TM

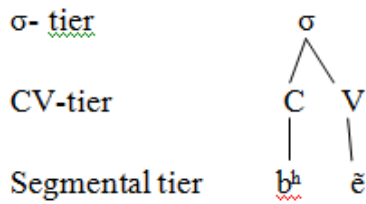
Monosyllabic	Example	Gloss
V	<i>ũ</i>	head lice
VC	Not found	
CV	<i>b'hẽ</i>	fear
CCV	Not found	
VVC	Not found	
CVC	Not found	

**Table 4.15 Monosyllabic Words in TM**

Monosyllabic words are mostly found in TM verb class. Root verbs such as *k<sup>h</sup>a*, *dʒa*, *ho*, *pi*, *je* etc. having root verb+ *ŋe* as infinitive form.

The above monosyllabic structures are presented in the following tree diagram based on CV phonology (Clements & Keyser, 1983:8) approach to representation of syllable structures. It consists of three-tiered representations, where first tier is syllabic tier ( $\sigma$ ), second is CV-tier

consisting two elements C and V and the third is segmental tier. The tiers are connected by association lines.



**Figure 4.1 CV tier representation of TM monosyllabic word**

Though the detailed account syllable structure and stress pattern in TM is not covered in the current chapter, the CV-tier representation of TM phonemes would form the basis for the future work on stress pattern in TM.

**(b) Disyllabic words in TM**

Disyllabic	Example	Gloss
V.CV	<i>e.kə</i>	one
VV.CV	<i>əi.sə</i>	be (here)
CV.V	<i>ka.u</i>	crow
CV.CV	<i>ta.kə</i>	buttermilk
VC.CV	<i>uq.nə</i>	to fly
CVV.CV	<i>kəu.lə</i>	roof
CVC.CV	<i>həl.lu</i>	slowly

**Table 4.16 Disyllabic Words in TM**

In the disyllabic words, the second syllable always has onset + nucleus. coda is optional. The only cases, where onset is not present in the second syllable, are the result of historical sound changes. In those words, the intervocalic consonant is dropped, giving rise to penultimate or ultimate syllable without onset.

For example, *su.ha.si.ni* → *su.∅a.si.ni* → *su.a.si.ni*

(c) **Trisyllabic Words in TM**

Trisyllabic	Example	Gloss
V.CV.CV	<i>ə.bʰə.jə</i>	protection
VV.CVC.CV	<i>əu.dar.jə</i>	generosity
CV.CV.CV	<i>ki.lu.pə</i>	lock
VC.CV.CV	<i>il.lə.gə</i>	name of a dish
CVC.CV.CV	<i>ʈfok.ko.tə</i>	good
CV.CVC.CV	<i>va.tʃiŋ.ge</i>	read

**Table 4.17 Trisyllabic Words in TM**

Onset in TM may be comprised of 0/1/2 consonants.

(a) 0 onset = [o.la] ‘wet’

Onset of first syllable is vacant.

(b) Onset with 1 Consonant = [ka.lə] ‘black’

The onset of both syllables has one consonant.

(c) Onset with 2 consonants = [ʃrə.mə] ‘efforts’

The onset of the first syllable has two consonants.

[sna.nə] ‘bath’

[ʃlo:.kə] ‘verse’

As we will see in the next subsection on consonant clusters, word-initial onset, if consist of two consonants C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>, are the cases of Sanskrit tatsama or tatbhava vocabulary in TM.

Coda may have 0/1 consonants.

(a) Coda with No consonant = [bi.də] ‘lane’

Coda position of both syllables is vacant

(b) Coda with 1 consonant = [tʃək.i] ‘spicy dish’

Coda of first syllable has one consonant.

The nucleus may be simple (one x slot) or complex (two xx slots). The complex nucleus may have long monophthongs i.e. single melody attached to both nuclear timing positions or it may have a diphthong i.e. two different melodies in each slot.

[nəu.ra] ‘bridegroom’

The nucleus of the first syllable is a complex one with a diphthong.

#### 4.5.2 Consonant Clusters

Many languages allow more than one consonant to be assigned to the onset and coda positions leading to consonant clusters. Consonant clusters are groups of two or more consonants. There are restrictions on how many consonants can occur in a particular position, and which consonants can occur together. Current section will elaborate on possible consonant clusters in TM at the word-initial, word-medial, and word-final position. At the word-initial position, examples are divided into two groups such as stop + non-nasal sonorant clusters and Nasal + non-nasal sonorant clusters.

a) Word-Initial Consonant Clusters

##### Stop + Non-Nasal Sonorant Clusters

	/l/		/r/		/v/		/j/	
/p/	-		+	<i>prutʰvi</i> ‘earth’	-		-	
/b/	-		+	<i>brəmɦə</i> ‘name of the god’	-		-	

/bʰ/	-		+	<i>bʰr̥amə</i> ‘mirage’	-		-	
/t/	-		+	<i>trasə</i> ‘effort’	+	<i>tv̥ara</i> ‘hurry’	+	<i>tjagə</i> ‘sacrifice’
/d/	-		+	<i>druʃti</i> ‘sight’	+	<i>dveʃə</i> ‘envy’	+	<i>djave</i> ‘give 3imp’
/k/	+	<i>kleʃə</i> ‘sorrow’	+	<i>kr̥amə</i> ‘sequence’	-		-	
/g/	-		+	<i>gr̥əhəŋə</i> ‘acquisition’	-		-	

**Table 4.18 Stop + Non-nasal Sonorant Clusters in TM**

The table presented above gives the possible combinations of Stop + non-nasal sonorant (l, r, v and j) at word initial position in TM data. All the plosives can be combined with /r/ to form consonant cluster at word initial position. Alveolar plosives can be combined with glides /j/ and /v/. Velar plosives have comparatively less combinations.

#### Nasal + Non-Nasal Sonorant Clusters

	/l/	/r/		/v/	/j/	
/m/	<i>ml̥ɛntʃʰə</i> ‘mughals’	+	<i>mrugə</i> ‘animal’	-	-	

/n/	-	+	<i>nrupə</i> 'king'	-	+	<i>njaɟə</i> 'justice'
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**Table 4.19 Nasal + non-nasal sonorant clusters in TM**

The above table presents the nasal + non-nasal possible combinations in TM at word-initial position. Like Stop + non-nasal pattern, even nasals combine with /r/. /m/ also combines with /l/ and /n/ can have combination with /j/. None of the nasals can combine with glide /v/.

It is observed that TM word-initial Consonant clusters are mostly tatsama (inherited) or tatbhava (derived) words from Sanskrit. That is native TM vocabulary has maximum only one consonant at the word-initial position. Word medially, there are maximally two consonants, which are divided into two syllables as coda of previous syllable and onset of the following syllable. Thus, there are no consonant clusters in word-final position.

Geminates, which are long consonants, never appear word initially.

b) Word-Medial intervocalic Consonant Clusters

Word-medial CCs never occur in the coda position of the syllable, rather they are split into two syllables, as coda of previous syllable and onset of the following syllable.

**Geminates**

Consonant	Word With Gemination	Gloss
p	<i>əp.pa.vi</i>	innocent
b	<i>rub.bə.ɳe</i>	grind
t	<i>dʒət.tə.nə</i>	preserve
	<i>nit.tə.ɟə</i>	clear
	<i>pət.tə.ɟə</i>	thin/liquid/watery
d	<i>fud.də</i>	pure



k	<i>hək.kə</i>	right
	<i>lok.ku.rə</i>	hurry
	<i>ʈfok.ko.ʈə</i>	nice
g	<i>əg.gi</i>	all
l	<i>kʰal.le</i>	below
ʟ	<i>həl.ʟu</i>	slowly
j	<i>təj.jar</i>	ready
n	<i>ən.nə</i>	food
ŋ	<i>əŋ.ŋa</i>	elder brother

**Table 4.20**    **Geminates in TM**

Section 4.6.1 a, 4.6.1 b and 4.7.2 Type 2 (d) also present examples of geminates in TM.

ii.    Non-Geminates: General

Consonant clusters freely occur in the medial position.

c)    Word-final consonant clusters are not allowed in TM.

In this case, TM shares this feature with Dravidian languages. SM, otherwise, have a few word-final consonant clusters.

#### **4.6    Phonological Processes**

As we have described the vowel and consonant segments in TM, in this section, we will elaborate on the phonological processes that are observed in TM.

The concept of phoneme is the most central phonological concept in Basic Linguistic theory. Identifying the phonemes in a language remains the most fundamental task in describing the phonology of a language. However, generative phonology has also influenced BLT.

Language descriptions often find the generative notion of phonological rule useful. The descriptive methods of the phonological theories like autosegmental theory have proven useful for descriptive linguists.

If we maintain the linear approaches of phonological representation such as distinctive features or natural phonology where phonological properties are transmitted from one segment to another, certain sorts of generalisations in TM phonology may not be captured. Therefore, to analyse assimilation based phonological processes in TM, we take non-linear approach such as feature geometry (Clements 1985) and autosegmental phonology (Goldsmith 1976) where the features are considered as the basic units of phonological representation and features on the upper tier are referred to as *autosegments* that are superimposed on the *segmental* tier by *association*.

As highlighted by Katamba (1989: 36), by highlighting each articulatory parameter and singling out the sub-phonemic particles (i.e. distinctive features as described by Chomsky & Halle, 1968) which phonemes are made up of, this approach is capable of treating assimilation insightfully as an instance of spreading of distinctive features. Clements (1985) and Sagey (1986) have proposed a general model of feature organization in which features that regularly function together as a unit in phonological rules are grouped in constituents. Within feature geometry model, assimilation rules are characterised as the spreading of a feature or node F of segment A to a neighbouring segment B. Distinctive features facilitate the statement of assimilation processes by highlighting the various separate gestures involved in the production of speech.

Changes in sounds of TM within a word or between two words because of synchronic or diachronic processes are dealt with in this section<sup>35</sup>.

## **Assimilation based phonological processes**

### **4.6.1 Assimilation**

Assimilation processes is a phonological processes whereby one sound changes to become more like some other sound in its environment (Katamba 1989: 36). This can occur either within a word or between words. Assimilation is a productive process in TM. A few

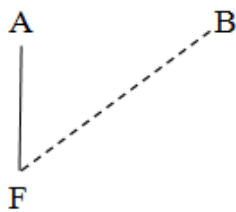
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<sup>35</sup> Clements, G. N. & Elizabeth Hume, 1995. "The Internal Organization of Speech Sounds" In John Goldsmith, ed., *Handbook of Phonological Theory*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, Oxford, pp. 245-306

examples of Assimilation in TM are given below. Directionality is an important concept in case of assimilation. As discussed by Katamba (1989: 84), a sound may become more like either the sound that **precedes** it or the sound that **follows** it. In the feature geometry model, assimilation rules are characterised as the association (or ‘spreading’) of a feature or node F of segment A to a neighbouring segment B.

**a. Progressive Assimilation**

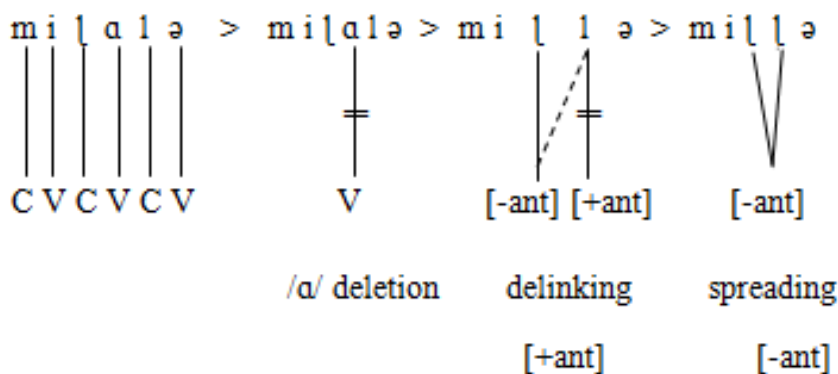
If a sound becomes more like the sound that precedes it, the process is called progressive assimilation.



**Figure 4.2 Progressive Assimilation Representation**

F is feature that is associated with the segment A. B is the segment having different features. In the case of progressive assimilation, the feature F spreads to the following segment B making B more like A.

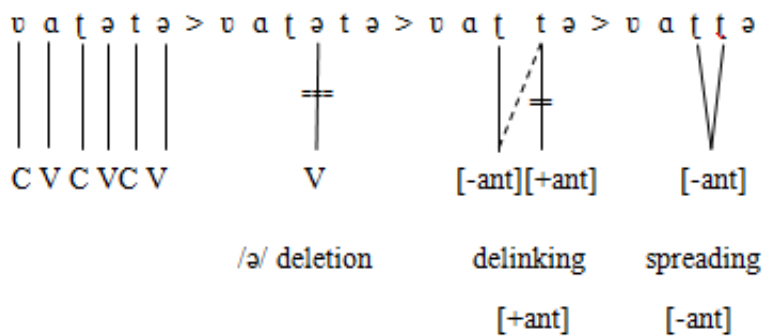
*miʎalə* ‘received’ → [miʎə]



**Figure 4.3 Spreading Rule for Word *miʎalə* ‘get-PST’**

In the above example, rule is that lateral approximant [l] will assimilate to retroflex lateral approximant [ɭ]. The segments are presented in terms of their distinctive features (Katamba 1989: 54-55). Hence, the rule is after the deletion of intermediate vowel [a], [+anterior] coronal gets delinked with its feature and assimilates with [-anterior] coronal. That is the feature [-ant] is spreading to the following segment making it similar to it.

*vaɭəɭə* ‘feel’ → [vaɭɭə]

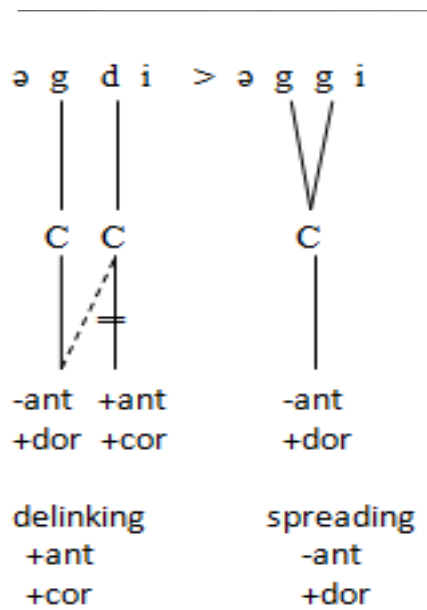


**Figure 4.4 Spreading Rule for the Word *vaɭəɭə* ‘feel-PRS’**

In the above example, rule is that alveolar voiceless stop [t] will assimilate to retroflex voiceless stop [ɭ]. The segments are presented in terms of their distinctive features (Katamba 1989: 54-55). Hence, the rule is after the deletion of intermediate vowel [ə], [+anterior] coronal gets delinked with its feature and assimilates with [-anterior] coronal. That is the feature [-ant] is spreading to the following segment making it similar to it.

In these two cases, the rule spread only feature(s) that are not already specified in the target, it applies in a feature-filling mode. l →ɭ, t→ɭ are the cases of retroflexion as an assimilatory process where l becomes ɭ after l and t becomes ɭ after t.

*əgdi* → 'all/every → [əggi]



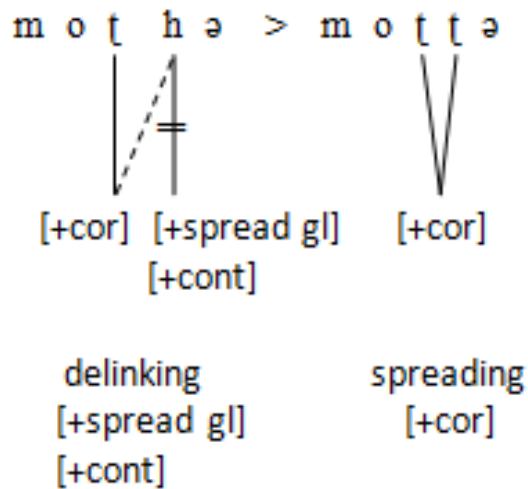
**Figure 4.5** Spreading Rule for the Word *əggi* ‘all’

In the above example, rule is that alveolar voiced stop [d] will assimilate to velar voiced stop [g]. The segments are presented in terms of their distinctive features (Hayes 2009: 95-97). Hence, the rule is [+anterior] coronal gets delinked with its feature and assimilates with [-anterior] [+dorsal]. That is the feature [-ant][+dor] is spreading to the following segment making it similar to it.

d→g is the case of velarization.

In all these examples, place feature of trigger is spreading to target segment.

*moʔhə* 'big' → [moʔtə]



**Figure 4.6 Spreading Rule for the Word *moʔhə* 'big'**

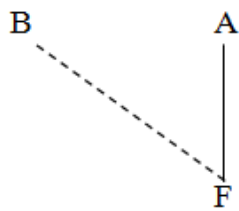
In the above example, rule is that glottal fricative [h] will assimilate to retroflex voiceless stop [t]. The segments are presented in terms of their distinctive features (Hayes 2009: 95-97). Hence, the rule is [+spread gl] continuant gets delinked with its feature and assimilates with [+coronal]. That is the feature [+cor] is spreading to the following segment making it similar to it.

*koʔhə* 'where' → [koʔtə]

In case of examples of this kind, if the root node spreads, the affected segment will acquire all the features of the trigger. It is complete or total assimilation that gives the effect of deletion with compensatory lengthening.

#### **b. Regressive Assimilation**

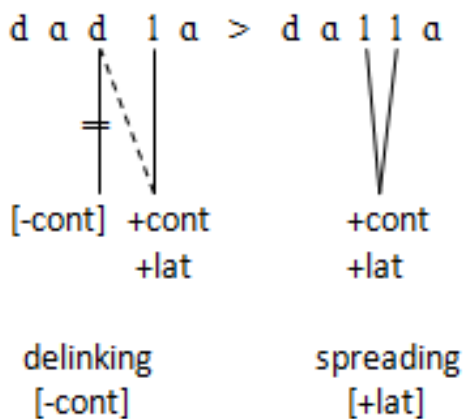
If a sound is modified so that it becomes more like the sound that follows it, the process is called regressive assimilation. The change operates backward.



**Figure 4.7 Regressive Assimilation Representation**

F is feature that is associated with the segment A. B is the segment having different features. In the case of regressive assimilation, the feature F spreads to the preceding segment B making B more like A.

*dadla* 'husband' → [dɔlla]



**Figure 4.8 Spreading rule for the word *dadla* 'husband'**

In the above example, rule is that alveolar voiced stop [d] will assimilate to lateral approximant [l]. The segments are presented in terms of their distinctive features (Katamba 1989: 54-55). Hence, the rule is [-continuant] gets delinked with its feature and assimilates with [+continuant][+lateral]. That is the feature [+cont][+lat] is spreading to the preceding segment making it similar to it.

It is the case of manner assimilation where dental plosive changes to dental lateral approximant. This is also feature-filling mode of assimilation.

c. *tonq-lavne* ‘side dish’ → [tō[lavne]

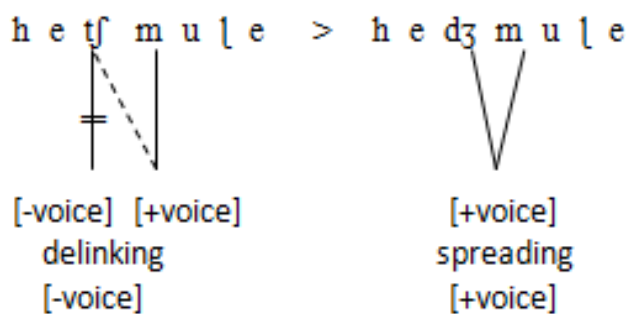
It is the case of place and manner assimilation, where dental lateral approximant [l] changes to [ʎ] retroflex lateral approximant to match the place of articulation of the previous segment [d] and [d] retroflex plosive changes to [ʎ] retroflex lateral approximant to match the manner of articulation of the later.

**d. Voice Assimilation**

Katamba (1989: 88) has discussed voice assimilation process in details. It is fact that speech is a continuum. Therefore, the process of putting the vocal cords close together to produce voicing or keeping them wide apart to produce voicelessness is not always perfectly synchronised with other articulatory gestures. This may mean voicing spilling over into an adjacent segment.

These are the cases of single-feature assimilation, where only a terminal feature spreads.

*hetʃmuʎe* ‘because of this’ → [hedʒmuʎe]



**Figure 4.9 Spreading rule for the word *hedʒmuʎe* ‘because of this’**

In the above example, rule is that voiceless palatal affricate [tʃ] becomes voiced preceding nasal. The segments are presented in terms of their distinctive features (Katamba 1989: 54-55). Hence, the rule is [-voice] gets delinked with its feature and assimilates with [+voice]. That is the feature [+voice] is spreading to the preceding segment changing its one feature.

*veŋkodʒi* ‘name of the king’ → [veŋgodʒi]

*səŋkranti* ‘name of a festival’ → [səŋgrandi]



These examples show similar process as explained in case of [hetʃmu[e].

#### 4.6.2 Approximant-Nasal Consonant Change in TM

There are cases where nasalized vowel is deleted before a labio-dental approximant /v/, and /v/ changes to /m/. That is, the feature nasal shifts from the vowel to the following labio-dental approximant. This can be treated as the assimilation of the place of articulation.

The rule can be stated as follows:

[ãv] → [am] / V \_\_

For example,

[saŋgãvə] ‘tell-IMP’ → [saŋgamə]

[tʰiŋgãvə] ‘keep-IMP’ → [tʰiŋgamə]

[kẽv<sup>h</sup>ahi] ‘whenever’ → [kəmmai]

This process is unidirectional. labio-dental/ bilabial approximant followed by a nasal vowel becomes bilabial nasal. However, it is not true in reverse order.

#### Phonological Processes Based on Syllable Structure

As seen in section 4.5.1, CV is the preferred syllable structure in TM. It is observed that the function of many rules is to maximise preferred CV syllables.

#### 4.6.3 Monophthongization

Section 4.3.3.2, where distribution of diphthongs in TM is discussed, observes that diphthongs at word final position are rarely allowed in native TM lexicon. Monophthongization is a sound change by which a diphthong becomes monophthong as a type of vowel shift. In the case of TM, Word Final Monophthongization of Diphthong is observed in Case of Tamil borrowed vocabulary.

The diphthong may change to monophthong by dropping of the second element where the first element may change its quality, as in the case of TM.

əi → ə/ \_\_\_#            or            əi → e/ \_\_\_#

[əi] becomes [ə] or [e] word finally in case of borrowed words especially Tamil borrowed words<sup>36</sup>.

Examples:

[parvəi] ‘eyesight’ → [parve]

[əɖiməi] ‘slave’ → [əɖime]

[əkkərəi] ‘eagerness’ → [əkkəre]

[norəi] ‘foam’ → [norə]

#### 4.6.4 Epenthesis

Epenthesis of a vowel, or anaptyxis, is also known by the Sanskrit term *svarabhakti*. Many languages insert a so-called *prop vowel* at the end of a word to avoid the loss of a non-permitted cluster. This cluster can come about by a change in the phonotactics of the language so final clusters are no longer permitted. It is a characteristic feature of Thanjavur Marathi that there is a process of schwa insertion whenever any word ends with a consonant.

Example:

SM	TM	Gloss
<i>paʃ</i>	<i>paʃə</i>	wooden plank to sit
<i>baɸ</i>	<i>baɸə</i>	father
<i>maj</i>	<i>majə</i>	mother
<i>undir</i>	<i>undirə</i>	mouse
<i>k<sup>h</sup>amb</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ambə</i>	pole
<i>ləhan</i>	<i>l<sup>h</sup>anə</i>	small

Table 4.21 Epenthesis in TM

<sup>36</sup> In the evolution of MIA, there are evidences of historical process called *Səmprəsarəṇə* where sanskrit clusters -aja- and -ava- were reduced to monosyllabic/monophthongal e and o which are long vowels. Same process seems to be applied in TM while borrowing -ai # ending words from Tamil.

This process is also observed in adopting loanwords in TM.

#### 4.6.5 Elision

In linguistics, the process of not pronouncing a sound segment that might be present in the deliberately careful pronunciation of a word in isolation is described as elision (Yule 2010). Following are the instances of elision in TM.

*sark<sup>h</sup>ə* ‘like’ → [skə]

*rahto* ‘stay’ → [r<sup>h</sup>ato]

Elision in TM needs further investigation in terms of stress and syllable structure.

#### Some irregular processes

##### 4.6.6 Lenition: **b** → **v** in some instances

Lenition involves changes in the manner of articulation, sometimes accompanied by small changes in place of articulation. There are two main lenition pathways: opening and sonorization. In both cases, a stronger sound becomes a weaker one. Lenition can be seen as a movement on the sonority hierarchy from less sonorous to more sonorous, or on a strength hierarchy from stronger to weaker. The sonorization type involves voicing. Sonorizing lenition involves several sound changes: voicing, approximation, and vocalization.

In the case of TM, [b] is sometimes, but not always, realised as[v]. This is the case of approximation, where voiced bilabial plosive [b] is realised as voiced labio-dental approximant.

[gəribə] ‘poor’ → [gərivə]

[kuŋbi] ‘farmer’ → [kuŋvi]

[təbəkə] ‘plate’ → [təvəkə]

[gərb<sup>h</sup>arə] ‘pregnant’ → [gərvə]

##### 4.6.7 /d/ and /dʒ/ are used interchangeably in few contexts.

*mandərə* ‘cat’ → [mandʒərə]

*dʒəttənə* ‘preserve’ → [dəttənə]

*dʒənə* 'people' → [dənə]

*divjə* 'bright' → [dʒivjə]

It should be noted that this is not a regular process. There are many lexical items where [d] and [dʒ] are not interchangeably used.

#### 4.6.8 Sandhi

Sandhi is a cover term for a wide variety of phonological processes that occur at morpheme or word boundaries (thus belonging to Morphophonology). Examples include the fusion of sound across word boundaries, as its name implies, and the alteration of sounds from nearby sounds or the grammatical function of adjacent words. For the current description of Sandhi in TM, the representation in the framework of SPE (1968) is found easily understandable. Therefore, Sandhi examples in TM are elaborated with the help of linear rules.

Examples of vowel Sandhi

a) Internal Sandhi: Within word (at morphological boundary)

**[ho+unə] → [hũ:]**

Rule I – word final ə is deleted [ho+unØ]

Rule II – Compensatory lengthening of preceding syllabic u [ho+u:n]

Rule III - [o+u:] → [u:] [hu:n]

Rule IV - [V + nasal] → nasalised vowel [hũ:n]

Rule V - coda of word final syllable is dropped. [hũ:]

**[ni<sup>g</sup>+unə] → [nũ:]**

Rule I - word final ə is deleted [ni<sup>g</sup>+un]

Rule II – compensatory lengthening of preceding syllabic u [ni<sup>g</sup>+u:n]

Rule III - Elision of g<sup>h</sup> [ni+u:n]

Rule IV - [i +u] → [u:] [nu:n]

Rule V - [V + nasal] → nasalised vowel [nũ:n]

Rule VI - coda of word final syllable is dropped. [nũ:]

b) External: at word boundary

[ãŋɫlõ] + [aje] → [ãŋɫlõjə]  
[õ + a] → [õ]

[ale] + [ote] → [alote]  
[e + o] → [o]

[kiti] + [ekda] → [kite:kda]  
[i + e] → [e:]

Similar cases in SM, are accompanied by glide insertion at a word boundary. Such as

*kiti + ek → kitjek, aŋle + hote → aŋlevte*

Thus, the cases, where [o] is involved have [v] insertion and where [i] is involved have [j] insertion. However, such glide insertion does not take place in case of TM. The resultant vowel is lengthened in all cases.

In case of IA languages,

V1+V2 → V2 is general tendency. However, TM shows another pattern also where V1+V2 → V1

It is important to analyse why this inverse process happens in TM. It needs further investigation to check the role of nature of vowels involved in this process.

#### 4.7 The Distribution of Aspirated Consonants and /h/ in TM

Ladefoged (2001) has discussed this class under three different headings. Voiceless aspirated stops, breathy-voiced stops and voiced glottal fricative (p.57). Aspiration is common in the environment where [h] is present.

### 4.7.1 Case of TM

It is interesting to note that the status of aspiration in TM is not stable. There is phonetic variation in the data from category A (Informants with no Hindi/ Standard Marathi/ Sanskrit background), Category B (Informants with the knowledge of Tamil, and Hindi /Sanskrit along with TM), and category C (Informants with the knowledge of Tamil, Standard Marathi along with TM). Often in spontaneous speech, the voiced aspirates lose their aspiration in all the places – word initial, medial, and final. However, it has been noticed that some speakers keep aspiration in particular positions. Both realizations are frequent in TM. In the case of voiceless aspirates, and aspirated affricates, the general tendency is to retain aspiration word initially, medially, and finally. However, variation exists here too.

This section will try to see the distribution of aspirated consonants and /h/ in TM.

### 4.7.2 Corpus of TM

**Type 1** /h/ word initially either remains unchanged (stable) or may get dropped.

Gloss

*himə* snow

*hətti* Elephant

*hifobə* Account

*hāsu* smile

*həllu* slow

*hedzmuɽe* because

*he* this

*hoilə* happen-prs.

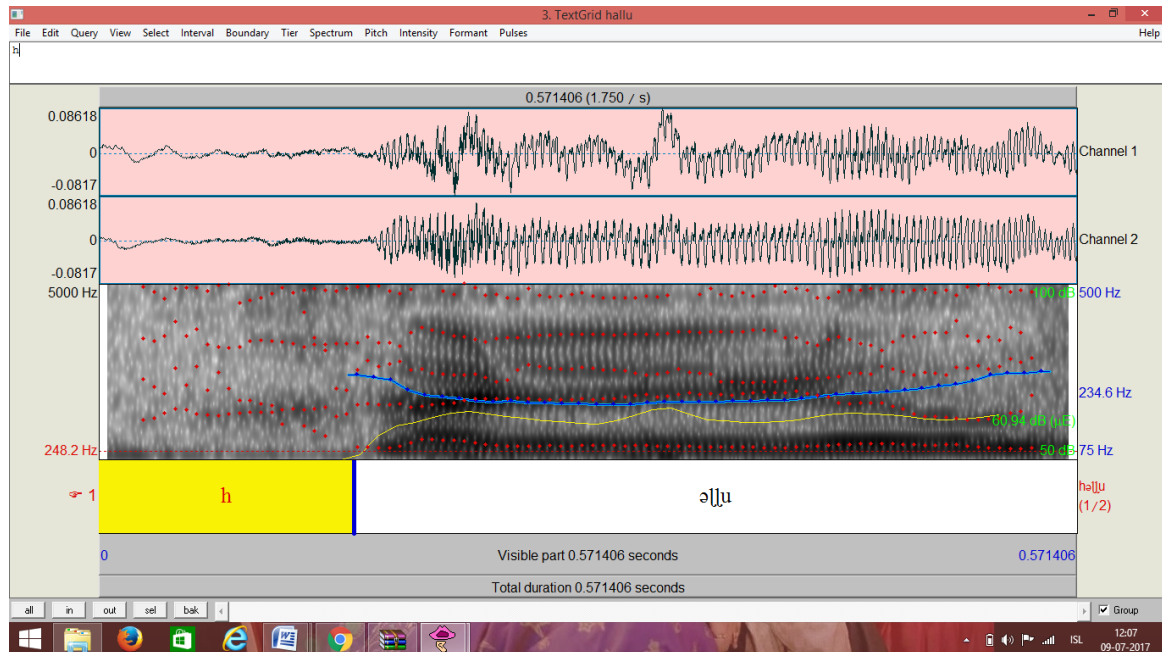
All the examples that are given under type 1 and other tokens where the [h] is word-initial consonant, it is either retained or dropped. Thus, following forms are possible for the above mentioned words beginning with [h]

*himə* → [himə]/ [Ø imə]

*hætti* → [hætti]/ [∅ ætti]

*hifobə* → [hifobə]/ [∅ ifobə]

*həllu* → [həllu]/ [∅ əllu]



**Figure 4.10** Spectrogram of the word *həllu*

The above spectrogram is of TM word *həllu*. /h/ is the glottal fricative, which is voiceless at the beginning of the word. Before the voicing of the following vowel, word initial [h] is seen as the faint bands of the voiceless vowel's formants. However, there is 'no voicing bar' for /h/.

*hedzmuɛ* → [hedzmuɛ]/ [∅ edzmuɛ]

*he* → [he]/ [∅ e]

*hoilə* → [hoilə]/ [∅ oilə]

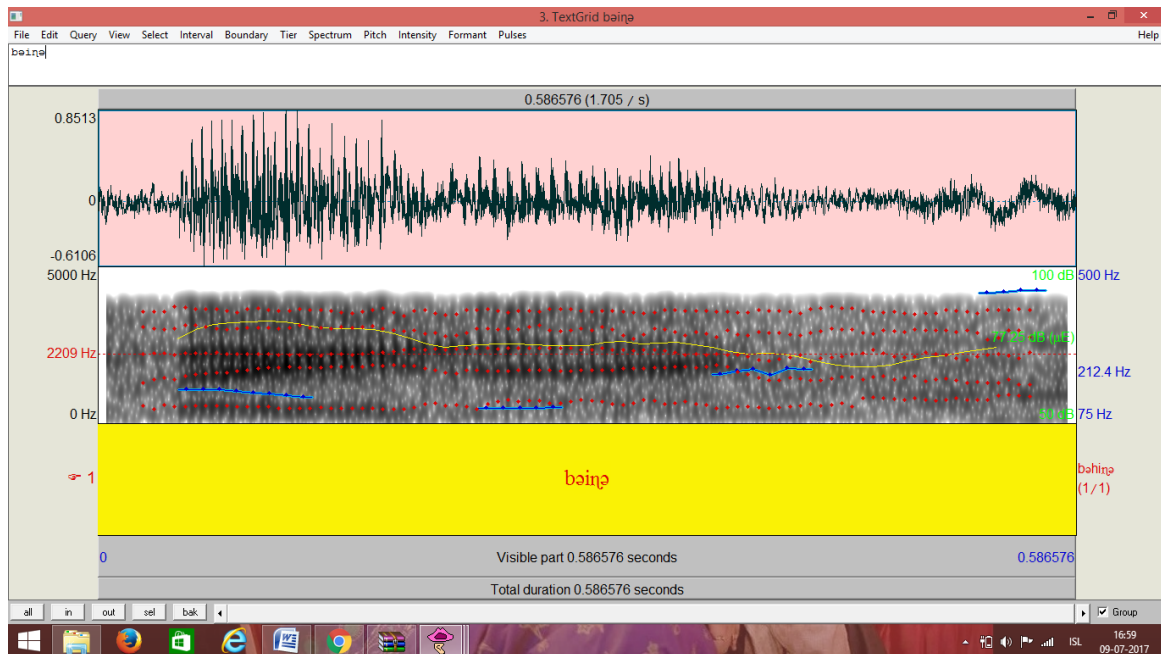
However, in case of *hāsu*, it does not drop [h] as [āsu] is another lexical item in TM, which means cry.

**Type 2** /h/ word medially is either dropped or replaced with [j] (Glide insertion) or redistributed with preceding consonant forming aspirated consonant or gets assimilated with preceding plosive forming gemination or pronounced as [g]

There are five different sets of examples that are observed in TM data where h in word medial position behaves in different ways. These patterns are described below.

a. /h/ is dropped

*bāhiṇā* → *bāḷiṇā*                      Sister



**Figure 4.11** Spectrogram of the word *bāhiṇā*

The above spectrogram is of TM word *bāhiṇā*. The initial [b] –voiced stop is represented by vertical striations. There is continuous pronunciation of two vowel [ə] and [i] that is visible in spectrogram. If there was presence of /h/ between two vowels, it would have been marked by delay of the VOT for following vowel. However, the spectrogram is evident of continuous voicing only with change in the place of articulation. It shows that, in case of given word, /h/ is deleted word initially.

*lihilā* → *liḷil*                      will write

*suhasini* → *suḷasini*                      woman with nice smile

As it is observed in the case of word-initial h, in the aforementioned set of examples, intervocalic h gets dropped.

b. Replaced with [j]

*pahina* → *pajina*                      not seeing



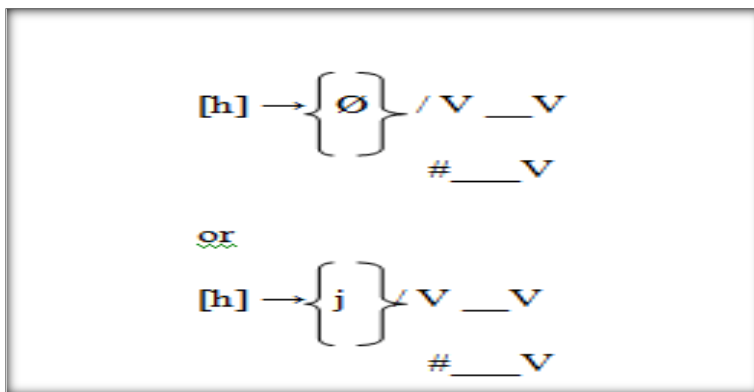
*ahe* → *aje*                      to be

*nahi* → *naji*                      to be (negation)

In some cases, intervocalic [h] gets dropped. The ∅ position is then occupied by glide [j]. Insertion of glide between vowels can be seen as the process in TM to break the hiatus. Further investigation is required to see in which cases the glide insertion is allowed.

Based on the above two cases, /h/ Deletion/ Substitution Rule can be stated as below.

Word-medial and initial /h/ is either deleted or replaced by /j/ inter-vocalically.



**Figure 4.12** /h/ Deletion/ Substitution Rule in TM

The above figure is linear representation of rule for [h] deletion or substitution.

In the first rule, [h] is deleted in intervocalic position or word initial position.

In the second rule, [h] is replaced by [j] in the intervocalic position or word initial position.

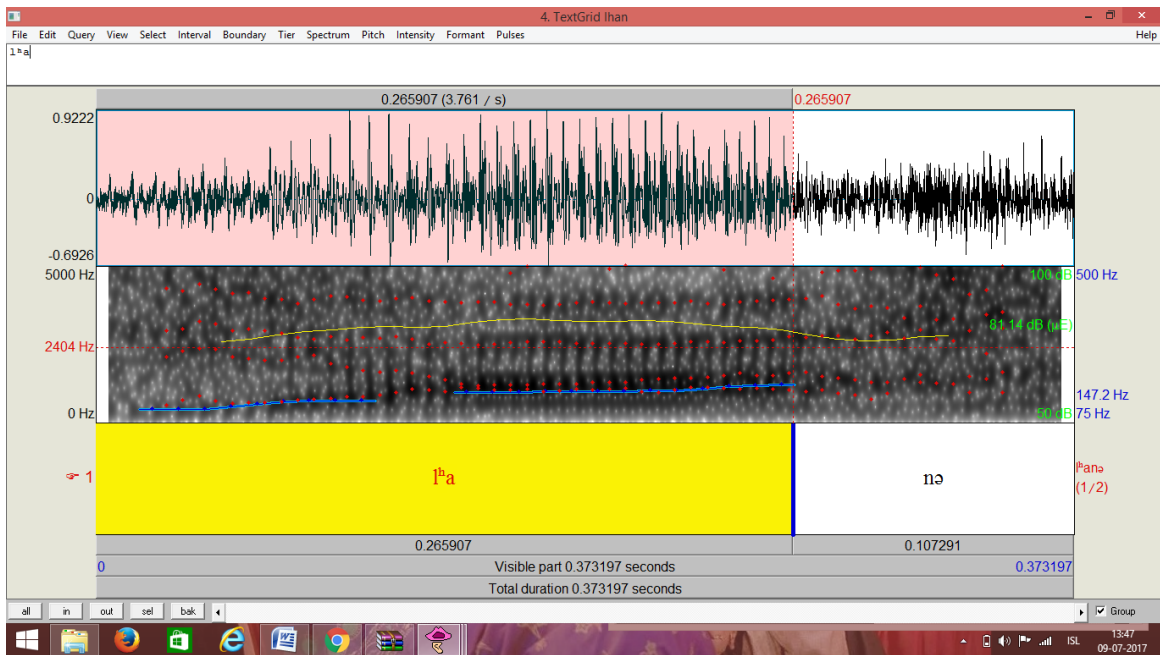
c.        redistributed with preceding consonant forming aspirated consonant

*pāhətə* → *p<sup>h</sup>ātə*                      while watching

*kəhaŋi* → *k<sup>h</sup>aŋi*                      Story

*tʃəhaɖi* → *tʃ<sup>h</sup>aɖi*                      complaint

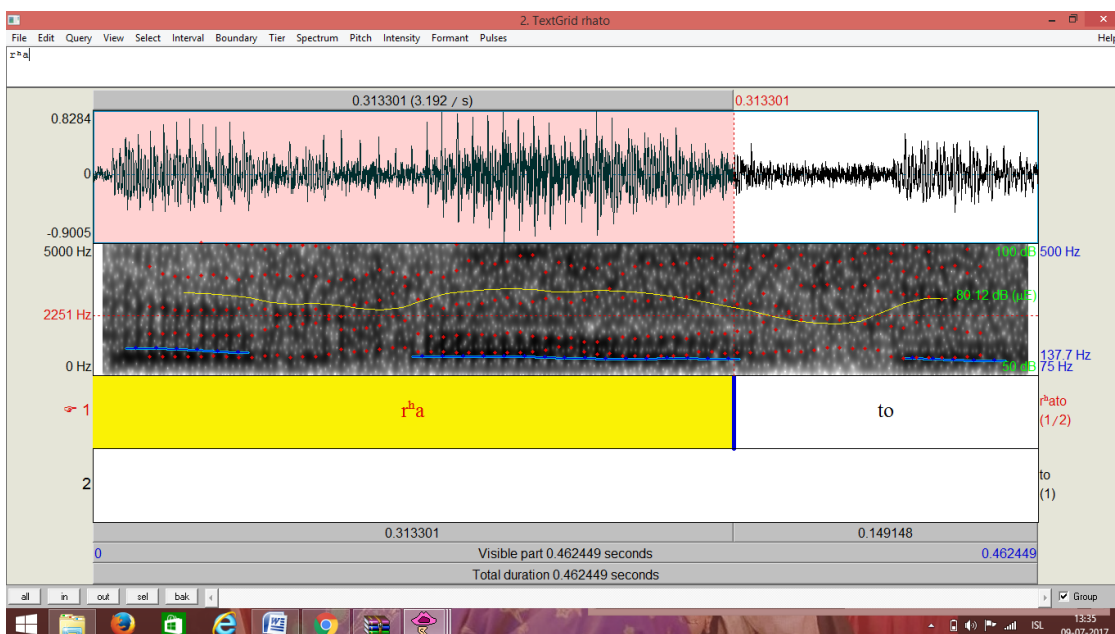
*ləhanə* → *l<sup>h</sup>anə*                      small



**Figure 4.13** Spectrogram of the word *lahana*

The above spectrogram is representation of TM word *l<sup>h</sup>ana*. The sound [h] is realised as aspiration on the lateral approximant [l].

*rahto* → *r<sup>h</sup>ato* stays



**Figure 4.14** Spectrogram of the word *rahto*

The above spectrogram is representation of TM word *r<sup>h</sup>ato*. the sound [h] is realised as aspiration on the rhotics [r].

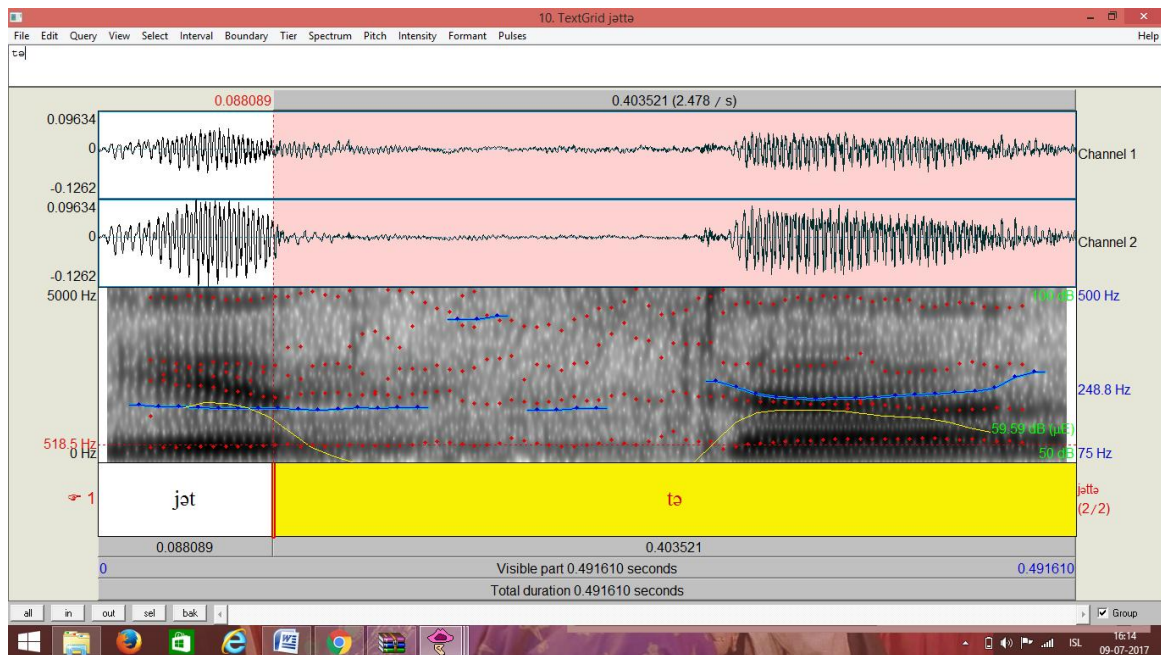
In the above examples, the nucleus (vowel) of the first syllable is dropped. [h] at onset position of the second syllable is redistributed with the onset of the first syllable making it an aspirated consonant. the rest of the syllables remain unchanged.

This process is productive in SM too. Dhongade (2009:22), elaborates this process in SM. If the following vowel is [o], [h] is retained in SM. For example, *mohori* ‘mustard seeds’, *sohla* ‘celebration’, *mohra* ‘coins’, *kohla* ‘ash gourd’. If the following vowel is not [o] then [h] optionally fuses with the consonant of the preceding syllable. The result is that that consonant gets aspiration if it is a voiced non-aspirated consonant.

For example, *mahit* → *m<sup>h</sup>ait*          known  
*nahto* → *n<sup>h</sup>ato*          take bath  
*baheh* → *b<sup>h</sup>aer*          outside

d.      h in consonant cluster Gets assimilated with preceding plosive forming gemination

*jetha* → *jəttə*          here



**Figure 4.15** Spectrogram of the word *jetha*

The above spectrogram represents the TM word *jəttə*. It is clearly visible that there is no burst representing [h] sound in the spectrogram. Voiceless alveolar stop [t] is observed in the gap between two vowel formants.

*motha* → *motta*      big/fat

*kotha* → *kotta*      where

*artha* → *artta*      meaning

In the above set of examples, h behaves as C+[h] consonant cluster occupying two moras and it is not treated as [C<sup>h</sup>]. Therefore, during the process of progressive assimilation, [h] in CC gets assimilated with the preceding consonant forming geminated consonant.

e.      Pronounced as [g]

*māhala* → *māgala*      palace

*rahila* → *ragila*      stayed

As we have seen in previous sub-sections, intervocalic [h] is mostly dropped or replaced by some other consonant in TM. In the case of Tamil, /h/ from Sanskrit borrowed words is pronounced as [g] (voiced Velar plosive). For instance,

*hārohāra*      ‘hail lord Shiva’      → *gārogāra*

*aharā*      ‘food’      → *agarā*

*mānohār*      ‘handsome’      → *mānogār*

The same process is observed in the speakers of category A due to the influence of Tamil language and ignorance of original lexical item.

**Type 3**      Voiceless aspirated consonants may or may not be de-aspirated in word-initial position.

*k<sup>h</sup>oli*      room

*k<sup>h</sup>āḍu*      chalk

*k<sup>h</sup>ambe*      Pole

*k<sup>h</sup>iḍki*      window

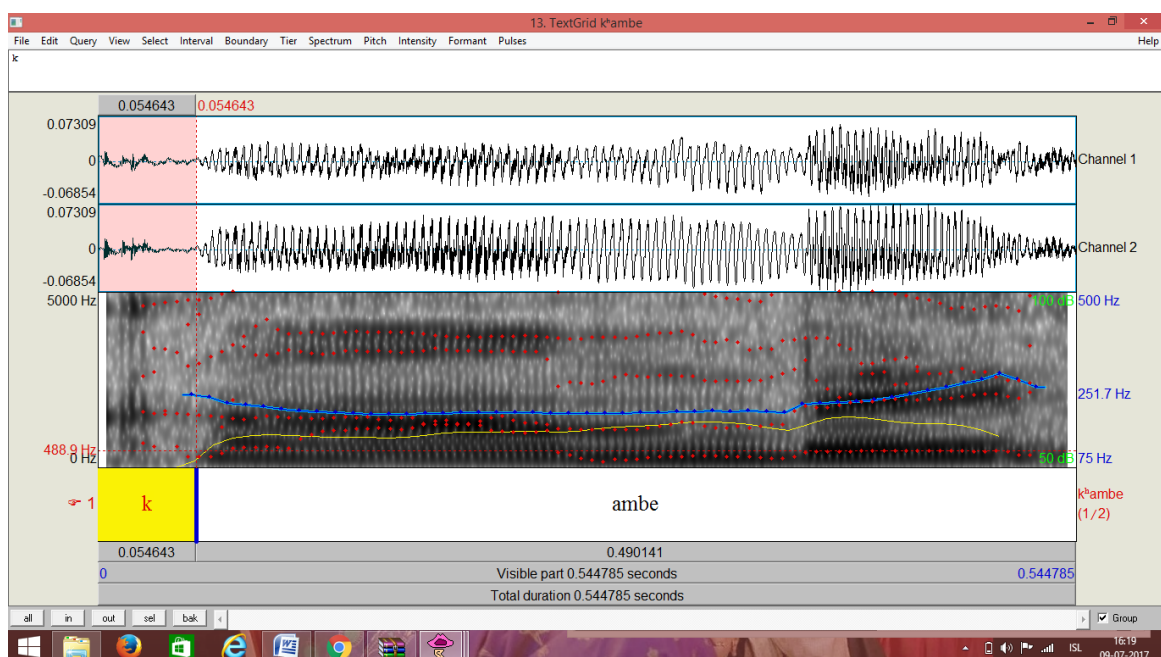
*k<sup>h</sup>itḥḍi*      a dish

*tʃ<sup>h</sup>ātri*      umbrella

<i>tʰorle</i>	elders
<i>tʰetfa</i>	name of a dish
<i>tʰamə</i>	place
<i>pʰəɖkə</i>	Cloth
<i>pʰətka</i>	torn
<i>pʰuŋkəŋi</i>	blower
<i>pʰarə</i>	very much
<i>pʰəlləm</i>	old currency

The general tendency in Indo-Aryan languages is to retain the aspiration of voiceless consonants at the word-initial position. In the case of TM, however, category B and C seems to retain the aspiration of voiceless consonants in word-initial position, whereas category A always drops the aspiration. In this sense, TM goes beyond the general tendency of IA languages. Therefore, in the case of category A,

<i>pʰəŋəsə</i>	→	<i>pəŋəsə</i>
<i>pʰəlləm</i>	→	<i>pəlləm</i>
<i>kʰambe</i>	→	<i>kambe</i>



### Figure 4.16 Spectrogram of the word *k<sup>h</sup>ambe*

The above spectrogram represents TM word *k<sup>h</sup>ambe*.

There is no aspiration accompanying initial velar voiceless stop [k].

**Type 4** In the word-medial intervocalic position, the voiceless aspirated stops generally retains aspiration. However, there are instances of de-aspiration too.

#### A. Native Vocabulary

*ok<sup>h</sup>ada* 'medicine'

*naŋk<sup>h</sup>ara* 'little'

*ra<sup>h</sup>a* 'ash'

*o<sup>h</sup>a* 'lips'

*sa<sup>h</sup>a* 'stock'

*ka<sup>h</sup>i* 'stick'

*me<sup>h</sup>i* 'fenugreek'

In the case of Category B and C, Aspiration in voiceless stops is generally retained. However, as seen in the data, intervocalic voiceless aspirated stops get de-aspirated in the case of Category A speakers. In this case, too, the influence of Tamil phonology can be clearly observed.

#### B. Borrowed Vocabulary

*ka<sup>h</sup>a* → *ka<sup>h</sup>a* 'cough'

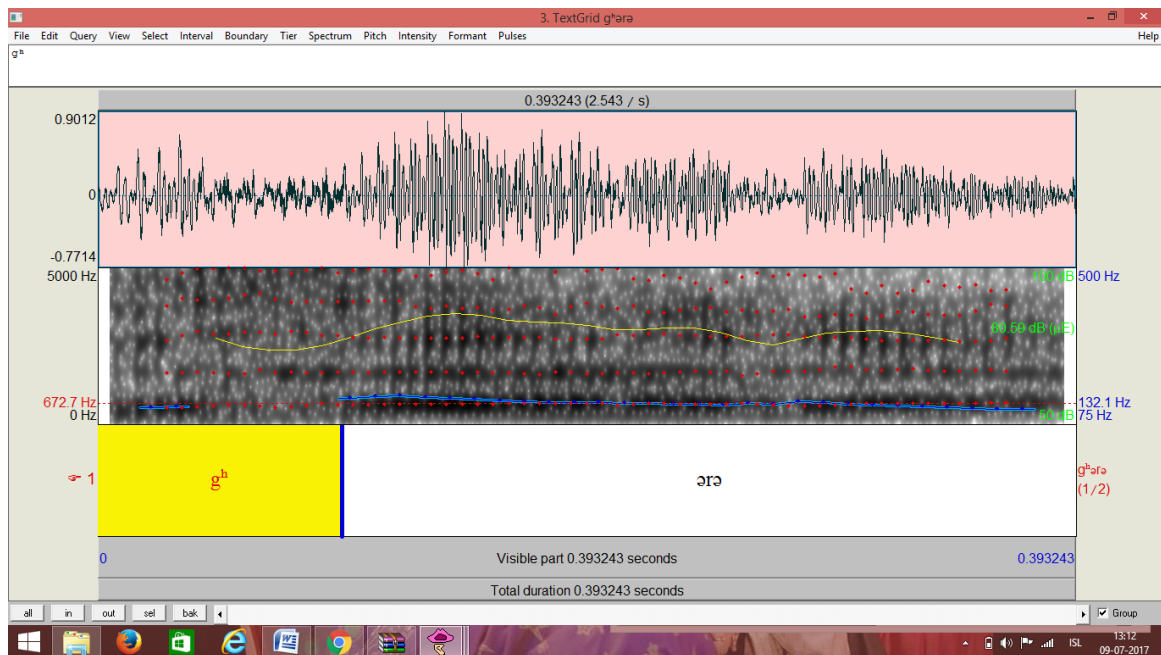
*ka<sup>h</sup>i* → *kapi* 'coffee'

The borrowed vocabulary from Tamil where there is the existence of intervocalic Voiceless aspirated stops, they are de-aspirated.

**Type 5** Voiced aspirated consonants are de-aspirated at word-initial as well as word medial position.

## A. Word Initial Position

*g<sup>h</sup>arə* → *garə* house



**Figure 4.17** Spectrogram of the word *g<sup>h</sup>arə*

The spectrogram above represents TM word *g<sup>h</sup>arə*. The breathy voiced [g<sup>h</sup>] is clearly visible at word initial position.

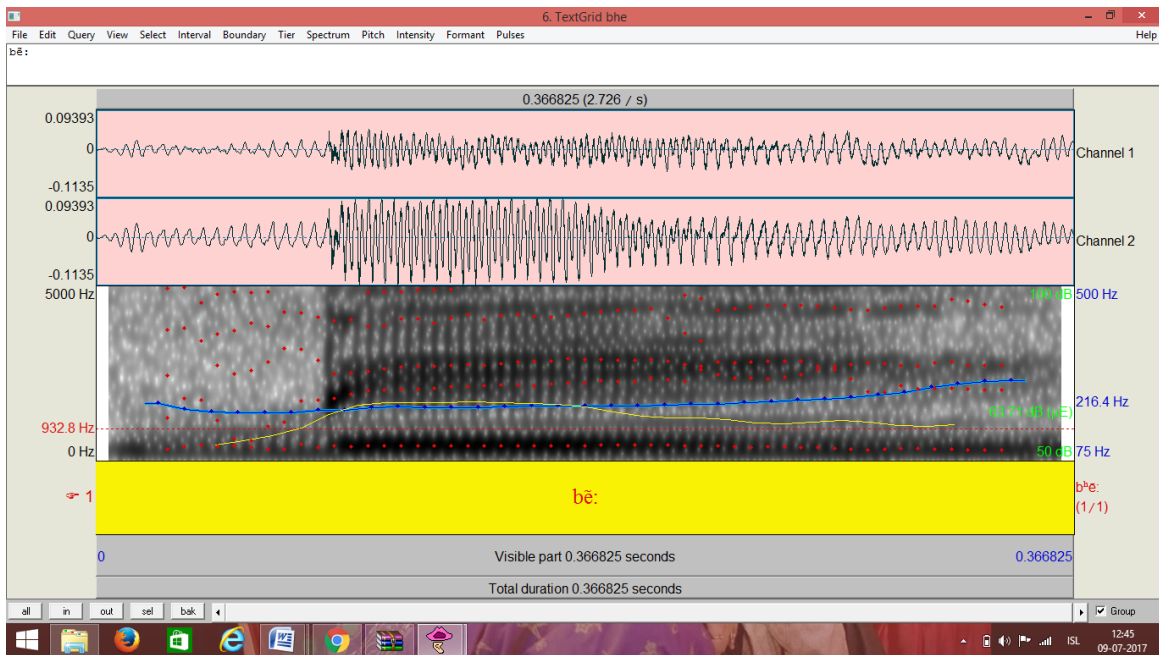
*g<sup>h</sup>ūsə* → *gūsə* female rat

*g<sup>h</sup>oŋtə* → *goŋtə* sip

*g<sup>h</sup>aŋə* → *gaŋə* stink

*b<sup>h</sup>atə* → *bətə* rice

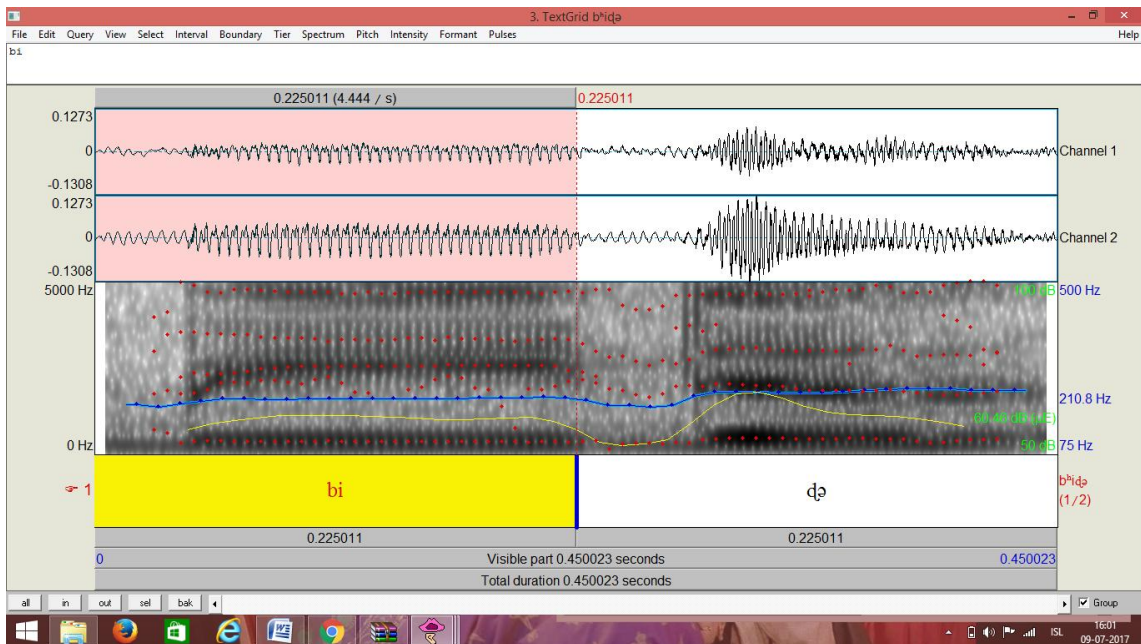
*b<sup>h</sup>ē* → *bē* fear



**Figure 4.18** Spectrogram of the word *b<sup>h</sup>ē*

The above spectrogram represents TM word *b<sup>h</sup>ē*. The initial sound is voiced labial stop [b] with no accompanying aspiration.

- b<sup>h</sup>ojə* → *bojə* land  
*b<sup>h</sup>arə* → *barə* load  
*b<sup>h</sup>iɖə* → *biɖə* shame



**Figure 4.19** Spectrogram of the word *b<sup>h</sup>iɖə*

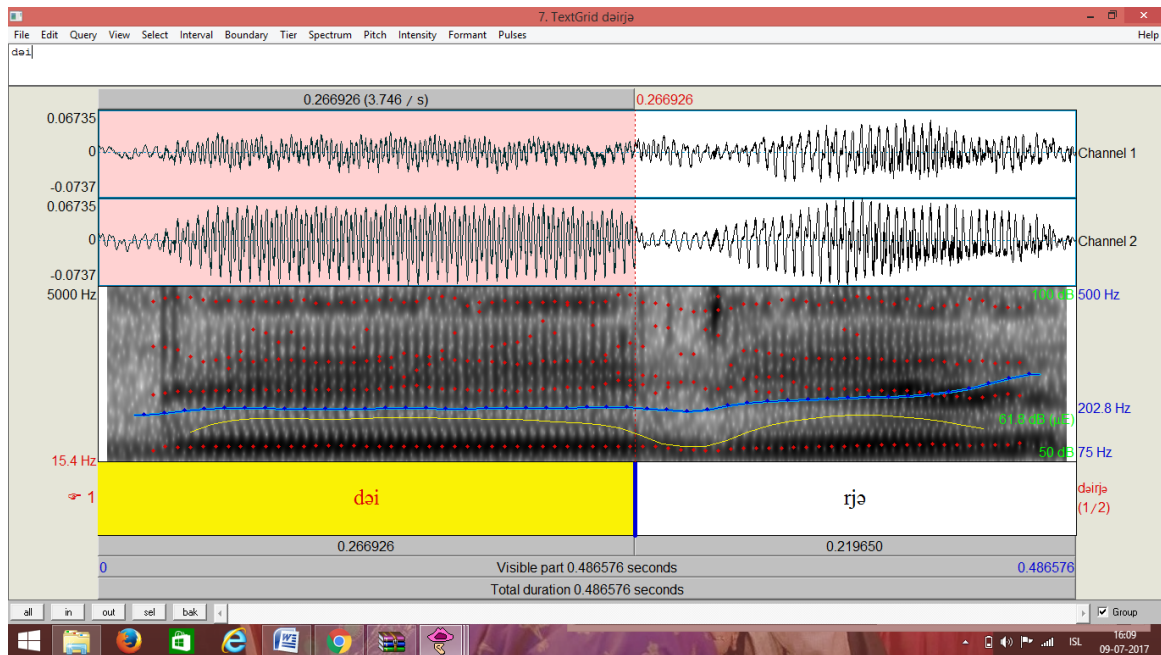


The above spectrogram represents TM word *b<sup>h</sup>idə*. The initial sound is voiced labial stop [b] with no accompanying aspiration.

*d<sup>h</sup>arə* → *darə*<sup>37</sup> sharp

*d<sup>h</sup>onɖa* → *donɖa* stone

*d<sup>h</sup>əirjə* → *dəirjə* courage



**Figure 4.20** Spectrogram of the word *d<sup>h</sup>əirjə*

The above spectrogram represents TM word *d<sup>h</sup>əirjə*. The initial sound is voiced alveolar stop [d] with no accompanying aspiration.

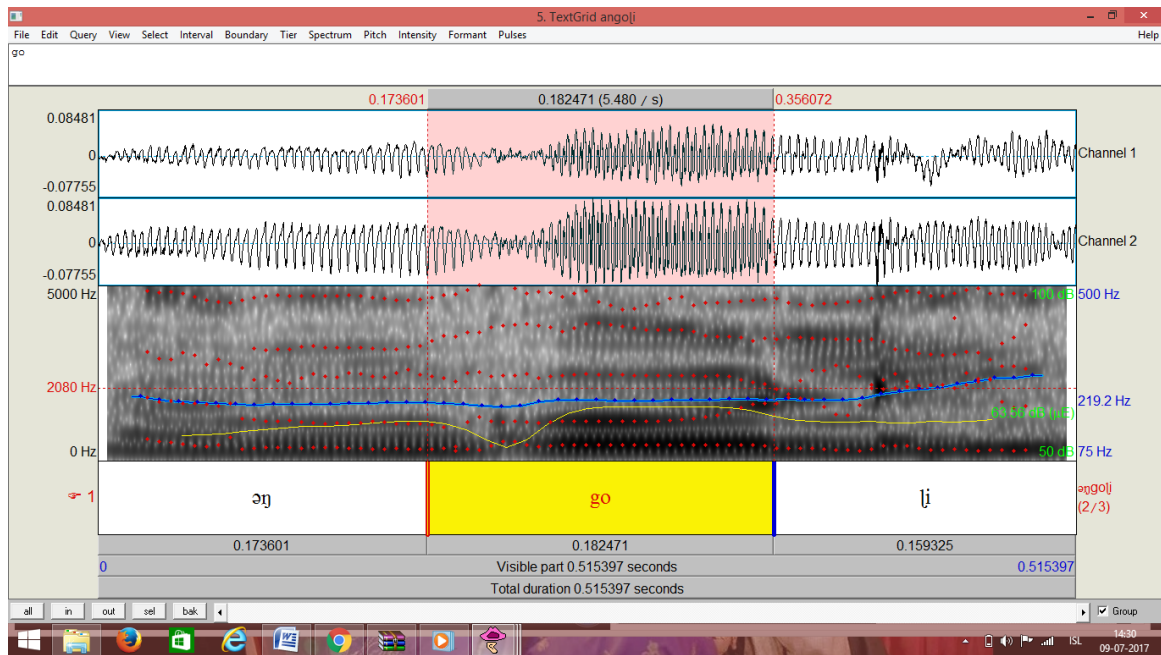
*d<sup>h</sup>əŋkuŋə* → *dəŋkuŋə* bedbug

*dʒ<sup>h</sup>adə* → *dʒadə* tree

## B. Word medial position

*aŋg<sup>h</sup>oli* → *aŋgoli* bath

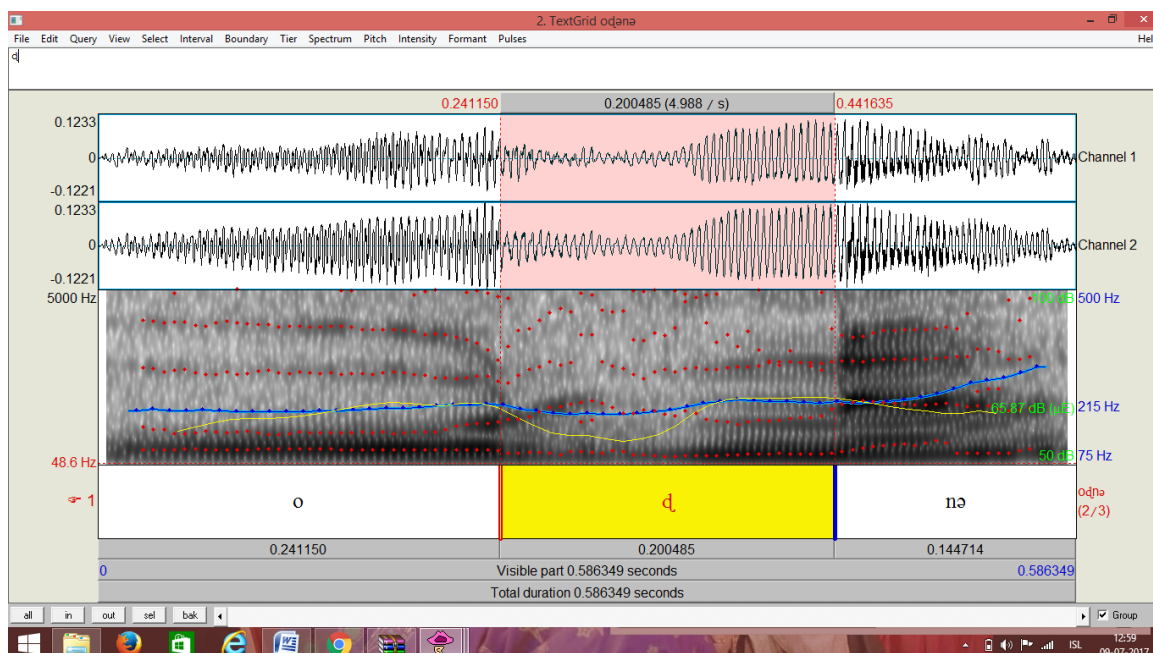
<sup>37</sup> *darə* in contemporary SM means door which is a Persian borrowed word. TM does not use that word but retains the old lexical item *kəuədə* which means door. This avoids confusion.



**Figure 4.21** Spectrogram of the word *angoli*

The above spectrogram represents TM word *angoli*. The medial sound is voiced velar stop [g] with no accompanying aspiration.

<i>vag<sup>h</sup>ə</i>	→	<i>vagə</i>	tiger
<i>dʒib<sup>h</sup>ə</i>	→	<i>dʒibə</i>	tongue
<i>gamb<sup>h</sup>irə</i>	→	<i>gambirə</i>	serious
<i>aramb<sup>h</sup>ə</i>	→	<i>arəmbə</i>	beginning
<i>əb<sup>h</sup>əjə</i>	→	<i>əbəjə</i>	protection
<i>sad<sup>h</sup>əkə</i>	→	<i>sadəkə</i>	worshipper
<i>ərd<sup>h</sup>ə</i>	→	<i>ərdə</i>	half
<i>puɖ<sup>h</sup>ə</i>	→	<i>puɖə</i>	next
<i>kevd<sup>h</sup>ə</i>	→	<i>kevdə</i>	how much
<i>oɖ<sup>h</sup>nə</i>	→	<i>oɖnə</i>	pull



**Figure 4.22** Spectrogram of the word *odʱnə*

The above spectrogram represents TM word *odʱnə*. The medial sound is voiced retroflex stop [d] with no accompanying aspiration.

*kəḍʱətə* → *kəḍətə* warm

*gəḍʱəvə* → *gəḍəvə* donkey

*kəḍʱi* → *kəḍi*<sup>38</sup> dish made with buttermilk

Voiced aspirated consonants are de-aspirated irrespective of their position. However, aspiration may be retained in the conscious speech of the speakers of category B and C.

### 4.7.3 Analysis

De-aspiration has a wider range than aspiration. In the case of SM, Dhongade (2009:22-23) mentions that all aspirated stops regularly and nasals optionally lose their aspiration word-medially or between the words when followed by consonants, especially stops.

Trubetzkoy (1939) discuss the neutralization, which eliminates contrasts between two or more phonological features in certain contexts. Clements (1985) discuss the rules of

<sup>38</sup> *kəḍi* in contemporary SM means latch. TM does not use that word but retains the old lexical item *konḍi*, which means latch. This avoids confusion.

debuccalization, which eliminates contrasts among vocal tract features. Rules of de-aspiration fall under this category. There is node delinking in case of laryngeal features.

It is important to note that the nature of aspiration shows a great variation in TM. Though generalisations are possible, the retention or loss of aspiration mostly depends upon the literacy and regional background of the speaker. The tendency is towards the loss of aspiration. However, it is perceived that there is range of phonetic realisations between [+ aspiration] and [- aspiration].

Thus, it is not  $A \rightarrow B$ , rather  $A \dots B$ <sup>39</sup>.

The further acoustic analysis is required to understand the nature of [+spread glottis] in TM.

#### **4.8 Loanword Phonology**

The term loanword refers to a word that enters a language through borrowing from some other language. Loanwords can be distinguished from native words in that native words derive from earlier historical stages of the language. Loanwords are of interest to phonologists for at least two reasons. First, the way in which the loanword is pronounced in the borrowing (or recipient) language is often quite different from its pronunciation in the original (or source) language. This is often because the word in the original language may contain sounds that do not occur in the recipient language. The way the loanword is actually pronounced in the recipient language may provide insights into the phonology of that language which would not otherwise be apparent from native words. Second, in many languages, loanwords have particular phonological characteristics that make them distinct from the native vocabulary.

Patterns that emerge in loanword adaptation often reveal aspects of native speakers' knowledge that are not necessarily obvious in the data of native language. Adaptation refers to processes to conform to the structural constraints of the borrowing language phonology. It is observed that some non-linguistic factors play important role in the loanword phonology<sup>40</sup>. They are as follows.

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<sup>39</sup> Clements & Khatiwada (2015) make use of ellipsis "...." to indicate gradient variation.

<sup>40</sup> [http://www.yoonjungkang.com/uploads/1/1/6/2/11625099/tbc\\_100.kang.pdf](http://www.yoonjungkang.com/uploads/1/1/6/2/11625099/tbc_100.kang.pdf)

**a) The role of Spelling Pronunciation (Orthography-Phonology Interface): -**

This factor is especially prominent when there is a shift from one alphabet to another. In the case of TM, there is a shift from Devanagari/ Modi to Tamil script (cf. 4.1.2.1). TM speakers are educated in Tamil medium and the same is used in all the public domains. Due to some socio-political reasons, they are not introduced to Devanagari script. It has been noted in the literature that literacy plays an important role in speakers' awareness of sounds. The outcome is visible through the instances where TM shows voicing and aspiration on the move. In future, It will be interesting to work on the cognitive issues related to effects of orthography on the phonology of TM.

**b) The frequency of Use: -**

Assimilation rate of a borrowing word depends upon how frequently it is used and how long it has been around in the language.

In addition to these, sociolinguistic factors such as age groups, the linguistic environment of the speaker, social and individual monolingualism and bilingualism, etc. also affect the loanword phonology.

Loanwords can be classified into two groups. Integrated loanwords are the words that have entered the lexicon of the borrowing language. Online adaptations are foreign words that are borrowed 'here- and -now'. In this section, integrated loanwords are being discussed.

**4.8.1 Loanwords in TM**

There are three sources of Loanwords in TM- Sanskrit, Tamil, and English. In this subsection, a few Loanwords from different sources are listed in order to see if there is some pattern in which TM treats loanwords from different sources.

**(a) Sanskrit loanwords:**

<b>Sanskrit</b>	<b>TM</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
<i>pruttʃʰə</i>	<i>pūnsə</i>	tail
<i>səpət̪ni</i>	<i>səpət̪ni</i>	co-wife
<i>bʰudʒa</i>	<i>bu:dʒə</i>	hand

<i>pʰələm</i>	<i>pəʃ</i>	fruit
<i>ləkfmi</i>	<i>ləʃfəmi</i>	goddess of wealth
<i>aradʰəna</i>	<i>aradəne</i>	worship

**Table 4.22 Loanwords from Sanskrit in TM**

(b) Tamil Loanwords

Tamil	TM	Gloss
<i>norəi</i>	<i>no:rə</i>	foam
<i>əʃiməi</i>	<i>əʃime</i>	slave
<i>əkkərəi</i>	<i>əkkəre</i>	caring
<i>əraʃʃəi</i>	<i>əre</i>	gossip
<i>koŋɖəi</i>	<i>koŋɖe</i>	hairstyle
<i>kuppəi</i>	<i>kuppa</i>	garbage
<i>kottəməlli</i>	<i>kottəməlli</i>	coriander
<i>əʃəmanə</i>	<i>əʃəmanə</i>	mortgage
<i>narə</i>	<i>narə</i>	plant fibre
<i>nəʃʃə</i>	<i>nəʃʃə</i>	pestering

**Table 4.23 Loanwords from Tamil in TM**

(c) English Loanwords

English	TM	Gloss
<i>ʃajərd</i>	<i>ʃajərdə</i>	tired

<i>kæp</i>	<i>kæpə</i>	cap
<i>bəl</i>	<i>bələ</i>	ball
<i>læntern</i>	<i>landər</i>	lantern

**Table 4.24 Loanwords from English in TM**

#### 4.8.2 Treatment to Loanwords

It is very interesting to observe how TM treats loanwords from Sanskrit, Tamil, and English.

A. Sanskrit tatbhava words that have been adopted historically from the mother language. In example, prutt<sup>hə</sup> becomes pūnsə, which is similar to the process happening in various Indo-Aryan languages.

B. Sanskrit tatsama words that have inherited without any modification as in the case of example *sapātni* form a part of TM vocabulary. Most of the vocabulary related to religious customs and rituals is of this kind.

C. Sanskrit words that are borrowed in Dravidian languages and those words are borrowed by TM. In the case of few words, though the words are Sanskrit origin, they are also part of everyday Tamil vocabulary. As mentioned in 4.8 b), TM speakers are acquainted with these vocabulary items as a part of Tamil lexicon. Thus, these words are pronounced in the way Tamilians pronounce them. In Example *b<sup>h</sup>udza*, *p<sup>h</sup>əlləm*, *lək<sup>f</sup>mi* and *arad<sup>h</sup>əna*, de-aspiration of aspirated consonants and Monophthongization of word-final diphthong is visible. In the case of word /arad<sup>h</sup>əna/, it is pronounced as [aradənəi] in Tamil. As we have seen in the discussion on monophthongisation, TM reduces word final diphthong [əi] from Tamil borrowed words to monophthong [e], the same logic is applied to the word arad<sup>h</sup>əna as they perceive it as aradənəi and reduce it to [aradəne].

D. A type of phenomena that has been noted about loanword phonology is that some languages seem to have phonological rules that apply only to loanwords of a particular type. In the examples such as *əkkərai*, *əraṭṭai* etc., the words end with diphthong [əi]. As we have already seen in the discussion on monophthongization rule is applied to this kind of Loanwords.

E. Most languages differ from one another in terms of their phonotactic patterning. Because of this difference, when a recipient language borrows words from a source language the loanwords may contain sequences of sounds that are not otherwise attested in the recipient language. In such a situation, either the loanword is modified to fit the phonotactic patterning of the recipient language, or it is not modified and so remains distinct from the native vocabulary. TM follows the second strategy in case of Tamil loan words where the words are not modified to match TM phonology. In the examples ending with ə such as ədəmanə, narə, etc. TM speakers retain the Tamil loanword as it is without any modification.

F. TM adopts the first of the two strategies mentioned in E, which is modifying borrowed word to fit native phonology, in the case of English loanwords. In the examples such as bələ, TM applies epenthesis rule, as seen in the discussion on phonological processes based on syllable structure, to match the phonotactic patterning.

G. Nativization of loanword is visible in the cases where the English word *laɲtərn* is Indianised. This process is seen in many Indo-Aryan languages.

#### **4.9 Discussion and Interpretation**

Before summarising this chapter, it is important to discuss and interpret the results based on the description of phonology of TM. This section will draw out key aspects of the literature that are studied as the background to this study and comment on how they are justified or contradicted in current research.

##### **4.9.1 Need for Categorical Analysis**

Based on the observations recorded in previous works and analysis of the primary data, it can be concluded that TM, on the segmental level, follows sound change rules of IA languages. It is true for many features that are previously interpreted as the influence of Tamil language (Dhanpalvar, 1997) are, rather, associated with the regular changes taking place during language internal development as suggested by Ranade (1988).

Different linguistic parameters are to be tested based on variation among three different categories as mentioned earlier. By doing so, all the three views presented regarding the development of TM from middle Marathi stand correct.

Category A, with no knowledge of SM or Devanagari script, where informants are permanently settled in core TM area such as Thanjavur and surrounding districts, exhibits



features such as complete loss of aspiration, no regularity in the use of voiced, voiceless, voiceless aspirated and breathy voiced.

Category B, with elementary knowledge of SM / Hindi/ Sanskrit/ Devanagari script along with Tamil/ Telugu/ Kannada, where informants have settled in more extended areas of population such as Bangalore, Chennai, Hyderabad, etc. exhibit continuously varying patterns of loss or retention of aspiration, loss or retention of voicing contrast, etc. In natural speech, the data of this category is close to the data of Category A. However, in conscious speech, this group tries to take help of knowledge of SM/ Sanskrit/Devanagari script to avoid the influence of Tamil language.

Category C, with fluency in SM as well as knowledge of Devanagari script, consciously produce the speech where there is minimal variation in case of aspiration and voicing.

Thus, it is important to make the description of TM keeping in mind the categorical variations within a language.

#### **4.9.2 Orthography-Phonology Correlation Problem**

In the section 4.1.1, we have proposed if the loss of orthography has resulted in the distinct phonology of TM. Current section is an attempt to find solution for the problem of orthography and phonology correlation in the case of TM.

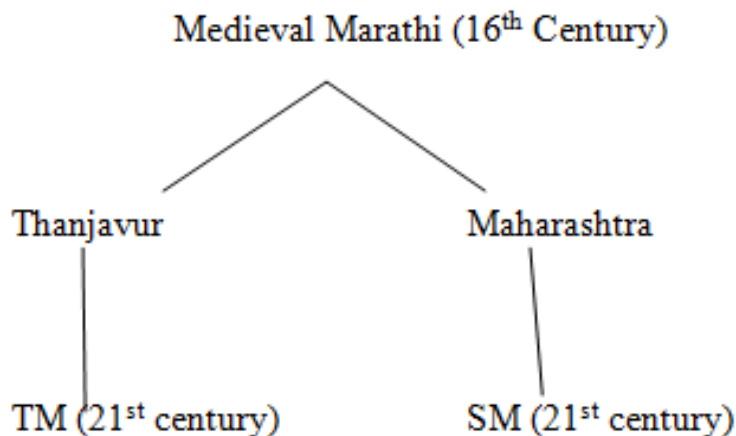
Voicing and aspiration are two major areas where TM shows distinct behaviour from SM. Data shows that the observations made by Dhanpalvar (1997) about variation in voicing in TM are true but needs a different analysis. Intervocalic voicing of voiceless stops in TM is associated with Tamil. However, the change is the result of voice assimilation process than just the influence of Tamil language. It is important to note that TM has not yet reached the stage of complete loss of voicing distinction. With reference to the categories A, B and C introduced in the first section, word-initial voicing of voiceless stops is not a regular change. It is observed only in case of the speakers in Category A (without knowledge of SM or Devanagari script and settled in the core area of study). Moreover, it is observed that there is no mismatch between pronunciation of voiceless-voiced plosives even when using Tamil script for TM.

As already observed in the section on aspiration, in case of TM, aspiration is neither completely retained nor completely lost. There is a range of variations from aspirated plosive to unaspirated plosive, which is used variably.

Here, I would like to argue that knowledge of orthography facilitates the control in retention of aspiration. Losing aspiration is natural process. When there is no orthographic control, as in case of category A, speakers does not get reference to revive the lost aspiration that was phonemic.

### 4.9.3 View on the Development of TM

Building upon these two issues discussed previously, I propose to redefine TM as sister language of contemporary Marathi rather than calling it as a variety of Marathi. Phonological analysis and documentary evidences support the view that TM has branched from medieval Marathi long before the development of contemporary Marathi. After that, it has developed internally in the backdrop of distinct linguistic environment. Although TM written using Devanagari script may be partially intelligible to the speakers of SM, the spoken form of Category A and category B speakers is equally unintelligible to SM speakers. Therefore, the two varieties may be considered as sister languages.



**Figure 4.23 Family Tree of TM**

### 4.10 Summary

In this chapter, we have identified and described the phonemes of Thanjavur Marathi. The discussion begins with the brief argument on phonology-orthography correlation in TM. A note follows it on methodology used for phonological analysis of TM. The categorization of

informants based on region and knowledge of languages is considered important for further discussion. Segmental inventories of TM vowels and consonants based on the minimal pairs are presented. The vowel and consonant system of TM is compared with SM in order to form the base for the historical development of language. The distribution of segments within words is presented in the same section. In the next section, we have seen the syllable structure and consonant clusters in TM followed by detailed discussion of various phonological processes in TM. The chapter is concluded with a short discussion on the loanword adaption in TM.

## Chapter 5

### Morphology of Thanjavur Marathi

#### 5.0 Introduction

Having discussed phonology of TM, some aspects of TM morphology will be briefly addressed in this chapter.

For the purpose of the current chapter, following aspects of TM morphology will be focussed. Various word classes in TM morphology such as Noun class, Pronouns, Postpositions, Adjective class, Numerals, and quantifiers, Adverbs, and Verb class will be dealt with in separate sections. The section on noun class comprises of discussion of the Noun inflection based on the case, number and gender along with examples. Noun Derivation in TM along with compounding process will also be assessed. In the section on pronouns, different types of pronouns, as discussed in traditional grammars, will be examined. The treatment of pronoun class as considered by Pandharipande (1997:375) will be taken as the basis for discussion in this section. TM pronouns inflect for case, number, gender, and person. Inflectional Paradigms of TM pronouns will also be exemplified. Temporal and spatial specifications that Dixon (2009: Vol 1, 121) has discussed are treated as adverb class in traditional grammars. Thus, the description of Adverb class will immediately follow the discussion on pronouns. TM has a range of postpositions that follow nouns and pronouns. These postpositions have a spatial, locational, and circumstantial function in the language. Nature of Postpositions will be reviewed in a separate section. Characteristics of TM Adjective class will be studied based on various semantic types as outlined by Dixon (2009: Vol 1, 304). Derivation of Adjectives in TM is verified based on the data. The section on the verb class consists of the description of the verb classification into different types based on the valency, verb paradigms based on tense, aspect, and mood, Derivation of TM verbs, and a brief note on TM negation.

#### 5.1 Introduction to TM Morphology

This chapter attempts to find the tendencies of TM morphology. As seen in the section on phonology, it is assumed that TM, being a transplanted language, shows three patterns of development, (1) A few features are retained from Middle Marathi, (2) a few features are the

result of Dravidian influence, and (3) a few features are developed as internal development of language after separation from Maharashtra. In the course of the description, I will make an effort to highlight these different patterns of development.

## **5.2 Noun Class**

The Noun is the primary word class that is divided into two categories, common nouns, and proper nouns. Common nouns comprise types of flora and fauna, geographical, celestial, meteorological features, all kinds of implements and machines, parts of human body and other things, kinship categories, general terms for professional and social roles, etc. Proper nouns consist of names of people, places, hills, rivers and so on. Proper nouns have more limited morphological and syntactic properties. Semantic types recognized for noun class are human and non-human, animate, flora, kin terms, Artefacts, body and other parts.

Morphological structure of (Prefix)+TM nouns is root + derivational suffix + inflectional suffix.

That is, in case of simple words of noun class, root word is immediately followed by derivational suffix to give gender and number meaning. Then, inflectional suffix functioning as case marker or postpositions facilitating various functions are attached. Case markers precede the postpositions. In case of a few tatbhava nouns, prefixation is noticed.

### **5.2.1 Noun Inflection**

Morphologically nouns inflect for gender, number, and case. These elements determine its agreement with the verb. As mentioned by Pandharipande (1997:273), Marathi uses case-markers and postpositions extensively to indicate syntactic and semantic functions of Noun phrases. It is the same case with TM. In this section, noun inflection based on gender, noun inflection based on the number and noun inflection based on case markings in TM is discussed in details.

#### **5.2.1.1 Gender**

TM Nouns are divided into two groups: rational and irrational/ human and non-human. Nouns in the human class have natural gender assigned-masculine and feminine, whereas all non-human class nouns whether animate or inanimate are assigned neuter gender. As it is observable from the examples in Table 5.1, human class in all the three languages SM, Tamil,

and TM is assigned natural gender. The demonstrative determiners<sup>41</sup> that precede the nouns in the noun phrase mark grammatical gender of the noun in SM and natural gender in TM.

	SM	Tamil	TM
<b>Natural gender/ human class</b>	<i>to manus</i> 'man', <i>ti bai</i> 'female', <i>to teli</i> 'oil man.'	<i>an</i> 'man', <i>pen</i> 'female.' <i>ennai virpavan</i> 'oil man.'	<i>to manuf</i> 'man', <i>ti bajko</i> 'female,' <i>telwala</i> 'oil man.'
<b>Non-human class nouns</b>	<i>ti gaj</i> 'cow', <i>ti nadi</i> 'river', <i>to d<sup>h</sup>õᅇᅇᅇᅇ</i> 'stone'	<i>pasu</i> 'cow', <i>aru</i> 'river', <i>kāl</i> 'stone'	<i>te gaj</i> 'cow', <i>te nadi</i> 'river', <i>te d<sup>h</sup>õᅇᅇᅇᅇ</i> 'stone'

**Table 5.1 Gender assignment in SM, Tamil, and TM**

In the case of non-human class nouns, SM nouns have grammatical gender masculine, feminine, or neuter irrespective of whether they are animate or inanimate nouns. There is no grammatical gender assignment in TM like other Indo-Aryan languages. Gender assignment in TM nouns is similar to that of Tamil language<sup>42</sup>. All non-human class nouns, both animate and in-animate, are assigned neuter gender.

Many feminine nouns are derived from masculine nouns by raising the word-final vowel. As it is evident from table 5.2, if the masculine noun ends in [a], the corresponding feminine form ends in [i]. Sometimes, [-in] is suffixed to make feminine nouns.

<sup>41</sup> Although demonstrative determiners are homophonous with demonstrative pronouns, they differ in their function. A demonstrative determiner in TM precedes a noun, whereas demonstrative pronoun does not combine with nouns.

<sup>42</sup> Tamil Nouns may be divided into rational and non-rational (neuter). The rationals may in turn be divided into two groups, masculine and feminine. This system is described as natural gender system (Corbett 1991: 8-9).

Masculine	Gloss	Feminine	Gloss
<i>mənuf</i>	man	<i>bailə / bajko</i>	woman
<i>telvala</i>	oil man	<i>telvali</i>	his wife
<i>tfəpli sivηara</i>	cobbler	<i>tfəpli sivηari</i>	his wife
<i>and<sup>h</sup>la</i>	blind man	<i>and<sup>h</sup>li</i>	blind woman
<i>pədqki d<sup>h</sup>uηara</i>	washer man	<i>pədqki d<sup>h</sup>uηari</i>	his wife
<i>ləηgda</i>	lame man	<i>ləηgdi</i>	lame woman
<i>sonarə</i>	goldsmith	<i>sonariη</i>	his wife
<i>matara</i>	old man	<i>matari/mat<sup>h</sup>ari</i>	old woman
<i>tforfa</i>	thief (male)	<i>tforfi</i>	thief (female)
<i>setānt kam kəηnara/ kuηvi(kuηbi)</i>	farmer	<i>setānt kam kəηnari</i>	his wife
<i>veqa</i>	mad man	<i>veqi</i>	mad woman

**Table 5.2 Feminine Noun Derivation in TM**

*dadgja* and *bajko* are lexical items meaning male and female. There are separate terms referring to son and daughter as *lōnk* and *lēnk* respectively. However, most of the times, TMs use *dadgja* and *bajko* as modifiers along with *lēnkru*. Examples presented here explain this construction.

1. *mə-la ti:nə lēnkr-ə.                      donə dadigja lēnkru ænq ekə bajko lēnkru.*

I-DAT three child- PL                      two    male    child    and    one female child

‘I (have) three children. Two sons and one daughter’.

Same is the case with other non-human animate nouns. *dadgja kutra* ‘Dog’ -*bajko kutra* ‘Bitch,’ *dadgja mandzərə* Male ‘Cat’ – *bajko mandzərə* ‘Female Cat’ is used as the gender equivalent vocabulary is rarely created by the derivational process.

This pattern has emerged as a direct translation of Tamil equivalent terms as *an naaji- pen naaji* ‘Dog’, *an poonai – pen poonai* ‘Cat’ etc. Where *aan* means male and *pen* means female. Though *pajjan* ‘son’ and *ponna* ‘daughter’ are available in Tamil lexicon, *an kulandai* ‘male child’ and *pen kulandai* ‘female child’ are preferred in some contexts.

Here, it contrasts with SM, where nouns are inherently masculine, feminine, or neuter and animateness or natural gender are irrelevant for the grammatical gender of the nouns. Dhongade & Wali (2009:40) has given examples to describe this category.

Animate nouns	<i>undir</i>	mouse	masculine
	<i>g<sup>h</sup>us</i>	rat	feminine
	<i>mun<sup>g</sup>us</i>	mongoose	neuter
Inanimate nouns	<i>tfaha</i>	tea	masculine
	<i>kop<sup>h</sup>i</i>	coffee	feminine
	<i>dud<sup>h</sup></i>	milk	neuter

### 5.2.1.2 Number

There are two categories of Numbers in TM. They are Singular and Plural. A singular noun in its base form is inflected to derive the plural form. In the case of the Common Nouns, which denote humans, we do see surface plural forms. Even the relationship terms, profession related terminology have plural forms. There are different ways in which plural forms are derived. Common processes are elaborated in this section.

A. Common nouns (human class and related) ending in [a] have pluralised forms ending in [e]. That is there is vowel raising from low vowel to mid vowel to mark plurality. Table 5.3 presents examples of this process.

Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
<i>sasra</i>	father-in-law	<i>sasre</i>	father-in-laws
<i>radza</i>	king	<i>radze</i>	kings



<i>kimɔa</i>	deaf man	<i>kimɔe</i>	deaf men
<i>dadgja</i>	man	<i>dadgje</i>	men
<i>tfəpli</i> <i>fiŋara</i>	cobbler	<i>tfəpli</i> <i>fiŋare</i>	cobblers

**Table 5.3 Plural formation in TM: [a] ending human class nouns**

B. Common nouns (human class and related) ending in [u] has pluralised form in ending in [e]/[ə]. In this case, there is vowel lowering from high to mid level to mark plurality.

<i>lɛŋkru</i>	child	<i>lɛŋkrə/lɛnkre</i>	children
<i>vəɖil bʰau</i>	elder brother	<i>vəɖil</i> <i>bʰavəndɛ</i>	elder brothers

C. Common nouns (human class and related) ending in [o] has pluralised form ending in [a]. As seen in the chapter on TM phonology (c.f. Section 4.3.1.1), [o] ending nouns are rare in TM.

<i>bajko</i>	woman	<i>bajka</i>	women
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D. Some of the nouns are appended with the noun *lɔŋk(ə/e)*, which means a group of people to indicate plurality.

<i>atja</i>	aunt	<i>atja lɔŋkə</i>	aunts
<i>kuŋbi</i>	farmer	<i>kuŋbi lɔŋkə</i>	farmers

E. It is important to note that in the case of parts of the body, *ɖoɭa* (word ending with vowel [a]) has a plural form *ɖoɭe* that follows the same pattern as discussed in type 'A' above. However, other parts of body, *hatə* 'hand', *pajə* 'leg,' *boɭə* 'finger,' *kesə* 'hair' that end in [ə] have no plural form distinct from singular form.

<i>ɖoɭa</i>	eye	<i>ɖoɭe</i>	eyes
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2. *mə-la don kanə don ɖol-e aje dʒaltrə ekə-tʃ jek nakə aje.*

I- DAT two ear two eye-PL have but one-EMPH one nose have

‘I have two ears, two eyes. But (I have) only one nose’.

In the case of common nouns that denote non-human items, animate as well as inanimate, distinct plural forms are rarer<sup>43</sup>. It can be seen that in the cases where any distinct plural form does not mark pluralised forms in the nominative case, the singular form itself is used as the plural. In all these cases, Cardinal number/quantifier is attached to the noun to indicate the number. Agreement with the verb does not show difference in the sentence structure in case of singular as well as plural.

3. *am-tʃə gai-la don vānsru aje.*

I-POSS cow-DAT two calf have

‘Our cow has had two calves.’

4. *mə-dʒə-kəɖə te ti:nə pustaka-la pāntʃə rupje haje.*

I-POSS-with those three book-DAT five rupees are

‘I have five rupees for those three books.’

5. *je gʰəra-tʃ puɖə ti:nə dʒʰaɖə haje.*

this house-POSS in front of three tree are

‘There are three trees in front of this house.’

Table 5.4 lists different animate and inanimate non-human nouns in their singular and plural form.

<sup>43</sup> This process needs further investigation. In the case of nouns ending in /ə/, the singular and plural forms can be considered as to be homophonous, rather than stating it as the absence of plural form.

Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
<i>majfa</i>	fly	<i>majfa</i>	flies
<i>mungja</i>	ant	<i>mungja</i>	ants
<i>ki:ɖa</i>	worm	<i>ki:ɖa</i>	worms
<i>kʰəɖa</i>	stone particle	<i>kʰəɖe</i> <sup>44</sup>	stone particles
<i>dʰoŋɖa</i>	stone	<i>dʰoŋɖa/ dʰoŋɖe</i>	stones
<i>panə</i>	leaf	<i>panə</i>	leaves
<i>sərpə</i>	snake	<i>sərpə</i>	snakes
<i>gʰərə</i>	house	<i>gʰərə</i>	houses
<i>dʒaɖə</i>	tree	<i>dʒaɖə</i>	trees
<i>nədi</i>	river	<i>nədi</i>	rivers
<i>vānsru</i>	calf	<i>vānsru</i>	calves

**Table 5.4 Plural Formation in TM: Non-Human class**

In all these cases, plural is a zero allomorph. Plurality is indicated by adding cardinal numeral before the noun.

In the following subsection on the case, it will be observed that phonetic realization of the case markers for plural vary from case markers for singulars, which in turn help to understand the singularity or plurality of the noun within a discourse.

### 5.2.1.3 Case

As argued by Comrie (2013)<sup>45</sup>, Case is a complex phenomenon: in many languages case marking takes on functions that go beyond the purely *structural* role of helping to identify the

<sup>44</sup> In the whole database, only two instances of the non-human plural form are observed. It needs more investigation to find if there is some semantic basis for such forms.

grammatical relations (subject, object, indirect object, etc.) of a sentence. As observed by Butt (2007)<sup>46</sup>, it is observed that South Asian languages have agents marked with an ergative or instrumental, goals/experiencers with a dative, patients with an accusative, etc.

Morphologically, the case in TM may be realized by a zero marker as in the nominative or as a complex of adpositions, which mark nouns with certain suffixes that vary according to gender, and number. Case markers are bound suffixes that are attached exclusively to noun phrases, and they immediately follow the noun or the noun phrase.

The case paradigm of nouns in TM is given the tabular form, which is followed by the examples and description of each case.

Case	Singular	Plural
<b>Nominative</b>	∅	∅
<b>Accusative</b>	-la/-s	- (ã/ĩ)s/ - (ã/ĩ)la/ - (ã/ĩ)na
<b>Instrumental</b>	∅	∅
<b>Dative</b>	-la	- (ã/ĩ)s/ - (ã/ĩ)la/ - (ã/ĩ)na
<b>Ablative</b>	- tun/ -(ã/ĩ)tun/ -(ã/ĩ)tsun	- (ã/ĩ)tun/ -(ã/ĩ)tsun
<b>Genitive/possessive</b>	-tʃə	-(ã/ĩ/ũ/ẽ)tʃə
<b>Locative</b>	-(ã)tə	-(ã/ĩ/ũ/ẽ)tə
<b>Vocative</b>	∅	-(ã)no

**Table 5.5 TM case markers**

It is important to make a note of few features of this paradigm concerning SM case paradigm.

- a. Accusative and dative markers in TM are homophonous.

<sup>45</sup> Bernard Comrie. 2013. Alignment of Case Marking of Full Noun Phrases. In: Dryer, Matthew S. & Haspelmath, Martin (eds.) *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. (Available online at <http://wals.info/chapter/98>, Accessed on 2017-07-16.)

<sup>46</sup> <http://ling.uni-konstanz.de/pages/home/butt/main/papers/modern-rev.pdf>

b. The use of /-la/ singular and /-s/ plural is frequent in TM accusative and dative case. As mentioned by Pandharipande (1997: 274), the use of /-s/ was more widespread in old Marathi, whereas in SM, it is restricted to the formally written register. TM seems to have retained this feature of old Marathi. Sometimes word-final [a] from /-la/ is reduced to [ə]. However, it needs more investigation to claim whether it is a mere variation or a pattern.

c. /-te/, which is another variant of dative suffix listed in the grammars of SM, has lost its productive use in SM. However, TM uses this marker in certain contexts to perform the function of the cause.

In SM, the construction is

main verb infinitive form + dative suffix /-la/	<i>dʒa-j-la</i>	<i>həve</i>
	go-INF-DAT.	should
	‘Should go’	

TM, on the other hand, makes use of dative suffix /-te/.	<i>dʒa-m-te</i>	<i>aʒe</i>
main verb optative form + dative suffix /-te/	go-OPT-DAT.	is
	should go	

d. TM does not have instrumental case markers. Ablative case markers /-tun/ or /-tsun/ are used to mark instrumentality. That is instrumental function is taken over by ablative. As a result, ablative has become multifunctional.

6.	<i>mi</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>dʒaʒa-la</i>	<i>kaʃʰi-tsū</i>	<i>bəʒivle.</i>
	I	that	tree-ACC	stick-INST.	hit-1F.SG.PST.
	‘I hit that tree with a stick.’				

e. Aspect based split ergativity in Indo-Aryan languages, especially in Marathi, has been discussed by Dixon (1994). There are no instances found in data where the subject of the transitive clause is marked by /-ne/ in the perfective, obligational, and optative aspects. In other words, TM has lost ergativity. (See example 11, where the subject *bajka* is unmarked even in optative mood and example 80, where the subject *to* is unmarked in perfective aspect.

The same construction in SM would take the ergative marker *tjane*) SM, on the other hand, is categorised as the language with split ergativity<sup>47</sup>. The only instance where /-ne/ is used as an agentive marker is in the following example. (cf. example 17)

7. *ma-dʒa-nə e tʰikanə soqū kuʃʰə dʒa-ja-l hoi-na.*

I-POSS-AGENT this place leave-CONJ.PTCP where GO-INF.-DAT possible-not

‘It is not possible for me to leave this place.’

f. /-t/ is the locative suffix that is commonly used in language. However, /-la/ which is dative marker is also used sometimes to mark locative case.

8. *mi: saʒənkəʃi ɔpʰis-ānsū gʰər-a-la je-tō.*

I evening office-ABL home-OBL-DAT come-1M.PRS.

‘I come home from work in the evening.’

g. /-la/ dative marker is also used to indicate possession. Refer examples 3 and 4 in the previous section, where /-la/ dative marker marks possession. This process is elaborated in point (j) below.

9. *dəʃərətʰa-la tinə bailə hote.*

dasharath-DAT three wife-PL be-3PL. PST.

‘Dasharath was having three wives.’

The /-la/ marker, in this case, can also be replaced by possessive marker /-tʃə/, which can be translated as ‘Dasharath possessed three wives’.

Following paradigms illustrate various case-markers in TM.

(i) *lēṅkru* (masculine) child

	<b>Singular</b>	<b>Plural</b>
<b>Nominative</b>	<i>lēṅkru</i>	<i>lēṅkrə</i>

<sup>47</sup> <http://people.umass.edu/bhatt/papers/mit-nov2007-handout.pdf>

<b>Accusative</b>	<i>l̥ɛŋkra-la</i>	<i>l̥ɛŋkrã-sə/ l̥ɛŋkrã-na</i>
<b>Dative</b>	<i>l̥ɛŋkra-la</i>	<i>l̥ɛŋkrã-sə/ l̥ɛŋkrã-na</i>
<b>Ablative</b>	<i>l̥ɛŋkrã-tunə</i>	<i>əggĩ l̥ɛŋkrã-tsunə</i>
<b>Possessive/Genitive</b>	<i>l̥ɛkra-tʃ(ə/e)</i>	<i>l̥ɛŋkrã-ntʃ(ə/e)</i>
<b>Locative</b>	<i>l̥ɛŋkrã-tə</i>	<i>əggĩ l̥ɛŋkrã-ntə</i>
<b>Vocative</b>	<i>əre l̥ɛŋkra</i>	<i>əre l̥ɛŋkrã-no</i>

**Table 5.6 TM Case Paradigm: masculine nouns**

(ii) *bajko* (Feminine) female

	<b>Singular</b>	<b>Plural</b>
<b>Nominative</b>	<i>Bajko</i>	<i>bajka</i>
<b>Accusative</b>	<i>bajko-la</i>	<i>bajkã-sə/ bajkã-na</i>
<b>Dative</b>	<i>bajko-la</i>	<i>bajkã-sə/ bajkã-na</i>
<b>Ablative</b>	<i>bajko-tunə</i>	<i>bajkã-tsunə</i>
<b>Possessive/Genitive</b>	<i>bajko-tʃ(ə/e)</i>	<i>bajkã-ntʃ(ə/e)</i>
<b>Locative</b>	<i>bajko-tə</i>	<i>əggi bajkã-ntə</i>
<b>Vocative</b>	<i>əgə baje</i>	<i>ge bajkã-no</i>

**Table 5.7 TM Case Paradigm (Feminine nouns)**

(iii) *g<sup>h</sup>ərə* (neuter) house

	<b>Singular</b>	<b>Plural</b>
<b>Nominative</b>	<i>g<sup>h</sup>ərə</i>	<i>g<sup>h</sup>ərə</i>

<b>Accusative</b>	<i>g<sup>h</sup>əra-la</i>	<i>g<sup>h</sup>ərã-sə</i>
<b>Dative</b>	<i>g<sup>h</sup>əra-la</i>	<i>g<sup>h</sup>ərã-sə</i>
<b>Ablative</b>	<i>g<sup>h</sup>ərãn-tunə</i>	<i>əggi g<sup>h</sup>ərã-ntunə</i>
<b>Possessive/Genitive</b>	<i>g<sup>h</sup>əra-tʃ(ə/e)</i>	<i>g<sup>h</sup>ərã-ntʃ(ə/e)</i>
<b>Locative</b>	<i>g<sup>h</sup>ərã-ntə</i>	<i>əggi g<sup>h</sup>ərã-ntə</i>

**Table 5.8 TM Case Paradigm (Non-human/inanimate nouns)**

h. It can be observed that the noun stems are modified before case-suffixes. These extra segments vary according to the gender, number, and the morphological class of the noun. /-a/ is used for all masculine nouns irrespective of their endings. Glide insertion, which is an obligatory process in case of SM noun inflection, is optional in TM. For instance, we can witness no glide [-j] inserted before case suffix in [d<sup>h</sup>oŋɖa-la] stone-ACC, whereas in SM [dɔ|-j-a-la], there is glide insertion before the oblique form is added<sup>48</sup>. Plural oblique forms of all nouns, irrespective of their gender and morphological class, have an added segment /-n/ between the oblique form and case suffix. In these cases, the preceding vowel, which is the oblique form, is nasalised. In the case of accusative and dative case, the vowel before plural case marker is nasalised, but it is not by /-n/. In the case of ablative and locative forms, where singular and plural markers are homophonous, the quantifier *əggi* / *əskinə* ‘all’ or any specific numeral is added before the noun-stem to mark plurality.

i. TM nouns in their unmarked nominative form function as the subject of intransitive as well as transitive verbs and as the subject of the copula constructions.

10. *undirə b<sup>h</sup>oĩ-ntə gelə.* (Subject of the intransitive verb-to go ‘dʒaŋe’)

rat hole-LOC go-3N.SG.PST

‘Rat went inside the hole.’

<sup>48</sup> It is the same case when postpositions are added to TM nouns. TM prefers *d<sup>h</sup>oŋɖa-uəərə* stone-above and not *d<sup>h</sup>oŋɖjavəərə*.



11. *bajka paṇi aṇ-amə*. (Subject of the transitive verb-to bring ‘aṇəṇe’)

women water bring-OPT.

‘Women should bring the water.’

12. *te p<sup>h</sup>ulə təmḍə*. (Subject of the copula construction)

that flower red.

‘That is a red flower.’

j. The subject of the verbs expressing psychological or physical states or notions such as liking, wanting, possessing, feeling, etc. are marked with dative case across all tenses and aspects. Besides, the indirect objects of the ditransitive verbs such as *give (deṇe)* are marked with dative case. Pandharipande (2009) describes this class as dative verb constructions. It is important to note that in the following examples, all the subjects have different functions such as possessor, or experiencer or one who feels, one who likes etc.

13. *radza-la don māntri aje*. (Subject is possessor)

king- DAT two minister have

‘Our cow has had two calves’.

14. *viji-la e gaṇə avḍte*. (Subject is experiencer)

viji-DAT this song like-3F.SG.PRS.

‘Viji likes this song’.

15. *məla kəḷ-na*.

I-DAT know-NEG

‘I don’t know’.

16. *pəntodzi-la to veḍa-skə vaḷ-to*.

teacher-DAT. he mad-LIKE feel-3MSG.PRS.

‘Teacher considers him as mad’.

k. In case the direct object is a human class noun, the accusative case marker is obligatory. In case of non-human animate class, it is not obligatory. Variation is found regarding the use of accusative case marker in non-human animate as well as inanimate direct objects.

17. *mi ram-la p<sup>h</sup>ato.*(marked)

I ram-ACC see-1SG.PRS.

‘I see Ram’.

18. *mi ka<sup>h</sup>i band<sup>h</sup>te.* (unmarked)

I stick tie-1F.SG.PRS.

‘I tie the stick’.

19. *tu e ka<sup>h</sup>i-la band<sup>h</sup>ə.*(marked)

you this stick-ACC tie-IMP.

‘Tie this stick’.

## 5.2.2 Noun Derivation

In the derivational process, a derivational morpheme is affixed to the word stem (the form a root takes when a derivational morpheme is attached to it), in order to add meaning to it and thereby derive a new word. Dixon (2009: Vol.1, 149) divides the derivational processes into two classes. One, which changes word class and another, which do not change word class. In this section, both these classes are discussed.

### 5.2.2.1 Nouns from Nouns

TM nouns are derived from other noun stems in various ways. They are as follows.

a. for expressing the professional identity of a person.

(i) /-arə/, which is a Sanskrit suffix is attached to nouns

*sonə + arə* → *sonarə*

gold+ affiliation marker ‘Goldsmith’

The same suffix is attached to nouns for indicating affiliation/possession.

*gərbʰə + arə → gərbʰarə*

womb affiliation marker 'pregnant woman'

It is important to note that in SM, many such professions are expressed through this derivation. However, TM has lost the productivity of this process.

(ii) /-ŋara/ is suffixed to conjunct verb to derive nouns expressing professional identity of a person, which can also be used as adjectives.

For example,

*tfəpli + fivŋe → tfəpli fivŋara*

shoes stitch 'Cobbler'

*set+ kamə + kərŋe → setāt kam kərŋara*

farm work do 'Farmer'

*pʰəɖki + dʰuŋe → pʰəɖki dʰuŋara*

cloth-PL wash 'Washerman'

*masoʎi + dʰərŋe → mosoʎi dʰərŋara*

fish catch 'Fisherman'

*viŋŋe → viŋivŋara*

stitch 'Tailor'

(iii) In addition to this, the Persian suffix /-vala/ is attached to nouns to derive nouns expressing professional identity of a person, which can also be used as adjectives.

*tel → telvala*

oil 'Oil man'

*kam → kamvala*

work 'worker'

The only Persian suffix used in TM is /vala/. Other suffixes of Persian origin such as /dar/, /dan/, /khana/, and /gar/ that have productive use in SM are not commonly used in TM. However, 18<sup>th</sup> Century TM has abundant evidences of noun derivation using persio-arabic suffixes. Ranade (1988) has listed and discussed this derivation in details.

(iv) As we have seen in the section 5.2.1.1 (Table 5.2), /-i/ or /-in/ is suffixed to make feminine counterpart of the nouns indicating profession.

<i>sonarə</i>	→	<i>sonariṇə</i>
goldsmith		‘wife of Goldsmith’
<i>viṇivṇara</i>	→	<i>viṇivṇari</i>
tailor		‘wife of tailor’
<i>kamvala</i>	→	<i>kamvali</i>
worker		‘Female worker’
<i>pāntodzi</i>	→	<i>pāntodziṇi</i>
teacher		‘lady teacher’

b. To derive the personal nouns indicating that ‘the person possesses some quality’, Sanskrit suffix /-vāntə/ is attached to another noun stem.

<i>buddʰi</i>	+ <i>vāntə</i>	→	<i>buddʰivāntə</i>
intelligence	possessor		‘Intelligent’
<i>gārəḍz</i>	+ <i>vāntə</i>	→	<i>gārəḍzvāntə</i>
need	possessor		‘Needy person’

c. /-|u/ is suffixed to derive personal nouns. They are also used as adjectives.

<i>dzōmp</i>	→	<i>dzōmpa u</i>
sleep		‘one who sleeps a lot’
<i>dəja</i>	→	<i>dəja u</i>

mercy 'kind person'

*kṣṭā* → *kṣṭālu*

effort 'hard working person'

However, this process is not very productive. Instead, use of NP is preferred in TM.

*kṣṭālu* → *kṣṭā bʰogū* *kam kārṇara*

hard working person effort bear-conj.ptcp. work doer

'one who takes a lot of efforts to finish the work'

e. Prefixation is not much productive in TM. In case of Sanskrit tatsam and tatbhav words, the prefixation can be witnessed.

*dārfānā* → *prādārfānā*

sight exhibition

*deśā* → *prādeśā*

country region

*manā* → *ābimanā*

respect proud

*gati* → *adʰogati*

speed downfall

*himsa* → *āhimsa*

violence non-violence

Prefixation in IA languages is used to create the nouns which have connected but extended meaning of that of a noun to which it is attached.

### 5.2.2.2 Nouns from Adjectives

(a) Abstract nouns are derived by attaching the suffix [-pəṇa] to the adjectives.

*lʰanə* → *lʰanəpəŋa*

small                 state of being small

*tʰorə* → *tʰorəpəŋa*

big                    state of being big/large

This process is not very productive in TM. Instead, the construction like *lʰan əstəma* ‘while being a child’ is preferred.

### 5.2.2.3 Nouns from Verbs

a.        Infinitive marker /*ŋe/* or /*ŋə/* is suffixed to verb stem. The derived form is 3 N.SG form of noun.

For instance, *mʰəŋ + ŋe* → *mʰəŋŋe* ‘saying’.

This gets case and number inflections of noun class.

*mʰəŋa-la*        ‘for saying’

*mʰəŋŋa-tun*     ‘from saying’

*mʰəŋa-tfə*      ‘of saying’

*mʰəŋŋa-tə*     ‘in saying’

b.        Instrumental nouns are derived by suffixing /-*ŋi/* to verb stem.

*pʰuŋkəŋe*             →       *pʰuŋkŋi*

to blow                                         ‘blower’

c.        Object nouns are derived by suffixing /-*uŋə/* to verb stem.

*əntʰər*             →       *əntʰruŋə*

to spread                                        mattress

*paŋgʰər*            →       *paŋgʰruŋə*

to cover                                         blanket

d. Abstract nouns are derived by suffixing /ũ/ to verb stem

*hāṣṇe* → *hāsu*

to smile smile

e. Locative nouns are derived from the verbs such as

*n<sup>h</sup>a* ‘take bath’ → *n<sup>h</sup>aṇi* ‘bathroom’

### 5.2.3 Noun Compounds

A compound consists of two or more words. Compounds are grouped into two categories, endocentric compounds and exocentric compounds depending upon the presence of head in the compound. Compounds having a head are called endocentric compounds. Head gives core meaning of the words as retains the class of the word. Compounds without head are known as exocentric compounds. The same are recognized as ‘bahuvrihi samas’ in Sanskrit. Following are various patterns of noun compounding in TM.

(a) Noun + noun compounds

*nar|atf vatti* → *narvatti*

coconut-POSS piece → ‘half piece of coconut’

(b) Verb + noun compounds

*səmpakaf k<sup>h</sup>oli* → *səmpakk<sup>h</sup>oli*

cook-INF.POSS room ‘kitchen’

*rubbaf guṇḍa* → *rubbguṇḍa*

grind-INF.POSS stone ‘grinding stone’

Sometimes the order is reversed. That is ‘noun + verb → compound noun’

*toṇḍa lavṇe* → *tō||lavṇe*

mouth touch-INF ‘side dish’

This is the case of exocentric compound where the components of the compound are referring to something else in the actual world than the references of its components.

Here, we end the discussion on noun class in TM.

### **5.3 Pronouns, Demonstratives, and Interrogatives**

In this section, we will describe various pronouns in TM along with their examples. Data is provided in order to allow further investigation of the topic in future.

Speech act involves participants (speaker and addressee) in a place, at a time. All languages have sets of ‘shifters’, whose reference shifts when the role of the participants changes, when the place changes, or when the time changes. Dixon (2009: Vol.1, 114) talks about this class in terms of three sections such as a. participant shifters (Pronouns), Spatial shifters (demonstratives) and Temporal shifters (words referring to time intervals with respect to present).

In Dixon (2009, Vol 2:189) ‘pronoun’ is defined as ‘a small closed class of grammatical words which vary for person’. TM has a closed class of ‘free’ (or ‘independent’) pronouns, which can be head of an NP in core argument function. In addition, this is the category whose members typically have little or no intrinsic meaning or reference. Like nouns, pronouns also permit case and number suffixes. They function as a subject or an object of a verb.

In TM, pronouns are typically small and closed set of lexical items with the principal function of distinguishing among individuals in terms of the deictic category of person such as first, second, and third.

#### **5.3.1 Classification of pronouns**

Traditional grammar divides pronouns into six groups such as Personal and possessive pronouns, demonstratives, interrogatives, reflexive and reciprocal pronouns, relative pronouns and indefinite terms.

##### **5.3.1.1 Personal Pronouns**

First and second person pronouns, referring to the speaker and addressee respectively have number distinction as singular and plural. In the table 5.9, personal pronouns in TM are listed. First column refers to person, second column to singular forms and thirds column refers to plural forms.



Another category that interrelates with person and number in TM pronoun system is gender. In TM, there is no contrast between masculine and feminine in case of first and second person. In third person, there is a three-way division between masculine, feminine, and neuter. TM can be compared with the Dravidian language like Kannada that has such a distinction in third person singular, but in third person plural, the masculine versus feminine contrast is neutralized (Bhat 2004: 109).

<b>First Person</b>	<i>mi</i> I	<i>ami</i> we
<b>Second Person</b>	<i>tu</i> you-sg.	<i>tumi</i> you-pl.
<b>Third Person Masculine</b>	<i>jo</i> (proximity)/ <i>to</i> (distant) ‘he’	<i>heni/teni</i> they
<b>Third Person Feminine</b>	<i>hinə</i> she (nearer to me)/ <i>tinə</i> (away from me)	
<b>Third Person Neuter</b>	<i>te</i> it	

**Table 5.9 Personal Pronouns in TM**

TM Pronouns takes nominative, accusative, dative, and possessive case. Following paradigm illustrates pronoun declension in TM. Separate paradigms for first person pronouns, second person pronouns and third person pronouns is presented below.

Case	Singular	Plural
<b>Nominative</b>	<i>mi</i> I	<i>ami</i> we
<b>Accusative</b>	<i>məla</i> to me	<i>əmala / əmās</i> to us
<b>Dative</b>	<i>məla</i> on account of me	<i>əmala/ əmās</i> on account of us

<b>Genitive/possessive</b>	<i>məɖʒə</i>	<i>amʈə</i>
	mine	ours

**Table 5.10 First Person Pronouns: Case Declension in TM**

Table 5.10 is tabular representation of case declension of first person pronouns in TM. The same forms are exemplified below with the help of their use in the TM clause.

20. *məla don kanə don ɖol-e aje dʒaltrə ekəʈf jek nakə aje.*

I- DAT two ear-PL two eye- PL have but one-only one nose have

I have two ears, two eyes.

21. *məɖʒanə<sup>49</sup> ʈfalal hoina.*

I-AGENT. walk-INF.DAT. possible-not

I couldn't walk.

22. *tu məla amba de.*

you I-ACC Mango give-IMP.

Give me a mango.

23. *amʈə gai-la don vānsru aje.*

I-POSS cow-DAT two calf have

Our cow has had two calves so far.

<b>Case</b>	<b>Singular</b>	<b>Plural</b>
<b>Nominative</b>	<i>tu</i> you	<i>tumi</i> you all
<b>Accusative</b>	<i>tula</i>	<i>tumala / tumās</i>

<sup>49</sup> In TM, agentive marker is attached to possessive form of the noun/pronoun only in this context to show possibility of action.

	to you	to you all
<b>Dative</b>	<i>tula</i> on account of you	<i>tumala/tumās</i> on account of you all
<b>Genitive/possessive</b>	<i>tudzə</i> your	<i>tumtsə</i> yours

**Table 5.11 Second Person pronouns: Case Declension in TM**

Following are a few examples of usage of second person pronouns as represented in Table 5.11.

24. *mi tula k<sup>h</sup>au deto.*

I you-ACC snacks give-1m.sg.prs.

I give you snacks.

25. *tumās te k<sup>h</sup>ani avəqlə naji.*

you-pl.dat. that story like-pst

You didn't like that story.

Case	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
<b>Nominative</b>	<i>to</i> he	<i>ti</i> she	<i>təni</i> they
<b>Accusative</b>	<i>təla</i> to him	<i>tila</i> to her	<i>tənala / tjās</i> to them
<b>Dative</b>	<i>təla</i>	<i>tila</i>	<i>tənala tjās</i>

	on account of him/her		on account of them
<b>Genitive/possessive</b>	<i>tadʒə</i>	<i>tidʒə</i>	<i>tějɪfə</i>
	his	her	theirs

**Table 5.12 Third Person Pronouns: Case Declension in TM**

The third person plural case declension in TM is elaborated in the following examples and represented in Table 5.12.

26. *təni mədʒə lōnkə.*

they I-poss sons.

they are my sons.

27. *ai tala dʒeu g<sup>h</sup>alte.*

mother he-acc food serve-3f.sg.prs

Mother serves him food.

TM has certain conventions for personal interaction that are coded in grammar. It is all a matter of expressing respect for someone in a certain kinship relation to you, or respect for someone occupying a superior position in a social hierarchy. A plain pronoun is used between social equals, or between people whose kinship link allows for ‘familiar’ interaction. Second and third person plural forms are used as ‘honorific’ forms to indicate elderly, respected people in the society or in case of formal relations.

28. *təni ek məhan pəŋqitə.*

he-hon.one great saint.

He is a great saint.

29. *təni mədʒə bapa.*

he-hon. I-poss father.

He is my father.

### 5.3.1.2 Demonstrative Pronouns

As Dixon (2009, Vol.2: 223) argues, first and second person pronouns are inherently deictic, effectively ‘pointing’ at speaker or addressee (or both). Demonstrative is a grammatical element, which can be used, generally, accompanied by a gesture to point to an object in the situation of discourse.

SM also has demonstrative pronouns, which are same as third person pronouns. However, when these pronouns occur as demonstrative pronouns, they do not take case postpositions. Distinguishing between pronouns and demonstratives becomes difficult (a property of almost all Indo-Aryan languages).

Following are demonstrative pronouns in TM. There is no gender distinction in case of these pronouns.

<i>he/je</i>	this	<i>te</i>	that
<i>heni</i>	these	<i>təni</i>	they

For example,

30. *he mədʒə kʰoli aje.*  
this my room is.

This is my room.

31. *te ekə makəqə.*

that one monkey

That is a monkey.

### 5.3.1.3 Relative Pronouns

In TM, complex construction is not a norm. Therefore, use of simple sentences using relative participle forms is preferred over the use of relative pronouns. Section 5.6.7 elaborates the participles in TM in detail.

### 5.3.1.4 Reflexive Pronouns

Structural borrowing of Tamil pattern into TM is evident through reflexive pronoun construction in TM. *hun* which is an ablative marker is used with pronouns to derive reflexive forms.

<i>mi</i>	<i>mihunə</i>	<i>ami</i>	<i>amihunə</i>
I	myself	we	ourselves
<i>tu</i>	<i>tuhunə</i>	<i>tumi</i>	<i>tumihunə</i>
you-sg	yourself	you-pl	yourselves
<i>to</i>	<i>tohunə</i>	<i>tinə</i>	<i>tinəhunə</i>
he	himself	she	herself
<i>təni</i>	<i>tənihunə</i>		
they	themselves		

Following are few examples of reflexive pronouns in TM.

32. *je gʰərə mi mihun bandʰəlo*

this house I-nom I-refl build-1m.sg..pst.

I myself built this house.

33. *to tohun je kam kəriŋto.*

he he-refl this work do-3m.sg. prs.

He does his work himself.

### 5.3.1.5 Interrogative Pronouns

Who, what, which, how many, why, how, where, and when are major interrogatives that occur in the language. They can be grouped into two (1) General interrogatives and (2) specific interrogatives. In TM, general interrogatives such as /*koŋə*/ and /*kajə*/ where there is no background knowledge of the referents with respect to sex, number, or social status. Selective/ specific interrogatives such as /*koŋta*/ are inflected for gender, number and case.

There are few other question words in TM such as *kamma*, *kevdə*, *kəfala*, *koʃʰsunə*, *kitida*, *kəsə*, *kiti*, *kevdʰə* are frequently used interrogative pronouns.

Following are few examples of interrogative pronouns in TM.

34. *he pustək koŋatfə mʰuŋməla kəlna.*  
this book who-poss qout. I-dat know-neg  
I don't know this book belongs to whom.
35. *mi tula kitida                      saŋgamə.*  
I you-acc how many times tell-opt.  
How many times should I tell you.
36. *jātfə                      varə tumi      kajə      kərala      dʒatāt?*  
come-inf.poss week you-pl what do-inf.dat go-3.pl.fut.  
What are you doing in coming week?
37. *he olə ʃʰətri      mi koʃʰə      ʃʰivū?*  
this wet umbrella I where keep-1.sg.prs.  
Where should I keep this wet umbrella?

#### 5.3.1.6 Indefinite Pronouns

*əggi*, and *əskin* are the indefinite pronouns in TM. They do not occur independently. They are always accompanied by the noun they modify. As it can be witnessed from the examples below, the position of noun is not fixed. It can precede or follow the noun. Indefinite pronouns are also attached to mark plurality in case of some nouns where plurals are not grammatically marked.

38. *tumi əski lokī pəʃətə geləntə.*  
you-pl all people-emph. run-prs.ptcp. go-2.pl.pst  
You all people went running.

39. *he kʰolĩntə asatfə samana əggin bʰaer kaqʰun tʰivə.*

this room-loc be-inf.poss material all outside take-conj.ptcp. keep-2.sg.imp.

take all the stuff out from this room.

## 5.4 Adverbs

Dixon (2009: Vol.1, 121) further discusses a category in which temporal and spatial specifications in a language are grouped together. This category is discussed under the adverb class in traditional grammars, where they are grouped under five subgroups such as Adverbs of time, place, manner, degree, and frequency. In the current section, temporal and spatial specification adverbs in TM are exemplified.

### 5.4.1 Temporal Specifications

These adverbs describe the time of the action of the verb. There are three subtypes in this group.

#### 5.4.1.1 Temporal shifters

This category includes the relative time adverbs where the locus is the speakers' current position on the timeline. Therefore, the references have contextual meanings.

*adzə*            today

40. *adzə madzə udzlə divəs.*

today I-poss birth day

Today is my birthday.

*udja*            tomorrow

41. *radzala udja            bʰetamə*

king-acc tomorrow meet-opt.

Let us meet the King tomorrow.

*kalle*            yesterday

42. *mədzə mamala kalle devadnja dzali.*



I-poss uncle-dat yesterday death occur-3sg.pst

My uncle died yesterday.

*puḍʰə* earlier

43. *mi puḍʰə kam kərət ote.*

I before work do-1 SG.HAB.PST.

I was working before.

*nənrə* later

44. *afaḍə məjnətf nənrə frəvəŋ məjna jeilə.*

ashadha month-poss after shraavan month come-3 n.sg.fut.

Shraavan month will fall after Ashadha month.

#### 5.4.1.2 Definite time specifications

This class includes the time adverbs that specify exact time within a day/week/month/year.

*ratri* at night

45. *ratriḥə tʃorṭa tʃori kəriŋgun nuŋgela.*

at night thief robbery do-conj.ptcp. leave-go-3m sg.pst.

The thief robbed and left at night.

*divsatf veḷə* during the day

46. *divsatf veḷa tʃəkkotə kamə kəramə.*

during the day nice work do-opt.

One should do lot of work during day time.

*dupari* in the afternoon

47. *dupari unə əstəma bʰaer dʒatane.*

in the afternoon hot be-prs.cont. outside go-proh.

One should not go outside in the afternoon when it is sunny.

*paʃte* early in the morning

48. *paʃte uʃʰũ devlat dʒamə.*

early in the morning get up-conj.ptcp. temple-to go-opt.

One should get up early in the morning and go to the temple.

**5.4.1.3 Specifications with respect to expectation such as *puqəʃf* already, *lokkərə* early, *tamma* then and *əttə* now etc.**

49. *təni he kamə puqəʃfə kərūsodlə.*

he-hon. this work already do-leave-3n.sg.pst.

He has already completed this work.

## 5.4.2 Spatial specification

There are two subtypes in this category.

### (1). Shifters such as

*jətə* ‘here’ *tətə* ‘there’

### (2). Definite locational specifications

*vərə* above

50. *doŋgr-a-tʃ vərə deuʃ aje.*

hill-OBL.POSS on temple is

There is a temple on the hill.

*kʰalle* below

51. *dʒəqəʃf kʰalle sərpəʃf puttə aje.*

tree-poss below snake-poss burrow is

There is a termite mound below the tree.

**ātā** inside

52. **bāṇḍiṭṭ ātā lēṅkru bāslaje.**

car-poss inside child sit-3 sg.prs.cont.

A child is sitting inside the car.

**bajera** outside

53. **gamatṣā b<sup>h</sup>aer m<sup>h</sup>adevatṣā deuḷ aje.**

village-poss outside Shiva-poss temple is

There is a shiva temple outside the village.

**puḍ<sup>h</sup>ā** in front of

54. **tādṣā g<sup>h</sup>āra mādṣā g<sup>h</sup>āratṣā puḍ<sup>h</sup>ā aje.**

he-poss house I-poss house-poss in front of is

His house is in front of my house.

**magā** behind

55. **undratṣ magā mandāra pāḷat aje.**

rat-poss behind cat run-prs.ptcp is

The cat is chasing the rat.

**udṣāvā pāṭisā** rightwards

**ḍāvā pāṭisā** leftwards

56. **ṣriramatṣ udṣāvā pāṭis sītā aje dṣaltrā ḍāvā pāṭis lākṣumāṅ aje.**

Sriram-poss at the right side is and at the left side Lakshman is

Sita stands at the right side of Sriram while Lakshman stands at the left.

### 5.4.3 Derivation of adverbs

Reduplication is more productive than prefixing /-prəti/or /dər/ meaning ‘every’.

Adverbs are derived from nouns using reduplication. Following are some examples of this process.

<i>vərfə</i>	→	<i>vərfəvərfə</i>
Year		‘every year’
<i>divəs</i>	→	<i>disōndivəs</i>
day		‘ever day’
<i>məjne</i>	→	<i>məjnōnməjne</i>
month		‘every month’

### 5.5 Postpositions

Like SM, TM uses large number of post-positions. They follow nouns and pronouns. Most of the times, PPs assign an oblique marker to their nominal stem. Some PPs, in their free form, are used as adjectives or adverbs. It can be seen that, like SM, case relations are expressed by postpositions following nouns, pronouns, and infinitives.

Postpositions are placed after the gender, number markers of both nouns and pronouns. It impose oblique form on these nouns or pronouns. However, as in case of case marking, oblique form may not always show vowel alternation or glide insertion. Dhongade & Wali (2009:110) classify the postpositions in different groups.

Following are the frequently used postpositions in TM. Their function is elaborated with examples.

a. - *pəkfa* compared to

It is used as comparative suffix. Ablative case relation is expressed by this postposition.

57. *mədʒə lōnkə mədʒə leki-pəkfa dʰəkʈa.*

I-poss son I-poss daughter-compared to younger.

My son is younger than my daughter.

- b. **-hun** compared to

In this case, ablative case marker functions as comparative marker.

58. **sivadziradze venkodziradzē-hunə tʰorə.**

King Shivaji King Venkoji-compared to great.

King Shivaji is greater than King Venkoji.

- c. **-skə** like

It is used as to show equation.

59. **ami e dzaḡa-la deva-skə pudztō.**

we this tree-DAT god-LIKE worship-1PL.PRS.

We worship this tree as God.

- d. **-bəror** along with

It is used as comitative marker<sup>50</sup> that serves the function of accompaniment.

60. **to-ĩ mədʒə lenki-bərorə ʃaḡa-la dʒato.**

he-also I-POSS daughter-ALONG WITH school-DAT go-3M.SG.PRS.

He also goes to school along with my daughter.

- e. **-viḡa** without

This postposition also has comitative function having the function of indicating accompaniment.

61. **devatʃə krupaviḡa koḡtəi kamə amtfanə kərala hoina.**

god-poss blessing-without whichever work we-poss-agent. do.inf.dat. possible- neg

It is impossible for us to do any work without god's grace.

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<sup>50</sup> Ed. Kittila Seppo et.al.,2011, *Case, Animacy and Semantic roles*, John Benjamins Publishing company.

- f.     -*saṭ*<sup>hi</sup>         for
- g.     -*la*             for
- h.     -*karta*         for

The above three PPs have same function of dative case marker.

- i.     -*kadun*         from
- j.     -*vaṭe*         through
- k.     -*kadə*         towards
- l.     -*varə*         above
- m.     -*samorə*        in front of
- n.     -*puḍə*         next to

All the above PPs are locative or directional. They have spatial function.

- o.     Complex postpositions such as *varuna* ‘from above’, *ātuna* ‘from inside’ are derived by adding ablative case marker to post-positions.

## 5.6 Adjectives

In The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language, adjectives are characterized as expressions “that alter, clarify, or adjust the meaning contributions of nouns”, in order to allow for the expression of “finer gradations of meaning” than are possible using nouns alone (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 526).

### 5.6.1 Types of adjectives

In this section, we will describe adjectives in terms of Dixon (2004:44) and “Property Concepts” in Thompson (1988:168-173).

### 5.6.1.1 Dimension

Dimension is defined as a measurable extent of a particular kind, such as length, breadth, depth, or height<sup>51</sup>. Following are the adjectives in TM that modify the noun with respect to its size.

*tʰorə* big

62. *təndzavəratə mʰadvətfə ek tʰorə deul aje.*

thanjavur-loc shiva-poss one big temple is

There is a big shiva temple in Thanjavur.

*untfə* tall

63. *mədʒə lōnkapəkʃə tədʒə lōnkə untfə aje.*

I-poss son-compr. he-poss son tall is

His son is taller than my son.

*lambə*<sup>52</sup> lengthy

64. *tidʒə dzivə pʰarə lambə.*

she-poss tongue much longer

Her tongue is very long. (Metaphoric: She talks a lot.)

*gidʒə* short

*ʃaŋə* intelligent

65. *te gamtfə radʒə gidʒə asəltrəpəŋi ʃaŋə aje.*

that village-poss king short be-inspite of intelligent is

King of that village is intelligent though he is short.

*dʒəvəʃə* near

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<sup>51</sup> <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/dimension>

<sup>52</sup> In SM, *lambə* is also used to mean 'at a distance'. However, TM uses the term *durə* to refer to distance and *lambə* to refer to length.

66. *ḍelʰi dʒəjpurāntsuna dʒəvəʃə aje.*

Delhi Jaipur-loc.abl. near is

Delhi is near from Jaipur.

*səpaʃə* flat

67. *amtʃə gāvtʃə bʰoĩ səpaʃə aje.*

we-poss village-poss land flat is

Land in our village is flat.

*vattolə* round

68. *prutʰvʲtʃ akar vattolə aje.*

Earth-poss shape round is

Earth is round.

*vāṅkəʃə* bent

69. *te dʒaʃatʃ pʰāṅʃə vāṅkəʃə aje.*

that tree-poss branch bent is

Branch of that tree is bent.

### 5.6.1.2 Physical Properties of objects such as hard, heavy, smooth, etc. are described using following adjectives.

*pokəʃə* hollow inside

70. *bəʃə gʰər pokəʃə vasa*

big house hollow from inside

House is big in size but it is empty inside. (metaphoric)

*məu* soft

71. *səha-sat məjnetʃ lʰan lēnkre ʃivala pʰarə məu astūtə.*



six-seven month-poss small children touch-inf.dat. very soft be- 3pl.prs.

Six-seven month old babies are soft when touched.

*gʰəʈʈi* compact/thick/strong/firm

72. *gʰərə bandʰətana paja gʰəʈʈi əsaskə pahjɪŋama.*

house build-while base compact be-inf.like see-opt.

While building the house, it should be seen that the base is compact.

*kəʈʰətə* hot

73. *lēnkrala angʰoʃi kəriɪvapudʰə paŋi kəʈʰət aje ka najika mʰuŋ pʰaŋe tʃokkoʃə.*

child-acc bath do-caus.-before water hot is or not quot. see-inf. good

It is always better to see if water is hot or not before bathing a child.

*himsə* cold

74. *dʒanevari məjnāt ʒelʰītə pʰarə himsə vatavərəŋə.*

January month-loc Delhi-loc very cold environment

It is very cold in Delhi in the month of January.

### 5.6.1.3 Colour

Basic colour terms, though exist in TM, in natural discourse, Tamil or English colour terminology replaces the native terminology.

*rəŋgə* colour

*kaʃə* black

*paŋdʀə* white

*hirva/rama* green

*təmbɒa* red

*piɪʃa* yellow

*niḷa* blue

#### 5.6.1.4 Human Propensity

This class consists of adjectives that show an often intense inclination or preference by humans.

*ragə* anger

*virod<sup>h</sup>əpəṇa* enimity

*həsuməskəri* fun

*b<sup>h</sup>ē* fear

#### 5.6.1.5 Age

Following adjectives are mostly used with humans in order to highlight the physical age of the person. The series can be extended to non-human objects in metaphorical usages.

*dzunə* old

*matara* aged

*vəḍilə* elder

*l<sup>h</sup>anə* younger

*t<sup>h</sup>orlə* elder

*d<sup>h</sup>əktə* younger

*tsumṇa* small

#### 5.6.1.6 Value

Social and moral values that define human nature are listed under this category.

*tfokkotə* good

*vəṇgaḷə* bad

*befə* nice

*tsaŋglə*                      good/fair

It is observed that *tfokkoṭə/ beṣə and tsaŋglə* have almost similar use. However, there is slight difference in the nouns with which they are paired.

*tfokkoṭ*                      *porə*

*beṣ*                              *gaṇə*

*tsaŋglə*                      *budde*

In addition to this, there are few adjectives to express size, degree or amount.

*tʰoḍkə*                      little

*dʒasti*                              much

*səglə*                              all

*ərdʰə*                              half

*bʰərū*                              full

*dəṇḍe*                              many

*nəṅkʰərə*                      little, etc.

### 5.6.2 Derivation of Adjectives

Adjectives are derived by suffixation to nouns and verbs. It is necessary to note that TM does not have native comparative adjectives. It does not derive them through Sanskrit suffixation of *tərə* ‘comparative degree’ and *təmə* ‘superlative degree’. TM uses adverbs of degree such as *dəṇḍe, pʰərə, tʰoḍkə, nəṅkʰərə* to indicate the degree of adjectives.

In SM, word-compounding like *lal tsuṭuk, niḷafar* etc or reduplication such as *lal-lal, ka|əka|ə*, etc. are two strategies that are mainly used to mark intensification of adjectives. In TM, it is not marked morphologically. TM makes use of prosody to mark intensity/focus. There is extra lengthening of vowel to mark intensity. For example, *la:<sup>2</sup>l rəktə* ‘very red blood’.

### 5.6.2.1 Nouns → Adjectives

(a) Place modifiers by suffixing [-i] to the place nouns.

*təndzaurə + i → təndzavəri* ‘belonging to Thanjavur’

*dəkkʰənə + i → dəkkʰini* ‘belonging to Deccan’

There is stem modification along with affixation.

(b) Suffix [-korə] / [-kʰorə] is attached to qualitative nouns. The suffix means ‘the one who does something’

*kʰoɖi + korə → kʰoɖikorə*

mischief          naughty

*pi + kʰorə → pikʰorə*

drink              drunkard

### 5.6.2.2 Verbs → Adjectives

All the range of relative participles that will be discussed in the next section is considered as derivation process from verbs to adjectives. The use of relative participles is most preferred construction in TM.

## 5.6.3 Numerals

Numerals express quantity, either countable or uncountable.

### 5.6.3.1 Cardinal numerals in TM

Cardinal numerals are the set of numerals used in attributive quantification of nouns such as ‘four days’. In TM, basic numerals are same as that of SM. They are as follows.

1	<i>ekə</i>	2	<i>donə</i>	3	<i>tinə</i>
4	<i>tʃarə</i>	5	<i>pāɳtʃə</i>	6	<i>səha</i>
7	<i>satə</i>	8	<i>aʃʰə</i>	9	<i>nəu</i>
10	<i>dəha</i>				

Further counting of multipliers of 10

*dāha, viśa, tiśa, tśaḷiśa, pānnaśa, saṭṭā, śattara, aīfi, nāvvaḍa, śambara*

Though the numerals exist in elicited data, natural data shows natural counting using Tamil numerals.

### 5.6.3.2 Ordinal numerals in TM

Ordinal numerals are typically identified with the position a given member of a set occupies relative to other members of the same set such as 'the fourth day'. The main functions of ordinal numerals thus comprise the identification of ranks within a hierarchy and the identification of the temporal order in a sequence of events or the like.

Though SM ordinal numerals, *pājla, dusra, tisra, tśautṭa, pāṅṭṭva, śahava, satava, aṭṭave, nāvva* and *dḥavva* exist in TM, natural discourses highlight the use of English ordinals replacing TM ordinals.

## 5.7 Verbs

As defined by Crystal (2008:510) the formal definition of a verb refers to an element which can display morphological contrasts of tense, aspect, voice, mood, person and number. Functionally, it is the element which, singly or in combination with other verbs (i.e. as a 'verb phrase'), is used as the minimal predicate of a sentence, co-occurring with a subject.

This section covers the brief description of TM verbs. Clausal structures are not covered in the scope as the area demands further investigation.

Verbs are divided into four classes such as auxiliary verbs, simple verbs (main verbs), compound verbs, and phrasal verbs (conjunct verbs). Following sections present description of different verb classes in TM. Conjunct verbs are phrasal verbs with noun+ verb, adverb +verb or adjective + verb combination.

In case of TM verbs, like nouns, the internal morphological structure of verbs is as follows.

root verb + (derivational suffix) + inflectional suffix

Intransitive/transitive root verbs directly get inflectional suffixes.

Ditransitive and causative verbs are derived from intransitive and transitive verbs by attaching derivational suffix and then followed by inflectional suffixes.

### 5.7.1 Auxiliary Verb

An auxiliary verb is a verb that adds functional or grammatical meaning to the clause in which it appears, such as to express tense, aspect, modality, voice, emphasis, etc. Auxiliary verbs usually accompany a main verb. They function as copula or tense marker in the clause.

*əs̄ne* ‘to be’ and *hoŋe* ‘to become’ are auxiliary verbs in TM.

### 5.7.2 Simple Verbs

Simple verbs are Intransitive, Transitive, Causatives, and dative subject verbs. Following subsections provides examples of different kinds of simple verbs in TM.

#### 5.7.2.1 Intransitive Verbs

An intransitive verb does not have an object. Following are the examples of a few intransitive verbs used in TM.

*bəs̄ne* sit

For example,

75. *sita bəs̄li aje.*

sita sit-3f.sg-prog.be-3f.sg.prs.

sita is sitting.

*rəq̄ne* cry

*pəʎne* run

*ʈfaləne* walk

#### 5.7.2.2 Transitive Verbs

A transitive verb is described as the verb that is used with an object: a noun, phrase, or pronoun that refers to the person or thing that is affected by the action of the verb<sup>53</sup>.

*kaq̄ʰəne* take out

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<sup>53</sup> <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/grammar/transitive-and-intransitive-verbs>

<i>piŋe</i>	drink
<i>kərŋe</i>	do
<i>vatfəŋe</i>	read
<i>deŋe</i>	give
<i>ugʰəɖŋe</i>	open

For example,

76. *tu kəvad ʊgʰəɖə.*

you door open-2sg.imp.

open the door.

**Some verbs are used as both intransitive as well as transitive.**

<i>dzaŋe</i>	go
<i>jeŋe</i>	come
<i>kʰaŋe</i>	eat

For example,

*mi kʰato.*                      *mi bʰatə kʰato.*

I eat.

I eat the rice.

### 5.7.2.3 Causative Verbs

Causative verb is a verb that has the meaning of causing something to happen. In TM, causatives are derived either by suffixing /-iv/ to the intransitive/transitive root verb or it is formed by vowel change in a few disyllabic intransitive verbs. Double causatives are not observed in the available data.

Following are some examples of causative verbs in TM.

<i>bəsə</i> → <i>bəsiv</i>	cause someone sit
<i>rəɖə</i> → <i>rəɖiv</i>	cause someone cry
<i>kər</i> → <i>kəriv</i>	cause someone do

*mər* → *marṇe*      cause someone die

#### 5.7.2.4 Dative Verbs

As mentioned in the section 5.2.1.3 (j), verbs expressing psychological or physical states or notions take dative case marking on the subject. Subbarao (2012:24) notes that in all Dravidian and in many Indo-Aryan languages, the patient of the conjunct verb takes a dative case marker. He has highlighted that having a dative case marker is preferred option in Marathi.

Following are some examples of the dative verbs in TM

*avāḍṇe*      like

*sāmdzīṅṅṇe*      understand

*kāḷīṅṅṇe*      know

*vaṭṇe*      feel

#### 5.7.2.5 Compound Verbs

Most commonly, verbs are derived by combining with nouns and adjectives forming compound verbs. Following are few examples of compound verbs in TM.

*sub<sup>h</sup>ā tfintāṇe*      luck(n.) + to wish

*kamā kārṇe*      work(n.) + to do

*k<sup>h</sup>āntā b<sup>h</sup>ogṇe*      regret (n.) + to feel

*jotṣṇa kārṇe*      thought (n.) + to do

#### 5.7.2.6 Conjunct Verbs

Conjunct verbs are the verbs where there are two components, out of which one component is a light verb or vector, which carries any inflections, indicating tense, mood, or aspect, but provides only fine shades of meaning.

In case of conjunct verb constructions, as noted by Subbarao (2012:23), in all Dravidian languages and some Indo-Aryan languages, the main verb is in its conjunctive participle form. Following are some examples of TM conjunct verbs.

*soḍunā dzāṇe*      leave-conj.ptcp. + to go      to abandon



<i>vikatə gʰeŋe</i>	sell-conj.ptcp.+ to take	to buy
<i>kərunə ʃakəŋe</i>	do-conj.ptcp. + to throw	to finish off the work
<i>kaɖʰunə ʃakəŋe</i>	take -conj.ptcp. + to throw	to take out unwanted material

TM verbs are inflected for person, number, tense, aspect, and mood. Following subsections will present the inflectional paradigms of TM verbs along with examples.

### 5.7.3 Tense

TM shows distinction between three tenses-past tense, present tense, and future tense. Tense is marked by a suffix that immediately follows the verb stem. [-t] is present tense marker, [-l] is past tense marker and vowel + [l] is future marker in TM. In this section, the inflectional paradigms of these three tenses will be described.

#### 5.7.3.1 Past tense

As noted by Pandharipande (1997:410), past tense indicates a state or action which has occurred before the speech. As in SM, in TM too, past tense suffix [-l] is homophonous with the perfective aspectual suffix. The [-l] suffix is preceded by agreement suffixes of person, number and gender.

Person/Gender	Singular	Plural
1 <sup>st</sup> Masculine/Feminine	-lo/-le	-lō
2 <sup>nd</sup> M/F	-lasə/-lisə	-lāntə
3 <sup>rd</sup> M	-la	-lē
F	-li	-lē
N	-lə	-lē/lə

**Table 5.13 Past tense inflectional markers in TM**

It can be observed that gender distinction is neutralised in third person plural. Plurality is marked with nasal vowel. Following is the past tense inflectional paradigm of the verb *dʒaŋe* ‘to go’.

Person/Gender	Singular	Plural
---------------	----------	--------

1 <sup>st</sup> Masculine/Feminine	<i>mi gelo/gele</i>	<i>ami gelō</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> M/F	<i>tu gelasə</i>	<i>tumi səglə lokə gelāntə</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> M	<i>to gela</i>	<i>təni gelē</i>
F	<i>tinə geli</i>	<i>te bajka səglə gelē</i>
N	<i>te gajə geļə</i>	<i>te gajə səglə gelē.</i>

**Table 5.14** Past tense inflectional paradigm: verb ‘*dʒaŋe*’

### 5.7.3.2 Present tense

The present tense suffix [-t] which is homophonous with progressive suffix is preceded by gender, number and person agreement suffix.

Person/Gender	Singular	Plural
1 <sup>st</sup> Masculine/Feminine	<i>-to/-te</i>	<i>-ət ahe/ahō</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> M/F	<i>-tasə/-tisə</i>	<i>-ət ahētə</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> M	<i>-ət ahe</i>	<i>-ət ahetə</i>
F		
N		

**Table 5.15** Present tense inflectional markers in TM

The gender distinction is neutralised in the third person. In case of first, second and third person plural forms, and third person singular form, the verb in progressive form is followed by auxiliary verb that carries tense.

Following is the present tense inflectional paradigm of the verb *band<sup>h</sup>əŋe* ‘to tie’

Person/Gender	Singular	Plural
1 <sup>st</sup> Masculine/Feminine	<i>mi kaŋhi band<sup>h</sup>to/band<sup>h</sup>te</i>	<i>ami kaŋhi band<sup>h</sup>ət ahe/ahō</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> M/F	<i>tu kaŋhi band<sup>h</sup>tos</i>	<i>tumi kaŋhi band<sup>h</sup>ət ajētə</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> M	<i>to/tinə/te band<sup>h</sup>ət aje</i>	<i>təni kaŋhi band<sup>h</sup>ət ajetə.</i>
F		
N		

**Table 5.16** Present tense inflectional paradigm: Verb ‘*band<sup>h</sup>əŋe*’

### 5.6.3.3 Future tense

Compared to regularity found in the patterns of past tense and present tense in TM, there exists variation in the marking of future tense in TM.

Person/Gender	Singular	Plural
1 <sup>st</sup> Masculine/Feminine	-en	-ηarə
2 <sup>nd</sup> M/F	-jilə	-tilə
3 <sup>rd</sup> M	-ələ	-tilə
F		
N		

**Table 5.17 Future Tense Inflectional Markers in TM**

In addition to these inflectional markers, [-ηarə] is future tense marker, which is alternatively used for all numbers and persons, instead of person-gender specific inflectional markers. Following is the inflectional paradigm of the verb *vatʃəne* ‘to read’

Person/Gender	Singular	Plural
1 <sup>st</sup> Masculine/Feminine	<i>mi vatʃenə/ vatʃηarə</i>	<i>ami vatʃηarə</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> M/F	<i>tu vatʃəjilə/ vatʃηarə</i>	<i>tumi vatʃəttilə/ vatʃηarə</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> M	<i>to/tinə/te vatʃələ/ vatʃηarə</i>	<i>təni vatʃtilə/vatʃηarə</i>
F		
N		

**Table 5.18 Future tense inflectional Paradigm: Verb ‘vatʃəne’**

### 5.7.4 Aspect

Aspect is explained as a grammatical category, which conveys how an action, event, or state that is denoted by a verb, extends over time.

#### 5.7.4.1 Progressive Aspect

Progressive aspect indicates continuation of action. It is marked by suffix [-t] and is followed by the auxiliary verb *əsne* ‘to be’. As in SM, various tense forms of *əsne* express perfect aspect in different tenses.

#### (a) Past Progressive:

77. *mi dzatə hoto.*

I go-prog. be-1.sg.pst.

I was going.

(b) **Present progressive**

78. *to dzat aje.*

he go-prog. be-3sg.prs.

he is going.

(c) **Future Progressive**

79. *to vatfətə əsələ.*

he read-prog. be-fut.3m.sg.

he will be reading.

#### 5.7.4.2 Perfective Aspect

Perfective aspect indicates completion of action. It is marked by suffix [-l] and is followed by the auxiliary verb *əsne* ‘to be’. As in SM, various tense forms of *əsne* express perfect aspect in different tenses.

(a) **Past perfect:**

80. *mi gelo hoto.*

I go-perf.1m.sg. be-1.sg.pst.

I had gone

(b) **Present Perfect**

81. *to gela aje.*

he go-perf.3m.sg. be-3m.sg.prs.

He has gone.

(c) **Future Perfect**

82. *to vatfla əsələ*

he read-perf.3m.sg. be-fut.3m.sg.

He will have read.

### 5.7.5 Mood

As defined by Dixon (2009: Vol.1, pn. 95), a sentence generally includes an indication concerning what type of speech act it is; this is called its mood. Current section will discuss indicative and imperative mood in TM. Interrogative need further investigation.

#### 5.7.5.1 Indicative Mood

As described by Pandharipande (1997: 432), Indicative is the unmarked mood which is a statement of fact (at least from the perspective of the speaker).

#### 5.7.5.2 Imperative Mood

Imperatives are classified into six types in case of SM. They are direct, optative, suggestive, obligative, future obligative, future, and negative (prohibitive). TM uses different forms to express imperative mood through these different types.

##### (a) Direct imperative: where there is direct command.

Person	Singular	Plural
2 <sup>nd</sup> M/F	∅	-āntə

Singular form is unmarked, that is, it is bare verb stem (without any suffix), which functions as a finite verb. Plural or polite forms get the suffix /-āntə/. Both the forms take these shape irrespective of the gender of the subject.

83. *tu te kaʃʰi bandʰə.*

You that stick tie-2 sg.imp

Tie that stick.

84. *tumi te kaʃʰi bandʰāntə.*

You-pl that stick tie-2.pl.imp

You(pl) tie that stick.

##### (b) Optative and suggestive

For both the types, suffix /-āvə/ is attached to the verb form to express optative imperative mood. It does not vary according to gender, number, or person. (cf. /-āvə/ → [-amə])

85. *tinə ala-nəntərə ami dzamə.*

she come-after we go-opt.

We should go after she comes.

**(c) Obligative**

In case of obligative construction, there is conjunct verb construction. Conjunctive participle form of the main verb is followed by emphatic *tf* and verb *saramə* ‘complete-opt.’ follows the main verb.

86. *mi e kamə kərunətf saramə.*

I this work do-conj.ptcp.emph complete-opt.

I must complete this work.

**(d) Future obligative**

Verb *pəɟɟze* is added after the infinitive form of the action verb. This form does not agree gender, number, or person of the subject.

87. *məla e kamə kele pəɟɟze.*

I-dat this work do-inf. must

I must do this work.

**(e) Negative Imperatives (prohibitives)**

Negative imperatives are discussed in the section 5.7 (c) while discussing morphological negation in TM.

**5.7.6 Non-finite Verb Forms: Participles**

Infinitives, gerunds, and participles form this class. In this section, participles are discussed in brief. Participles perform the adjectival function in a clause. TM prefers the use of participles to finite relative clauses for modifying nouns and for conjoining clauses. Even SM shares this feature with Dravidian languages. Bloch (1920: 253-254) has highlighted the characteristic of Marathi having larger range and use of participles and has associated it with Dravidian languages. An important feature of Marathi is its set of participles, which are derived by attaching derivational morphemes to verbs. These participles indicate tense, aspect, voice, mood in addition to gender and number features.

In TM, There are of five types of participles such as present/ habitual participle, past/perfective participle, future participle, Progressive participles, and passive participles. Cardona & Jain (2003: 713) has detail account of relative participles in SM. Current discussion is based on those lines.

(a) **present/habitual**

88. *falet dzaṇarə lēkru*

school-loc go-prs.ptcp child

school going child

(b) **perfective**

89. *glas moḍalte porə*

glass break-perf.ptcp boy

the boy who broke the glass

90. *aṇila lavalte topi*

nail-acc attach-perf.ptcp. cap

the cap hanging on the nail

91. *pikalte amba*

ripe-perf.ptcp. mango

ripped mango

92. *gelte por*

go-perf.ptcp boy

the boy who has gone

(c) **future**

93. *dzaṇar əsalte*

go-fut be-perf.ptcp.

the one who is going to go

94. *dʒailte por*

go-fut.ptcp. boy

the boy who will go

(d) **progressive**

95. *dʒatə əsəlte*

go-prog be-perf.ptcp

the one who is going/moving

In addition, there is a class of adverbial participles in TM.

(e) **to express simultaneity of action**

[-*tana*] is suffixed to root verb.

(f) **to indicate period of time/ conjunctive participles indicating temporal sequence of actions**

[-*unə*] / [-*ijgunə*] is suffixed to root verb showing sequential actions.

### 5.8 Morphological negation in TM

Morphological negation in TM provides interesting insights in order to study the phenomenon of contact induced changes. Following are few examples of different construction patterns in TM that support our view that TM shows combination of IA and Dravidian structures.

(a) **Tenseless finite verb form inflected for third person, singular and neuter gender**

96. *bəs ittə jei-na*

Bus here come-neg-3sn

Bus don't come here

In SM, the accepted construction is future participle + be-neg., that is *jeṅar nahi*.

The nature of TM construction follows the pattern of Tamil construction *var-a:-du*

come-neg-3sn



(b) **Negative verbal participle form is preferred in TM over the IA construction pattern, negative particle + conjunctive participle form of the verb.**

97. *šiva mōla paj-na-skə gela*

šiva I-acc see.inf-neg-like go-pst-3sm

šiva went as if not looking at me.

Consider this pattern against the acceptable SM pattern, *nə pahtatf*

*gela*

not see.conj.ptcp-emph go-pst-3sm

As the earlier construction type, this pattern in TM also shows great similarities with Tamil pattern *pa:r-kk-a:-mal po:-n-a:n*

see-neg-vbp go-pst-3sm

(c) **Negative singular and plural imperative forms**

In this case, the pattern shows variation between two forms. One retained construction of Marathi and another reduced form of prohibitive that is agglutinated to root verb similar to Tamil pattern.

For example,

98. *ittə jeu-ko:*

here come-proh.

don't come here

*var-a:d-e:* (Tamil)

Alternative construction *jeu nə-ko*

come.-2sg. proh maintains similarity with SM form.

Another Prohibitive construction in TM is

99. *ittə je-ta-ne*

here come-vbp-neg

you should not come here.

(d) **Negative adjectival participle**

TM prefers the use of negative adjectival participle to the use of perfective participle.

100. *fiva paj-na-skə əsacə muwi*

shiva see.inf.-neg-like be-inf.poss movie

the movie that shiva has not seen.

SM makes use of perfective participle.

*fivane nə pahilela sinema*

Tamil construction pattern is *pa:r-kk-a:d-a paḍam*

see-neg-adj movie

TM also shows few other patterns of negation on phrasal and clausal level, which needs further investigation. They are not covered under the scope of current work.

## 5.9 Discussion and interpretation

Morphologically TM features can be grouped into two categories. Features that are developed internally and features that are developed through Dravidian influence. Reduced or less complicated system of numbers, simplified case marking, irregularity in vowel alteration in marking oblique case while suffixing case-markers or postpositions are results of language internal development. Underlying case system, number system, oblique case marking are part of SM morphol where ogy too. However, TM seems to have simplified the systems. As seen in the section on case marking, oblique case marker has become multifunctional to mark instrumentality, while agentive marker is lost. The only instance of agentive markers that we observed in TM data is the construction type *madzane, tudzane*, etc.

Previous works like Dhanpalwar (1997) consider the third person pronouns *təni*-3 m.pl. and *tinə*-3 f. sg. as the cases where agentive marker /-ne/ is used. However, current analysis shows that these pronouns are frozen forms and there is no sense of agentivity. Case inflection is active on these pronouns. Thus, it can be said that /-nə/ ending in the above mentioned pronouns is just the case of homophony with /-ne/ agentive marker.

In case of TM, lexical and structural borrowing play important role. Further analysis is required on phrasal and clausal level to understand this process.

Replacement of grammatical gender by natural gender system, nature of reflexive pronouns, nature of abundant participles and patterns of morphological negation show the influence of Dravidian language system.

### **5.10 Summary**

In this chapter, we have seen basic aspects of TM morphology. The first section consists of elaborated discussion of TM noun class inflection and derivation. Noun inflection based on gender, number and case is elaborated with examples. Derivation of nouns from nouns, verbs, and adjectives is also discussed followed by a short note on noun compounding.

In the next section follows the discussion on pronoun class that include classification of pronouns in different classes such as personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, reflexive pronouns, interrogative pronouns and indefinite pronouns. This is followed by discussion on adverbs in TM. This section elaborates the temporal and spatial specifications followed by a brief note on derivation of adverbs in TM.

Postpositions are listed with examples. This discussion is followed by a section on TM adjectives. Various types of TM adjectives based on dimension, physical properties of objects, colour, human propensity, age, value and size/degree are elaborated followed by a note on derivation of TM adjectives and a section on TM numerals.

Final section comprises of the brief discussion on TM verbs. Different types of verbs such as auxiliary verbs, simple verbs, compound verbs and conjunct verbs are elaborated with examples. It is followed by brief description of TM verb inflection based on tense, aspect and mood.

At the end of the chapter, there is note on relative participles in TM and morphological negation in TM.

Not all the features of TM morphology are covered in the current work. It needs further investigation of data. Fuller treatment of TM morphology and syntax will be investigated as a part of future research.

## Chapter 6 Text Collection

### 6.0 Introduction

The current chapter aims at documenting a few texts in TM (spoken as well as written). Text collection facilitates to discover grammatical phenomena that are not documented in the earlier chapters. The Texts will provide data for future linguistic analysis.

In this chapter, the need for text collection as a part of this research work is underlined. Various definitions of discourse are presented before elaborating different genres of discourse that have been recorded as a part of the documentation. General properties of discourse are highlighted to facilitate further discussion on various discourse genres. Six texts are transcribed, glossed, and translated. There is a section on analysis of the texts to focus the differences among them. In the case of TM, various types of discourses help us to observe the function of the language in different domains.

As we have seen in the chapter 3: section 3.5.1, TM has reduced just as the home language. Only in social gatherings like marriage or religious ceremonies, TM is used in public domain along with Tamil/Kannada. Following texts are conscious attempts on the part of speakers to use the language in different domains.

### 6.1 What is text?

As explained by Bosanac et al. (2008)<sup>54</sup>, Spoken text is conserved by digital-audio-recording. These recordings have the ability to preserve much more than a written text. All different sounds surrounding speakers such as folding a plastic bag, cleaning utensils, sounds pressure cooker whistle, honking on roads, barking of neighbours' dog, etc. are also recorded. Although these noises do not constitute a part of the text, they contribute while analysing the context of the situation, the culture of informants, and speakers' attitude toward other members of the community. The natural conversations, storytelling sessions, etc. in informal settings provide the comprehensive range of data that displays the nature of a language as a functional entity.

To use the language successfully in everyday interaction, it is necessary to have knowledge of paralinguistic signs and cultural norms along with grammar and lexicon. Along with

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<sup>54</sup> Siniša Bosanac, Damir Latin, Petra Mikolić, *Discourse Analysis: Spoken Language, Subject: Discourse Analysis*, Academic year: 2008/2009

various social parameters of language change discussed in chapter 3, language also changes according to the social context in which speakers engage themselves in conversation. Different settings and different objectives require different linguistic varieties. More than one linguistic variety can be used in a single conversation. The choice of the language (style, register) depends on the topic of discussion. In our recorded conversations, speakers switch over varieties according to the topic shifts. While talking about their project, the participants use a formal style or shift to English; on the other hand, when they speak about general or everyday topics and events, they involuntarily move to informal style or code-switch to Tamil. While talking about religious topics, speakers use Sanskritised style.

Through this chapter, there is an attempt to see how speakers try to accommodate with different settings while conveying through TM.

### 6.1.1 Definitions

Discourse, as defined by Foucault, refers to *ways of constituting knowledge, together with the social practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations that inhere in such knowledge, and relations between them. For Foucault, Discourses are not just the ways of thinking and producing meaning, but they also involve the 'nature' of the body, unconscious and conscious mind and emotional life of the subjects that they intend to govern* (Weedon, 1987:108).

A Little Glossary of Semantics<sup>55</sup> defines discourse as "the totality of codified linguistic usages attached to a given type of social practice such as legal discourse, medical discourse, and religious discourse." Glossary of Linguistic Terms<sup>56</sup> describes a discourse as an instance of language use whose type can be classified on the basis of factors such as selection of grammatical and lexical structures. It also considers their distribution in main versus supportive materials, the theme of the speech event, style or variety. The background knowledge and expectations with which the addressee interprets the discourse is also taken into account.

The term discourse has its roots in the Latin language. The term presupposes somewhat different meanings in different contexts. However, in literature, discourse refers to speech or writing that is longer than the sentence that processes a certain subject formally in the form of writing or speech.

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<sup>55</sup> [http://www.revue-texto.net/Reperes/Glossaires/Glossaire\\_en.html#discourse](http://www.revue-texto.net/Reperes/Glossaires/Glossaire_en.html#discourse)

<sup>56</sup> <http://www-01.sil.org/linguistics/glossaryoflinguisticterms/contents.htm>

For current chapter, we take the description of discourse in the ‘*Glossary of linguistic terms*’ as basic.

### 6.1.2 General properties of discourse

Discourse is human communication. A text is a linguistic object that is a record of the language used during a portion of discourse. In order to be text, a series of clauses must hang together in certain definable ways. Thus, cohesion or continuity is an important characteristic of discourse. As suggested by Givon (1983a:7), a discourse has topic continuity, action continuity, and thematic continuity. Topic continuity refers to the fact that discourse suggests the same referents repetitively. Pronouns and other referential strategies are morphosyntactic means of conveying this kind of continuity. When there is a discontinuity, it marks the change in topic or referent in the discourse. Action continuity refers to the fact that discourse tends to expand along certain parameters such as location, time, or logic/causation. Various types of discourse rely on several organisational parameters to a greater or a lesser degree. Tense/aspect marking and clause connectors facilitate in this kind of continuity. Thematic continuity refers to the fact that discourse tends to revolve around recurring themes. Jones (1977:6) refers to the concept of theme as the main idea of a text or a portion of the text. Besides continuity and discontinuity, discourse also demonstrates various kinds of prominence such as climax/peak, and intensification (Payne 1997:353-354).

### 6.2 Kinds/Genres of discourse

Payne (1997: 356) has elaborated on a possible list of genres of discourse. Following are some kinds of discourse that are considered for the discussion of the current chapter.

	Type of Discourse	Definition	Example
A	Interview <sup>57</sup>	It is a speech event in which one person, A, extracts information from another person, B about B’s biography	Conversation (Formal/Informal)
B	Descriptive Discourse	It is a discourse, which informs about a topic or illustrates a	Explanations of the teachings of the

<sup>57</sup> [https://english.wisc.edu/rfyoung/He\\_Young1998.pdf](https://english.wisc.edu/rfyoung/He_Young1998.pdf)

		topic.	forefathers
C	Hortatory Discourse	It is a discourse, which is an attempt to convince the addressee to fulfill instructions that are given in the discourse.	Warnings to children
D	Narrative Discourse	It is a discourse, which is an explanation of events that have taken place in the past. It uses verbs of speech, motion, and action to describe a series of events. These events are dependent on one another.	Folk stories, Historical events, Mythology, Personal Experiences
E	Compound Discourse	It is a discourse, which contains portions belonging to two or more types of discourse.	Hortatory + Narrative

**Table 6.1 Genres of Discourse selected for text collection**

### 6.2.1 Features of discourse genres

A. Within the framework suggested by Payne (1997: 356-371), the first text selected for this chapter is a podcast interview. This comes under the general category of conversation where turn-taking is the most evident structural feature. Turn-yielding devices are special intonation patterns and grammatical particles. Question intonation is used to elicit a response from an interlocutor, even if the clause is not an actual question. Fillers and hesitation particles are floor holding devices to indicate that speaker is yet to finish with his contribution. Interviews largely take place face to face and in person. Modern communications technologies such as the Internet have facilitated conversations between two or more parties that are separated geographically. Videoconferencing software is an example of such technological advances.

Current piece of interview is part of podcast interview dated 30<sup>th</sup> September 2014<sup>58</sup>. The interview is synchronous as it is carried out in real time. The interviewer is intended to gather information about the ongoing project of interviewee. She seems to direct the interview likewise. Video chat is the closest a researcher will get towards resembling a face-to-face interview.<sup>59</sup> This is because it permits facial expressions and other visual cues that are missing in text dependent forms such as chatrooms.

B. Descriptive discourse is an attempt to explain something. People frequently want to describe the characteristics of something, someone, or some abstract concept. The piece of discourse selected for the discussion in the current chapter is a part of the biographical description of one Swamiji by his devotee.

C. Hortatory discourses are events where the speaker tries to get the hearer to do something or to behave in a certain way. The current piece of hortatory discourse is in the form of parental lectures on what not to do in daily life.

D. Narratives are stories. That is, they are sections of discourse in which a speaker portrays a set of events in the real world or some imagined world. Payne (1997) lists following subtypes of the narrative. They are (1) Personal experience, (2) Historical, (3) folk stories, and (4) mythology.

There are two narratives chosen for the discussion in the current chapter. The first narrative is the story narrated by MR. Ramachandra Rao. Narrator remembered this story being heard in his childhood and tried to recollect. The second narrative is a mythological story to highlight the importance of devotion.

E. Compound discourse is the combination of any of the above-mentioned types of discourse. In this chapter, the selected compound discourse is combination of hortatory discourse and narrative, where the narrator is trying to give parental instructions through his childhood experiences.

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<sup>58</sup> [https://www.podomatic.com/podcasts/tanjavurmarathi/episodes/2014-09-29T12\\_18\\_37-07\\_00](https://www.podomatic.com/podcasts/tanjavurmarathi/episodes/2014-09-29T12_18_37-07_00)

<sup>59</sup> Hanna, Paul (2012-04-01). "[Using internet technologies \(such as Skype\) as a research medium: a research note](#)". *Qualitative Research*. 12 (2): 239–242. ISSN 1468-7941. doi:10.1177/1468794111426607



## 6.2.2 Selection of texts

The texts that I have included in this chapter were selected for several reasons. First, I tried to select texts that are representative of different genres. I have recorded people telling stories, explaining how ceremonies are conducted, having conversations, narrating how to cook certain foods, telling me what they did yesterday, giving a speech, and singing songs. From these recordings, I have selected texts to match the genres mentioned above.

	Type of Discourse	Text Selected	Informant
A	Interview	Semi-formal Interview	Mrs. JR and Mr. ARV
B	Descriptive Discourse	Swami Charitra	Mr. SSJ
C	Hortatory Discourse	Aajicha upadesha	Mr. RR
D 1	Narrative Discourse	Story 1	Mr. RMR
D 2	Narrative Discourse	Story 2	Mrs. PMP
E	Compound Discourse  Hortatory + Narrative	Story of Pallavpuram	Mr. RR

**Table 6.2** Texts selected for analysis

## 6.3 Transcription

In this section, various texts listed in table 6.2 are transcribed using IPA phonemic transcription and glossed according to morpheme-by-morpheme correspondence as proposed by Leipzig glossing rules. The transcribed text is followed by summarised translation of the same text.

### 6.3.1 Interview

JR: *dʰənjəvad tumala\_fri anəndrav vəsistə\_*

Thanks you-to(pause)Mr. AnandaRao Vasistha

‘Thank you Mr. Anandarao Vasistha’

*madzə əstitva-tfə adzə-tfə bag-ānt\_ vel kaq<sup>h</sup>-iṅgū ja-karta.*

I-POSS identity-POSS today- POSS episode-LOC (pause)time take-PTCP come-FOR

‘for coming to (participate)in today’s episode of maze astitva(my identity).’

*at-tfa iṅṭarvju-tfə ləkṣjə je-unə\_ tum-tfə prājətnə\_*

today-POSS interview-POSS aim come-PTCP (pause) you-POSS effort-PL

‘the aim of today’s interview is your effort (pause)’

*ində kəṅsepfən æṅḍ ḍevləpmentṭəf təṅḍzaur mərəṭ<sup>hi</sup> śabdəkəf\_*

‘in the conception and development of Thanjavur marathi dictionary’

*dzaaltrə mə-la tum-tfə toṅḍ-ā-sun əikamte aje.*

in that case I-DAT you-POSS mouth-ABL listen-OBL is.

‘In that case I want to listen it from you’.

*kā-ki je tum-tfə bren tṣailḍ. ma-dzə pəjla prəfnə jeunə*

why-because this you-POSS brain child. I-POSS first question come-PTCP

‘Because it is your brain child. My first question is’

*ka aṅi kəsə tumi e proḍjekṭa-la arəmbə kərlūtə?*

why and how you-HON this project-ACC start do-2 PST.HON

‘why and how did you start this project?’

*an̄i kəsə tumi gʰeʃlāntə pəjlə paulə\_ e prəkəlp-a-l akʰar dja-kərtə?*

and how you take-PST-HON first step(pause) this project-OBL-DAT shape give-for

‘and how did you take first step to shape this project.’

**ARV:** *ma-dzə əstivə-tʃə bag-at mə-dzə svagət kərəl-təla udzəndə tʰəŋks.*

I-POSS identity-POSS episode-LOC I-POSS welcome do-for many thanks

‘Many thanks for welcoming to (this) episode of my identity’.

*udəndə tʰəŋks əgen. madzə d̄ikʃənəri mi tutʰaudzənd̄ nain februvār-īnt*

many thanks again. I-POSS dictionary I 2009 february-LOC

‘Many thanks again. I (started) my dictionary in February, 2009’.

*arəmbə kelō. an̄i tetʃə vərʃ-i epril-āntə madzə blɔg-āntə əploqə kərə-la*

start do-1 M.PST. and that year-LOC april-LOC I-POSS blog-LOC upload do-for

‘started. and in the same year (I started) uploading to my blog’.

*arəmbə kelō. madzə he dəkʃinə mərəʃʰi punəruddʰariṇi prodzekt̄ aje*

start do-1 M.PST. I-poss this south Marathi revitalization project is

‘started. This Dakshin Marathi punaroddharini is my project’.

*edz-āntə d̄ikʃənəri-viṇa an̄kʰə-ī: vegʃə-vegʃə vibʰagə əsələ.*

this-LOC dictionary-without much more different-different part exist-prs.

‘This (project) has not just dictionary but much more various parts’.

*v<sup>h</sup>ɔʔaj mi:niz diempi hæz mətʃ bigər ədʒeŋdɑ dæn hæviŋə dikʃənəri.*

‘what I mean is DMP has much bigger agenda than having a dictionary’.

*ata tum-tʃə prəʃna-l uttər detō. e tʊt<sup>h</sup>auzəŋdɛʔ məd<sup>h</sup>e kəsə -ka*

now you-POSS question-DAT answer give-1 M.PRS. this 2008 in how-why

‘Now I answer your question how and why (I started) this in 2008’.

*arəmb<sup>h</sup>ə kelō-te. mi tʊt<sup>h</sup>auzəŋdɛʔ-āntə reʔajər dʒalō bɛŋk-ānt-una*

start do-1 M.PST. that. I 2008 –LOC retire happen-1 M. PST. (pause) bank-LOC-ABL

‘I started that. I retired from bank in 2008’.

*aŋi satə-aʔ<sup>h</sup>ə məjine ugə bəslōto. vəʒə ho-ta ho-ta*

and seven-eight months idle sit- 1M.PST. age happen-PROG.PTCP happen-PROG.PTCP

‘and 7-8 months I was sitting idle. While aging,’

*əm-tʃə buddi məndə hotə dʒa-ilə m<sup>h</sup>uŋə əɡgidənali-ī kəʔələ-tʃ.*

we-POSS memory weak happen GO-PST.CONT. that everybody-EMPH know- PRS.CONT.-EMPH

‘our memory would be weaker, everybody knows that’.

*vəʒə puɖ<sup>h</sup>ə dʒa-ta koŋtəki nəvə b<sup>h</sup>afa fikəl-trə buddi-lə tʃokk<sup>h</sup>oʔ m<sup>h</sup>un kuʔ<sup>h</sup>ki vāʔʃəlō.*

age ahead go-PROG.PTCP some new language learn-if memory-DAT good that somewhere  
read-1 M.SG.PST.

‘I read somewhere that It is good for memory to learn some new language as you grow old’.

## Translation:

JR: Thank you Mr. Anandarao Vasistha for coming to participate in today's episode of 'maze astitva'. Today's interview is aimed at knowing your effort in the conception and development of Thanjavur Marathi dictionary. In that case, I want to listen it from you because it is your brain child. My first question is why and how did you start this project? and how did you take first step to shape this project?

ARV: Many thanks for welcoming to this episode of 'maze Astitva' Many thanks again. I started my dictionary in February, 2009 and in the same year, I started uploading it to my blog. This 'Dakshin Marathi punaroddharini' is my project and this has not just dictionary but many more different parts. What I mean is DMP has much bigger agenda than having a dictionary. Now I answer your question how and why I started this project in 2008. I retired from bank in 2008 and 7-8 months I was sitting idle. Everybody knows that as we grow older our memory gets weaker. I read somewhere that, as you grow old, it is good for memory to learn some new language.

### 6.3.2 Descriptive Discourse- Swami Charitra (SSJ)

*hāre: nāmāha. frisātjabināvati:rtʰā svamine-tʃā dʒivijā tʃāritrā*

Hari-VOC prayers. Sri Satyabhinavateertha swamine-POSS enlightening biography

'Prayers to lord Vishnu. An enlightening biography of Sri Satyabhinavateertha swami'

*kānnāḍ-āntā am-tʃā sri sātjātmāti:rtʰā sripādane prāvātʃānā dil-ētā.*

kannada-LOC We-POSS sri satyatmateertha sripadane narrate do-3M.PL.PST.PERF.

'has been narrated in Kannada by our respectful Sri satyatmateertha Sripada'.

*te prāvātʃānā-tʃā mi dākʰinā mārāṭʰī-tā sāngā-lā mʰun prājātnā kārāt ajō.*

that narration-EMPH I dakshina marathi- IN tell- FOR QUOT effort do-PRS. PROG.

'I am trying to tell the same narration in Dakshina Marathi'.

*don tin disa-puḍʰə mi je pəjələ bagə vɔis klip dilōtō.*

two three day-before I this first episode voice clip give-3M.SG.PST.PERF.

‘two-three days back, I had given voice clip for this first episode’.

*atta dusrə bagə ami paməṇə. \_fri gurubʰjo nəməha.\_*

now second part we see-OPT.QUOT (silence) Sri guru-ACC pray.(silence)

‘Now let us see the second part. (silence) Prayers to Sri Guru. (Silence)’

*frisətjabinəsvamine-tfə dzivjə tfəritrə pəjla bag-āntə ami pʰatana*

Srisatyabhinavaswamine-POSS enlightening biography first part-LOC we see-WHILE

‘While seeing the enlightening biography of Sri satyabhinavaswami in the first part’

*təni vas kel-tə setra-tf məhima\_*

he-HON stay do-PST.PTCP place-POSS importance (Pause)

‘importance of the place where he stayed’

*kəsə təni ek samane vjəkti-vəṇi hote\_*

how he-HON. one common man-LIKE be-3M.PL.PST.

‘how he was a common man’

*təna-la tən-tfə guru-tfə ənugrəha-muḷə\_*

he-DAT he-POSS guru-POSS blessing-BECAUSE (pause)

‘because of the blessings of his Teacher’

*fṛisətjanadati:rtʰə fṛipadaṅ-tfə ənuḡrəha-mu|ə\_*

Srisatyanadatirtha Sripada-POSS blessing-BECAUSE (pause)

‘because of the blessings of great Srisatyanadatirtha Sripada’

*təni ɖoskja-vəṛ hat tʰiv-ũ afṛivadə kela təmu|ə\_*

he-HON. head-ON hand keep-CONJ.PTCP. blessing do-3MSG PST. because(pause)

‘because he blessed him keeping hand on his head (pause)’

*təna-la tevɖə vidja-i: kəsə alə\_*

he.HON.-DAT. that much knowledge-EMPH. how come-3N.SG.PST.\_

‘how he got that much knowledge’

*tə-la nəntrə təni kəsə digvidzəjə kər-ũ vadin-gĩ həriv-ũ*

that-DAT. after he.hon. how victory do-CONJ-PTCP. debate- all defeat-CONJ.PTCP.

‘after that how he got victory and how he defeated (others) in debate’

*fṛipadaṅ-tfja paj-āntə səmərpaṅə kelē\_*

sripada-POSS feet-LOC dedicate do-3M.PL.PST.

‘dedicated at the feet of Sripada’.

*tə-la nəntrə təni sagər səṅgəma-la gelte\_*

that-DAT after he.HON ocean confluence-DAT go-PST.PTCP

‘after that (when) he went to the confluence of the oceans’

*kāṣā veṇusagārā vaśiṣṭhā sagārā m<sup>h</sup>āṇa-tf t<sup>h</sup>ikaṇ-aggī-:*

how venusagar vasistha sagar say.INF.-POSS place-all

‘how all the places such as Venusagar and Vasishtha sagar’

*tfal-lātā adb<sup>h</sup>utā he-ggī: ami pajlā bag-āntā pajlō.*

walk-PST.PTCP. wonder this-all we first episode-LOC see-1.PL.PST.

‘wonder that he walked, all these we saw in the first episode’.

*atta dusrā bag-āntā teṇ-tfā prābav-orā ami pau-māṇā.*

now second episode-LOC he-POSS influence-on we see-IMP.-QUOT.

‘now in the second episode, let us see on his influence’.

*frīṣatjānadāsvamine pārānd<sup>h</sup>ama-la gela-nāntā*

srisatyanaswamine heaven-DAT go.PST-after

‘After srisatyanaswamine went to heaven’

*frīṣatjabināvāsvamine-tfā pāttā kaḍ<sup>h</sup>-iṅgun*

srisatyabhinavaswamine-EMPH. title take-CONJ.PTCP.

‘srisatyabhinavaswamine himself became the pontiff’

*t<sup>h</sup>evḍā defa-tfā digvidzājā-ī: kārtātā.*

that much region-POSS victory-also do-3M.SG.PRS.

‘became victorious over all the regions’



## Translation

Prayers to lord Vishnu. An enlightening biography of Sri Satyabhinavateertha swami has been narrated in Kannada by our respectful Sri satyatmateertha Sripada. I am trying to tell the same narration in Dakshina Marathi. Two-three days back, I had given a voice clip for this first episode. Now let us see the second part. Prayers to Sri Guru. While seeing the enlightening biography of Sri satyabhinavaswami in the first episode, we saw the importance of the place where he stayed, how he was a common man, because of the blessings of his Teacher, because of the blessings of great Srisatyanadatirtha Sripada, because he blessed him keeping hand on his head, how he got so much knowledge, after that how he got victory over everyone and how he defeated others in debate and dedicated his victory at the feet of Sripada, after that when he went to the confluence of the oceans, how he walked all the places such as Venusagar and Vasishtha sagar, all these wonders we saw in the first episode. Now in the second episode, let us see on his influence. After Srisatyanadaswamine went to heavenly abode, Srisatyabhinavaswamine himself became the pontiff. He gained victory over all the regions.

### 6.3.3 Hortatory Discourse- Aajicha upadesha (RR/Written discourse)

The informant has produced written discourse using Roman transliteration of TM. The same text has been reproduced by another informant using Devanagari script. both the versions are presented here so that adequacy of particular script to represent the TM language shall be discussed.

Maja aajimma, amma, bapa, maja laahna vayaantha, saangaacha upadesa:  Umbra valaandthaane.  Umbra vora basun kaayin kaathane.  Paashte vela Nustha potaantha kela kaathaane.  Pashte utun dhaantha gaasnaaska kayin kaavun livun karthaan.	मझ आजीम्मा, अम्मा, बापा, मझ ल्हान वर्येंत सांगाच उपदेश :  उंबरा वलांडताने  उंबरा वर बसून काहीं खाताने  पाष्टे वेळ नुस्त पोटांत केळे खाताने  पाष्टे उठून दांत घासनास्क काहीं खाऊन पीवून करताने
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<p>Ghaavaala jaayala tivaltha anthunaa vora gharaantha nijthaane.</p> <p>Anthuna vora nijlaaska kaayin kaavun livun karthaane.</p> <p>Otaaklaaska paani ki coffee tea ki peethane, basun piyaanva.Otaaklaaska aushadh gethaane, basunacha thondaantha gaalingaanva.</p> <p>Jaambaayi sodthaana jaalta poortha thonda jaankinganva.</p>	<p>गांवाला जायाला ठिवलते अण्थूणावर घरांत निजताने</p> <p>अण्थूणावर निजलास्कं काहीं खावून पीवून करताने</p> <p>ओठाकलास्कं पाणी की कॉफी टी की पीताने. बसून</p> <p>पींवं(पीमं)</p> <p>ओठाकलास्कं औषध घेताने. बसूनच तोंडांत घालिंगांवं</p> <p>जांभाई सोडताना झालतेपूत तोंड झांकिंगांवं</p>
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### Translation:

This is what my grandmother, my mother, my father used to advise me when I was a child.

1. One should not cross the threshold.
2. One should not eat anything while sitting on the threshold.
3. Early morning, one should not eat Banana empty stomach.
4. Early morning, one should not eat anything without brushing the teeth.
5. One should not sleep on the bedding that is kept separate to carry while going on tour.
6. One should not eat or drink anything while lying on the bed.
7. One should not drink water, coffee, or tea while standing. One should drink it sitting.
8. One should not take medicines while standing, must take it in sitting posture.
9. While yawning, one should cover his mouth completely.

### 6.3.4 Narrative Discourse: Story 1 by Mr. RMR

*ek gam-āt ek radʒa ota. hm.*  
one village-LOC one king tobe-3M.SG.PST. filler

‘There was a king in a village’

*te radʒa-l dāṅde māntri otē.*  
that king-DAT many minister be-3PL.PST.

‘That king had many ministers’.

*moffə gāvə.*

big village

‘It was a big village’.

*te gav-āntə dāṅde lokə kaj kərtilə \_*  
that village-LOC many people what do-3PL.PST.

‘What many people in that village will do’

*e kamma tēṅ-tfə keq-ānt kaj dʒal-tri:nə*  
this whoever they-POSS village-LOC what happen.PST.PTCP-but

‘whatever happens in their village’

*pəjle jeun radʒa-kəqə:-tʃ detilə.*  
 first come-CONJ.PTCP. king-with-EMPH. give-3PL.PST.

‘first they will give it to their king’

*tətə ek mānuʃ jeun kaj kərələ*  
 there one man come-CONJ.PTCP. what do-3M.SG.PST.

‘There what a man did, he came (and)’

*ek buʃʃi pu:ra amba aŋ-un dila radʒa-kəqə\_\_.*  
 one basket full mango bring-CONJ.PTCP. give-3M.SG.PST. king-with(Silence)

‘he gave a basket full of mangoes to the king’.

*te ʃəb-ānt aŋ-un dile ki radʒa badʒi ʃevlə*  
 that basket-LOC bring-CONJ.PTCP. give-3PL.PST. that king aside keep-3M.SG.PST

‘that he gave in the basket, The king kept it aside’.

*radʒa-kəqə ek māntri ote.*  
 king-with one minister be-3M.HON.PST.

‘There was a minister with King’.

*te māntri kamma-jinūt jeũ kōte kaj saŋgəlte*  
 that minister whenever-EMPH come-CONJ.PTCP. where what say-PST.PTCP.

‘That minister, everytime, at any place, what he would say’

*te-ĩ:*            *tfokkoŋ*            *alata*                            *məŋũ*            *saŋtilə.*  
 that-also            good            come-PST.PTCP.            quot.            say-3M.HON.PST.

‘he would say, what happened is good’.

*ka:j*    *sangalte*            *e-ĩ:*                            *tfokkoŋ*    *aje*                            *saŋtilta*  
 what    say-PST.PTCP.    this-also            good            is                            say-3M.HON.PST.

whatever he would say, ‘this is also good’.

**Translation:**

There was a king in a village. That king had many ministers. It was a big village. In that village, what many people will do, whatever happens in their village, first they will give it to their king. There, what a man did, he came and gave a basket full of mangoes to the king. The king kept that basket aside. There was a minister with King. That minister, every time, at any place, whatever he would say he would say, ‘what happened is good’.

**6.3.5 Narrative Discourse: Story 2 by Mrs. PMP**

*ek*    *gʰam-antə*            *ek*    *bʰəktə*    *hota*                            *məŋu.*  
 one    village-LOC    one    devotee    be-3M.SG.PST            quot.

‘there was a devotee in a village’.

*tə-dʒə bʰəkti*            *məŋa-tf*            *əti:*    *vipri:tə*    *bʰəkti*            *hotə*            *mʰənatf.*  
 he-POSS devotion    say-INF-POSS    very    extreme    devotion            be-3N.SG.PST    quot.

‘his devotion was very extreme’.

*tə-dʒə-karta*    *te*    *devə*    *jeunə*                            *te*    *bəgta-tfə*            *gʰəra-la*    *jeũ*  
 he-POSS-for    that    god    come-CONJ.PTCP.    that devotee-POSS    house-DAT    come-CONJ.PTCP

‘for him that god used to go to his house and’

*tə-dʒə-bʰərər bʰol-ũ                      tə-dʒə-bərər                      tʃal-ũ                      e                      mari-ki kərət-ote.*

he-POSS-with talk-CONJ.PTCP he-POSS-with walk-CONJ.PTCP. this like-that do-PST.PTCP.-be-3M.HON.PST.

‘talking with him, walking with him and would do like that’.

*miũ                      dodəni:                      milũ                      tʃal-ũ                      dzaja-tʃ                      jeunə*

together                      both                      together                      walk-CONJ.PTCP. go-PRS.PTCP.-POSS come-CONJ.PTCP

‘as both of them would walk together while going’

*tʃarə paja-tʃə niʃaŋ                      pʰəqəl                      mʰəŋə.*

four feet-POSS symbol fall-PST.PTCP. quot.

‘there would be marks of four feet’.

*əsəʃf                      as-təma                      jeunə                      te                      bʰəktə-la                      jeunə tʰoqkə pur-natə kaʃə alə.*

like this be-while                      come-CONJ.PTCP. that devotee-DAT quot. little hard time come-3.N.PST

when it was like this, that devotee had some hard time.

*kəʃtə                      kaʃə                      alə.                      ko:ŋ                      kəsəltə                      bʰəktə                      əsəltə-pəŋi:nə*

difficult time                      come-3N.PST                      who                      how so ever                      devotee                      be-PST.PTCP.-even though

difficult time came. whoever, how so ever be the devotee is,

*ami ami kəratʃə kərma-tʃə ənusaɾə*

we we do-INF.POSS duty-POSS according

according to each and every ones duties

*am-tʃə əvəstə jeunə tuma-la əggidəna-si kəʃəl te:tʃə\_*

we-POSS condition come-CONJ.PTCP. you-ACC everyone-ACC understand-  
PST.PTCP. that (silence)

all of you understand what our condition would be

*tamma te bʰəkta-la jeunə tʰoɖa purnatə kaʃə alə təma\_*

then that devotee-DAT come-CONJ.PTCP. little difficult time come-3N.PST. then (silence)

then that devotee had faced some difficult times, at that time

*je bʰəkta-la jeunə tʃalū dzatəma*

that devotee-DAT come-CONJ.PTCP. walk-CONJ.PTCP. go-PRS.PTCP.

while that devotee was walking through

*tətʃə te donə pajətʃə otə mənə.*

he-poss that two leg-poss be-3 pl. pst quot.

only his two legs were there.

### **Translation:**

There was a devotee in a village. His devotion was extreme. For him, God used to go to his house. He would talk with him, walk with him and be always with him. As both of them would walk together, while moving on road, there would be marks of four feet. When it was

the routine, once, devotee had some hard time. Difficult time came. All of you understand that whoever, how so ever great be the devottee is, according to each and every ones duties, what our condition would be. Then that devottee had to face some difficult times. At that time, while that devottee was walking through only his two legs were there.

### 6.3.6 Compound Discourse: Hortatory + Narrative by Mr. RR (Written discourse)

बाहेर जाताना नंखरं नीटविणी जावं. तोंड पुसींणून, बेष विंचिरिंणून (केंस असलतरं - ल्हान वयेंत असेल)- चोखोट घडी करलते धोत्र (वेष्टि), नाही, निजार (निक्कर), अंगरखा घालिंणून जावं. पल्लवपुरमांत एक परीट येईल. केम्हा येईल म्हणून कळना. केम्हा येतोकी तेम्हा फडकी घालतील. परतून केम्हा आणल म्हणूनई कळना. परंतु, बेष धुवून, घडी करून आणलं. तोई पाहयाला शुद्धविणी पंढ्र धोत्र नेसिंणून येईल (कोणाच धोत्र की !). तो जास्ति बोलना. बोललतरीन अम्हाला समजना. येताना जाताना हळ्ळु चालत येईना. फडक्याच गांठोड कक्षांत काढिंणून उडत उडत पळत जाईल, तज गांव पुदुपोत्तूराला, अम्चं घरांतसून दोन मैलाच दूर. मझं बापाला पंढ्र धोत्र (मल म्हणतील), अंगरखाई पंढ्र, काकाच पंढ्र धोत्र (वेष्टि), पंढ्र अंगरखा. अम्चं अग्गीं वेगळं वेगळं रंगाच.

तो आलनाही म्हणजे, मी कॉफी निवून घालाच सपाट बूड असाच पात्रांत (डबरा म्हणतील) गनगन असाच विस्तु घालून अंगरखा नंखरं घडी बरोर असास्कं कराला प्रयत्न करेनं. ते मागे पुढे असलं. डेल्हींत सांगतील, "खाणे अम्चं जीव्हाला अवडनास्कं असूया (अम्चं पोटालाई पाहियंगांवं) परंतु, वेषभूष लोकांना अवडास्कं असांवं म्हणून. हेच अरवेंत म्हणतील "आळ पादि आडै पादि" म्हणून. (मी दोनींतीं पाव पावचं).

#### Translation

While going out of the house, one should be well dressed. One should wash his mouth clean, comb his hair (if he has some---he might have them at a young age), and wear ironed clothes while leaving.

In Pallavpuram, one washerman used to come. We never knew when he would come; whenever he would come, we would give him clothes. We never knew when he would return with clothes. However, he would return with white-washed, pressed clothes. He himself would come wearing nice-white clothes. He won't talk much. Even if he would talk, we



never understood. He would hold the bundle of clothes under his arms and fly away. His house was in Puthupattur, 2 miles away from our house.

My father would wear white dhoti and white shirt. My uncle would also wear white dhoti and white shirt. We would wear different colours.

If he wouldn't come, I would try to press my shirt with the help of home-made iron by putting the hot coal in the coffeepot. But it won't give proper result.

In Delhi, they would say, even if the food does not please our tongue-it is ok. But our appearance should please others. Even in Tamil, it is said that half points to the nature of man and half to his appearance.

(I am quarter in both).

#### 6.4 Observations

Different discourses provide a discrete style, vocabulary, and presentation that are required to communicate the particular information to a particular audience<sup>60</sup>.

The first text, which is a semi-formal interview, is structured around the theme of DMP project. Interviewer and interviewee both make reference to this theme repetitively. Frequent pauses are observed in the speech of interviewer. The sentences used by her are the direct translation or structural borrowing of English interrogative structure. There is frequent code-switching to English. It is important to note the background of the interviewer in order to analyse the nature of her language use. She is based in Europe for more than a decade now and English is the primary language of communication in all the domains. Therefore, there are conscious efforts to use home language TM through podcast as a part of language revitalization. On the other hand, the interviewee has a good command over TM as well as TM. He makes it an effort not to switch between them during his turn.

Descriptive discourse is a religious discourse. Therefore, there is a combination of Sanskrit tatsama or tatbhava lexicon and occasional use of Kannada language during the discourse. The beginning of topic and the change of topic is marked by the phrase *hāre nāmāh*. It throws light on their practice of building religious discourse. Pause is followed by this phrase. Being descriptive discourse, it is characterised by complex sentence structures consisting five

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<sup>60</sup> <https://literarydevices.net/discourse/>

to six simple sentences. It can be observed in the text that whole first episode of the story is a single complex sentence.

Both the texts in narrative discourse are characterised by the frequent use of fillers such as *mm/hmm*, quotatives such as *m'əŋũ*, frequent pauses and fumbling, repetition of an already narrated event as a mean to focus the theme. Mostly, simple past tense, past perfective and past progressive is used in narration. Use of conjunctive participles to describe following incidents is more in narratives than in any other type of text.

## **6.5 Summary**

In this chapter, we have highlighted the need for text collection in case of TM. Various genres of discourse are listed, and collected texts are re-organized genre-wise. Texts are transcribed, glossed and translated. In the final section, the important observations on the available texts are noted briefly.



## Chapter 7

### Conclusion

The purpose of this dissertation was to present a comprehensive account of the linguistic features of TM and to undertake a brief survey of the other transplanted varieties of Marathi alongside their history and their status as language and speech community.

The work is divided into seven chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the TM language and defines the scope and objectives of the dissertation. The sources of Primary data are discussed in details while discussing the methodology of the research. Chapter 2 mainly deals with the notion of transplanted languages, various studies on Transplanted languages throughout the world and then tries to make the case for TM as a case of transplanted variety of Marathi. Detailed historical background of TM is provided that forms the basis for further discussion on the language variation based on regional distribution of TM population. Chapter 3 provides the knowledge of sociolinguistic profile of TM, which is very necessary before probing into other features of language. The results of the vitality survey throw light on the fact that, despite of community being numerically strong, the attitude of the speaker in using the language in different domains and effects of constant exposure to the regional/ world dominant languages has caused TM to be considered in the category of endangered languages. This chapter underlines the need for grammatical description of the language and documentation of it in spoken as well written form.

Chapter 4 deals with the phonology of TM. Phonological description of phonology underlines the need for categorical analysis of the data. Regional and literacy background of speakers are major factors affecting the variation within language. On segmental level, TM has retained its system closer to Marathi. The distinctive characteristics of TM that separate it from SM are nasalisation, vowel length, assimilatory gemination, variation in aspiration and syllable structure.

Where SM presents numerous examples of de-nasalisation, TM seems to retain the nasality. Nasal vowels in TM can be categorised into three groups.

(a) Word-final nasalised vowels in verbal inflection as seen in examples *gelō*, *dzatō*, etc. (b) Nasalised vowels in other word-classes (generally case of nasalisation retained from Middle Marathi). (c) Vowels preceding palatal/alveo-palatal consonants are mostly nasalised as seen in examples such as *t<sup>h</sup>ēt̪ā*, *pāt̪ā*, etc.

Phonologically, there is no length distinction in TM. Phonetic length variation does occur with all vowels in the case of stress. Stress causes short vowel to become long. Therefore, the instances of long vowel are because of stress placement. Moreover, where vowel is dropped at word-final position in continuous speech, the vowel in the preceding syllable is lengthened.

Gemination through assimilation process is very productive in TM. In case of syllable structure, TM prefers open syllables at word final position. This tendency is similar to Tamil. Therefore, the suprasegmentals that are based on syllable structure are expected to show the influence of Tamil. This area will be investigated in future.

De-aspiration has a wider range than aspiration. In the case of SM, all aspirated stops regularly and nasals optionally lose their aspiration word-medially or between the words when followed by consonants, especially stops. It is important to note that the nature of aspiration shows a great variation in TM. Though generalisations are possible, the retention or loss of aspiration mostly depends upon the literacy and regional background of the speaker. The tendency is towards the loss of aspiration. However, it is perceived that there is range of phonetic realisations between [+ aspiration] and [- aspiration].

The further acoustic analysis is required to understand the nature of [+spread glottis] in TM.

Chapter 5 covers few aspects of TM Morphology. Morphologically TM features can be grouped into two categories. Features that are developed internally and features that are developed through Dravidian influence. Reduced or less complicated system of numbers, simplified case marking, irregularity in vowel alteration in marking oblique case while suffixing case-markers or postpositions are results of language internal development.

In case of TM, lexical and structural borrowing play important role. Further analysis is required on phrasal and clausal level to understand this process.

Replacement of grammatical gender by natural gender system, nature of reflexive pronouns, nature of abundant participles and patterns of morphological negation show the the influence of Dravidian language system.

Chapter 6 mainly aims on documentation of different texts in TM categorised based on various discourse types.

As it was hypothesised at the beginning of the work, Thanjavur Marathi shows features that are common to Marathi and Tamil. However, it should be clear from the analysis and

discussion in the previous chapters that the features exhibited by TM are closer to medieval Marathi and the influences of Dravidian languages, wherever observed, are mostly on the suprasegmental level. There are two systems that are co-existing in the speech of TM speakers. One system where there is conscious effort to make the speech clear from any Tamil influence on lexical level and another system where natural speech shows influence of Dravidian languages on different levels. The speakers, depending upon the context, use these systems alternatively.

As summarised above, this work has attempted to describe various aspects of TM Phonology and Morphology. It serves three-fold purpose such as (a) to provide data for the further enquiry into language, (b) to form the background for the typological and comparative study of the language, and (c) to form the basis for further enquiry into the methodological issues in dealing with languages in contact.

However, it does not claim complete analysis of TM. It must be admitted that it was simply impossible to include every issue and topic pertinent to the various aspects of this language due to time and space limitations. A detailed and proper analysis of semantics is required. Serious theoretical efforts are needed on morphosyntax of TM. I sincerely look forward to take the work still further and thereby advance our knowledge of the various aspects of TM.

I hope that this thesis, in one-way or the other, has contributed to the knowledge of TM, in particular and nature of transplanted languages, in general. It will surely provide a base for further research on TM.



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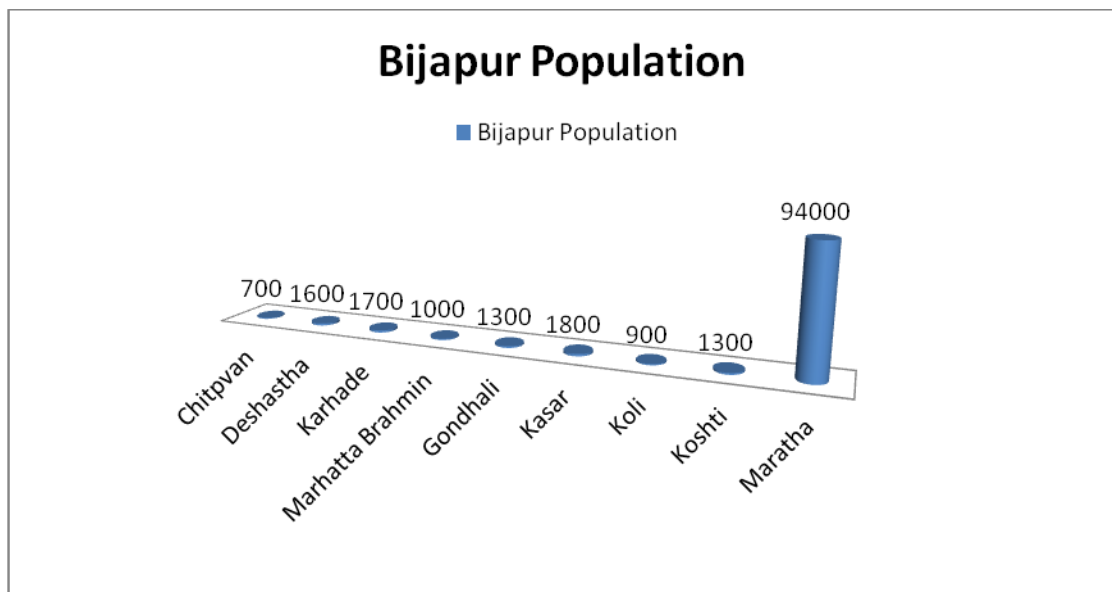
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## Appendix I : Thanjavur Marathi population Distribution

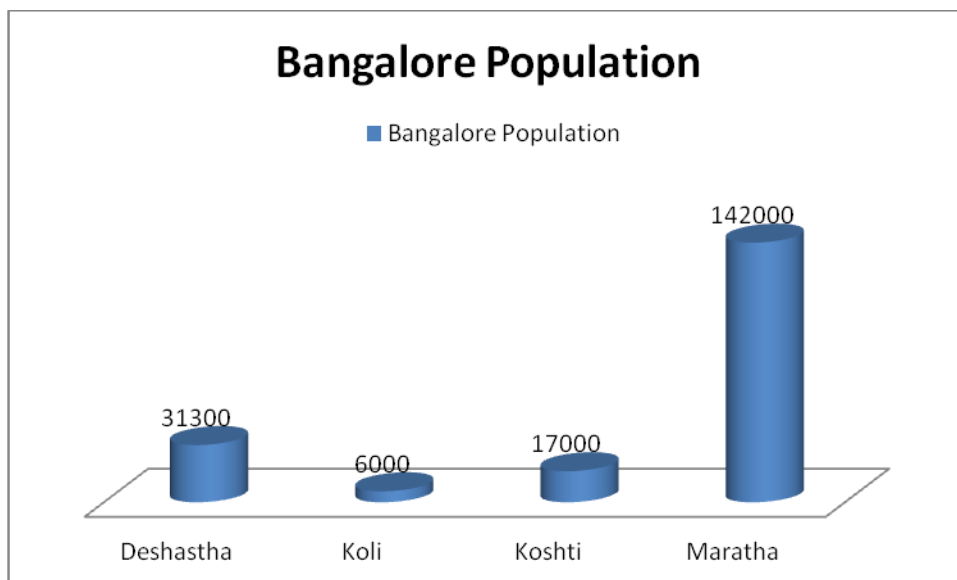
### 1. Bijapur

Caste	Population	Percentage
Chitpvan	700	0.67
Deshastha	1600	1.53
Karhade	1700	1.63
Marhatta Brahmin	1000	0.96
Gondhali	1300	1.25
Kasar	1800	1.73
Koli	900	0.86
Koshti	1300	1.25
Maratha	94000	90.12
Total	104300	100.00



## 2. Bangalore

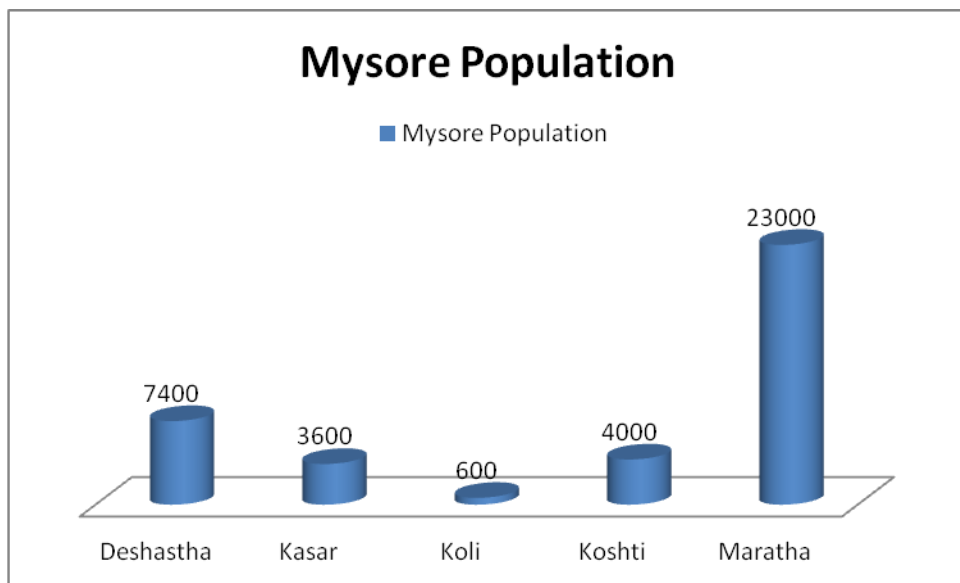
Caste	Population	Percentage
Deshastha	31300	15.94
Koli	6000	3.06
Koshti	17000	8.66
Maratha	142000	72.34
Total	196300	100.00





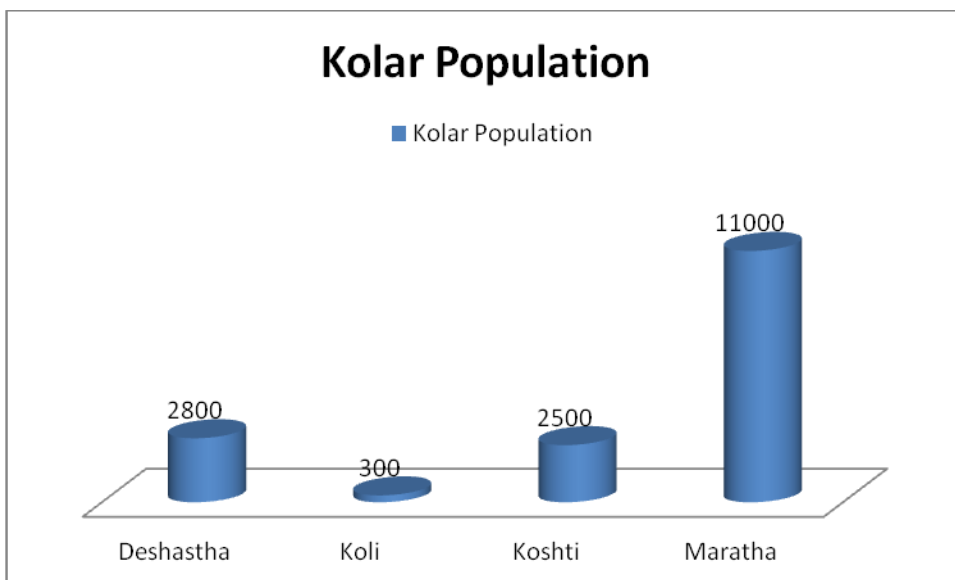
### 3. Mysore

Caste	Population	Percentage
Deshasta	7400	19.17
Kasar	3600	9.33
Koli	600	1.55
Koshti	4000	10.36
Maratha	23000	59.59
Total	38600	100.00



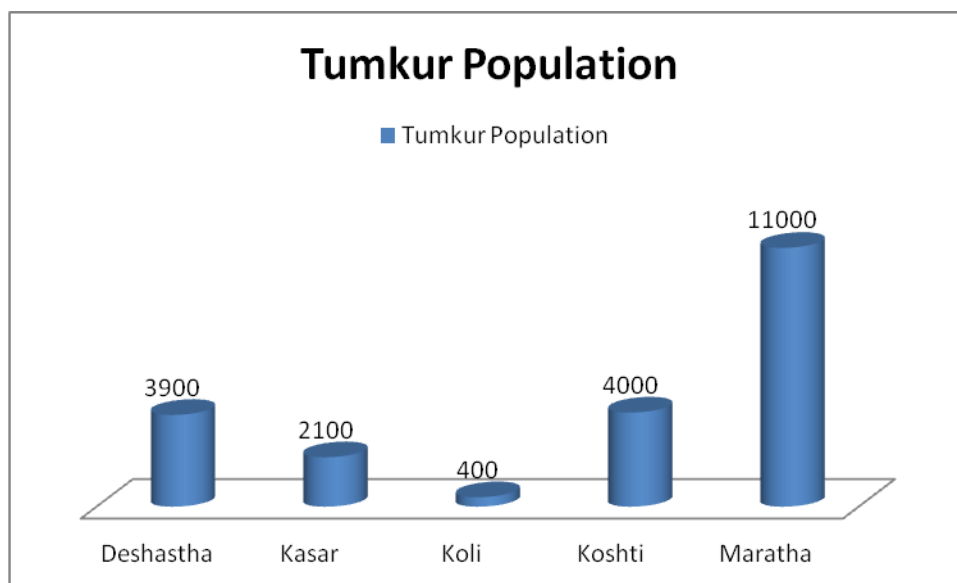
#### 4. Kolar

Caste	Population	Percentage
Deshastha	2800	16.87
Koli	300	1.81
Koshti	2500	15.06
Maratha	11000	66.27
Total	16600	100.00



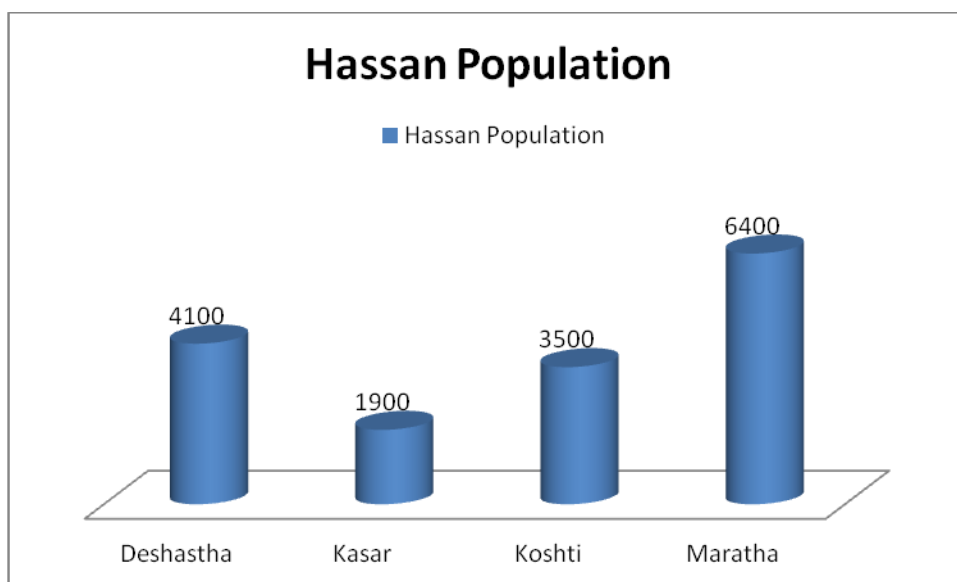
## 5. Tumkur

Caste	Population	Percentage
Deshastha	3900	18.22
Kasar	2100	9.81
Koli	400	1.87
Koshti	4000	18.69
Maratha	11000	51.40
Total	21400	100.00



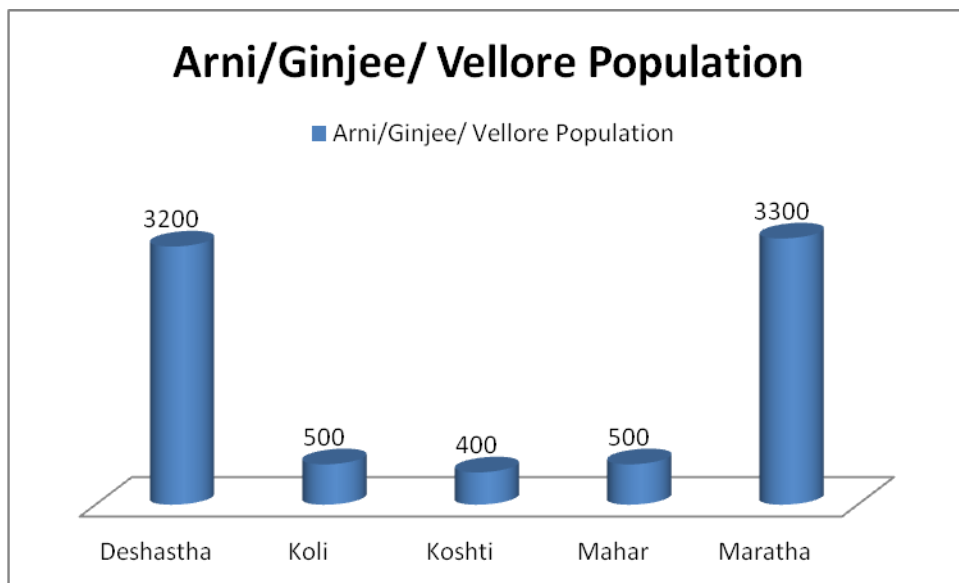
## 6. Hassan

Caste	Population	Percentage
Deshastha	4100	25.79
Kasar	1900	11.95
Koshti	3500	22.01
Maratha	6400	40.25
Total	15900	100.00



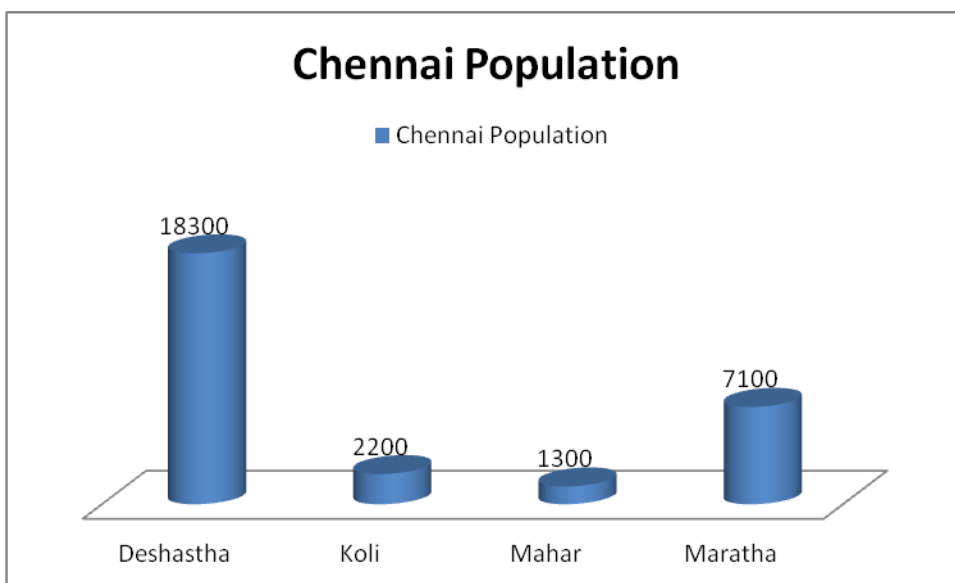
7. Arni/ 8. Gingee/ 9. Vellore

Caste	Population	Percentage
Deshastha	3200	40.51
Koli	500	6.33
Koshti	400	5.06
Mahar	500	6.33
Maratha	3300	41.77
Total	7900	100.00



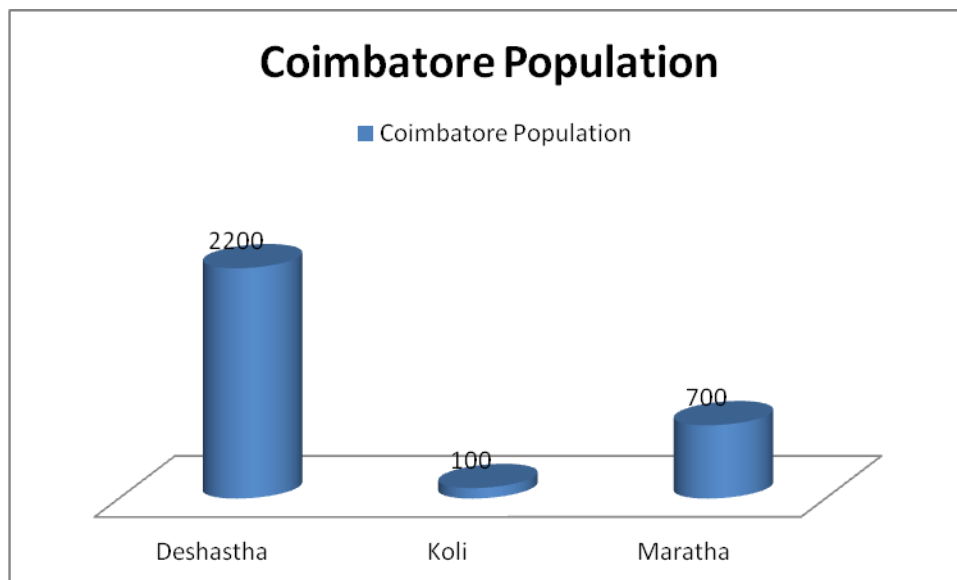
## 10. Chennai

Chennai		
Caste	Population	Percentage
Deshastha	18300	63.32
Koli	2200	7.61
Mahar	1300	4.50
Maratha	7100	24.57
Total	28900	100.00



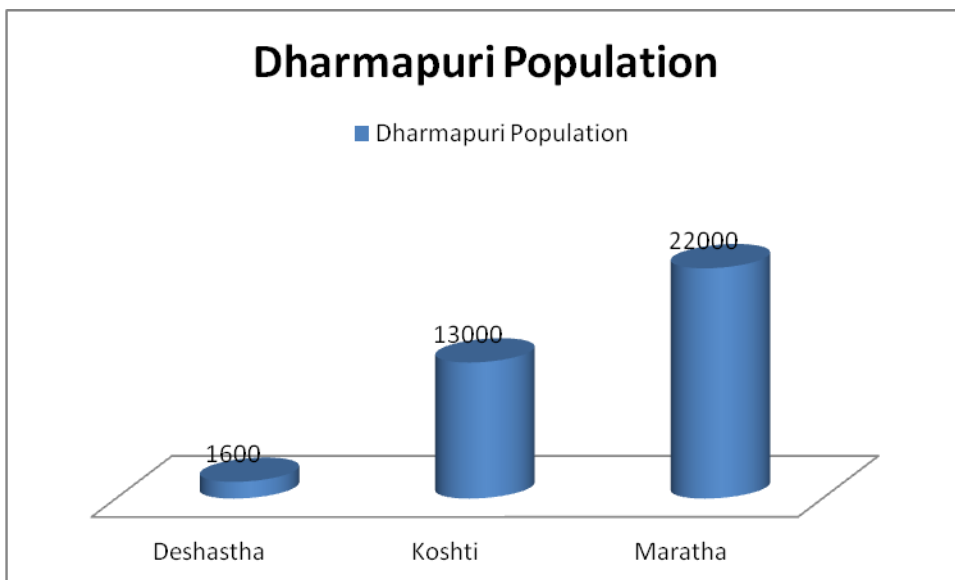
## 11. Coimbatore

Caste	Population	Percentage
Deshastha	2200	73.33
Koli	100	3.33
Maratha	700	23.33
Total	3000	100.00



## 12. Dharmapuri

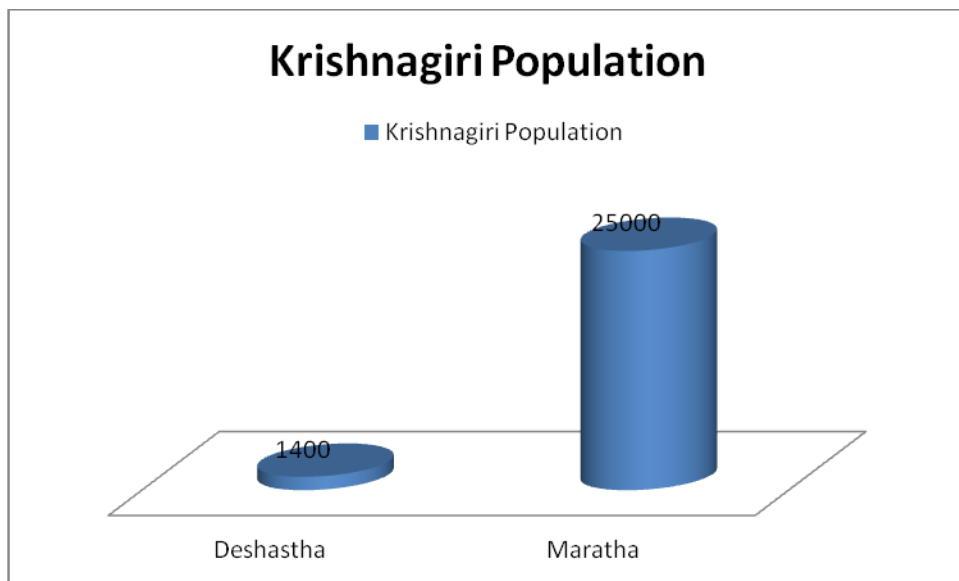
Caste	Population	Percentage
Desastha	1600	4.37
Koshti	13000	35.52
Maratha	22000	60.11
Total	36600	100.00





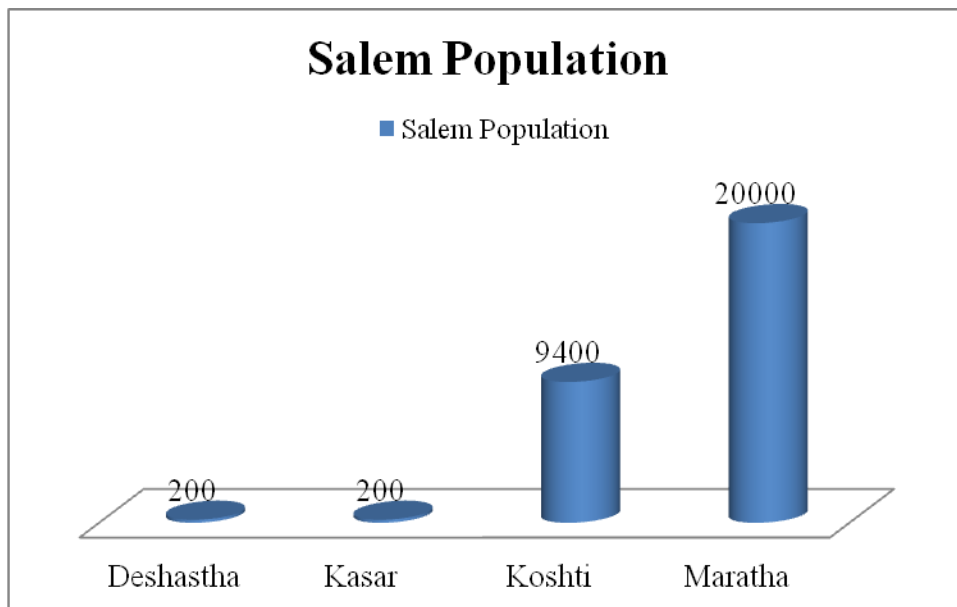
### 13. Krishnagiri

Caste	Population	Percentage
Deshastha	1400	5.30
Maratha	25000	94.70
Total	26400	100.00



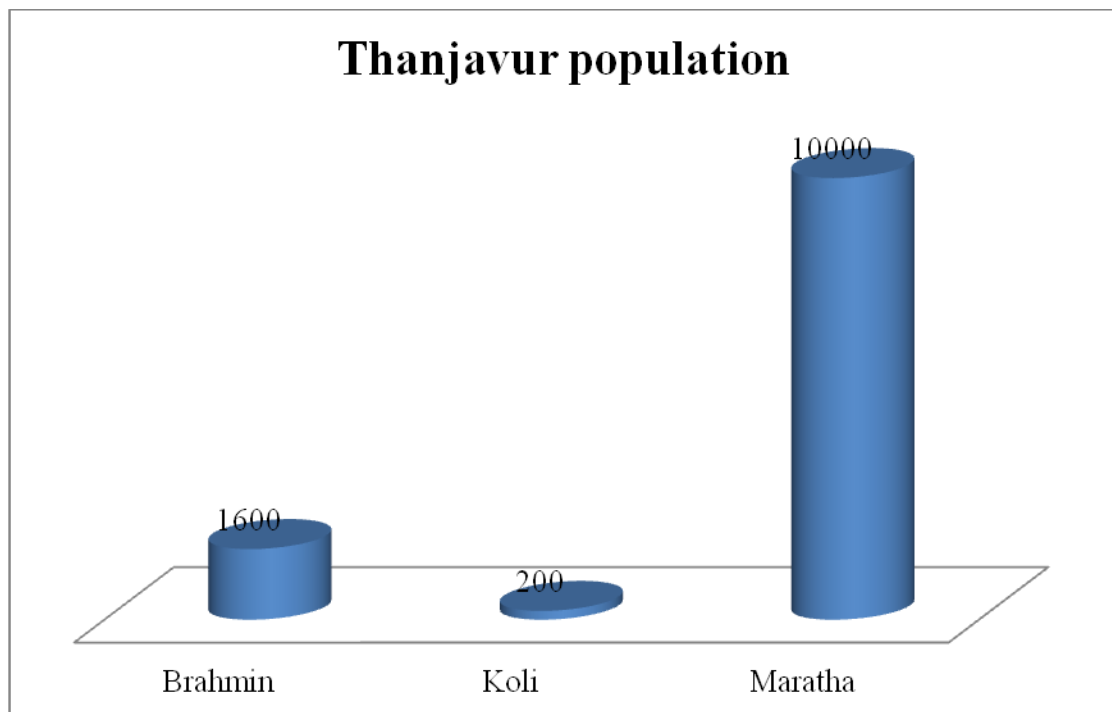
#### 14. Salem

Caste	Population	Percentage
Deshastha	200	0.67
Kasar	200	0.67
Koshti	9400	31.54
Maratha	20000	67.11
Total	29800	100.00



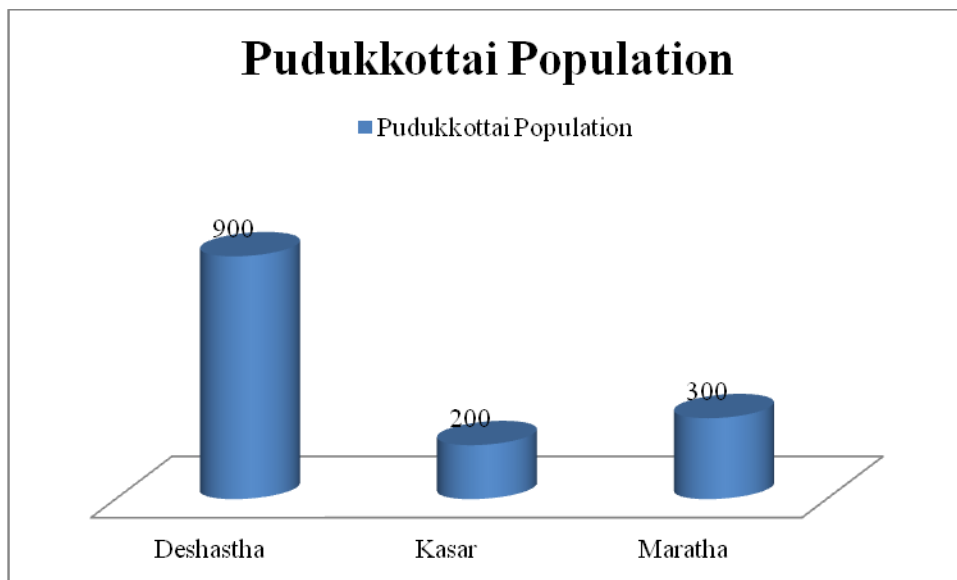
## 15. Thanjavur

Caste	Population	Percentage
Brahmin	1600	13.56
Koli	200	1.69
Maratha	10000	84.75
Total	11800	100



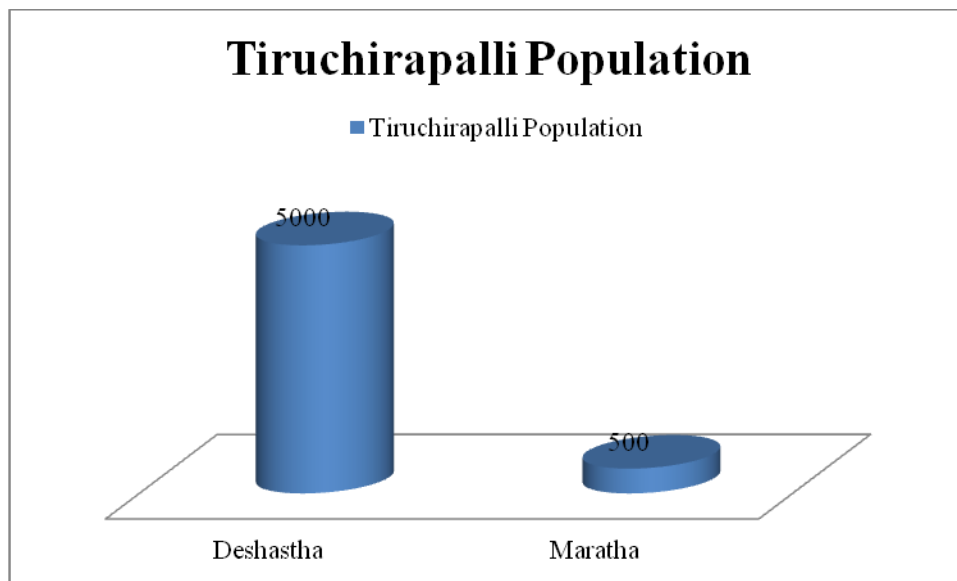
## 16. Pudukkottai

Caste	Population	Percentage
Deshastha	900	64.29
Kasar	200	14.29
Maratha	300	21.43
	1400	100.00



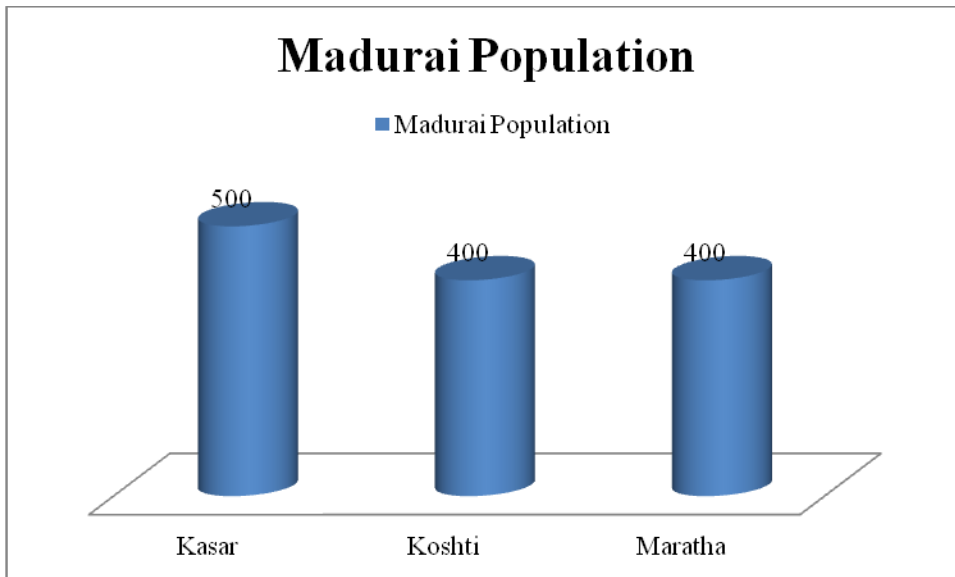
## 17. Tiruchirapally

Caste	Population	Percentage
Deshastha	5000	90.91
Maratha	500	9.09
Total	5500	100.00



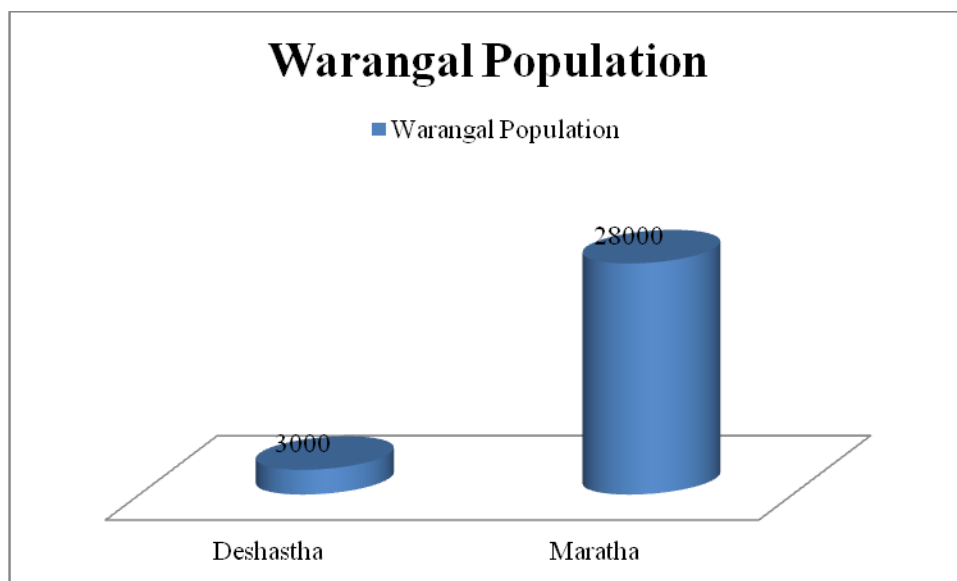
## 18. Madurai

Caste	Population	Percentage
Kasar	500	38.46
Koshti	400	30.77
Maratha	400	30.77
Total	1300	100.00



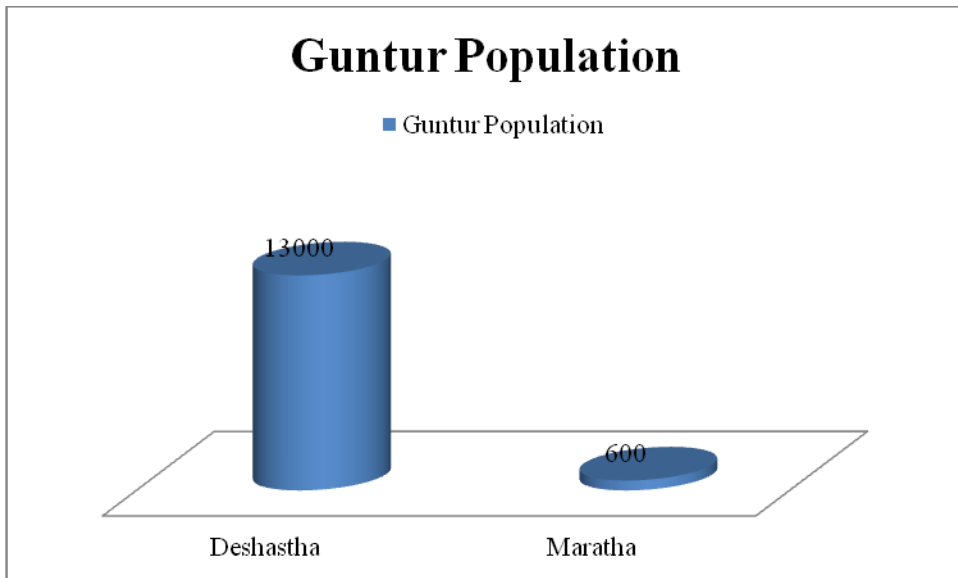
## 19. Warangal

Caste	Population	Percentage
Deshastha	3000	9.68
Maratha	28000	90.32
Total	31000	100.00



## 20. Guntur

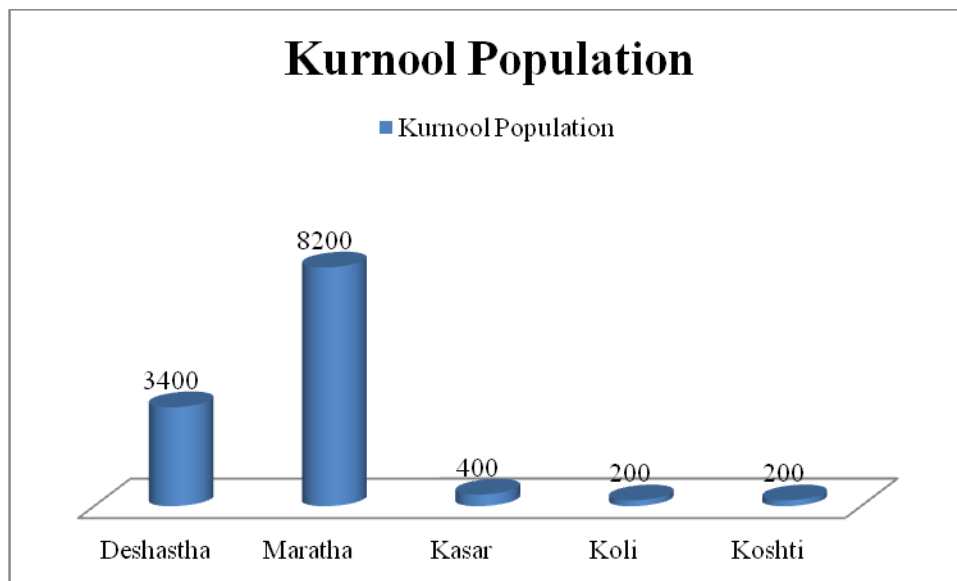
Caste	Population	Percentage
Deshastha	13000	95.59
Maratha	600	4.41
Total	13600	100.00





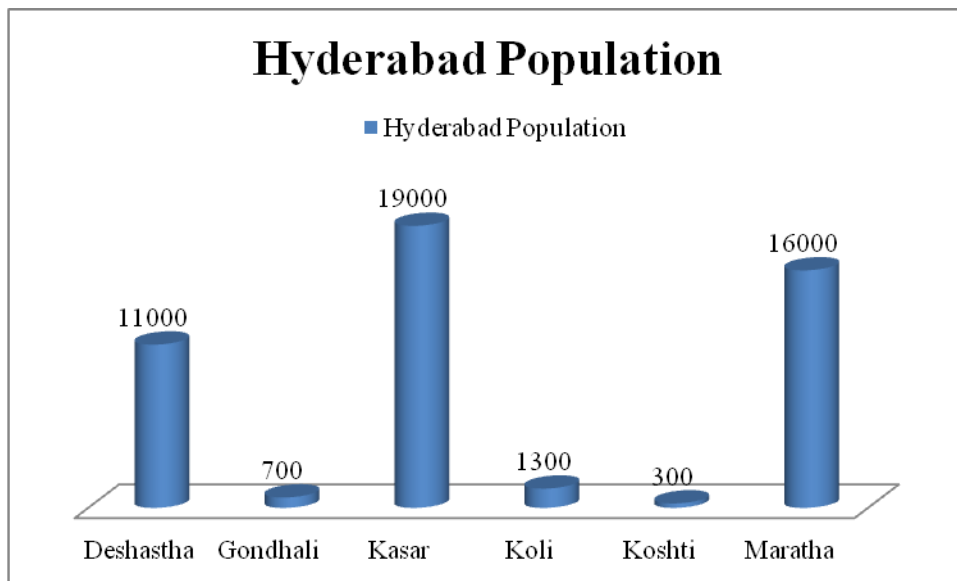
## 21. Kurnool

Caste	Population	Percentage
Deshastha	3400	27.42
Maratha	8200	66.13
Kasar	400	3.23
Koli	200	1.61
Koshti	200	1.61
Total	12400	100.00



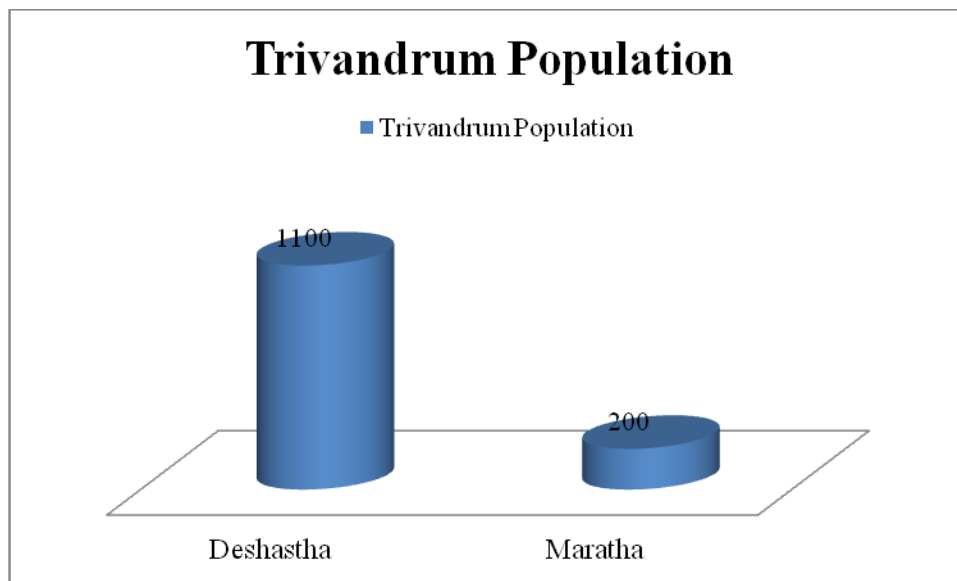
## 22. Hyderabad

Caste	Population	Percentage
Deshastha	11000	22.77
Gondhali	700	1.45
Kasar	19000	39.34
Koli	1300	2.69
Koshti	300	0.62
Maratha	16000	33.13
Total	48300	100.00



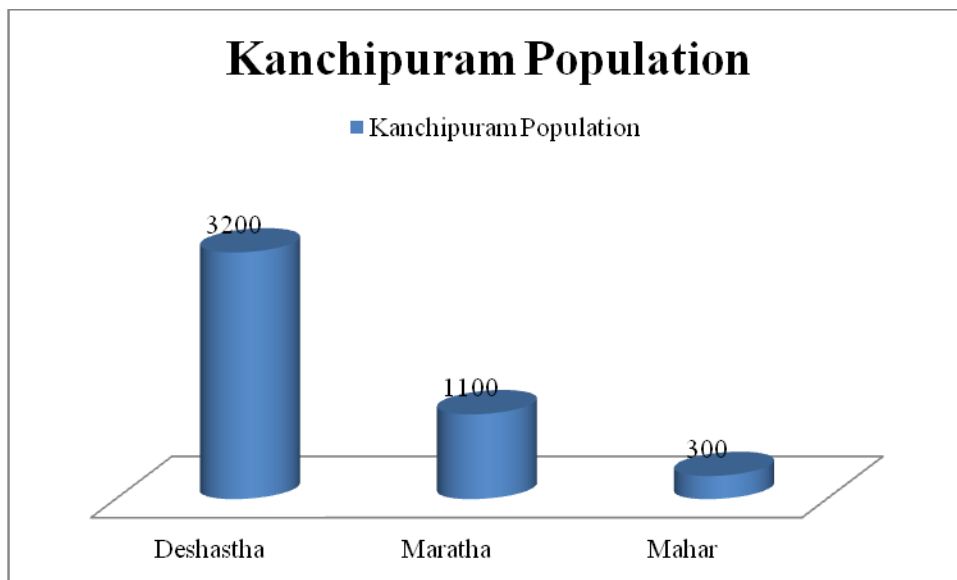
### 23. Trivandrum

Caste	Population	Percentage
Deshastha	1100	84.62
Maratha	200	15.38
Total	1300	100.00



## 24. Kanchipuram

Caste	Population	Percentage
Deshastha	3200	69.57
Maratha	1100	23.91
Mahar	300	6.52
Total	4600	100.00



LIST A	
1	all
2	and
3	animal
4	ashes
5	at
6	back
7	Bad
8	Bark
9	because
10	belly
11	Big
12	Bird
13	Bite
14	black
15	blood
16	blow
17	bone
18	breast
19	breathe
20	Burn
21	Child
22	Claw
23	Cloud
24	Cold
25	Come
26	Count
27	Cut
28	Day
29	Die
30	Dig
31	Dirty
32	Dog
33	Drink
34	Dry
35	Dull
36	Dust
37	Ear
38	Earth
39	Eat
40	Egg
41	Eye
42	Fall
43	Far
44	fat/grease
45	Father
46	Fear
47	feather

48	Few
49	Fight
50	Fire
51	Fish
52	Five
53	float
54	Flow
55	flower
56	Fly
57	Fog
58	Foot
59	Four
60	freeze
61	fruit
62	Full
63	Give
64	good
65	grass
66	green
67	Guts
68	Hair
69	hand
70	He
71	head
72	Hear
73	heart
74	heavy
75	Here
76	Hit
77	hold/take
78	Horn
79	How
80	hunt
81	husband
82	I
83	Ice
84	If
85	In
86	Kill
87	knee
88	know
89	Lake
90	laugh
91	Leaf
92	Left side
93	Leg
94	lie (i.e. be in lying position)
95	Live

96	liver
97	Long
98	louse
99	man/male
100	many
101	meat/flesh
102	moon
103	mother
104	mountain
105	mouth
106	name
107	narrow
108	Near
109	neck
110	New
111	night
112	nose
113	Not
114	Old
115	One
116	other
117	person
118	Play
119	Pull
120	push
121	Rain
122	Red
123	right/correct
124	rightside
125	river
126	Road
127	Root
128	Rope
129	rotten
130	round
131	Rub
132	Salt
133	sand
134	Say
135	scratch
136	Sea
137	See
138	Seed
139	Sew
140	sharp
141	short
142	sing
143	sit

144	skin
145	sky
146	sleep
147	small
148	smell
149	smoke
150	smooth
151	snake
152	snow
153	some
154	spit
155	split
156	squeeze
157	stab/pierce
158	stand
159	star
160	stick
161	stone
162	straight
163	suck
164	sun
165	swell
166	swim
167	tail
168	that
169	there
170	they
171	thick
172	thin
173	think
174	this
175	thou
176	three
177	throw
178	tie
179	tongue
180	tooth
181	tree
182	turn
183	two
184	vomit
185	walk
186	warm
187	wash
188	water
189	we
190	wet
191	what



192	when
193	where
194	white
195	who
196	wide
197	wife
198	wind
199	wing
200	wipe
201	with
202	woman
203	woods
204	worm
205	Ye
206	year
207	brother
208	clothing
209	cook
210	dance
211	eight
212	hundred
213	seven
214	shoot
215	sister
216	spear
217	twenty
218	work

The following words are added to the basic word list A.

- Refers to the typical North Indian concepts

LIST B	
1	*bindi
2	*flour (kneaded)
3	*jura (bun)
4	*roti
5	Banana
6	Bangles
7	blouse
8	Book
9	brother, elder
10	brother's wife
11	Cat
12	Chili
13	cold (ailment)
14	Comb
15	copper
16	cough

17	Cow
18	Crow
19	Cry
20	Dog
21	door/entrance
22	Down
23	drizzle
24	earring
25	elephant
26	eye-brow
27	Fever
28	finger
29	Fish
30	flour (dry)
31	Food
32	forest
33	Garlic
34	God
35	Goddess
36	Gold
37	grand father (F)
38	grand father (M)
39	grand mother (F)
40	grand mother (M)
41	green vegetable
42	Hot
43	house
44	house fly
45	Itch
46	language
47	Lion
48	Lips
49	liquor
50	mango
51	medicine
52	Milk
53	mirror
54	money
55	mosquito
56	mouse
57	Nails
58	necklace
59	nose-pin
60	Oil
61	onion
62	Pain
63	peacock
64	Plait

65	pond
66	potato
67	rice (cooked)
68	rice (raw)
69	Road
70	round
71	Run
72	Sari
73	shawl
74	Shirt
75	sister, elder
76	sister's husband
77	small
78	snake
79	spectacles
80	spices
81	spoon
82	sugar
83	Tasty
84	Tea
85	teeth
86	thumb
87	turmeric
88	Up
89	Village

\* Refers to the typical North Indian concepts.

LIST C	
1.	*belan (rolling pin)
2.	*caklaa (rolling board)
3.	*charpoy
4.	*dal
5.	*kadhahi
6.	*neem
7.	*tawaa
8.	Abuse
9.	Air
10.	ant
11.	Aroma
12.	Bald
13.	bathe [vcaus]
14.	bathe [vi]
15.	bathe [vt]
16.	Bazaar
17.	Begin
18.	behind
19.	Blind

20.	Brass
21.	Brave
22.	Bull
23.	butterfly
24.	Buy
25.	Cheap
26.	coconut
27.	Corpse
28.	Costly
29.	cry of x
30.	Curse
31.	Daily
32.	danger
33.	Deaf
34.	donkey
35.	double
36.	draught
37.	Earn
38.	End
39.	Enemy
40.	farmer
41.	Feed
42.	Flood
43.	front of
44.	Goat
45.	gold smith
46.	Halves
47.	Hard
48.	Heels
49.	Her
50.	High
51.	his
52.	Honey
53.	Horn
54.	hunger
55.	Ill
56.	iron smith
57.	king/chief
58.	land lord
59.	Lazy
60.	Letter
61.	Lonely
62.	Love
63.	Mad
64.	Maize
65.	memory
66.	Mine
67.	monkey

68.	Paint
69.	pig soft
70.	Price
71.	Priest
72.	Read
73.	remember
74.	rice (crushed)
75.	rice (husk)
76.	rice (paddy)
77.	rice (puffed)
78.	Sell
79.	Sheep
80.	Shop
81.	Silver
82.	sometimes
83.	sparrow
84.	sugar cane
85.	sweet potato
86.	Tailor
87.	Teach
88.	teacher
89.	Thirst
90.	Tongs
91.	Train
92.	upside down
93.	War
94.	Weave
95.	weaver
96.	Well
97.	Wheat
98.	worship
99.	Write
100.	Yours



## The Basic Sentences for Collecting Field Data

### SIMPLE

1	Ram is eating a mango.
2	Sita is eating a ripe mango.
3	Ram cut the mango.
4	The children cut the mango with a knife.
5	Rizwan cut his fingers while cutting the mango.
6	Shyam ate the mango in the bus.
7	Salma ate the mango in the morning.
8	The child ate up all the sweets.

### NEGATIVES

1	I don't go to school.
2	We will not go to Jaipur tomorrow.
3	I did not go to school yesterday.
4	The child did not hit his/her sister.
5	Because they did not study they failed in the exams.
6	Neither my mother came nor my sister.
7	The old elephant did not die.

Note: check the scope of negation.

### IMPERATIVES

1	Come in
2	Don't come in
3	Please sit down
4	Sit/sit down
5	Admission is prohibited
6	Get lost!

### CONDITIONAL AND COORDINATION

1	If you don't give me the sweets, I will cry
2	If you will hit me I will cry
3	If he had come earlier he would have

	seen the letter
4	If he asks me I will certainly tell the whole story
5	If he can come then he should
6	Ram and Sita both went to watch the movie
7	Children ate and drank cold water
8	Shila is beautiful but ill natured
9	Sohail will help but not Reshma

### INCLUSIVE/EXCLUSIVE

1	Yesterday we had gone to see the movie ( -addressee)
2	Yesterday we had gone to see the movie (+addressee)
3	Let us go now ( -addressee)
4	Let us go now (+addressee)
5	We got punishment, how bad! ( addressee)
6	We got punishment, how bad! (+addressee)

Note: check for the dual number also

### INTERROGATIVES

1	What is your name?
2	Where do you stay?
3	How are you?
4	When are you going home?
5	Why are you going to Delhi?
6	Who is he/she?
7	How much did you get?
8	Have you eaten?
9	Shall I come tomorrow?
10	Did you read the newspaper today?
11	Will you be cooking tomorrow at home?
12	What do you think he was thinking?
13	Which one is your brother?

### RELATIVIZATION, PARTICIPIALIZATION, ADJECTIVES



1	The boy who had fever died yesterday
2	Call the boy who broke the glass
3	Call the boy who broke the glass day before yesterday
4	Throw away the broken branch
5	The tail cut monkey was a nuisance
6	The cap which was hung on the nail, fell
7	The fevered boy died
8	Call the glass breaker boy
9	Call the tea drinker boy
10	The hung cup fell down
11	The innocent child
12	The child is innocent

### CAUSATIVES, PASSIVES/ INCAPABILITATIVES

1	Mother fed the baby
2	Mother made the ayaa [nurse] feed the baby
3	Father got all the papers thrown away by the servant
4	The girl is getting the varandah cleaned by the maid
5	Shila asked Ratna to make Sita rise
6	The teacher made the child study
7	The forest officer is making the wood-cutter cut the trees
8	Trees were cut
9	The elder sister is making the little brother sleep
10	Rajiv Gandhi was killed by a bomb
11	If he had made him study computers he would have got the job by now
12	Alas, my parents had made me study science!
13	The bottle broke (by me)
14	Rice is eaten in India
15	Last night a girl was man-handled.
16	I was beaten furiously by the goondas/hooligans
17	The food cannot be eaten fast by the child
18	Because of cold, writing cannot be done by me

### CASES, AGREEMENT, COINDEXING

1	The boy is playing
2	The boy is playing with a ball
3	The boy ate a banana
4	The boy played well
5	The girl had eaten the meals
6	Mother will cook now
7	I am sad

8	Ram is hungry/thirsty/in pain
9	Pick up the book and keep it on the table
10	Give the horse the feed
11	Wash the clothes please
12	Ram wrote a letter to his mother yesterday
13	Curd is made from milk
14	Ravan fought with Ram
15	Hanuman burnt Lanka with his tail
16	The leaves fall from trees in autumn
17	Give me some money for my daughter
18	Nobody is at home
19	I bought everything in ten rupees
20	Flowers are blooming in the garden
21	The book is on the table
22	Clothes are kept on the top of the box
23	Books are kept at the bottom of the box
24	There is a garden behind my house
25	There is a mango tree in front of my house
26	Sister will go shopping only with her friends
27	Ram's sister's wedding is tomorrow
28	Ram's cap is blue
29	Buy twenty-five rupees' sugar [i.e. for 25 Rupees]
30	Don't turn the book's pages
31	Before I went to her house I changed my clothes
32	After coming back from the movie I went to sleep

### COMPARATIVE/CONTRASTIVE

1	River water is cleaner than lake water
2	The Ganga water is the cleanest
3	Mumbai weather is wet but Delhi weather is dry
4	India is corrupt but Japan is not
5	My uniform is whiter than his uniform

### ECHO FORMATIONS

1	Please have some tea, etc
2	He has gone to buy some stationary, etc
3	He got some chairs, etc. on his marriage
4	Sit, etc (imperative) [try this with formal, informal and intimate forms]
5	I cannot walk, etc,

6	Why do you get angry, etc?
7	Children go to study carrying bag, etc
8	The throat does not go bad by singing, etc

### CLASSIFIERS

1	Two books were stolen
2	Longish bamboo was lying there
3	Round moon
4	One girl/boy

### REDUPLICATION

1	He was walking slowly slowly
2	He came again and again
3	What all did he eat?
4	Who all came to the party?
5	When when (how often) will you go to Ranchi?
6	Where all Ram found Sita's ornaments?
7	He got tired (of) sitting sitting
8	I got bored writing letters
9	She spoke while eating
10	The child fell down while walking on the footpath
11	While/As he was watching, the thieves ran away with the cash
12	Give me hot hot coffee
13	Red red apples are juicy
14	Bring sweet sweet mangoes
15	How are you going to jump over these high high hedges?
16	Give me little little of every variety of sweets
17	Don't come after me
18	Sometime or the other, he will come back to me

### COMPOUND VERBS

1	The old elephant died
2	By the time papa came home his friend had left
3	Give me the letter
4	Get out!
5	Please knit a sweater [for me]
6	Please knit a sweater [for yourself]
7	See Lakshmi sing!
8	He sat down

### CONJUNCT VERBS/ CONVERBS

1	Having eaten his meal papa went out for a stroll
2	Read the letter loud
3	See the house properly
4	He did not do well having cheated his own brother
5	Go and see
6	He hit me and ran away

#### INFINITIVES, COMPLEMENTS

1	I don't like your coming here
2	Who does not like to eat well?
3	Because of his coming back his mother could survive
4	He told me that he was leaving the town soon
5	She said that she likes to cook
6	My sister told me that it rained heavily last night

## A Language survey Questionnaire

### 1. Nouns

#### Gender

Man	woman	oil man	his wife
Poor man	poor woman	cobbler	his wife
Blind man	blind woman	washer man	his wife
Lame man	lame woman	goldsmith	his wife
Old man	old woman	hunter	his wife
Thief (male)	thief (female)	farmer	his wife
Mad man	mad woman	Brahmin	his wife

#### Number

- A. I have two ears. Two eyes but only one nose.  
I have three children, two boys and one girl.  
Our cow has had two calves so far.  
I have five rupees for those three books.  
There are three trees in front of this house.  
Keep this stone over those two stones.  
His younger sisters never come over here.

B. father-in-law	fathers-in-law	king	kings
Son	sons	deaf man	deaf men
Aunt	aunts	oil man	oil men
Mother	mothers	cobbler	cobblers
Elder brother	elder brothers	teacher	teachers
Wife	wives	farmer	farmers

C. tree	trees	ant	ants
House	houses	snake	snakes
Leaf	leaves	calf	calves
Stone	stones	fly	flies
River	rivers	worm	worm

#### Case

- A. That is my book. Will you come with me tomorrow?  
Give me a book. He is taller than me.  
I brought that book. Why is he not talking to me?  
Take me to the river.

This is my house.  
I myself built this house.  
I come home from work in the evening.  
I always take a stick when I go out of my house.  
His house is smaller than my house.  
I live in this house.  
There are finer rooms in this house.

This tree is very old.  
We worship this tree every year.  
I have not seen a tree, which is taller than this.  
The branches of this are very low.  
Even small children can climb this tree.  
My neighbor's son fell from this tree last year.

That calf is very healthy.  
The skin of that calf is very smooth.  
We give green grass to that calf everybody.  
Last year there were many boils on that calf.  
So we took that calf to the hospital.  
Today, no calf looks better than that calf.  
My son talks to that calf, sometimes.  
He gives bananas to it, saying, 'come on, calf, eat them.'

That is my daughter.  
My daughter is now ten years old.  
I send my daughter to our village school.  
My son is younger than my daughter.  
He also goes to the school with my daughter.  
The tutor teaches my daughter arithmetic.  
That shining thing on the table is my daughter's pen.

This is my ball.  
Your ball is bigger than mine.  
I had bought mine only yesterday.  
I gave fifty paise for mine.  
There is a tiny hole in mine you cannot play with it.  
The colour of your ball is red, but that of mine is green.

I am of this village.	We are of this village.
You are of this village.	You (pl.) are of this village.
He is of this village.	They (m.) are of this village.
She is of this village.	They (f.) are of this village.
It is of this village.	They (n.) are of this village.

I am the first one in my class.  
That white one is costlier.  
Where is that red one I gave you yesterday?  
Do not sit on that old one.  
Why did you take that black one with you?  
I was first, you were second and he was third. He was talking to himself when the teacher came in.  
I myself gave the book to the barber.

## 2. Verb

### Casual

He does: he makes them do  
He sits: he makes them sit  
He runs: he makes them run  
He burns: he makes them burn  
He breaks: he makes them break

### 2.3 Reflexive

He does it himself  
He eats himself  
He breaks it himself  
He weeps himself  
He comes himself  
He plays himself

### 2.4 Finite forms (intransitive)

#### Past

I ran	we ran
You ran	you (pl.) ran
He ran	those men ran
She ran	those women ran
It ran	those cows ran

#### Check

You stayed here, and we ran alone.  
We all ran on that day.  
I (woman) ran alone.  
You (woman) ran alone.

### Other tenses and moods

He runs	he does not run
He is running	he is not running
He has run	he has not run
He had run	he had not run
He will run	he will not run
He may run	he may not run
He would have run	he would not have run
He might have run	he might not have run

### 2.2 Transitive

it burns: he burns it  
it breaks: he breaks it  
it tears: he tears it  
he eats: he feeds him  
he got wet: he soaked it

### 2.4 Intransitive

the stick gets broken  
the plant gets buried  
the grain gets swollen  
the fire gets extinguished  
the food gets scorched  
the tree gets shook

## **Check**

Run! (you sg. Command)	do not run! (sg.)
Run! (you pl. command)	do not run! (plu.)

## **Other finite forms**

Let me run.  
Let us run  
How can I run with them?  
Let them run alone  
We should run at two o' clock  
We can run faster  
He will have to run by this time  
He could have run alone  
Please run quickly (polite)  
Run! (to a group)  
Run! (to a boy)  
Run! (to a girl)

## **2.5 Finite forms (transitive)**

### **Present**

I tie the sticks	we tie the sticks
You (sg.) tie the sticks	you tie the sticks
He ties the sticks	those men tie the sticks
She ties the sticks	those women tie the sticks
It ties the sticks	those monkeys tie the sticks

## **Check**

Tie those sticks (you alone – command)  
Tie those sticks (you all – command)  
You all tie those sticks (statement)  
We all go and tie those sticks.  
You stay here; we alone go and tie those sticks.  
Let us all go and tie those sticks.  
I (woman) tie those sticks.

## **Other tenses and mood**

I tied the sticks	I did not tie the sticks
I have tied the sticks	I have not tie the sticks
I had tied the sticks	I had not tied the sticks
I will tie the sticks	I will not tie the sticks
I may tie the sticks	I may not tie the sticks
I would have tied the sticks	I would not have tied the sticks



I am tying the sticks  
I tie the sticks

I am not tying the sticks  
I do not tie the sticks

### **Check**

Do not tie them! (you sg. Command)  
Do not tie them! (you pl. command)

### **Other finite forms**

Let me tie those sticks  
How shall I tie those sticks?  
Let him tie those sticks  
Please tie off those sticks  
Please tie those sticks  
Let me tie off those sticks  
Please do not tie them off  
Tie those sticks! (Command)  
Tie those sticks! (To a boy)  
Tie those sticks! (to a girl)  
Tie those sticks! (to a group)

### **2.6 Non-finite forms (intransitive)**

- a. The one who has run yesterday is my friend  
The one who has run yesterday is younger than me.  
The one who has run in the morning will get a rest now  
The one who had run last year is now in the hospital  
Those who will run quickly tomorrow will get a mango each.  
He is the person who has not run yet  
Those who will not run are bolder
- b. Having run for two miles, he got tired  
He looked back running  
He stayed here itself without running  
He was paid for running yesterday  
He will be paid for running tomorrow too  
He did not eat much in order to run faster  
It was very hot when they were running  
As soon as he ran, he fell down  
If he runs, I too will run  
If he had run, I too would have run  
I ran because he too had run  
I did not run because had not run  
Even though I asked him ten times he would not run

## 2.8 Non-finite forms (transitive)

One who ties	one who does not tie
One who tied	one who did not tie
One who has tied	one who has not tied
One who will tie	one who will not tie
One who may tie	one who may not tie

Having tied those sticks he came home  
Tying those sticks he cried  
He came running and tying those sticks  
He came back without tying those sticks  
He went there in order to tie those sticks  
As soon as he tied those sticks it rained  
It rained while he was tying those sticks  
If he ties them they will not be loose  
If he had tied them those sticks would not have been lost  
They were lost because he had not tied them properly  
They were not lost because he had tied them properly

## 2.9. Other bases

I eat	I ate	I have eaten	I will eat
I feed him	I fed him	I have fed him	I will feed him
I come	I came	I have come	I will come
I give	I gave	I have given	I will give

I broke it	I broke it
It breaks	it broke
I have broken it	I will break it
It has broken	it will break

## 3. Particles

He came	did he come?
She ate	did she eat?
You have brought it	have you brought it?
He did not come here	did he come here?
He is rich	is he rich?

He came here	he too came here
I read the book	I too read the book
He went there	he too went there
He slept on that day	he never slept on that day
He ate with me	he never ate with

Not only did he run, he stumbled  
In addition to being wise, he is also beautiful  
Even if he goes there he will not get it  
Even if he asks me ten times I will not part with it  
It appears that he has gone there alone  
It is believed that the tiger will not cross that fence

## VOCABULARY

### Unit 1

House, room, wall, corner, floor, window, door, latch, bolt, threshold, lock, key, attic, planks, ladder, steps, roof, rafter, beam, thatch, tiles, nail, peg, pillar

### Unit 2

Smoke, soot, tongs, blow-pipe, grinding stone, churning rod, grating knife, knife handle, blade, rolling pin, kitchen, oven, firewood, charcoal, chips of wood, fire, ashes, cinders, sparks

### Unit 3

Dining room, wooden seat, dining plate, side dish, spoon, serving spoon, rice ladle

### Unit 4

Wooden vessel, ring for pots, earthen pot, rice pot, milk pot, lid, metal pot, tinning, rust, copper rust, rope net, broom

### Unit 5

Store room, sack, bag, rice box, rice bundle, winnowing fan, sieve, powdering stone, mortar, pestle, flat basket, round basket

### Unit 6

Ant, red ant, fly, moth, cockroach, worm, white ant, spider, cobweb, rat, rat's droppings, rat's hole

### Unit 7

Bedroom, cradle, cot, mattress blanket, bed-spread, pillow, bed-bug, mosquito, mosquito net, lamp, wick, oil, soot on the wick, candle, wax, cupboard, shelf

### Unit 8

Bathroom, hot water, pot, log of wood, dry laves, cow dung cake, gutter, latrine

### Unit 9

Cowshed, place for grass, peg, rope, noose, water tub cattle feed, oil cake, barn, dry grass, fresh grass, fresh grass, cattle, cow, ox calf, grow up calf, hoof, tail, horn, snout, hump, udder, urine, stench, cow dung, tick conceiving, he-buffalo, she-buffalo

### Unit 10

Milk, cream curds, butter, buttermilk, clarified butter, curding agent

### **Unit 11**

Rice, paddy straw, paddy plant, husk, blighted paddy, pre-boiled rice raw rice, broken rice, flat rice, fried rice, half-polished rice, rice flour, rice dough, coked rice, stale rice, cold rice over-boiled rice, half-boiled rice

### **Unit 12**

Black gram, horse gram, green gram, Bengal gram, pulse, mustard, coriander, chilly, pepper, salt, cumin seed, asafetida, onion, garlic, cashew nut

### **Unit 13**

Tree, plant creeper, parasite, tendril, grass, thorn, root, leaf, branch, bark, log, twigs, flower, bud, petal, nut, fruit, unripe, ripe, pulp, seed, stone, skin, shell, gum

### **Unit 14**

Banana, flower cone of banana, plantain tree, bunch of fruit banana, comb of fruit, leaf of fruit, tender leaf, dried leaf, stem f leaf, care of stem, cover of core

### **Unit 15**

Mango, jackfruit, coconut, areca nut, palm, lemon, grapes, betel, leaves, mushroom

### **Unit 16**

Vegetables, brinjal, cucumber, snake gourd, ribbed gourd, smooth gourd, bitter gourd, pumpkin, greens, sweck, potato, yam, ginger

### **Unit 17**

Body, head, hair, top of head, parting of hair, plaited hair, hair knot, single hair, dandruff, louse, comb, forehead, eye, eyebrow, eyelash, rheum, tears, ear, lobe of ear, ear-wax, temple, cheek, nose, mucus, nostril, mouth, lip, teeth, gum, tongue, saliva, throat, phlegm, chin, mustache, beard

### **Unit 18**

Neck, shoulder, arm, armpit, hand elbow, wrist, palm, finger, nail, chest, breast, side, belly navel, back, hip, lap, thigh knee, leg, heel, skin, bone, blood, intestine, vein, body hair, sweat

### **Unit 19**

Ringworm, itches, boils, wound, pus, pimples, swelling, fever, cough, sneezing, hiccough, vomiting, pain, medicine, ointment

### **Unit 20**

Dress, cloth, shawl, bath-towel, shirt, torn cloth, stitching, needle, thread, ornament, necklace, earring, nose ornament, girdle, armllet, bangles, ring, toe ring, tinkling bell

### **Unit 21**

Relative, father, mother, son, daughter, elder brother, younger brother, elder sister, younger sister, husband, wife, grandfather, grandmother, grandson, granddaughter, father's brother, father's brother's wife, father's sister, father's sister's husband, mother's brother, mother's brother's wife, mother's sister, mother's sister husband,

brother's son, brother's daughter, sister's son, sister's daughter, wife's father, wife's mother, wife's brother wife's sister, wife's brother's wife, wife's sister husband, husband's father, husband' mother, husband's brother, husband's sister, husband's brother's wife, husband's sister's husband, brother's wife, sister's husband, son's wife, daughter's husband, son's wife's parents, daughter's husband' parents, step-brother, step-sister, step-father, step-mother, co-wife

### **Unit 22**

Man, woman, pregnant, baby, child, male, female, lying-in-woman, widow, youth, bride, bridegroom, marriage, old man, old woman, lame, dumb, mad, deaf and mute, thief, stupid, intelligent, lean, fat, servant, owner, potter, weaver, blacksmith, carpenter, goldsmith, washer man, fisherman, caste

### **Unit 23**

I, we, you, he, she, it, they, this man, this woman, this thing, who, what, which one, there, here, where, then, now, when, like that, like this, how, that much this much, why

### **Unit 24**

One to ten, twenty, thirty, etc to hundred first, second, third, etc, once, twice, one man, one woman, last

### **Unit 25**

Earth, sky, sun, moon, sunlight, moonlight, cloud, lightning, thunder, wind, rain, drizzling, water

### **Unit26**

Stream, river, tank, lake, pit, well, spring, bubble, foam, depth, bottom, mouth of river, sea, shore, bank, ferry, boat, oar

### **Unit 27**

Night, daytime, morning, noon, evening, dusk, twilight, darkness, down, today, tomorrow, yesterday

### **Unit 28**

Forest, hill, valley, rock, stone, sand, mud, pasture, field, garden, fence, gate, way, bridge, slope, high place

### **Unit 29**

Cultivation, water lift, plough, leveling plough, yoke, spade, pickaxe, crowbar, axe, sickle, leaf umbrella, weed, bundle of plants, crop, edge of field, water canal, cart

### **Unit 30**

Earthworm, caterpillar, butterfly, insect manure worm, bug, beetle, scorpion, centipede, lizard, chameleon, bandicoot, frog, tortoise

### **Unit 31**

Snake, cobra, rat snake, water snake, python, reptile, slough, poison, hood

### **Unit 32**

Bird, wing, beak, feather, egg, nest, young, one, crow, vulture, sparrow, parrot, owl

### **Unit 33**

Animal, dog, bitch, donkey, horse, civet cat, cat, male cat, female cat, tiger, lion, deer, elephant, fox, wolf, porcupine, hare

### **Unit 34**

Pig, sheep, wool, goat, fowl, hen, cock, meat, beef, pork, fish

### **Unit 35**

Little, much, full, half, empty, long, short, broad, narrow, thin, thick, flat, round, straight, slanted, crooked, tight, loose, big, small, soft, hard, smooth, rough

### **Unit 36**

Old, new, hot, cold, warm, low, high, blunt, sharp, good, bad, beautiful, ugly, now, afterwards, slow, quick, together, separately, similar, different, true, false

### **Unit 37**

Direction, east, west, south, north, above, below, inside, outside, in front, behind, right, left, beginning, end

### **Unit 38**

Colour, blank, white, green, red, yellow, blue

### **Unit 39**

Pride, envy, obstinacy, anger, cunning, enmity, friendship, laughter, happiness, fear

### **Unit 40**

Yes, no, is, is not, enough, not enough, wanted, not wanted

### **Unit 41**

To eat, to drink, to chew, to lick, to bite, to swallow, to spit, to clear the throat, to cough, to sneeze, to blow the nose, to yawn, to vomit, to cry, to weep, to smell, to taste

### **Unit 42**

To see, to peep, to stare, to read, to write, to talk, to listen, to tell, to sing, to know, to remember, to forget, to learn

### **Unit 43**

To sit, to stand, to lean, to bend, to get tired, to be drowsy, to lie down, to sleep, to roll off, to walk, to get up, to tremble, to smile, to blush

### **Unit 44**

To beget, to be born, to live, to die, to grow up, to be, to become, to stay, to appear

#### **Unit 45**

To start, to go, to reach, to hide, to come, to enter, to cross, to walk, to run, to slip off, to fall, to climb down, to climb up, to dance, to swim, to bathe, to beg, to win, to be defeated

#### **Unit 46**

To do, to stir, to scatter, to spill, to throw, to search, to gather, to press, to touch, to push, to pull, to catch, to place, to tie, to untie, to leave off, to kick, to trample, to beat, to kill, to prick, to pluck, to lift, to drop, to take, to bring, to pick up, to rub, to scratch, to hang

#### **Unit 47**

To wind, to cut, to chop off, to wash (vessel), to wash (cloth), to squeeze out, to put to dry, to fold, to shut, to open, to cook, to strain, to grind, to churn

#### **Unit 48**

To cultivate, to plough, to dig, to sow, to plant, to reap, to carry on the head, to drive (cart), to thrash, to winnow, to sweep, to split, to saw, to burn, to pour, to fill

#### **Unit 49**

To sprout, to rise, to blossom, to grow, to ripen, to decay, to wither, to drop off, to lay eggs, to hatch out, to crow, to bark, to crow, to fly

#### **Unit 50**

To get twisted, to be torn, to shake, to burst off, to break off, to hang down, to float, to sink, to settle down, to dissolve, to swell up, to stick up, to leak, to dry up, to burn, to get extinguished, to boil, to fill, to overflow, to remain over, to cool off





## UNESCO Survey: Linguistic Vitality and Diversity

### Objectives of the present survey

Our objective is to collect a large and representative sample of comparable data on the world's languages, particularly endangered and indigenous languages, with two specific purposes in mind. First, these data will be used to prepare the third revised print edition of UNESCO's landmark publication, the *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger of Disappearing* (see: <http://www.unesco.org/culture/en/endangeredlanguages/atlas>), and to create an interactive on-line *Digital Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger of Disappearing*. Second, the data will serve to develop a methodology for an "Indicator on the Status and Trends of Linguistic Diversity and Numbers of Speakers of Indigenous Languages", as requested by the States Parties to the Convention on Biological Diversity (for information please see: <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?pg=00144>). We hope that this questionnaire, if used on an ongoing basis into the future, will offer a basis for verifiable claims about trends in numbers of speakers, language endangerment and linguistic diversity.

The first section of the questionnaire, titled "Language Vitality and Endangerment", is based on a framework that was developed by an international group of linguists in 2002-2003 to assess the degree of endangerment of specific languages (see: <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?pg=00142>). This framework has previously been applied by individual linguists, and – in a few cases – on a larger scale by national authorities, but it has not yet been used for a global-scale data collection exercise, and this is what we are currently attempting to do.

The second section of the questionnaire, titled "Linguistic Diversity Indicators", has been developed very recently and is still very much a work-in-progress. We would highly appreciate it if you could spare a few minutes and supply information under that section as well. Your feedback on the survey design and questions will also be very welcome.

### **Complete many questionnaires, share blank forms with colleagues**

We are interested in gathering as many independent reports covering as many languages as possible, including multiple reports on the same language, which would enhance the reliability of the data and also would allow us to validate the pertinence of the questions we are asking. We are also interested to begin to create time-series data, so if you have had long-term involvement with a given language we encourage you to complete one form reporting the current status of the language and one form reporting its status when you first encountered or began working with the language. The more good data we have, the more reliable will be our generalizations and the more useful they will be for communities, researchers and policy-makers. So, we also encourage you to provide us with information about other people who can be invited to complete a questionnaire for a given language, and we encourage you to pass the survey on to others. In order to help us assess the validity of the survey instrument, it will be more useful if two observers report independently on the same situation than if two observers collaborate on a single report.

### **Units of analysis: language, dialect and reference community**

The primary entity to be reported in this questionnaire is a language as spoken in a given reference community, with particular attention in the second half of the survey to the dialectal situation of that reference community. Better linguists than we have tried and failed to define the difference between “language” and “dialect”, and we do not pretend to have a solution to that problem. We ask you to use common-sense understandings of the two terms, to identify the specific named language variety your report is specific to, and to provide us with sufficient information. This would allow us to link your report on a given language to other reports on the same or related languages or dialects. Our hope is that with the accumulation of fine-grained reports on specific communities, we will be able over time to assemble reliable and generalizable data. Where a gravely endangered language is spoken by only a handful of speakers all living in the same village, language and dialect and reference community are coterminous. However, most reports will be only a snapshot of a specific situation in a particular locality at a certain moment. Where we have only a single report on one community for a language that is known to be spoken over a vaster territory, that report will serve—until others arrive—as representative. Where we accumulate multiple reports on different reference communities speaking the same language or dialect, we will be able to provide both fine-grained detail and more general aggregated statements. Where we receive multiple reports on the same reference community, we will be able to assess the validity of the

questionnaire and, if the reports cover different time periods, to compile diachronic data.

For instance, if you are reporting on the Evenki language in China, you need not worry about reflecting the situation of this language in Russia or Mongolia (unless you fill out separate forms for those communities!). Moreover, if you consider that a group of Evenki-speakers in China forms a distinct cultural-linguistic community due to great differences in lifestyle and/or language vis-à-vis other Evenki communities, please fill in a separate form for this group. Throughout, the important thing will be that you indicate as clearly as possible what the reference community is that serves as the basis for your report, and provide sufficient identifying information about the language so that we can later link reports on the same or related languages or dialects.

### **Geographic coordinates**

We would highly appreciate it if you could provide geographic coordinates for the reference community. This will in particular facilitate the task of mapping the languages in the new edition of the Atlas, especially in its on-line version. We hope to have both fine-grained detail and aggregated data that can allow users to zoom in from larger to smaller units.

Online tools can help you define easily such coordinates placing dots on maps or entering location names. For more information, please consult the following URL:

<http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/atlas/georef.php>.

### Guidelines for filling in the survey

Please provide a rating score for your language of expertise on each of the factors listed below, where possible. Assign those scores that come closest to describing the situation according to your expertise. If your answer falls between two score options, please pick one and then explain in the “Comments” section. Please note that not all choices are mutually exclusive, and, in some cases, it is possible to check more than one box.

An HTML version of this questionnaire will be accessible shortly from here: <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?pg=00144>. In the meantime, the MS Word version can be downloaded from the same URL.

For each assigned score, please also provide a ‘reliability’ score based on the scale below:

<b>Reliability Index</b> - the assigned score is based on:	
3	Evidence from fieldwork and direct observation
2	Evidence from other reliable sources
1	Very little evidence; a 'best guess'
0	No data available [no score provided]

Name of the language being described in this report:	
Alternative names of the language:	
ISO 639 code(s) of the language (can be obtained from here: <a href="http://www.sil.org/iso639-3/codes.asp">http://www.sil.org/iso639-3/codes.asp</a> ). Please comment if you have any reservations about the ISO code(s):	
Family and branch of the language:	
Country/ies where the reference community whose language is being described is located:	
Province(s) / region(s) where the community is located:	
Reference community (village/town) where the language described is spoken:	
Geographic coordinates of the community whose language is being described (if possible in a decimal format. Multiple entries are welcome. For help, please refer to the paragraph “Geographic coordinates” in the introduction or to: <a href="http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/atlas/georef.php">http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/atlas/georef.php</a> ). Please also comment on the accuracy of the geographic coordinates you are providing:	
Year of the data reported in this report:	
Name, address and E-mail address of expert providing report:	
Would you like to have your name associated with this data when it is displayed?	
Name(s) and E-mail address(es) of other linguist(s) who could provide independent information on this language:	

**SECTION I: Language Vitality and Endangerment within the reference community**

<b>1. Overall vitality / endangerment score:</b>	5	<input type="checkbox"/>	The language is safe	<b>Reliability Index:</b> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Comments</b>
	4	<input type="checkbox"/>	Unsafe/ vulnerable		
	3	<input type="checkbox"/>	Definitely endangered		
	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	Severely endangered		
	1	<input type="checkbox"/>	Critically endangered		
	0	<input type="checkbox"/>	Extinct		

<b>2. Generational language use</b>	Language is used by:			<b>Reliability Index:</b> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 0 <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Comments</b>
	5	<input type="checkbox"/>	all generations, including children		
	4	<input type="checkbox"/>	most children		
	3	<input type="checkbox"/>	only some children		
	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	only grandparents and older generations		
	1	<input type="checkbox"/>	only the great grandparental generation		
0	<input type="checkbox"/>	None			

<b>3. Number of speakers</b>	<b>Please provide the number here for:</b>			<b>Reliability Index:</b> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 0 <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Comments</b>
	a) Number of speakers in this reference community				
	b) Absolute number of speakers of the language				

<b>4. Proportion of speakers within the reference community</b>	5	<input type="checkbox"/>	Nearly all speak the language (>90%)	<b>Reliability Index:</b> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 0 <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Comments (including the size of the reference community, if known)</b>
	4	<input type="checkbox"/>	The great majority speak the language (70-90%)		
	3	<input type="checkbox"/>	A majority speak the language (50-70%)		
	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	A minority speak the language (30-50%)		
	1	<input type="checkbox"/>	Very few speak the language (<30%)		
	0	<input type="checkbox"/>	None speak the language		

<b>5. Domains of language use</b>	5	<input type="checkbox"/>	Universal use: The language is used in all domains and for all functions	<b>Reliability Index:</b> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 0 <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Comments</b>
	4	<input type="checkbox"/>	Multilingual parity: Two or more languages may be used in most social domains and for most functions; the use of the language is usually rare in the official domains (e.g., government, business, administration, education, etc) but may still be in the community's public domains (e.g., religious ceremonies, community gatherings, etc.) and informal domains		
	3	<input type="checkbox"/>	Dwindling domains: The dominant language begins to penetrate informal domains, even home.		
	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	Limited domains: The language is used in limited social domains, for limited functions		
	1	<input type="checkbox"/>	Highly limited domains: The language is used only in very restricted domains, for very limited functions		
	0	<input type="checkbox"/>	No longer spoken: The language is not used in any domain at all		

<b>6. New domains, i. e. new media, including broadcast media and the Internet.</b>	4	<input type="checkbox"/>	The language is frequently used in new domains	<b>Reliability Index:</b> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 0 <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Comments</b>
	3	<input type="checkbox"/>	The language is sometimes used in new domains		
	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	The language is rarely used in new domains		
	1	<input type="checkbox"/>	The language is never used in new domains		
	0	<input type="checkbox"/>	Not applicable		

<b>7. Domain of traditional knowledge (TK)</b>	For conveying TK, this language is used:			<b>Reliability Index:</b> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 0 <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Comments</b>
	5	<input type="checkbox"/>	Frequently		
	4	<input type="checkbox"/>	Sometimes		
	3	<input type="checkbox"/>	Rarely		
	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	Never		
	1	<input type="checkbox"/>	TK is conveyed using another language		
	0	<input type="checkbox"/>	TK is rarely conveyed		

<b>8. Materials for language education and literacy</b>	<p>5 <input type="checkbox"/> There is an established orthography and literacy tradition with fiction and non-fiction and everyday media. The language is used in administration and education</p> <p>4 <input type="checkbox"/> Written materials exist and at school children are developing literacy in the language. The language is not used in written form in the administration.</p> <p>3 <input type="checkbox"/> Written materials exist and children may be exposed to the written form at school. Literacy is not promoted through print media.</p> <p>2 <input type="checkbox"/> Written materials exist but they may be useful only for some members of the community; for others, they may have a symbolic significance. Literacy education in the language is not a part of the school curriculum.</p> <p>1 <input type="checkbox"/> A practical orthography is known to the community and some material is being written.</p> <p>0 <input type="checkbox"/> No orthography is available to the community.</p>	<b>Reliability Index:</b> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 0 <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Comments</b>
<b>9. Governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies, including official status and use</b>	<p>5 <input type="checkbox"/> Equal support for all languages, including the target language.</p> <p>4 <input type="checkbox"/> Differentiated support: Non-dominant languages are protected primarily as the language of the private domain. The use of the target language is prestigious.</p> <p>3 <input type="checkbox"/> Passive assimilation: the dominant language prevails in the public domain, and no explicit policy exists for non-dominant languages;</p> <p>2 <input type="checkbox"/> Active assimilation: Government encourages shift to the dominant language. There is no protection for non-dominant languages, including the target language.</p> <p>1 <input type="checkbox"/> Forced assimilation: The use of non-dominant languages, including the target language, is discouraged; the target language is neither recognized nor protected by the Government.</p> <p>0 <input type="checkbox"/> Prohibition: Non-dominant languages, including the target language are prohibited.</p>	<b>Reliability Index:</b> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 0 <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Comments</b>
<b>10. Reference community members' attitudes towards their own language</b>	<p>5 <input type="checkbox"/> All members value the language of their community and wish to see it promoted.</p> <p>4 <input type="checkbox"/> Most members support the continued use of their language.</p> <p>3 <input type="checkbox"/> Many members support language maintenance; many others are indifferent or may even promote shift to the dominant language.</p> <p>2 <input type="checkbox"/> Some members support language maintenance; some are indifferent or may even support language shift.</p> <p>1 <input type="checkbox"/> Only a few members support language maintenance but most are indifferent or may even support shift to the dominant language.</p> <p>0 <input type="checkbox"/> No-one cares if the language disappears; all prefer to use the dominant language.</p>	<b>Reliability Index:</b> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 0 <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Comments</b>

<b>11. Type and quality of documentation</b>	5	<input type="checkbox"/>	Superlative: There are comprehensive grammars and dictionaries, extensive texts and a constant flow of language materials. Abundant annotated high-quality audio and video recordings exist.	<b>Reliability Index:</b> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 0 <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Comments (Please note whether the material s are specific to this reference community and whether they are available to them)</b>
	4	<input type="checkbox"/>	Good: There is at least one good grammar, a few dictionaries, texts, literature, and everyday media; adequate annotated high-quality audio and video recordings.		
	3	<input type="checkbox"/>	Fair: There may be an adequate grammar, some dictionaries, and texts, but no everyday media; audio and video recordings may exist in varying quality or degree of annotation.		
	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	Fragmentary: There are some grammatical sketches, wordlists, and texts useful for limited linguistic research but with inadequate coverage. Audio and video recordings may exist in varying quality, with or without any annotation.		
	1	<input type="checkbox"/>	Inadequate: Only a few grammatical sketches, short wordlists, and fragmentary texts exist. Audio and video recordings do not exist, are of unusable quality, or are completely un-annotated.		
	0	<input type="checkbox"/>	Undocumented: No material exists.		

<b>12. Status of language programs</b>	5	<input type="checkbox"/>	Successful: A regular and successful program is running involving >5 per cent of the community.	<b>Reliability Index:</b> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 0 <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Comments</b>
	4	<input type="checkbox"/>	Good: A program is running with two of the following characteristics: regular; successful; involving >5 per cent of the community.		
	3	<input type="checkbox"/>	Fair: A program is running with one of the following characteristics: regular; successful; involving >5 per cent of the community.		
	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	Basic: A program is running involving <5 per cent of the community, irregularly and with few or no outcomes.		
	1	<input type="checkbox"/>	Aspiring: No language programs but some community members are talking of starting one.		
	0	<input type="checkbox"/>	None: No language program and no interest in starting one.		



**SECTION II: Linguistic Diversity**

In this section, please describe the reference community as above in Section I. Assign scores for the following factors (where possible and where relevant) to characterize the linguistic situation and experience in the reference community:

**(a) External diversity, i.e. linguistic environment:**

<b>13. In everyday life, how many languages would a typical member of this community encounter:</b>	<b>Hear</b>	<b>Speak</b>	<b>Read</b>	<b>Write</b>	<b>Reliability Index:</b> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 0 <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Comments</b>	
	5 or more languages	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>			<input type="checkbox"/>
	4 languages	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>			<input type="checkbox"/>
	3 languages	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>			<input type="checkbox"/>
	2 languages	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>			<input type="checkbox"/>
	1 language	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>			<input type="checkbox"/>
0 language			<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>			

<b>14. In how many languages is a typical member of this community fully fluent?<sup>1</sup></b>	<input type="checkbox"/> 5 or more languages	<b>Reliability Index:</b> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 0 <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Comments</b>
	<input type="checkbox"/> 4 languages		
	<input type="checkbox"/> 3 languages		
	<input type="checkbox"/> 2 languages		
	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 language		
<b>Which one(s)?</b>			

<b>15. In how many languages is a typical member of this community at least partially fluent?<sup>2</sup></b>	<input type="checkbox"/> 5 or more languages	<b>Reliability Index:</b> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 0 <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Comments</b>
	<input type="checkbox"/> 4 languages		
	<input type="checkbox"/> 3 languages		
	<input type="checkbox"/> 2 languages		
	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 language		
<b>Which one(s)?</b>			

<sup>1</sup> 'Fully fluent' is here defined as able to comfortably function in the language in everyday interaction and conversation.

<sup>2</sup> 'Partially fluent' is here defined as able to engage in basic conversation and understand most of what is said.

16. How many languages are represented in the local schools?	Tolerated	Taught as subject	Used for instruction	Reliability Index:	Comments
	5 or more languages	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
4 languages	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	
3 languages	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	
2 languages	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	0 <input type="checkbox"/>	
1 language	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		
Which one(s)?					

17. How many languages are represented in the local media?	Television	Radio	Print	Reliability Index:	Comments
	5 or more languages	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
4 languages	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	
3 languages	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	
2 languages	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	0 <input type="checkbox"/>	
1 language	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		
Which one(s)?					

18. How is TV presence (broadcast time) distributed across the various languages?			Reliability Index:	Comments
	5	<input type="checkbox"/>	Each language receives equal amounts of broadcast time	
4	<input type="checkbox"/>	Several languages receive good amounts of time	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	
3	<input type="checkbox"/>	Two or more languages predominate	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	
2	<input type="checkbox"/>	One language predominates, but other language(s) are well-represented	0 <input type="checkbox"/>	
1	<input type="checkbox"/>	Over 90 percent of the TV broadcast time is dominated by only one language		
0	<input type="checkbox"/>	Only one language is represented on TV		
Which one(s)?				

**(b) Internal diversity in the language:**

19. Would you say this language is characterized by high internal (dialectal) diversity?			Reliability Index:	Comments
	5	<input type="checkbox"/>	Very high internal diversity	
4	<input type="checkbox"/>	High internal diversity	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	
3	<input type="checkbox"/>	Moderate internal diversity	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	
2	<input type="checkbox"/>	A little internal diversity	0 <input type="checkbox"/>	
1	<input type="checkbox"/>	Virtually no internal diversity		

<b>20. In everyday life, how many dialects would a typical member of this reference community encounter?</b>	5 or more dialects	<b>Hear</b>	<b>Speak</b>	<b>Read</b>	<b>Write</b>	<b>Reliability Index:</b> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 0 <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Comments</b>
	4 dialects	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		
	3 dialects	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		
	2 dialects	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		
	1 dialect	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		
	0 dialect			<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		

<b>21. In how many dialects is a typical member of this community fully or partially fluent?</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> More than 2 dialects	<b>Reliability Index:</b> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 0 <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Comments</b>
	<input type="checkbox"/> 2 dialects		
	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 dialect		
<b>Which one(s)?</b>			

<b>22. How equal are the dialects in speaker numbers?</b>	5 <input type="checkbox"/> Each dialect has equal numbers	<b>Reliability Index:</b> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 0 <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Comments</b>
	4 <input type="checkbox"/> Several dialects have sizable numbers of speakers		
	3 <input type="checkbox"/> Two dialects predominate		
	2 <input type="checkbox"/> One dialect predominates, but other dialect(s) have good numbers of speakers		
	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Over two thirds of speakers use one dialect		
	0 <input type="checkbox"/> One dialect is used by virtually all speakers		
<b>Which one(s)?</b>			

<b>23. How equal are the dialects in symbolic status and prestige?</b>	5 <input type="checkbox"/> Dialects fully equal in status/prestige	<b>Reliability Index:</b> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 0 <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Comments</b>
	4 <input type="checkbox"/> Several dialects have parity in status/prestige		
	3 <input type="checkbox"/> Two dialects have higher status/prestige than other dialects		
	2 <input type="checkbox"/> One dialect has higher status/prestige than all other dialects		
	1 <input type="checkbox"/> One dialect has lower status/ prestige than all other dialects		
<b>Which one(s)?</b>			
<b>What is the status and prestige of this dialect(s)?</b>			

<b>24. Would you say this language is characterized by high stylistic diversity, i.e., a variety of different registers and styles are commonly used in interaction?</b>	5	<input type="checkbox"/>	Very high stylistic diversity, frequently encountered	<b>Reliability Index:</b> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 0 <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Comments</b>
	4	<input type="checkbox"/>	High stylistic diversity, often encountered		
	3	<input type="checkbox"/>	Moderate stylistic diversity, often encountered		
	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	Some stylistic diversity, occasionally encountered		
	1	<input type="checkbox"/>	Little stylistic diversity, encountered infrequently		
0	<input type="checkbox"/>	Virtually no stylistic diversity			

Overall comments and suggestions regarding this questionnaire: