

**CONTACT-INDUCED  
GRAMMATICALIZATION IN THE  
LANGUAGE OF KUDUMBIS OF KERALA**

THESIS SUBMITTED TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY  
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SCHOOL OF LANGUAGE, LITERATURE AND CULTURE STUDIES  
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Dated 31/07/2017


### CERTIFICATE

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This may be placed before the examiners for evaluation for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

  
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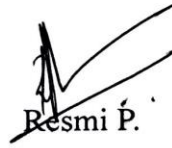
  
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## DECLARATION

This thesis titled “**Contact-Induced Grammaticalization in the Language of Kudumbis of Kerala**” submitted by me for the award of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy**, is an original work and has not been submitted so far in part or in full for any other degree or diploma of any University or Institution.



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## List of abbreviations

ABL	Ablative	IMPFV	imperfective
ACC	Accusative	INF	infinitive
ADJ PRTPL	adjectival participle	INSTR	instrumental
ALL	Allative	INT	intentional
ART	Article	INCL	inclusive
ASP	Aspect	INTER	interrogative
AUX	Auxiliary	INTRS	intransitive
AVER	Avertive	INDEF	indefinite
BEN	Benefactive	INTJ	interjection
CAUS	Causative	LOC	locative
CON	Continuous	N	noun
COND	Conditional	NEG	negation
CONJ	Conjunction	NEUT	neuter
COP	Copula	NPERF	near perf
CP	conjunctive participle	NOM	nominative case
CPLTV	Completive	NOMNL	nominalizer
DAT	Dative	PART	particle
DEB	Debitive	PRT	participle
DEF	Definitive	PST	past
DEM	Demonstrative	PERF	perfect
DIM	Diminutive	PFV	perfective
DISC	Discontinuous	PL	plural
DUR	Durative	POSS	possessive
EMPH	Emphatic	PRES	present
EXT .COP	existential copula	PROG	progressive
FEM	feminine gender	PROH	prohibitive
FOC	Focus	PROX	proximative
FUT	Future	PER	person
GEN	Genitive	PST	past
M	masculine gender	QUOT	quotative
MOD	Modality	REC	reciprocal
HAB	Habitual	REF	reflexive
HON	Honorific	REL	relative
GEN	genitive case	REL PRTPL	relative participle
LOC	locative case	SG	singular

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

Kudumbi Konkani (henceforth Kudumbi) is a variety of Konkani language spoken by the Kudumbi community in Kerala who migrated from Goa five centuries ago<sup>1</sup> during the Portuguese inquisition. A situation of asymmetrical bilingualism exists between Kudumbi and Malayalam<sup>2</sup>, the regional language of Kerala, leading to a case of ongoing language shift. As a result of the long and intense contact with Malayalam, Kudumbi exhibits strong linguistic influence including lexical, phonological and grammatical transfer from Malayalam. The grammatical functions and meanings that are transferred from Malayalam to Kudumbi, without any morpho-phonological material, is the subject of the present study. The study investigates whether these grammatical features in the Kudumbi variety of Kerala are a result of the process termed as '*contact-induced grammaticalization*' (Heine and Kuteva, 2005), a process by which the lexical items give rise to grammatical categories, where the process is triggered by language contact. Apart from describing the instances of contact-induced grammaticalization in Kudumbi due to the influence of Malayalam, it also calls for an integrative approach, combining linguistic and extra-linguistic factors, in order to achieve a holistic understanding of the process. The study tries to sketch the correlation between socio-cognitive factors and linguistic factors which come into systematic interaction with each other resulting in the evolution of a grammatical category from a lexical item, when language contact acts as the external trigger.

Traditionally, grammaticalization is considered purely as a language internal process which occurs 'naturally' in a language, whereas, contact-induced grammaticalization has not been regarded as a plausible process for a long time. On the contrary, in contemporary linguistics, the area of contact-induced grammaticalization is receiving wide attention. A number of studies have emerged in the area which finds that language contact can influence the development of a

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<sup>1</sup> The community is known as Kunbi in Goa where the community is from originally. The language is not distinguished as a variety on the basis of the name of the caste.

<sup>2</sup> The mother tongue and dominant language in the state of Kerala.



grammatical function or meaning in a language on the model of another language. The functions which language contact perform here is to provide a model for the recipient language<sup>3</sup>- determining which lexical elements evolve into grammatical structures and the path of grammaticalization that is followed. And importantly, such a process is unlikely to occur otherwise, without the model provided by the contact language and thereby acting as a triggering agent. The framework of ‘contact-induced grammaticalization’ as proposed by Heine and Kuteva (2005) acts as an explanation to how and why certain ‘unlikely’ grammatical categories come into being, in a language when it exists in contact with another language.

The languages, Kudumbi, an Indo- Aryan language and Malayalam, a Dravidian language are genetically unrelated. The focus of the study is on the instances of contact-induced grammaticalization in Kudumbi -the grammatical categories and structures that emerged in Kudumbi as a result of contact with Malayalam. The study argues that the instances of shared or similar grammatical categories that are observed in Kudumbi are not cases of ‘grammatical borrowing’ or ‘copying’ which they were popularly studied as, but a result of internal development due to an external trigger. The external trigger here being the contact language and the sociolinguistic factors associated with the contact language.

The study is not merely a descriptive account of the cases of contact-induced grammaticalization in the language, whereas, it provides an inductive analysis of the interaction between the linguistic and the extra linguistic factors. An integrative methodology and analysis is followed, which takes both linguistic as well as socio- cognitive processes into account. The study infers that contact-induced grammaticalization is a highly complex linguistic process which involves an amalgamation of intricate cognitive processes seated in the social frame of the languages involved.

## **1.1 Objectives**

The objectives proposed while commencing the study were,

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<sup>3</sup> The term is used interchangeably with ‘replica language’, in the sense that it is the language which replicates a pattern. Also, the term model language and contact language are also used interchangeably.

- a. To investigate the existence of the grammatical meanings and functions in Kudumbi that seem to be similar in meanings and functions in Malayalam
- b. To investigate whether they are evolved through the internal process of grammaticalization, but on a model provided by Malayalam.
- c. The mechanisms involved in the replication.
- d. To understand the circumstances that resulted in replicating a construction in Kudumbi on the model of Malayalam.

## 1.2 Language and the People

Kudumbi is a variety of Konkani language spoken by the Kudumbi<sup>4</sup> community in Kerala. Konkani belongs to the Indo- Aryan language family, and is the official language of the state of Goa. Konkani is written in several scripts, however, Devanagari is the officially recognised script. Kudumbis, along with Gowda Saraswat Brahmins (GSBs henceforth), migrated to Kerala during the 15 to 16<sup>th</sup> century fearing the religious persecution during Portuguese Inquisition which resulted in the community's amalgamation with the Malayalam community in terms of language and culture.

**Demography:** The Vypin Island in Ernakulam district with nearly 300 Kudumbi families is the largest Kudumbi settlement<sup>5</sup> in Kerala. Therefore, the chosen field area for the study is Vypin. Kudumbis reside in community dwellings originally known as Keri. In the initial days they were settled around the GSB dwellings. The Kudumbis served the GSBs for their livelihood for many generations. The situation changed in the past century when the Kudumbis started working for the native residents of Kerala as well. Presently, with the change of occupational status holding employment in the mainstream areas like teaching, information technology sector and others, the Kudumbis are moving away from their community settlements.

**Socio- economic Status:** Kudumbis are considered to be socio- economically lower in position in terms of caste, education and occupation. Kudumbis, classified

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<sup>4</sup> It is locally called as Moopan bhasha also.

<sup>5</sup> Other settlements are seen in the areas of Trivandrum, Kollam, Cherthala, Varapuzha, Poyya, Chalakkudy, Kozhikkode and Thalassery. With the emergence of education in the community, the educated ones are moving out of the community settlement and settling in city areas like Ernakulam and Trivandrum.

under 'Scheduled Tribe' in Kerala, initially worked for the GSBs for many years and the payment were given in kind. Over the years, they started seeking employment in the household of the local residents and were mainly employed in the fields of agriculture and fishing. In the farming sector, the men did the hard manual labour such as tilling the land whereas the women did the part of planting and harvesting. Women were also employed in menial works as domestic helps and also engaged in group employment activities like *papad* making and fish processing. Presently, almost in a span of three decades the situation has changed where there are mainstream professionals in the community including professors and engineers and the number is increasing with the current educated generation.

**Language Identity:** Kudumbi is on a process of language shift, giving away their mother tongue to the mainstream language. The language is no longer spoken by the younger generation and the language of the home domain is replaced by Malayalam. It is inferred<sup>6</sup> that the possible reasons for this phenomenon is the socio- economically weaker status of the community, at least till a decade ago. The Kudumbis are rather indifferent or show little language loyalty towards their mother tongue. It is seen that there is an urge among the Kudumbis community to amalgamate into the mainstream language and people and being identified as one among them. The linguistic identity which is seen as a barrier is consciously finding its way out.

**History of language contact:** Kudumbis migrated from Goa to Kerala along with the GSBs as their domestic helps<sup>7</sup>. Till early 20<sup>th</sup> century in Kerala, they worked mainly in the households of GSBs since they were not accepted by the other mainstream communities of Kerala like Nairs and Nampoothiris. The wages were given in kind which was the practice of the period.

The socio-historical background of Kudumbis characterised by their long history of contact and their socio- political and economic backwardness, can predict a plethora of situations of linguistic convergence leading ultimately to a

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<sup>6</sup> The Gowda Saraswat Brahmins with whom the Kudumbis migrated, with equal span of contact are strictly maintaining their language with conscious efforts of resisting any sort of linguistic or cultural convergence. The Brahmin group are favoured socially, and a prominent community in Kerala holding a major part of the business in the area.

<sup>7</sup> The Kudumbis and the Gowda Saraswat Brahmins who did not migrate are still settled in Goa with a majority converting to Christianity.

case of language shift. As the studies like Weinreich (1953), Thomason and Kauffman (1988) suggest, in such a long history of contact, Kudumbi is expected to undergo a phase of extreme linguistic convergence<sup>8</sup> including grammatical convergence. The discussions with the older generation informants belonging to Kudumbi community deliver an insight into the historical background of Kudumbis in Kerala. To quote one of the informants, *'Earlier, during our childhood even though we didn't have any objections, we were not hired in the households of the mainstream Keralites like Hindu Nairs and Namboothiris as we were migrants. Hence we were 'forced' to continue to work for the Gowda Saraswat Brahmin. And we were taken for granted by them that we were never properly paid and never in cash, but only in kind. And it is only recently that we are employed in the households of other communities'*. The rise of Ezhavas as a prominent community in Kerala in late 19<sup>th</sup> century opened doors for the Kudumbi males - *moopan* to be hired as working on the land, and females - *baayi* employed as domestic helps. The 1960s witnessed the emergence of a distinct middle class<sup>9</sup> in Kerala. With the emergence of this 'new middle class', the Kudumbis sought jobs in the households of other middle class communities like Ezhavas, Muslims and Christians who were hospitable towards Kudumbis. The main reason was the financial benefit compared to the being employed in GSB households. Hence, for the five centuries that Kudumbis have been in Kerala, we can see a differential in the degree of interaction, that is, from minimal interaction to higher interaction. The past century has witnessed an abrupt and exponential increase in the interaction between the Kudumbis and other mainstream native communities in Kerala which is amply reflected in their language. The employment and demographic changes enhanced the interaction between the speakers and consequently the language. This socio-economic phenomenon might have

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<sup>8</sup> As in the case of Nadkarni (1971)

<sup>9</sup> 'The 'Kerala land reform movement of 1963 and 'Kerala Gulf Boom of 1970s, are responsible for the formation of 'middle class' in Kerala. The Kerala Land Reform Act 1963, provide for imposition of ceiling on holdings' (Land Reform Act, 1963). As per the report by Government of India Planning Commission (2008:79), 'The Land Reform Act created a large middle class of owner- cultivators'. Kerala Gulf Boom refers to the mass migration of a large number of people from the Indian state of Kerala to the gulf countries, from 1972 to 1983. This contributed to a substantial rise in the standard of living of the lower middle class people of Kerala. (Malayala Manorama Year Book, 1991).

favoured their process of shift towards Malayalam, along with many other social factors.

### **1.3 Overview of the Language Behaviour in Contact**

The Kudumbi language is seen to be very receptive towards borrowing of any kind, both cultural and linguistic borrowing. Though we are dealing entirely with grammatical changes, an overall linguistic behaviour of a language in contact can provide insights into the mechanics of language change. There are a number of lexical borrowings in the language from Malayalam, even in the key areas of kinship terminologies, numerals and basic vocabulary. The phonological changes are seen as borrowing of sounds as well the loss of features which are not present in Malayalam.

The loan word integration<sup>10</sup> can talk about the notion of identity of the speakers. The loan words are mainly ‘imported’ to the language without ‘nativisation’<sup>11</sup>. The loanwords that are borrowed are not changed to fit the phonology of the language. However, on the other hand, socio-linguistically these borrowings show speakers conforming to the model language and receptiveness to the language and its speakers. Therefore, Kudumbi on the whole is seen to be receptive to linguistic changes.

### **1.4 Structure of the Thesis**

The thesis is structured as follows,

Chapter (1) Introduction

Chapter (2) Methodology

Chapter (3) Theoretical Background and Literature Review

Chapter (4) Data and Analysis

Chapter (5) Sociolinguistic Explanation

Chapter (6) Conclusion

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<sup>10</sup> Haugen (1950)

<sup>11</sup> On the contrary, the GSB community ‘nativises’ the loan words.

Chapter (1) is made up of the introduction to the Kudumbi language and people, the objective of the study, organisation of the chapters, and the motivation for the study.

Chapter (2) Methodology - discusses in detail the various methodologies used in the study. The study is approached from a multiple perspective with various extra-linguistic factors also taken into account. From data collection to analysis, various optimally designed methodologies are employed to capture each of the multiple nuances of the study. Other than the traditional methods like observation and questionnaire methods, other novel methods have been incorporated which the study demands. For example, the knowledge of collocations is put into use to evaluate the language competence of the speakers.

Chapter (3), Theoretical Background and Literature Review - discusses the key theories and concept of contact-induced grammaticalization. As far as the contact-induced language changes are concerned, the theories have come a long way from a period which considered lexicons and phonological materials as the only possible linguistic material which are transferred from one language to another<sup>12</sup>, or the transfer is possible only between typologically similar languages<sup>13</sup> to transfer of grammatical materials and meaning as an equally rampant phenomenon. More studies have revealed the significance of language contact in the evolution of grammatical materials that is grammaticalization may just as well happen in language-contact situations, notably, Heine and Kuteva (2005) who did a detailed study on the role of contact in language-internal grammaticalization. The framework of contact-induced grammaticalization proposed by Heine and Kuteva (2005) forms the basic framework of the study. As in the case of any language process in contact situation, grammaticalization which is induced by language contact also involves complex cognitive processes supplemented with underlying socio-cultural mechanisms.

Chapter (4), Data and Analysis - Very few studies have analysed the grammar of Kudumbi Konkani so far. This chapter systematically shows that much of the grammatical features that are evolved in Kudumbi are the result of contact-

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<sup>12</sup> For example Haugen (1950)

<sup>13</sup> For example Meillet (1912) cited in Thomason and Kauffman (1988:14)

induced grammaticalization. The study proceeds to analyse the categories in the framework given by Heine and Kuteva (2005) with each of the instances are studied in detail.

Chapter (5) Language is an epitome of social behaviour. Hierarchies based on social variables like prestige correlated, *inter alia*, with caste and economics result in political and social dominance between the languages which finds the representation in the borrowing and diffusion of linguistic features. This chapter discusses various sociolinguistic theories pertaining to the study and how they shape the linguistic behaviour of the community.

Chapter (6) Conclusion - Summarises the thesis. The chapter briefly discusses the contribution of the study towards the theory of contact-induced grammaticalization. The chapter also discusses the limitations of the study and also highlights the need for an integrative explanation towards contact-induced grammaticalization which takes both linguistic and extra linguistic factors into consideration. Finally the thesis concludes suggesting the areas that could be worked on in the future.

### **1.5 Why this Study?**

Two languages belonging to two different language families make ground for an excellent opportunity to investigate contact-induced language changes. ‘Contact- induced grammaticalization’ itself as a theoretical framework has not been worked in detail in any of the contact situation in the Indian languages so far. Even though, the studies have looked into the mechanisms such as linguistic convergence and grammatical borrowing, until date a study which analyses the emergence of contact-induced grammatical features in Kudumbi in the framework of Contact-induced Grammaticalization is not studied. The contact between Kudumbi and Malayalam is a very interesting area of linguistic study considering the complex contact situation that is involved. Kudumbis, due to socio-cultural reasons, are a shifting population. The bilinguals in the context of language shift work on complex cognitive mechanisms. The interaction between linguistic demands of a society and the intricate cognitive mechanisms which are involved in meeting those demands are worth a study. There is no denial that the structural factors play an important role in such kinds of grammatical replication. There are numerous studies which deal with the descriptive accounts of structural changes in

language contact situation. However not much has been done to investigate the extra- linguistic mechanisms which are woven along with the linguistic processes. The study hopes to widen our knowledge on how internal and external factors interact in the evolution of grammatical changes in a language contact situation.



## **Chapter 2**

### **Methodology**

The study intersects between the cognitive and social aspects of the language. Therefore the methodology calls for a diverse as well as integrated process in order to approach the deeper levels of this complex language situation. The current research combines the tried and tested as well as innovatory research methodologies which dissect through the process of contact-induced grammaticalization at language internal and external levels. The methodologies chosen here support the study both quantitatively and qualitatively. The chapter discusses the selection of speakers, mode of data collection, specific methods used and the field experiences pertaining to the study.

The methodology demarcates along three divisions, acquisition and analysis of the language data, analyzing the competence of the speakers and, discerning the extra -linguistic factors. The language data is accessed by elicitation of sentences and utterances, observing the spoken language use and grammatical intuition of the speakers. Grammar, to a great extent, is a culturally evolved collective imagery built on an inherent genetic framework. The socio-cultural inputs are fed into this framework over time and the grammar is evolved. In the linguistic situation studied here, understanding ‘language competence’ of the speakers is an essential part in ensuring whether the grammatical changes are products of internal linguistic evolution or mere copying of a pattern. Competence is analysed by observation as well as with the help of methods designed specially for the present study.

A language not only has a history to tell, but psychology too. The psyche of the community shapes the language. This aspect is explored in linguistics through the analysis of language attitude along with the study of the social identity of the speakers using observation and empirical tests using the questionnaire.

#### **2.1 Selection of Speakers**

In the current study, following Dorian (1980) and Grinevald (2003), speakers are distinguished into fluent speakers, and the semi-speakers. Fluent

speakers are characterised as the traditional speakers, who have ‘acquired’ the language, possess good competence with minimal loss of language, are able to engage in spontaneous conversations in the language and are the custodians of native narratives. Semi-speakers acquire the language partially, and also there is a major influence of the contact language. There is no regular conversation environment, as far as the first language of the semi speakers is concerned.

The main subjects of the study are the Kudumbi fluent speakers aged from 60- 80 and, the middle aged speakers aged from 40-60 , who are in the category of fluent to semi speakers . Fifteen individuals each from the middle aged and old aged group were chosen as informants for the study, with the total of thirty speakers. The older speakers were enthusiastic informants who provided abundant data. They were happy to talk about their language, their struggles, and quite often stories and narratives like recipes, mythology related to temples, rituals and practices. They possess intuitive knowledge of the language and are proud of their knowledge. They take pride in their linguistic identity, yet indifferent towards its loss. Meanwhile, the middle aged subjects were somewhat reluctant speakers. Yet, over the period of time, majority of them understood the real purpose of the study and turned out to be cooperative.

## **2.2 Data Collection**

As mentioned earlier, the data acquisition method has several stages. There are no existing researches on the language and hence the research questions are framed after a preliminary study based on limited corpus. The instances of grammaticalization in Malayalam are identified and checked for the corresponding construction in Kudumbi, which is again compared to the non contact variety of Kudumbi spoken in Goa. The data is collected by visiting the field in Goa. The older speakers are always willing to talk in length about their personal life. The experience says that being a good listener to their personal stories and struggles can derive a corpus of data and interestingly and the recipes make good narratives from the women informants.

The data is approached with the real time method, and the collected data are cross checked at multiple points of time to confirm the authenticity of the data. The ‘observer’s paradox’ - the concern over the conscious versus the unconscious

is not taken into serious consideration with the belief that grammar being a cognitive product cannot be reproduced spontaneously as a conscious effort. The apparent time method (linguistic behaviour of different generations is compared in the absence of real time evidence) has limitations as far as the grammatical data are concerned because the younger generations are non- speakers of the language.

Direct elicitation is used in the case of lexical elicitation as well as grammatical meanings. The patterns of borrowing of lexicons are the indices of language attitude of the speakers (Appendix 5). Moreover, a direct elicitation questionnaire based on the existing patterns of grammaticalization in Malayalam is designed on the model of Heine and Kuteva (2002) (See appendix 1).

‘Elicitation of judgments’ is used as one of the techniques. At times, the linguist’s intuition enables construction of a sentence and can ask the informants (especially the old fluent speakers) whether the sentence is grammatical or not. The method is not entirely reliable, but the grammatical intuitions of the ‘fluent speakers’ are particularly useful in the kind of study here. Like the ‘naïve linguistic explanation’ as conceptualized by Dixon (1992:83), it implies the metalinguistic knowledge of the speakers, which enables them to make a judgment on ‘whether something is grammatical or felicitous or appropriate in a certain situation’. Unlike lexicons, we are dealing here with grammar which in turn relates to the metalinguistic knowledge of the speakers for which such naïve linguistic explanation comes handy.

Incidental observations are not neglected and effort has been taken to ensure that the transcriptions are reliable by cross checking with multiple speakers. The study has undertaken comprehensive and extensive fieldwork. For the kind of study discussed here, it is imperative to have thorough familiarity with the field.

### **2.3. Methodology**

The hypothesis of the study was formed after a preliminary pilot study in which the existence of the particular linguistic problem was observed. Once the linguistic problem was speculated, the hypothesis was formulated with the help of the supporting evidence. The main methodology of the study is the ‘framework of contact-induced grammaticalization’ as put forward by Heine and Kuteva (2005),

the basic technique to identify the instances of contact-induced grammaticalization in Kudumbi in contact with Malayalam. Each of the instances that are identified as potential cases of contact-induced grammaticalization is analysed according to this framework.

The next stage is to investigate whether the given case is a result of contact-induced or purely language internal development which further leads to the biggest task of establishing whether the shared grammatical similarities are due to language contact or not. Heine and Kuteva (2005) seem to complement on the methodology proposed by Thomason (2003: 688) for the purpose of identifying the role of contact in the shared similarities between the languages. Thomason's (ibid.) diagnostic tool for identifying 'contact' states that,

...in my view, contact between language (or dialects) is a source of linguistic change whenever a change occurs that would have been unlikely, or at least less likely, to occur outside a specific contact situation.

Heine and Kuteva (2005:33) hold that this method is broad enough to include both the transfer of linguistic features from one language to another and innovations which though not direct interference features, nevertheless have their origin in a particular contact situation. Heine and Kuteva (2005) propose the tool for identifying contact-induced linguistic transfer:

If there is a linguistic property *x* shared by two languages *M* and *R*, and these languages are immediate neighbours and/ or known to have been in contact with each other for an extended period of time, and *x* is also found in languages genetically related to *M* but not in languages genetically related to *R*, then we hypothesize that this is an instance of contact-induced transfer, more specifically, that *x* has been transferred from *M* to *R*

In the current research, due to the limitations of the study, it is not feasible to compare the features with genetically related languages as far as the model and the recipient languages are concerned. Hence an apparent time approach is taken, with the Kudumbi data from Kerala being compared with the Kudumbi data in Goa where they originally migrated from. That is, the data is obtained from the contact variety of the language is compared with the non- contact variety. The participants are to be matched as closely as possible in both the settings, as far as the age, education and gender is concerned.

As far the present study is concerned, there is an array of factors that need to be considered. An important question that has to be addressed is the proficiency and the competence of the speakers. In the case of Kudumbi, as far as the remaining speakers are concerned, the changes are more or less ‘complete’, and the speakers are not intrinsically aware that those changes are ‘foreign’<sup>14</sup>. The degree of influence of the contact language depends on the speaker’s competence and proficiency in the language (Aikhenvald, 2006:22). Kudumbi speakers have native like competence in Malayalam. Even though they succeed in pointing out lexical borrowings, they cannot recognise the borrowed grammatical meanings and functions as foreign. The proficiency and competence are here taken as terms with varying meanings. Proficiency corresponds to the linguistic proficiency of the speakers; i.e., how well the speakers can use a language while competence corresponds to the metalinguistic knowledge which involves the socio-cultural knowledge of the speakers. It should be noted that, it is the proficiency and competence in ‘Malayalam’ which is analysed here. In testing the proficiency, the study do not rely on the conventional ‘language proficiency tests’ but instead focusing on subjects’ awareness and ability to use to ‘slangs’ and ‘collocations’ of the contact language.

#### **2.4. Sketching the language behaviour**

It is hardly possible to recognise the exact nature of the contribution of language contact in contact-induced grammaticalization studies. The study contends that it is necessary to have an overall view on the ‘behaviour’ of the participating languages, like the kind of changes which the language permits, receptiveness to changes. It is imperative to view the language under study as a whole system, especially in contact studies, even though the focus is on the linguistic problem under question. By ‘linguistic behaviour in contact situation’, it means how a language (speakers) behave in a contact situation. For example, the process of ‘borrowing’ of lexicons, the phonological borrowing, the adopted style, can provide enough clues about the language attitude and identity of the speakers or community. It has been theorised that the more receptive the language to change

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<sup>14</sup> Tsitsipis (1998: 34) divides contact induced changes into three kinds depending on their time frame and stability as completed, ongoing, and discontinuous. Completed changes cover those aspects of the grammatical system of a language which do not show any synchronic variation and which go beyond speakers’ awareness. Speakers are hardly aware of these as ‘foreign’.

is, the more the inclination towards borrowing as well as replacing the native vocabulary. Hence, the present study incorporates an overall analysis of the linguistic nature and behaviour of the language.

Lexical borrowings are taken as a diagnostic tool to address the question of linguistic behaviour of the speakers. Studies have shown that the 'emblematicity' is largely carried by the lexicons on contrary to grammatical borrowings (LePage and Tabouret-Keller, 1985; Ross, 2006:151-152; Aikhenvald, 2006). The data shows that the speakers are very open to borrowing and the list of borrowed lexicons and the phonological borrowings are given in the Appendix (5)

## **2.5. Sociolinguistic Methodology**

The regard for the socio-cultural factors in language contact studies is amply emphasised in numerous studies on language contact. Starting with the preliminary works like Weinreich (1953), there has been a number of well-founded studies which supports the idea. "A full account of the specific processes through which foreign materials gets into a language would require attention into innumerable social and psychological details, and linguists are nowhere near any comprehensive understanding of all the relevant processes"(Thomason, 2001:129). Aikhenvald (2006:4) also notes that the extent of borrowing in such case depends on a number of cultural and social factors, including the degree of speakers' awareness and sense of purism, and also the structure of the languages in contact. Claire Bower (2008: 2) rightly stresses on 'the need for the linguist to have an understanding and knowledge of the social situations at work in the community under study, such as demographics and history. That is simply because any linguistic claim about language contact is reduced to a claim about social behaviour of speakers'. Therefore, various techniques have been employed to understand the social situations at work in the community under study. Language attitude, represents attitude of the speakers, as well as, towards the speakers. Language attitude forms one of the fundamental questions as far as the social factors are concerned. Being a native to the field area, it was easier for me to have a close observation of the community, the attitude which the community holds about themselves and also what the host community holds towards them. Also, specially designed questionnaire helps in getting the explicit answers (given in the appendix 4).

There is a 'diglossic situation' (Ferguson 1964) which exists, when one of the languages holds more prestige than the other. The situation has to be analysed against various cross sections of the speakers as what is perceived as prestige to one set of speaker may not be the case with other set of speakers within the same language. As far as the elder speakers are concerned, the 'prestige' is not a factor. They are proud of their language, and being the victims of a subjugated social history, 'lower prestige' is not counted as a concern to them. They have an attitude of acceptance, acceptance towards their place in the social hierarchy. The urge to amalgamate into the mainstream society starts with the middle generation because of the social changes in the society of Kerala during their period. Such knowledge of the society is obtained through closer interaction with the community, sharing a personal bond.

The history of migration is obtained from various historical documents, oral narratives, and interviews with the elders of the community. The fact that the languages have been in contact for the number of years is not counted as a reason for considering this duration as the actual 'period of interaction'. A sketch of the socio-cultural interaction of the speakers with the mainstream community which has led to the shift of the language has been reconstructed through the available historical accounts, personal conversations with the elders in Kudumbi, GSB and the native communities in Kerala. Besides, the 'domain analysis' (Fishman, 1972) gives clue about the present language choice of the community.

## **2.6. Fieldwork Experience**

Since I am native to the place, the Kudumbi speakers identified themselves as the Kudumbi speakers which would have been a difficult task otherwise as most of them no longer identify themselves as belonging to the Kudumbi community. Largely it was a friendly atmosphere with people interested in the work and keen to help. Elderly speakers were eager to share the knowledge and answer the questions. There was a general acceptance among the speakers because of the familiarity of being a native to the place. It was of tremendous help as some of the personal questions on language attitude require a good level of familiarity and a healthy personal level interaction. A field linguist should reserve such questions towards the end of the study, and wait for the community to be comfortable with

him/ her. Even the speakers in Goa were cooperative. They were enthusiastic about the work on their language.

## **2.6 Tackling the prejudices**

As Lapolla discusses (2012:119), “what is already known influences how we understand new things and experiences and influence our perception of the phenomenon’ being a native speaker of Malayalam, it could influence the analysis in deciding whether a grammatical instance is to be taken as a contact influence or not. There could be a tendency to choose the grammatical features similar to Malayalam as a case of contact. Hence each of the instances are carefully and cautiously verified to see whether the construction already exists among the Kudumbis of Goa to rule out the possibility of non-contact internal language change.



## Chapter 3

### Theoretical Background

#### 3.1 What is grammaticalization?

Grammaticalization is defined a process from which lexical items give rise to grammatical categories as well the existing grammatical functions and meanings evolve into even more grammatical forms.

For example,

The case of explicator compound verbs as discussed by Abbi (1991) forms a classic example of grammaticalization. The explicator compound verb is a sequence of two verbs V1 and V2, in which the main verb of the sentence, generally V1 in SOV languages, is followed by another verb V2 which is delexicalised in the construction.

Take a case of Malayalam,

<i>kuppi</i>	<i>pott.i</i>	<i>po:j-i</i>
bottle	break-PST	go-PST

‘the bottle broke’

Here, the light verb *povuka* ‘to go’ > *poji* ‘go.PST’ loses its lexical properties and evolve into a grammatical marker to denote the modality of the action. The addition of *po:ji* to the main verb *pott.i* ‘break.PST’ conveys the undesirability of the event. The characteristics of the verb ‘go’ here is,

1. It no longer carries its original meaning or performs its original function
2. It attains a new grammatical meaning
3. The category is changed from a verb to a modality marker
4. There is a metaphoric correlation between both the meanings

5. Not only the particular lexical word, but the entire construction has semantically contributed into the evolution of a lexical category to grammatical category.

It sums up the concept of grammaticalization in simple terms. Like the process discussed above, it has been theorized that the grammar is emerged from words. The original meaning of the word and the grammatical function it attains may differ at the final point, but the original meaning of the word and the entire construction in which it is used in a particular context initiates the process.

### **3.2 History of Grammaticalization**

Grammaticalization as a linguistic process explains ‘how’ grammar is evolved in a language over the period of time. Therefore, as a theory, grammaticalization gives a descriptive and explanatory account for the origin and evolution of the grammatical forms Meillet (1912)<sup>15</sup>; Lehmann (1982); Heine and Reh (1984); Heine, Claudi and Hunnemeyer (1991); Hopper and Traugott (1993); Heine and Kuteva (2005). Grammaticalization has been approached and studied as a language internal process for a long period of time. When the linguistic changes in one or both the languages are said to be contact-induced, it suggests that the process is triggered by the contact between two (or more) languages and the changes have been initiated due to the interaction with the contact language, in which the contact language provides the model for change.

In the present case of contact- induced grammaticalization, we are dealing with the language internal ‘grammatical changes’ that have been triggered in a language (here Kudumbi Konkani, an Indo-Aryan language) due to the contact with another language (Malayalam, the Dravidian language), in which the grammatical changes which have come into being are modeled on the grammatical pattern in the contact language. This chapter discusses the theoretical premises of the study. The main methodology followed in the study is ‘framework of contact-induced grammaticalization’ proposed by Heine& Kuteva (2005). Nevertheless, the study also takes various other theories pertaining to the area, which could supplement the main framework.

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<sup>15</sup> Cited in Hopper (1991 : 17-18)

Even though the historical linguists have been interested in the diachronic evolution of grammar, it was Antoine Meillet (1912) who is considered the first to recognise the importance of ‘grammaticalization’ as a significant linguistic process which resulted in the evolution of grammar and theorised grammaticalization as a central theory in the domain of language change. Prior to Meillet<sup>16</sup>, Humboldt (1822) and Gabelentz (1891)<sup>17</sup> were concerned about the individual processes which are involved in grammaticalization leading to the evolution of a language; nevertheless, these processes were only considered as part of the study of typology. But it was Meillet who gave a seminal definition to the process and used the term ‘grammaticalization’ for defining the process. Meillet (1912:131) in his work *L'évolution des Formes Grammaticales* defines ‘grammaticalization as the attribution of a grammatical character to a previously autonomous word and noted that, in every case where the ultimate historical source of a form was known, this source could be shown to be ordinary lexical word’ (Cited in Hopper and Traugott, 1993:15). Meillet (ibid.) observed that grammaticalization proceeds in such a way that a once autonomous word with lexical content acquires grammatical function, and accompanied by phonetic reduction (Cited in Miller, 2010:25-26). Thereby, he suggested that the autonomous words taking on grammatical roles is the primary way in which grammaticalization takes place. Meillet’s definition of the theory of grammaticalization also alludes to the point that the process of grammaticalization is a gradual process rather than a sudden shift in the grammatical category. It is since Meillet, the process of grammaticalization has been recognised as a central area in the theory of language change.

After staying dormant for a number of years which focused on synchronic studies, grammaticalization gained some interest with Kurylowicz (1965). Kurylowicz’s (1965) classic definition, which it is often referred to as, defines the process as, ‘Grammaticalization consists the increase of the range of a morpheme advancing from a lexical to grammatical or from a less grammatical to a more grammatical status’. Later on, by 1970, the studies in the area developed further.

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<sup>16</sup> Heine (2003:575-576) cites a number of studies which are precursors to the study of grammaticalization. However a selected few are only included in the discussion here. Condillac (1746), John Horne Tooke (1857), August Wilhelm von Schlegel (1818), Wilhelm von Humboldt (1825), Franz Wüllner (1831), William Dwight Whitney (1875), and, most of all, Georg von der Gabelentz (1901) are listed.

<sup>17</sup> Referred in Hopper and Traugott (2003:19-21)

When the researches on the nature and mechanisms of Creole formation grew into an important area of research in the diachronic studies, the role of grammaticalization in Creole formation was studied extensively. Givon's (1971) was the one of the first works to interpret the emergence of grammatical categories from lexical material in Creole languages in terms of grammaticalization process. He (ibid.) sparked the revival of grammaticalization with his slogan "Today's morphology is yesterday's syntax", showing evidence from various African languages where the present affixes were once collocations of pronouns and independent verbs. One of Givon's (1979) major contributions to grammaticalization theory is his focus on language use in discourse and pragmatics which results in language change. Givon (1979) had begun to use the term to refer to shifts from more pragmatic to more grammatical function of syntactic constructions, which could be seen as the beginning of the usage-based approach to grammaticalization. Givon called this process 'syntacticization', a process by which syntactic and morphological structures are evolved from pragmatic and discourse strategies. Givon thus explained the syntax through grammaticalization.

The recent works which brought in considerable interest in the area started with Lehmann ([1982]1995), Heine, Claudi and Hunnemeyer (1991), Hopper and Traugott (1993), Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994). Nevertheless, one of the ground breaking and foundational work in the area is Christian Lehmann's (1982) seminal work "Thoughts on Grammaticalization". Since then, there has been a resurgence of interest in grammaticalization as a major area of study in language change, and most importantly Lehmann's parameters of grammaticalization gave principled criteria for the identification of the pathways of grammaticalization and their outcomes. According to Lehmann, the primary feature of grammaticalization is the loss in autonomy of a linguistic sign. The more autonomous the form is, the less grammaticalized it is, and vice versa. Parameters of grammaticalization is a set of criteria, in order to determine the degree of grammaticalization of a linguistic item when it advances along the cline, from 'less grammatical' to 'more grammatical'. A noteworthy contribution of Lehmann's study is that Lehmann (1982:vii) points out the importance of 'construction' in lieu of isolated linguistic forms in the process of grammaticalization. Until then, the studies emphasised on the 'lexical word' which undergo grammaticalization, in course of time evolve into

grammatical forms. Lehmann (ibid) thus says that ‘a number of semantic, syntactic, and phonological processes interact in the grammaticalization of morphemes and of whole constructions (emphasis added).’ It can be considered as a precursor to the studies like Heine and Reh (1984); Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca (1994) which emphasised that the whole ‘constructions’ has to be taken into account rather than a single lexicon and the whole construction contributes to the resulting grammatical meaning. According to Bybee et al., (1994), inference is the most important mechanism for grammaticalization. Hopper and Traugott (2003:1) and recently Trousdale (2008) also emphasise the point that not only words but also constructions can undergo grammaticalization.

Some of the important contributions in the studies that follow Lehmann (1982) are also briefly discussed here. Heine and Reh (1984) is based on the comparative study of African languages is primarily based on the foundations laid by Givon on grammaticalization. Heine and Reh (1984:16) started with a systematic identification of the processes involves, distinguishing three kinds of the process of grammaticalization, (1) Phonetic processes which bring about change in the phonetic processes of linguistic units (2) Morphosyntactic processes which bring about changes in the morphological status of linguistic units (3) Functional processes which affect the meaning or grammatical functions of linguistic units. And importantly, these are not independent processes, but, they function together to bring in a grammatical change.

Bybee and Pagliuca (1985) argue that metaphor is the primary motivating force in grammaticalization, meaning that that the grammaticalization is initiated by that ‘extra other than the literal meaning’ which a lexical item holds, which is mostly a context induced meaning. The idea is that the development of grammatical categories is strongly influenced by ‘metaphorical transfer’, the process by which meaning of a concrete entity is extended to an abstract one. Heine, Claudi, Hunnemeyer (1991) on a similar line of thought focused on the correlation between cognition and communication. Heine, Claudi, Hunnemeyer (ibid.) considers ‘metaphorical extensions used in more and more contexts results in context- induced interpretation, and see it as one of the main processes underlying grammaticalization. They argue that the cognitive processes underlying the metaphorical abstractions necessarily form an important factor to yield

grammatical output, at least in the case of some of the basic cognitive concepts such as body parts, kinship terms, and dynamic verbs. Whereby, the concrete domains act as a ‘conceptual vehicle’ for the abstract ones. Both the works form the primary ones which give attention to the extra-linguistic explanation to grammaticalization.

Bybee et al. (1994) built on the concept and made an attempt to explain the cross-linguistic structures by means of grammaticalization. Bybee et al. (1994:9-22) formulate a set of hypothesis about how grammaticalization takes place. They are *source determination* which means that ‘the actual meaning of a construction that enters into grammaticalization uniquely determines the path which such grammaticalization follows, and consequently the resulting grammatical meanings’, *Unidirectionality* which means that ‘the path taken by the grammaticalization is always from less grammatical to more grammatical’, *Universal paths* means that there will be some cross-linguistically similar paths for the development of grammatical meaning’. *Retention of earlier meaning* which means that traces of lexical meaning of the source construction can be retained in certain contexts long after grammaticalization has begun.’ *Consequences of semantic retention* means that as there is semantic retention, traces of this lexical meaning has consequences for synchronic analysis, comparative studies, and internal construction. *Semantic reduction and phonological reduction* suggests that the tendency for phonetic reduction of the grammatical material increases with frequency of use, and vice versa. *Layering* suggests the grammaticized and grammaticizing constructions of different ages and same sources co-exist sharing or competing for overlapping territories. Also, the presence of one marker of a given origin does not prevent the rise of another along the same pathway.’ *Relevance* means that the more semantically relevant a grammatical category is to a stem, the more likely it is that it will develop into an affix.’

The focus on the semantic-pragmatic explanation to grammaticalization started with Traugott (1988) ‘*Pragmatic Strengthening and Grammaticalization*’<sup>18</sup>. Traugott (ibid.) stressed on the importance of the ‘involvement of speakers and hearers’ in the course of the process of

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<sup>18</sup> Which again appears in Hopper and Traugott (1991 and 1993 )

grammaticalization and the actual ‘use in specific contexts enriching the pragmatic value, starts of context induced semantic change’ . The metaphoric inferences (Bybee and Pagliuca 1985; HCH 1991) have always been considered as a crucial factor in the process of grammaticalization. Hopper and Traugott (1993) favour the speaker-hearer relationships and roles, cognitive and communicative strategies as ‘motivations’ behind the meaning changes. Traugott (1988), and Hopper and Traugott (1993) also take the position that, contrary to the view that there is essential ‘semantic loss’ which happen in the course of the process, it also results in pragmatic strengthening as along with the ‘loss’ there is an enrichment of pragmatic meaning. The mechanisms of context- induced semantic change were further developed by amongst others Heine (2002) and Diewald (2002). Recent studies<sup>19</sup> like Van Trijp (2013) also puts emphasis on the role of pragmatics in grammaticalization.

In 1991, Traugott and Heine published another prominent work “Approaches to Grammaticalization” which is a collection of papers on grammaticalization across a number of languages. One of the major papers in the volume is Paul Hopper’s “On some principles of grammaticization”. Hopper’s (1991) argument was that Lehmann’s (1982) parameters of grammaticalization as a diagnostic principle fails to identify and explain the early or preliminary stages of grammaticalization, and to address this he put forward five diagnostic principles of grammaticalization namely, *layering* , the coexistence and interaction of older and newer meaning as in the form of layers, *divergence*, which is one form giving rise to functionally different forms as grammaticalization proceeds, *persistence*, the residual features of the older form still exist, *specialization* which is the narrowing of linguistic function, *de- categorialization* is the change in syntactic distribution. Along with Lehmann’s parameters, Hopper’s principles also form authoritative diagnostic principles in identifying and examining grammaticalization.

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<sup>19</sup> Studies on the selectionist criteria in the origins and change in grammatical paradigms focus primarily on the strategies used for achieving enough expressive power, maximizing communicative success, and minimizing cognitive effort (Van Trijp 2013)

### 3.3 The Nature of Grammaticalization

Under this section, three major characteristics of the process of grammaticalization are briefly discussed. It is emphasised again that, by contact-induced grammaticalization, we are dealing with a process of language internal grammaticalization which is being triggered or steered by language contact. Therefore, the characteristics of ordinary internal grammaticalization are very much in action, in the case of contact-induced grammaticalization also. Here three main features of grammaticalization are discussed: universality of grammaticalization paths, unidirectionality and cline of grammaticalization.

**Universality of grammaticalization paths :** It is seen that that even in typologically and genetically distinct languages, the same or very similar lexical sources and grammaticalization paths lead to the development of same or similar grammatical meaning or function (Haspelmath, 1989; Heine et al.,1991; Bybee et al., 1994; Bybee, 2002; Heine and Kuteva, 2005). The idea is that even across unrelated languages lexical items with very similar meanings enter into the process and give rise to grammatical morphemes which also have very similar meanings. These cross- linguistic similarities indicate that similar basic human experiences and cognitive processes have resulted in the similar processing of grammatical material from the respective lexical items. Hence the regularity and the universality of grammaticalization pathways at least in part can be interpreted as a reflection of universal aspects of human perception, cognition and behaviour, and that the concrete terms that are chosen upon which the grammatical categories are built are largely culturally independent .For instance, cross- linguistically, movement verbs ‘go’ and ‘come’ evolve into perfective marking and markers of future, verbs for postures ‘sit’, ‘stand’ into progressive markers Haspelmath (1989) also demonstrates that it is extremely frequent cross-linguistically for a preposition meaning ‘to, towards’ to develop into an infinitive marker.

**Unidirectionality:** The hypothesis of unidirectionality states that, the process of grammaticalization moves in the direction from lexical to grammatical, grammatical to even more grammatical, and the retreat is never possible. The major preliminary studies in the area of grammaticalization like Hopper and Traugott (1993) Bybee et al. (1994) have noted that the process of grammaticalization is



essentially uni-directional. Hopper and Traugott (1993) in the definition a process progressing along a unidirectional pathway along which lexical items becomes grammatical, and grammatical categories become even more grammatical has distinguished as ‘primary’ and ‘secondary’ process respectively. Further, Hopper and Traugott (2003:100) explain that, the process sets in with a semantically general lexical item which proceeds to becomes syntactically fixed and eventually amalgamate morphologically. And this process is said to be unidirectional because the relationship between the two stages A and B is such that A occurs before B, but not vice versa. Frajzyngier (2008) gives a simple explanation to the phenomenon, as the transfer of concepts from the real world to the textual world, which cannot be reversed. Heine and Kuteva (2005) make an important observation that unidirectionality is one of the key factors which distinguishes contact-induced grammaticalization from the similar processes like calquing or copying. This means that in the case of contact-induced grammaticalization, the grammatical categories are evolved from lexical categories in a language on the model of another language over a period of hundreds of years, and not merely ‘copied’ from one language to another.

**Cline of grammaticalization:** The term ‘cline’ appears to be synonymous with ‘continuum’, ‘pathway’, ‘channel’, ‘chain’. Cline literally means a gradient of transition. The cline of grammaticalization gives a synchronic or diachronic account of the continuum from lexical to grammatical and grammatical to even more grammatical. When a linguistic material enters grammaticalization, the transition from one category to another is along a cline which has stages along the way, with ‘rest stops’ or ‘intermediate points’. The basic idea is that the entire process is not abrupt, but slow and steady with pauses which takes years to accomplish and the order of the process is unidirectional. The concept of cline once again alludes to the ‘evolutionary’ nature of the grammatical forms. Even in the case of contact-induced grammaticalization, the language which replicates a grammatical category on the model of another language, does proceed along a cline or rather evolves along a cline. Even though there are possibilities of the intermediate rest points being omitted, and the variations could be expected. Also, the series of small transitions from one form to another is cross- linguistically similar. For example, a lexical noun like *back* that expresses a body part comes to

express a spatial relationship in *in/at the back of*, and is susceptible to becoming an adverb, and perhaps eventually a preposition and even a case affix. Cross linguistically, it has followed a similar pathway.

### **The Stages of Grammaticalization: Initiation, Progression and Crystallization**

The literature in the area has identified and discussed various processes or stages that are involved in grammaticalization. A number of studies put these processes itself into use, as parameters and diagnostic tool in order to analyse how grammatical forms and constructions arise and develop through space and time. The main parameters available to the students of grammaticalization are Lehmann's Parameters (1982); Hopper's diagnostic Principles<sup>20</sup> (1991); Heine (1993: 48-53)<sup>21</sup> and the recent one being Heine and Kuteva's (2005: 80) catalogue of parameters.

Different theories have overlapping and similar concepts, termed in different names. Also, parameters when taken separately fail to account for the whole processes which happen in grammaticalization. For example, Hopper's diagnostic principles are proposed in order to account for the initial stages of grammaticalization because Lehmann's parameters does not account for the initial stages of grammaticalization<sup>22</sup>. This section aims to discuss all the relevant processes which are seen to play a role in the evolution of a grammatical category. As mentioned earlier, some of the processes are similar concepts with different names. They are classified as the initiation processes, progression processes, and the crystallization processes as the process progress along the cline. The 'initiation processes' cover the preliminary processes which initiates grammaticalization, then the 'progression processes' deals with the development of a grammatical category along the cline, crystallization processes' are the ones that establish the existence of a new grammatical category. Even though for the convenience of

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<sup>20</sup> Hopper (1991) put forward his 'principles' with the claim that Lehmann's parameters fail to address the incipient stages of grammaticalization.

<sup>21</sup> (Heine 1993: 48– 53) 'overlap model' is not discussed in detail as the main framework of the study covers most of it. Nevertheless, the idea is that the grammaticalization stages are as follows: i) There is a linguistic expression A that is recruited for grammaticalization. ii) This expression acquires a second use pattern, B, with the effect that there is ambiguity between A and B. iii) Finally, A is lost, that is, there is now only B.

<sup>22</sup> The categorization of the processes is done for the convenience by the researcher. This is not based on any literature.

discussion, the processes have been categorized separately, it does not mean that they are exclusive to each other, but are overlapped.

### **Initiation Stage**

‘Inferencing’ is seen as the first step in grammaticalization. A lexical word or construction in a particular context implies a meaning other than the original meaning. The speakers or hearers who are involved in the speech activity deduce an additional or different meaning other than the original meaning of the word or construction in a particular context. Here the context and the participating speakers/ hearers are responsible for the implied meaning. And this inferencing can be considered as the first stage in commencing the process of grammaticalization. Therefore, as far as the lexicon or construction which goes through grammaticalization, the processes termed as ‘metaphoric’ and ‘metonymic’ inference, ‘context- induced reinterpretation’ can be considered as an initiating stages. The metaphoric inference deals with the cognitive factors which lead to the process, the conceptual process from concrete to abstract. For example, when there is a metaphorical transfer from the domain of human body to that of spatial relations, the concrete domains of human experiences come to express the abstract ones. There is a conceptual transfer from one domain to another, from more concrete domains to more abstract domains (Bybee and Pagliuca, 1985; Heine, Claudi, Hunnemeyer, 1991; Heine, 1992).

On the other hand, metonymy focus on the speaker-hearer relationships and roles, and consider cognitive and communicative strategies as ‘motivations’ behind the meaning changes, and termed as pragmatic inference (Traugott and Konig, 1991; Hopper and Traugott, 1993). When a lexical expression is used in a specific context, other than its conventional usage, the linguistic form comes to provide a context induced ‘inference’ which is particular to that context (utterance/ text). The idea has been referred to as ‘context- induced reinterpretation’ by Heine, Claudi and Hunnemeyer (1991). Traugott and Dasher’s (2002) Invited inference theory of semantic change (2002) and Generalized invited inference also further explain the concept that grammaticalization begins when a construction is used in a specific context and it gives rise to an ‘invited inference’, and if the same construction invites same inference in the same context again and again , it may become

generalized invited inference , and if this particular context induced inference is widely understood and accepted, it become conventionalized. Heine (2003) calls these the ‘transfer model’ and the ‘context model’. Each of the processes discussed here talk about the additional meaning other than the literal which is the result of interaction between the context and the speakers- hearers, undeniably the strongest requirement for grammaticalization to get initiated.

‘Extension or Context generalisation’ is the use of a linguistic item in a new context where it was not used previously. Once inference sets in the process, the inferred meaning of a word or construction starts using repeatedly in the same context other than the original one. This is called extension or context generalisation, through which these lexical items start to acquire novel grammatical meanings and, the lesser grammatical meaning starts to becomes more grammatical. So a previously independent lexical word can be applied to a much wider context, or a grammaticalizing structure being used from a previously restricted context to much more generalized contexts.

### **Progression Stage**

‘Divergence’ is the process in which one form giving rise to functionally different forms as grammaticalization proceeds. Also, Heine (2003: 580) has made a point that once a form has acquired a new grammatical meaning, it tends to become increasingly divergent it loses in categorical properties characteristic of its source uses, hence it undergoes decategorialization, and it tends to be used more frequently and in more contexts. When a lexical expression proceeds along the path of grammaticalization much of its concrete meanings are reinterpreted into abstract meaning, and thereby the original semantic content of the lexical item is lost, which is termed as semantic bleaching. The concrete meaning of a lexical item which undergoes grammaticalization fades away and gives way to more generalized meaning. Once it attains more of a general meaning, the range of contexts in which the particular linguistic expression is used is also increased. It was Gabelentz ([1891] 1967)<sup>23</sup> first used the term and, many agreed to it in coming years. Lehmann (1985) also talked about the ‘semantic depletion’ and ‘expansion of distribution’. But, there have been disagreements pertaining to the definition of the

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<sup>23</sup> cited in Hopper and Traugott (1993: 19-25)

process, explicitly to define it as a “loss”. Traugott’s (1988) hypothesis of ‘pragmatic strengthening postulates that the grammaticalizing form, while losing some of the lexical meaning, it also gains new meaning through its transfer to a new grammatical domain. Hopper and Traugott (1993) and Heine and Kuteva (2005: 15) also argue that there is not only ‘loss’ but also gain in properties characteristic of their uses in new contexts.

‘Persistence’ is the concept of Hopper (1991) which is defined as “when a form undergoes grammaticization from a lexical to a grammatical function, so long as it is grammatically viable some traces of its original lexical meanings tend to adhere to it, and details of its lexical history may be reflected in constraints on its grammatical distribution.” (Hopper, 1991:22).

‘Layering’ is recognised as the first stage in Hopper’s principles of grammaticalization. It means to say that the newer meaning and the older meaning exist as layers in a language, while proceeding along the path of grammaticalization. For example, the usage as a lexicon is retained as well as it acquires grammatical meaning as well. The process of layering is of particular importance to the study, we look into whether the co-existence of such layers has a role to play in providing a ‘conceptual clue’ in the case of contact- induced grammaticalization. Layering implies that once a form is being grammaticalized, the older layers of meaning may co-exist with the newer layers. When new layers emerge, the older layers are not necessarily discarded, but may remain to coexist and interact with the newer layers.

### **Crystallization Stage**

‘Decategorialization’ is the loss of categorial properties; the loss in morphosyntactic properties characteristic of lexical or other less grammaticalized forms. Hopper and Traugott (1993) defines it as a ‘process whereby something that is clearly marked (either by morphology or by function) as a member of one grammatical category (e.g. Noun, Verb, Adjective) shifts to be more marked or functioning as a member of another category’. In the process of grammaticalization, a noun may cease to take modifiers and affixes. Once there is a shift in category, there could be a ‘shift’ in the functions it performs. Hopper and

Traugott (ibid.) do not consider it as ‘decay’ or ‘deterioration’, but a ‘functional shift’.

‘Erosion or phonetic reduction’, is the loss in phonetic substance in the process of grammaticalization. In some of the cases, the individual components of the grammaticalizing constructions fuse together or lose its phonetic autonomy and combine with the adjacent phonetic units, which results in phonetic erosion, i.e., the loss of phonetic segments and suprasegmental properties. The loss in phonetic substance is considered to be due to the increase in frequency of use, and use in more contexts (Heine, 2003: 580; Bybee, 2003).

‘Routinization or fixation’ means that on the pathway of grammaticalization, the syntagmatic variability of a grammaticalized form is lost, through which a single specific meaning or discourse function is assigned. Adopting the idea of habituation by Haiman (1994), Hopper and Traugott (1993:207-208) say that grammaticalization can be thought of as a form of routinization of language. A form or a combination of forms which occur in a discourse over the course of time, with right sociolinguistic factors in place, gain frequency, and is assigned a newer meaning or functions. The frequency of the occurrence of the expression ‘will be the one factor that determines whether or not they come to be regarded by the speech community as “grammatical”’.

Another major factor which has a predominant and epiphenomenal presence in each of these stages is ‘frequency’, which needs discussion in detail.

It is rightly pointed out by Aikhenvald and Dixon (2006: 35) that ‘frequency enhances change of any sort’. Even though ‘frequency’ as one of the main mechanism is included neither in Lehmann’s ‘parameters of grammaticalization’ (Lehmann, 1995 [1982]: 121-178) or Heine’s ‘mechanisms of grammaticalization’ (Heine 2003: 578-579<sup>24</sup> [Heine and Kuteva: 2005]), ‘frequency’ cannot be overlooked in the process of grammaticalization. From a synchronic view of grammaticalization, there is a functional variation in terms of

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<sup>24</sup> Nevertheless, Heine (2003: 580) does acknowledge the role of frequency when he says that ‘once a form has acquired a new grammatical meaning, it tends to become increasingly divergent; it loses in categorical properties characteristic of its source uses, hence it undergoes decategorialization, and it tends to be used more frequently and in more contexts, to become more predictable in its text occurrence and, consequently, it tends to lose in phonetic substance, hence to undergo erosion’

one form with multiple meaning, and multiple meaning encoded into one form. In order to crystallize the variation into grammatical change, the ‘variations’ and the ‘chosen form’ has to be propagated gradually through the individual speakers and then the community, for which ‘frequency’ is an essential prerequisite. Bybee (2001:8) that language is a conventionalized cultural object. Bybee (2010: 109) says that the mechanisms of change: chunking, phonetic reduction, increasing autonomy, generalisation to new contexts, habituation and analogy requires increased frequency of use as a major driving force. Frequency of use is also as much a necessary mechanism in contact-induced grammaticalization as in language internal grammaticalization. Once the process of replication of grammatical meaning or function is initiated in a replica language, the increased frequency of use in the new context is the essential driving force for the development of a grammatical category. In the case of developing a new category on the base of an already existing, the frequency of use has a major role to play.

The role of frequency in grammaticalization can be summarised as,

Inferred meaning’ of a lexicon or construction is used more frequently which leads to extension;

- Increased frequency of a particular inferred meaning in the new extended context leads to semantic bleaching;
- Increased frequency of use of ‘bleached’ lexical item in more contexts leads to specialization and decategorialization;
- Increased frequency of use of a specialized ‘use’ leads to fixation or habituation which ultimately establishes the existence of a category;
- Further increase in frequency leads to phonological reduction.

Thus ‘the mechanisms operating in real time as speakers and listeners use language, repeated over and over again in multiple speech events, lead to gradual change by which grammatical morphemes and their associated constructions emerge (Bybee 2010:110).

### **3.4 Current views and criticism on Grammaticalization**

There are criticisms that grammaticalization is not a single process in itself, whereas, epiphenomenal. That is, the process of grammaticalization is composed of a number of component processes, which are not unique or restricted to grammaticalization but occur in other processes of semantic changes as well or, which may also occur independently (Campbell, 2000; Diewald, 2010; Bybee, 2010). The present study totally agree to it or couldn't agree more to what Heine (2003) has to say about this argument. Heine (2003: 579) admits that 'none of the mechanisms or parameters is confined to grammaticalization; but to the extent that jointly they are responsible for grammaticalization taking place, they can be said to constitute different components of one and the same general process.' Heine (ibid.583) makes a point that the task of grammaticalization theory is to provide explanations of why grammatical forms arise and develop, and it is these four mechanisms that have been found to be material to achieving such explanations. Thus, irrespective of how one wishes to define a "distinct process," these mechanisms and the way they are interrelated are part of one and the same explanatory framework'. Also with regard to the arguments on the status of theory Heine (2003: 84) holds that for the students of grammaticalization, their major concern is simply with describing grammatical change and the implication it has for a better understanding of language use.

## **Part B**

### **3.5 Contact – Induced Grammaticalization**

It is Heine and Kuteva (2005) who explained the process of 'contact-induced grammaticalization' in a principled way and, proposed a systematic framework to identify the 'contact- induced grammatical changes' in a language. Heine and Kuteva (ibid.), systematically demonstrates that the transfer of grammatical meanings and structures across languages in a situation of language contact is regular, and is shaped by universal processes of grammatical change.

Nevertheless, there have been studies which discussed the critical role of contact in the emergence of new grammatical categories in a language from the existing materials, where lexical categories are emerged into grammatical categories and, grammatical becomes more grammatical.



For example,

In the case of Dakhini, Subbarao and Arora (1990) identifies that a number of archaic grammatical markers in Hindi- Urdu (Indo- Aryan) have been reanalysed to perform new set of functions in Dakhini Hindi. The reason for it being the contact between Dakhini Hindi and Telugu (Dravidian). Dakhini has been in intense contact with Dravidian languages for about five centuries. Take the case of correlative *so* in Hindi- Urdu and Dakhini. In Hindi- Urdu, *so* functions as a correlative, whereas in Dakhini, *so* acquired the function of a complimentizer adjectivalizer.

### **Hindi-Urdu**

jo	menat	kardaa ai	so	tarakkii	kardaa ai
whoever	works	hard	he	progress	does

‘whoever works hard, prospers.’

### **Dakhini – Hindi Urdu**

kal	aaye	so	usko	puucho
yesterday	come-PERF	ADJR	him	ask

‘Ask the person who came yesterday

Here what is seen is, the correlative in Hindi- Urdu is evolved to an adjectivalizer in Dakhini on the model of Telugu. It can be considered as an instance of contact- induced grammaticalization. In contact induced grammaticalization, not only the lexical forms emerge into grammatical ones, but also grammatical becomes even more grammatical. Here the correlative is evolved to become adjectivalizer.

Pidgin- Creole studies are one of the areas which initiated work on the role of grammaticalization in the development of grammatical categories in the newly created languages as a result of language contact. Consequently, a number of studies have shown that the process of grammaticalization can be considered as the central mechanism in the development of pidgins and creoles. Heine (2003: 578)

cites some of the recent studies which discuss the process of grammaticalization in pidgins and creoles. Sankoff and Brown 1976; Arends 1986; Plag 1992, 1993; Baker and Suya 1996; Bruyn 1995, 1996; Huber 1996; Mufwene 1996; Poplack and Tagliamonte 1996; Romaine 1995 are some of them which shows that the grammatical categories in these languages evolve along the same lines as of language internal grammatical change. Roger Keesing (1991:315-42) demonstrates how a number of grammatical categories in Melanesian pidgin must have developed as a result of the influences from oceanic substrate languages. Creoles were argued to undergo extensive processes of grammaticalization in order to compensate for the absence of grammatical markers. But Keesing (1991) suggested that the process was not independent of external models. He argued that the development of grammatical categories through grammaticalization in Melanesian pidgin, was accelerated by the 'blue print' available in the substrate language. Keesing's suggestion was that an existing model guided the natural tendency toward the formation of new categories in creoles.

Bisang (1996) identifies that the process of grammaticalization in East and mainland Southeast Asian languages share a set of properties which are the characteristics typical of that area, and it is attributed to the areal factors. The study shows that grammaticalization process in this linguistic area show remarkable areal parallels in the domain of the verb and the noun. Bisang (ibid.) views that the process of grammaticalization may be reinforced by language contact in the sense that they are 'triggered' by a language having them in a language which 'lacks' them.. Also, he observed that the variations which are seen in the extent of contact-induced structural convergence within the individual languages studied can be accounted to the different stages of grammaticalization. It is because grammaticalization might have stopped at different stages further down the grammaticalization cline for each language.

It is Haase (1992)<sup>25</sup> (cited in Heine and Kuteva, 2005: 20) who proposes the most detailed account of the mechanism involved in the theory of contact-

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<sup>25</sup> Haase, Martin. 1992. Sprachkontakt und Sprachwandel im Baskenland: die Einflüsse des Gaskognischen und Französischen auf das Baskische. Hamburg: Buske. Because of the non-availability of the original work, reference with citation, has been given.

induced grammaticalization. In his analysis of language contact and language change in Basque, he summarises his findings as, a. Bilinguals aspire to establish equivalence between their two systems of categorization. b. This means that wherever there is an obligatory distinction in the model language, they try to develop a corresponding distinction in the replica language. c. Grammaticalization is crucially involved in this process. d. Categories for which there is no equivalent in the model language are in danger of being lost. e. Categories for which there is an equivalent in the model language are retained. His insightful discussion of the Basque situation suggests that there appears to be additional motivating forces. It would seem that there are socio-psychological forces in addition, such as the desire to use the options available in another language in the best way possible for one's own benefit, or simply to talk like one's neighbours.

Having talked about the preliminary studies which deal with language contact and its effect on the grammatical structure of the languages, we can proceed to discuss the major theory used in the present study, which is the model of 'contact-induced grammaticalization' as proposed by Heine and Kuteva (2005). Heine and Kuteva (ibid.) is the prime work in the area to offer an explanation to the obscurity in the existence of the problem:

- the grammatical similarities in the languages in contact;
- argue that there is a principled way to account for such similarities;
- these similarities are the result of processes of similar conceptualization across cultures;
- transfer of grammatical meanings and structures across languages is regular and it is shaped in accordance with the universal principles of grammaticalization, whether or not language contact is involved, and whether it concerns unilateral or multilateral transfer.

### **3.6 Contact- Induced Grammaticalization: Nature and Mechanisms**

The basic premise of the theory is that, the grammatical transfer in the situation of language contact is not transferred in the form of morphemes; whereas it is the grammatical meaning or function which is being transferred from one

language to another. In this process, the model language (M), provides the model for transfer, and replica language (R), makes use of that model, and Heine and Kuteva (2005) call the process involved as ‘grammatical replication’<sup>26</sup>. The emphasis is on the idea that it is not merely a linear<sup>27</sup> process of transfer of meaning from one language to another; whereas, ‘complex cognitive process’ is involved here. The speakers of the model language form an ‘equivalence relation’<sup>28</sup> with the grammatical meaning or function present in the replica language. In situations of intense language contact, speakers tend to equate ‘similar’ concepts and categories across languages, which Heine and Kuteva (ibid.4) term as ‘equivalence relations’. Heine and Kuteva (2005) view this process as a language internal process, triggered or accelerated by language contact. They (ibid.7) define the process as,

“Speakers create a new use pattern or category in language R on the model of another language (M), where the outcome of the process is not an exact copy of what exists in M but rather a new structure that is shaped, first, by what is available in R, second, by universal constraints on conceptualization, third, by what speakers of R conceive as being pragmatically most appropriate in the situation in which language contact takes place, and, fourth, by the length and intensity of contact and – accordingly – by the relative degree to which replication is grammaticalized.”

Contact-induced grammaticalization has the effect that the replica language R acquires some new structure (Rx) on the model of another language (M). However, the new structure Rx in most cases is not entirely new; rather, it is built on some structure (Ry) that already existed in the replica language, and what replication then achieves is that it transforms Ry into Rx.

We had a detailed discussion on the nature and mechanisms involved in the process of language- internal grammaticalization. Heine and Kuteva (2005) argue that it is in no way different in the process of contact-induced grammaticalization also. As seen in the arguments above, as put forward by Heine and Kuteva (ibid.),

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<sup>26</sup> Heine and Kuteva (2003, 2005:2) adopts the terms proposed by Weinreich model languages (M), providing the model for transfer, and replica languages (R), making use of that model, and they call the process involved as grammatical replication.

<sup>27</sup> I have used the term ‘linear’ here in order to imply that the process is not a straight and simple process.

<sup>28</sup> Keesing (1991:316) implies the idea and calls it ‘formulas of equivalence’

contact-induced grammaticalization is a process by which grammatical categories are created (or rather ‘evolved’ I would say as it is a natural process) due to language internal development, but is triggered or facilitated, or, ‘steered’<sup>29</sup> by language contact. This means to say that, the features and mechanisms involved in language internal grammaticalization is not any different in contact – induced grammaticalization and the contact-induced grammaticalization does conform to the principles of language internal grammaticalization.

### **Contact-induced Grammaticalization: The framework**

Parameters of grammaticalization:

- a) Extension, i.e. the rise of novel grammatical meanings when linguistic expressions are extended to new contexts (context-induced reinterpretation)
- b) Desemanticization (or “semantic bleaching”), i.e. loss (or generalisation) in meaning content
- c) Decategorialization, i.e. loss in morphosyntactic properties characteristic of lexical or other less grammaticalized forms, and
- d) Erosion (or “phonetic reduction”), i.e. loss in phonetic substance.

Heine and Kuteva distinguish two types of such ‘contact-induced grammaticalization’: ‘ordinary contact-induced grammaticalization’ and ‘replica grammaticalization’. ‘Ordinary contact-induced grammaticalization’ is described as follows (cf. Heine & Kuteva 2003: 533; 2005: 81):

#### (1) Ordinary contact-induced grammaticalization

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<sup>29</sup> The Merriam Webster Dictionary defines ‘steer’ as *to control the course of*. The word ‘steered’ is used in the sense, the grammatical categories present in the model language largely determine which categories are to be replicated and their course of development; For example, in the case of Basque, Haase (1992:111 [cited in Heine and Kuteva 2005:20]) it has been noted that the categories for which there is no equivalent in the model language are in danger of being lost; and the categories for which there is an equivalent in the model language are retained. Also, as we will see in the next section, how the sociolinguistic context of the language also plays a role in the same.

In the case of ordinary contact-induced grammaticalization, the intrinsic tendencies of the language to develop a grammatical pattern are triggered by the contact with Malayalam.

- a. Speakers notice that in language M [the model language or source language] there is a grammatical category Mx.
- b. They create an equivalent category Rx in language R [the replica language or target language] on the basis of the use patterns available in R.
- c. To this end, they draw on universal strategies of grammaticalization, using construction Ry in order to develop Rx.
- d. They grammaticalize Ry to Rx

The speakers of replica languages draw on universal principles of grammaticalization in order to develop a category that is equivalent to the one they find in the model language.

Heine and Kuteva (2005:82) provide an example:

Eastern Oceanic languages of northern and central Vanuatu (= M, the model languages) commonly distinguish a durative aspect indicating that an act is in progress (= Mx). apparently in an attempt to find an equivalent for such a category (= Rx) in Bislama, an English-based pidgin of Vanuatu (= R), speakers used an expression commonly recruited cross-linguistically to develop progressive and durative aspect markers (Heine & Kuteva 2002: 127, 198). They chose a use pattern involving their verb *stap* ‘stay, be present, exist’<sup>3</sup> (= Ry) to develop a durative aspect marker (= Rx), which appears in the same syntactic slot as the durative markers (Mx) in the model languages .

*em i stap pik- im yam*

he he- DUR dig- TRS yam

‘He’s in the process of digging yams.’

Vetmbao (Malekula, Oceanic; Keesing 1991: 328)

*naji ng- u- xoel dram*

he he- DUR- dig yam

‘He’s in the process of digging yams.’

## (2) Replica grammaticalization

The second type of contact-induced grammaticalization is called ‘replica grammaticalization’ by Heine & Kuteva. In this case, the process of grammaticalization in the target language (or ‘replica language’) is not only ‘instigated by’ the contact language, the relevant languages also use the same underlying source meaning; i.e., rather than “drawing on universal strategies of grammaticalization”, the target language adopts the same grammaticalization path that was also taken by the source language.

- a. Speakers notice that in language M there is a grammatical category Mx.
- b. They create an equivalent category Rx in language R, using material available in R.
- c. To this end, they replicate a grammaticalization process they assume to have taken place in language M, using an analogical formula of the kind [My > Mx]:  
[Ry > Rx]

Nadkarni (1975: 674-675) illustrates in some detail the effects of replica grammaticalization and its implications for the typological profile of the language concerned. Konkani as spoken by the Saraswat Brahmins (abbreviated KSKo. by Nadkarni) in the coastal districts of North and South Kanara in the Indian State of Karnataka has been deeply influenced by the Dravidian language Kannada as a result of at least four centuries of intense language contact resulting in non-reciprocal bilingualism: These Konkani speakers are fluent speakers of Kannada, while Kannada speakers hardly ever learned Konkani. In the course of this contact, Konkani speakers have replicated a relative construction of Kannada.

### **Kannada**

[ya:va mudukanu pe:par o:dutta idd:an:o] avanu d:akt.aranu idd:ane

## Konkani

*khanco mh:ant:aro pepar v:accat: assa: ki d:akt.aru a:ssa.*

Which old man paper reading is that doctor is

‘The old man who is reading a newspaper is a doctor’

The Kannada relative construction is the result of the grammaticalization of two interrogative constructions: The interrogative *ȳava* ‘which?’ turned into a relative adjective and the element *o* is a marker of polar (yes–no) questions which turned into a relative clause-final element. Accordingly, if the relative clause in (a) is uttered without *ȳava*, a polar question results: ‘Is the old man reading a newspaper?’, and if the polar question marker *o* is omitted, the result is a word question (or WH-question): ‘Which old man is reading a newspaper?’. Thus, Kannada speakers appear to have combined two interrogative strategies to create this relative clause construction Nadkarni (1975: 674-675).

### 3.7 Criticisms against the model

Heine and Kuteva’s model (especially) replica grammaticalization claims that, the speakers of the model language replicates not only the pattern, but also the process of replication itself which once happened in the model language. This concept is being criticised for the model presuming that the speakers of the model language are equipped with the metalinguistic knowledge associated with the model language in order to accomplish the process, which seems to be conceivably impossible.

In the context of the development of third person plural nouns into polite second person singular pronouns in the Silesian dialect of Polish, under the influence of German, Heine and Kuteva (2005: 92-93) says,

.....however, replication was not confined to simply copying a polysemy pattern (see section 3.2) that they found in the model language but rather involved a process that was structurally not unlike the one speakers of the model language had undergone centuries earlier .. there is virtually no information on what conceptual clues speakers may have to reconstruct a process presumed to have taken place in the model language..... Most likely, those Polish speakers were unfamiliar with the historical factors that were responsible for that grammaticalization in German; still, from the sociolinguistic, pragmatic, and grammatical information that was



accessible to them they had enough information for replication (Heine and Kuteva, 2005:92).

This claim has attracted a number of severe criticisms ranging from rejecting out rightly to the lack of clarity and elaborateness, to discuss a few of them in this section. Matthews and Yip (2009:371-373) argue that the model should be reformulated without the assumption that the diachronic processes involved in the model language during the process of grammaticalization are accessible to the speakers of the replica language in the course of contact- induced grammaticalization. The point made is that, in the theory of ‘contact-induced grammaticalization’ put forward by Heine and Kuteva (2005), the theory assumes that the speakers of the replica language possess a metalinguistic awareness about the historical linguistic development pertaining to the process of grammaticalization, which he argues, are not available to the normal speakers. This means, the speakers ‘notice’ a grammatical category and replicate a grammaticalization process they assume to have taken place in the model language. It implies a metalinguistic awareness, and a historical perspective, ‘which are available to the linguists, but not (at least not directly) available to a bilingual speaker, let alone a bilingual child’ (ibid.371). Such processes require evidence of a kind that for most languages is not available even to linguists, who in the absence of historical records can only hypothesize such changes. ‘It is therefore not feasible to assume that speakers replicate a grammaticalization process they assume to have taken place in the model language’. They call for a reformulation of the theory by supplementing with substratum influence in child language acquisition.

Matras (2011,2012) gives a possible explanation, discusses contact-induced grammaticalization as a language internal process motivated by external factors thereby the importance being given to the communicative dimension of the process of grammaticalization. He says that the speakers ‘...scanning through the entire repertoire, the speaker identifies a construction that would serve this particular task most effectively... the speaker has the entire repertoire at his or her disposal, and does not ‘block’ or ‘deactivate’ any particular language ‘system’ (Matras, 2011: 288). There is a “syncretisation of mental planning operations” (ibid.290) what she calls, between the two languages which enable the speakers to replicate the process. The concept is similar to the ‘equivalence relations’ what

Heine and Kuteva (2005) refer to. The idea is that when two language systems are available to the speakers, the speakers consciously or unconsciously equate them.

Gast and van der Auwera (2012: 381-389) argue against the assumption that, in the case of replica grammaticalization, the metalinguistic knowledge associated with the model language speakers which is necessary for a process of contact-induced grammaticalization to happen in the replica language is not accessible to the replica language speakers. Rather, grammaticalization in contact situations should be seen as the result of “interlingual identification of form-meaning pairings” supplemented by the “interlingual identification of linguistic subsystems”. This mechanism does not require meta-knowledge or intentionality, and it rests on ‘semantic map assimilation’.

### **3.8 Motivations for Contact-Induced Grammaticalization**

As far as the motivations for the process are concerned, there is no clear cut theory which supports the claim. However, the ‘communicative need’ (Lehmann, 1985; Heine, 2003; Matras, 2012) could be a plausible explanation, a way of being expressive, and more expressive. In the context of migration, the speakers are exposed to a new culture and world view which need to be represented in the language. Heine (2003: 578) claims that grammaticalization theory is based on the following assumption that the main motivation underlying grammaticalization is to communicate successfully. Likewise, whether contact-induced or non-contact-induced, newer constructions are evolved in a language to make the communication easier and more expressive. It is agreed to (Bybee, 1985; Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca, 1994: 297-300) that in the case of grammatical structures (except for the emblematic features will be discussed in section), it cannot be a strategic identity construction, whereas, the communicative needs and intentions can be seen as the motivation. It is seen as a way of being ‘expressive’ (Lehmann 1985). Within the domain of ‘creativity’ and the indispensable linguistic and non-linguistic ‘restrictions’, “every speaker wants to give fullest possible expression to what he means” (Lehmann, 1985:10), especially when more than one system are available to the speakers<sup>30</sup>. Especially in a contact situation, the speakers make use

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<sup>30</sup> The notion of expressivity has been further elaborated by Haspelmath (1999). His ideas are based on Keller’s (1990[1994]) set of maxims, which are Hypermaxim-talk in such a way that you are

of the linguistic systems available to be ‘more expressive’. Just like the ‘thank you’ and ‘sorry’ have become an Indian way of being more expressive in even in the Indian languages, when otherwise a smile or gestures performed the job.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter is divided into three main parts. In the first parts, the theories pertaining to the concept of grammaticalization in general is discussed extensively. The main framework of the study, which is the theory of contact-induced grammaticalization, is given a detailed illustration. Then the chapter moves towards the criticism towards the framework. The grammaticalization process that occurs due to the influence of one language over another is thus termed as contact-induced grammaticalization. An important point here is that, the process of grammaticalization which we are talking about is essentially language internal, the difference being the process is triggered by the contact with another language. The role of the contact language is to provide model of the process of replication. This also entails that the processes which forms the part of language internal grammaticalization, extension, desemanticization, decategorialization, phonetic reduction, hold true for contact-induced grammaticalization as well.

The process of contact-induced grammaticalization has been criticised on the account that the process (here pathway) by which a grammatical function or meaning which has been evolved in the model language are not available to the speakers of the replica language. It is suggested that in an intense contact situation like migration, where the community is linguistically and culturally amalgamated into the mainstream community, the linguistic and the communicative competence enable the speakers to reconstruct the process of grammaticalization on the model of the model language. Hence, a sketch of the linguistic competence of the bilingual speakers in the contact language in context of contact has to be counted as essential criteria in understanding the contact-induced grammaticalization.

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socially successful. 2. Clarity: Talk in such a way that you are understood. 3. Economy: Talk in such a way that you do not expend superfluous energy. 4. Conformity: Talk like the others talk. 5. Extravagance: Talk in such a way that you are noticed. ‘Expressivity’ used here is not confined to these maxims. Here expressivity is used as a general term for being expressive.

## Chapter 4

### Grammaticalization in Kudumbi

In this chapter, the pattern of grammaticalization in Kudumbi is analysed through the parameters of contact-induced grammaticalization as theorised by Heine and Kuteva (2005). The grammatical similarities in Kudumbi and Malayalam are observed as an outcome of contact-induced grammaticalization due to intense contact between the languages. A list of instances of language internal grammaticalization in Malayalam was initially sketched (Appendix 1) and it was analysed whether Kudumbi share the same features through data collected through primary fieldwork.

#### 1. NEAR (spatial) > TEMPORAL

In Kudumbi, we see that spatial meaning *near* is evolved into a temporal meaning in the post position, a grammatical occurrence which is not attested in the Goa Kudumbi. In Malayalam, there is a word root /*aṭu-*/ ‘near’ which has given rise to the *aṭupam* ‘closeness/nearness’ (abstract noun), and mainly the spatial noun *aṭu-ttə* ‘near’. It seems that the spatial noun *aṭu-ttə* ‘near’ is evolved to a temporal marker (exists in adjectival form) which means the ‘forth coming’ or next.

#### Malayalam

*vi:ṭi-nte*

house-GEN

‘near to the house’

*aṭu-ttə*

near-LOC

*aṭutta*

next-ADJ PRTPL

*varṣatt-e:kkə*

year-ALL

*paṇi*

work

*ṭi:r-um*

finish-FUT

‘By next year, the work will be done’



## Mechanism

- a. Speakers notice that in Malayalam (M) there is a grammatical category *aṭuttā* (Mx) which is used as a temporal marker which is a semantic extension of the spatial noun *aṭuttə* ‘near’ .
- b. They create an equivalent category *laggi* ‘next’ (Rx) in language Kudumbi (R)
- c. To this end, they draw on universal strategies of grammaticalization, using the lexical word *laggi* ‘near’ (Ry) in order to develop the temporal category *laggi* (Rx)
- d. They grammaticalize Ry to Rx.

In accordance with the parameters of grammaticalization, the spatial adverb *aṭuttə* lost its spatial category, evolved into a temporal category (decategorialization), Thus speakers of the replica language Kudumbi took recourse to a cross-linguistically a grammaticalization process; widespread strategy.

## 2. COME (v) > HABITUAL

In Kudumbi, we can see that the verb *eṭa* ‘come’ serves the function of denoting the grammatical function of ‘habitual marker’. The same or equivalent grammatical occurrence is not attested in the Kudumbi spoken in Goa. It is seen that in Malayalam, the verb *varika* ‘come’ is evolved into a habitual marker when used in present tense. The data appears to show that the Kudumbi speakers have replicated the process of grammaticalization in the language on the model of Malayalam, using their own lexical materials.

### Malayalam

*bindu*                      *var-uṇṇu*

bindu-NOM              come-be.PRS

‘Bindu is coming’

<i>ju:n</i>	<i>ma:satt-il</i>	<i>sku:ʃə</i>	<i>ṭura-ṇṇə</i>	<i>var-uṇṇu</i>
june	month-LOC	school	open-PRES PRTPL	come-PRS

‘School opens in the month of June’

### **Kudumbi**

*bindu*            *eta*

bindu            come-PRS.FEM

Bindu comes (is coming)

*tanga* *bornu* *varfa:-dzelli*            *divo*            *dovor-nu*            *eta:-ji*

there    a lot            years-COP.PRS            lamp            do-PRS            PRT            come-  
PRES.MASC.PL

‘Over years, a lamp has been lit there’

It has to be considered as a case of contact-induced grammaticalization because,

- a.        Same or similar construction is not found in Goa Kudumbi
- b.        There is a similar construction in Malayalam

The process sketched here can be explained as,

The Kudumbi speakers observe that there is a habitual marker in Malayalam which is a semantic extension of the verb ‘come’. And they replicate the same process in Kudumbi from Malayalam which results in the formation of Kudumbi ‘habitual marker’ with its own linguistic material.

### **Mechanism**

- a. Speakers notice that in Malayalam (M) there is a grammatical category *varuṅṅṅu* ‘come’ (Mx) which functions as a marker for habitual action, which is a semantic extension of the verb *varika* ‘to come’ .
- b. They create an equivalent category *eta* ‘come’ the language Kudumbi (R) on the basis of the use patterns available in Kudumbi.

c. To this end, they replicate a grammaticalization process they assume to have taken place in language Malayalam, using an analogical formula of the kind [My > Mx]: [Ry > Rx]

d. They grammaticalize Ry to Rx.

In accordance with the parameters of grammaticalization, the verb *eṭa* lost its verbal category, turned into an habitual marker (deategorialization). Thus speakers of the replica language Kudumbi took recourse to a cross-linguistically a grammaticalization process; widespread strategy.

### 3. PATH (n) > INSTRUMENT

In Kudumbi, it is seen that the lexical meaning ‘*path*’ serves the grammatical function of marking the *instrument*. In Malayalam, the word *vazi* ‘path’ in some of the contexts functions as a marker for instrument. It seems that the lexical word is grammaticalized into a post position to attain the function of an instrumental marker. From the data it appears that the Kudumbi speakers have replicated the mechanism in their language on the model of the Malayalam following the framework of contact-induced grammaticalization, with its own linguistic material.

#### Malayalam

*vi:ṭ-il-ekk-ulla*                      *vazi*

house-LOC-ALL-RP                      path

‘way to the house’

*accan*                      *vazi*                      *ka:rjam*                      *naṭa-ṭṭi*

father-NOM                      through                      matter                      do-PST

‘(Something) has been got done through the father’



## Kudumbi

In Kudumbi, *vaat* is ‘path’. *vaat* is grammaticalized into an instrumental marker replicating the exact process which has happened in Malayalam. The process is not attested as a cross-linguistic one. Therefore, this could be considered as an instance of replica grammaticalization.

<i>lekha</i>	<i>ti:</i>	<i>va:t-enə</i>	<i>ail-eli</i>
lek <sup>h</sup> a-NOM	DEM	pat-INSTR	come-PST.FEM

‘lekha came through that way’

<i>appa</i>	<i>va:t-enə</i>	<i>ka:jri</i>	<i>couk-eli</i>
father-NOM	path-INSTR	matter	do-PST.FEM

‘The work was done through the father’

It has to be considered as a case of contact-induced grammaticalization because,

- a. Same or similar construction is not found in Goa Kudumbi
- b. There is a similar construction in Malayalam

The process sketched here can be explained as,

The Kudumbi speakers observe that there is an instrumental post position in Malayalam which is a semantic extension of the noun meaning ‘path’. And they replicate the same process which happened in Malayalam in Kudumbi which results in the formation of similar category in Kudumbi using its own linguistic material.

## Mechanism

- a. Speakers notice that in Malayalam (M) there is a grammatical category *vazi* (Mx) which functions as an instrumental marker which is a semantic extension of the lexical word *vazi* ‘way’ ‘path’.
- b. They create an equivalent category which acts as an instrumental marker, *va:t-* inflected for gender and number (Rx) in language Kudumbi (R).

c. To this end, they replicate a grammaticalization process they assume to have taken place in language Malayalam, using an analogical formula of the kind [My > Mx]: [Ry > Rx]

d. They grammaticalize Ry- *va:t* ‘path’ to Rx *va:t* ‘instrumental function’.

In accordance with the parameters of grammaticalization, the noun lost its verbal category, turned into an instrumental case marker (decategorialization).

#### 4. KEEP (v) > LOCATIVE

In Kudumbi, it is seen the verb ‘keep’ has attained the function of marking ‘location’. The same or equivalent construction is absent in the Kudumbi spoken in Goa. In Malayalam, there is a grammatical construction in which the lexical word *vaikkuka* ‘to keep’ give rise to a locative marker which occurs in past participle form *vaccə*. It appears that Kudumbi speakers have grammaticalized the process itself on the model of Malayalam using their own linguistic materials.

##### Malayalam

<i>pena</i>	<i>mefa-jil</i>	<i>vacc-u</i>
pen	table-LOC	keep-PST

‘pen is kept on the table’

<i>delli-jil</i>	<i>vacc-ə</i>	<i>kaŋt-u</i>
delhi-LOC	keep-PST PRT	see-PST

‘saw (met) at Delhi’

## **Kudumbi**

*pena*                      *me:fa:-ntu*                      *dava:r-le*  
pena-NOM                      table-LOC                      keep-PST.NEUT

‘pen is kept on the table’

*deli*                      *dovor-nnu*                      *dikk-olo*  
delhi                      keep-PST PRT                      see-PST.MASC

‘met at Delhi’

It has to be considered as a case of contact-induced grammaticalization because,

- a. Same or similar construction is not found in Goa Kudumbi
- b. There is a similar construction in Malayalam

The process sketched here can be explained as,

The Kudumbi speakers observe that there is a post position in Malayalam to mark location which is a semantic extension of the noun meaning ‘keep’. And they replicate the same process which happened in Kudumbi from Malayalam which results in the formation of similar category in Kudumbi using its own linguistic material.

## **Mechanism**

- a. Speakers notice that in Malayalam (M) there is a grammatical category *vaccə* ‘keep.PST’ which functions as an locative marker which is a semantic extension of the lexical verb *vaykkukə* ‘to keep’.
- b. They create an equivalent category *dovornnu* ‘to keep’ which functions as a marker for location in language Kudumbi (R).
- c. To this end, they replicate a grammaticalization process they assume to have taken place in language Malayalam, using an analogical formula of the kind [My > Mx]: [Ry > Rx]

d. They grammaticalize Ry- dovornnu (verb) to Rx-dovornnu (locative function).

In accordance with the parameters of grammaticalization, the noun lost its verbal category, turned into an instrumental case marker (deategorialization).

## 5. HAND (n) > POSSESSIVE

In Kudumbi, it is seen that word for ‘hand’ is used in the grammatical sense of ‘possession’. The same or equivalent occurrence is not found in the Kudumbi spoken in Goa. In Malayalam, the lexical word *kaijjə* ‘hand’ followed by a locative suffix functions as a marker for possession. It seems that it is a case of grammaticalization in which *kaijjə* has evolved into performing a grammatical function. It appears that the speakers of Kudumbi have replicated the process on the model of Malayalam, using their own lexical material.

### Malayalam

*ente kaijjə*

ISG-GEN hand

‘My hand’

*ente kaijj-il svarṇam unṭə*

ISG-GEN hand-LOC.POSS old EX.COP-PRS

‘I have gold with me’

The same construction is also phonetically reduced to,

*ente:l svarṇam unṭə*

‘I have gold with me’

### Observation

It could be a clear case of phonological reduction in grammaticalization. Maybe in the coming years the use pattern *ente kajjil* ‘might completely disappear and only the eroded form might exist, leaving no trace of the pathway.



- b. They create an equivalent category indicating possession in their language Kudumbi (R) using the lexical verb *haat* ‘hand’
- c. To this end, they draw on universal strategies of grammaticalization, using the lexical word *kaijjə* (Ry) in order to develop the possessive marker *kaijjə* (Rx)
- d. They grammaticalize Ry to Rx.

In accordance with the parameters of grammaticalization, the lexicon lost its category and evolved to serve the function of marking possession (deategorialization). Even though, there are not much of cross- linguistic evidences that have been found so far, the process seems to be an instance of ordinary contact-induced grammaticalization as the process seems to be driven by the metaphorical patterns of meaning.

## 6. SPATIAL > EMPHATIC

In Kudumbi, it is seen that the directional adverb *pelta:nɔ* ‘across’ is used to denote the modality of the action. The same or equivalent construction is not found in the Kudumbi spoken in Goa. In Malayalam, the directional adverb *aɲottə* ‘there’ which is precisely ‘there + allative’ has evolved into grammatical marker which marks emphatic modality. The grammaticalization seems to have completed the entire stages till erosion, in which *aɲottə* is further phonologically reduced, *aɲottə* > *aɲə*. It appears that the speakers of Kudumbi have replicated the process on the model of Malayalam, with their own linguistic materials.

### Malayalam

<i>ɲa:n</i>	<i>aɲottə</i>	<i>po:-ji</i>
1SG	there	go-PST
‘I went there’		

<i>ɲa:n</i>	<i>aɲə</i>		<i>nalla</i>		<i>vazakkə</i>		<i>parajɲ-u</i>
1SG	there-EMPH	MOD	good		scolding		say-PST

‘I gave a nice scolding’

### **Kudumbi**

<i>a:və</i>	<i>peɭtantu</i>		<i>caɲ</i>	<i>sove</i>		<i>saɲg-ili</i>
1SG	across		good	scolding		say-PST.FEM

‘I gave a nice scolding’

The speakers of Kudumbi replicate the process, but the verb used is not as same as the one in the model language. In model language Malayalam, the direction adverb is *aɲottə* which means ‘there’, whereas in Kudumbi, the verb used is *peɭtantu* ‘across’. Rather than simply replicating the process exactly the way it was in the model language, the speakers adopt a rather complex process for some reason. They draw on structures that correspond neither in form nor in their meaning to the model, but rather a different adverb which is in the similar semantic domain. Yet it is evident that the process is entirely contact-induced because there is no similar construction found in the Goan counterpart.

The process sketched here can be explained as,

The Kudumbi speakers observe that in Malayalam, there is a modal category to express emphasis which is evolved from the spatial adverb *aɲo:ttə* ‘there’. And they replicate not the same but an equivalent process which happened in Malayalam in Kudumbi which results in the formation of similar category in Kudumbi with its own linguistic material.

### **Mechanism**

a. Speakers notice that in Malayalam (M) there is a directional adverb *aɲə* < *aɲottə* (Mx) which has assumed the function of expressing modality to express ‘emphasis’ on the action performed.

- b. They create an equivalent category *peltantu* (Rx) in language Kudumbi (R).
- c. To this end, they replicate a grammaticalization process they assume to have taken place in language Malayalam, using an analogical formula of the kind [My > Mx]: [Ry > Rx]
- d. They grammaticalize Ry to Rx.

In accordance with the parameters of grammaticalization, the directional adverb lost its grammatical category, turned into a modal marker (de-categorialization).

**Observation**

It is less grammaticalized than the model language. *anjottə* is not a frequent usage these days, instead *angə* is used. Whereas in Kudumbi the entire construction *pelta-a:ntu* is used.

**7. STAND (n) > PROXIMATIVE**

In Kudumbi, it is seen that the verb ‘stand’ serves the grammatical function of marking temporal proximity. The same or equivalent construction is not found in the Kudumbi spoken in Goa. In Malayalam the posture verb *nilkkukə* ‘stand / stay’ is grammaticalized to represent grammatical functions which shows the temporal proximity of the action, which implies temporal meanings such as ‘about to’, ‘nearly’ (when the verb occurs in present tense). It seems that the speakers of Kudumbi have replicated the process on the model of Malayalam, using their own linguistic materials.

**Malayalam**

<i>kutti</i>	<i>k a:s-il</i>	<i>nilk-unnu</i>
child-NOM	class-LOC	stand-PRS

‘The child is standing in the class’



<i>a:</i>	<i>maram</i>	<i>vi:z-a:n</i>	<i>nilk-unnu</i>
that-DEM	tree	fall-INF	stand-PRS

‘That tree is about to fall’

### **Kudumbi**

<i>ma:ja</i>	<i>rabbi:-li</i>
maya	stand-PRS.FEM

‘Maya is standing’

<i>tho</i>	<i>ruku</i>	<i>podok</i>	<i>rabill-a</i>	<i>assa</i>
that.DEM	tree	fall-INF	stand-PRS PRT	be.PRS

‘the tree is about to fall’

It has to be considered as a case of contact-induced grammaticalization because,

- a. Same or similar construction is not found in Goa Kudumbi
- b. There is a similar construction in Malayalam

The process sketched here can be explained as,

The Kudumbi speakers observe that the verb for ‘stand’ in Malayalam is evolved to serve the function of marking a ‘temporal’ action . And they replicate the same process which happened in Malayalam in Kudumbi with its own linguistic material.

## Mechanism

- a. Speakers notice that in Malayalam (M) there is a grammatical category with the posture verb *nilkkukə* (Mx) which has attained the function of assigning temporal proximity of the action concerned.
- b. They create an equivalent category Rx in language Kudumbi (R) using the lexical verb *ra:bə* meaning ‘stand’
- c. To this end, they replicate a grammaticalization process they assume to have taken place in language Malayalam, using an analogical formula of the kind [My > Mx]: [Ry > Rx]
- d. They grammaticalize Ry to Rx.

In accordance with the parameters of grammaticalization, the Malayalam verb for ‘stand’ lost its grammatical category, turned into a temporal marker (decategorialization).

## 8. COPULA > FOCUS

In Kudumbi the copula also serves the grammatical function of assigning ‘focus’. The same construction is not found in the Kudumbi spoken in Goa. In Malayalam, the copula is seen to evolve to attain even more grammatical functions to function as a focus marker. The data suggests that the Kudumbi has replicated the pattern on the model of Malayalam with its own linguistic material.

### Malayalam

<i>i:</i>	<i>pustakam</i>	<i>nall-atə</i>	<i>a:ŋə</i>
this.DEM	book-NOM	good-NOMNL	be.PRS

‘This book is good’

<i>mi:ra</i>	<i>a:ηə</i>	<i>vannatə</i>
meera	be-COP.PRS.FOC	come-PRS.NOML

‘It is meera who came’

### **Kudumbi**

<i>yo</i>	<i>bukkə</i>	<i>ca:ηgə</i>	<i>thə</i>
DEM	book	good	be.PRES.COP

‘This book is good’

<i>mi:ra</i>	<i>thə</i>	<i>ajle-li</i>
meera	be.PRS.COP.FOC	come-PAST.FEM

‘It is meera who came’

It has to be considered as a case of contact-induced grammaticalization because,

- a. Same or similar construction is not found in Goa Kudumbi
- b. There is a similar construction in Malayalam

The process sketched here can be explained as,

The Kudumbi speakers observe that the copula *a:ηə* ‘be’ in Malayalam is evolved to serve the function of marking ‘focus’ . And they replicate the same process which happened in Malayalam in Kudumbi with its own linguistic material.

### **Mechanism**

- a. Speakers notice that in Malayalam (M) there is a copula *a:ηə* ‘be’ (Mx) which has attained the function of a assigning ‘focus’ (My)
- b. They create an equivalent category Rx in language Kudumbi (R) using the lexical verb *thə* meaning ‘be’

c. To this end, they replicate a grammaticalization process they assume to have taken place in language Malayalam, using an analogical formula of the kind [My > Mx]: [Ry > Rx]

d. They grammaticalize Ry to Rx.

In accordance with the parameters of grammaticalization, and on the model provided by Malayalam the copula evolved in to a ‘focus marker’ (deategorialization).

## 9. TAKE (v) > MODALITY

In Kudumbi, the verb meaning *ka||e* ‘take’ is seen to serve the function of a modal auxiliary also. The same construction is not found in the Kudumbi spoken in Goa. In Malayalam, *eṭukkuka* ‘take’ has been grammaticalized to assume the function of a modal auxiliary when an action is done with an additional effort than normal. The data seems to suggest that the Kudumbi speakers have replicated the pattern on the model of Malayalam with its own linguistic material.

### Malayalam

*pe:na*            *eṭuttu*

pen                take-PST

‘took the pen’

*paṭam*            *vara-ccə*            *eṭutt-u*

picture            draw-PST PRT            take-PST.MOD

‘I (some how) drew the picture’

## **Kudumbi**

*pe:na*            *ka[l]-e*

pen                take-PST.NEUT

‘took the pen’

*paɾam*            *va:jccə*            *kor-nu*            *ka[l]-e*

picture            draw.PST            do-PST PRT    take-PST.NEUT

‘drew the picture somehow’

It has to be considered as a case of contact-induced grammaticalization because,

- a.        Same or similar construction is not found in Goa Kudumbi
- b.        There is a similar construction in Malayalam

The process sketched here can be explained as,

The Kudumbi speakers observe that the verb *eɽukkuka* ‘take’ in Malayalam is evolved to serve the function of a ‘modal auxiliary’. And they replicate the same process which happened in Malayalam in Kudumbi with its own linguistic material.

## **Mechanism**

- a. Speakers notice that in Malayalam (M) there is a copula *eɽukkuka* ‘take’ (Mx) which has attained the function of showing ‘modality’ (My)
- b. They create an equivalent category Rx in language Kudumbi (R) using the lexical verb /ke[la/ meaning ‘to take’
- c. To this end, they replicate a grammaticalization process they assume to have taken place in language Malayalam, using an analogical formula of the kind [My > Mx]: [Ry > Rx]
- d. They grammaticalize Ry to Rx.

## 10. SIT (v) > PROGRESSIVE ASPECT

Kudumbi has a progressive construction using the posture verb ‘sit’. In the Kudumbi spoken in Goa, the same or equivalent construction is not found. In Malayalam the posture verb *irikkuka* ‘sit’ is evolved into a number of grammatical markers, the primary meaning being the ‘be.PRS’. A construction with a copula *koṅṭə* followed by *irikunnu* ‘be-PRS’ forms the progressive aspect *koṅṭə. irikunnu*. Since *irikunnu* ‘sit.PRES’ is ubiquitous in all the present tense forms, *koṅṭə* is considered to be the progressive aspect marker here. The Kudumbi data shows that Kudumbi has a similar construction, but not exactly an equivalent. Kudumbi has evolved a progressive construction using the posture with *bes* ‘sit’ in their language, without using ‘copula’ (which actually functions as the aspect marker in Malayalam). At the same time, it is a universally attested construction in which the posture verbs giving rise to progressive aspect.

### Malayalam

*ava| kasera-jil irik-unnu*

3SG.FEM chair-LOC sit-PRES

‘she is sitting on the chair’

*na:n ezuti-koṅṭ-irikunnu*

1SG write-COP.PROG-PRES

‘I am in the process of writing’

### Kudumbi

*a:v kadal-aari bess-olo*

1SG chair-LOC sit-PST.MASC

‘I sat on the chair’

<i>tho</i>	<i>bov-ornu</i>	<i>bess-ala</i>
3SG.M	write-PRS PRTPL	sit-PROG.M

‘He is in the process of writing’

It is a slightly complex process here. Since the similar construction is not found in the non contact variety of Kudumbi, it can be safely assumed as a contact-induced grammatical change. Even though, Malayalam has provided the model for change, Kudumbi has adopted more general process whereby using the posture verb evolving into a progressive aspect marker.

It has to be considered as a case of contact-induced grammaticalization because,

- a. Same or similar construction is not found in Goa Kudumbi
- b. There is a similar construction in Malayalam

The process sketched here can be explained as,

Here, instead of replicating the copula > progressive, the posture verb which is evolved into existential copula is further evolved into progressive marker in Kudumbi. The verb *kol* ‘to hold/contain’ is grammaticalized into a progressive marker *koŋtə* in Malayalam. The same process is attested in Tamil as well (Herring, 1993). However Kudumbi does not follow the same process. Here, the equivalent Kudumbi verb with the meaning ‘hold/contain’ is not grammaticalized into aspect marker, instead, a posture verb is evolved into an aspect marker, yet, Malayalam serving as the model. In this mechanism, even though Malayalam acted as a trigger, the language might have resorted to universal principles of grammaticalization.

## 11. SIT (v) > EXISTENTIAL COPULA

In Kudumbi, it is seen that the posture verb *be:s* ‘sit’ serves the grammatical function of existential copula in present form. The same or equivalent construction

is not found in the Kudumbi in Goa. It seems that on the model of Malayalam the ‘sit construction’ in Kudumbi has become highly productive as in the case of Malayalam. In Malayalam the posture verb *irikkuka* ‘sit’ has been grammaticalized into an existential copula. The data suggests that Kudumbi has replicated the pattern on the model of Malayalam, with its own linguistic material.

### Malayalam

*kutti kasera-jil irik-unnu*

child chair-LOC sit-PRES

‘the child is sitting on the chair’

*kara-ja:te irikkə*

cry-PROH<sup>31</sup> be-PRES.IMP

‘do not cry’

### Kudumbi

*a:v kadal-a:ri bess-olo*

1SGF chair-LOC sit-PST.M

‘I sat on the chair’

*rona:-ti:lle bess-olo*

cry-PROH sit-PRES.M

‘do not cry’

It has to be considered as a case of contact-induced grammaticalization because,

- a. Same or similar construction is not found in Goa Kudumbi

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<sup>31</sup> PROH - Prohibitive



- b. There is a similar construction in Malayalam

The process sketched here can be explained as,

The Kudumbi speakers observe that the verb for ‘sit’ in Malayalam is evolved to serve the function of existential copula. And they replicate the same process which happened in Malayalam in Kudumbi with its own linguistic material.

### **Mechanism**

- a. Speakers notice that in Malayalam (M) there is an existential copula which is evolved out of the posture verb meaning ‘sit’ (Mx)
- b. They create an equivalent category Rx in language Kudumbi (R) using their own posture verb meaning *be:s* ‘sit’
- c. To this end, they replicate a grammaticalization process they assume to have taken place in language Malayalam, using an analogical formula of the kind [My > Mx]: [Ry > Rx]
- d. They grammaticalize Ry to Rx.

In accordance with the parameters of grammaticalization, the Kudumbi verb for ‘sit’ lost its grammatical category, turned into a copula (deategorialization). Thus speakers of the replica language Kudumbi took recourse to a cross linguistically attested pathway of grammaticalization.

## **12. CLIMB (v) > MODALITY MARKER**

In Kudumbi, it is seen that the verb *collo* ‘to climb’ serves the grammatical function of expressing modality of the action. The same or equivalent function is not found in the Kudumbi spoken in Goa. In Malayalam the verb *kajaruka* ‘to climb’ is seen to express modality function of expressing displeasure as far the action is concerned. It seems that the verb has been grammaticalized into a modality marker. The data seems to suggest that Kudumbi has replicated the pattern on the model of Malayalam, using their own linguistic materials.

## Malayalam

*maratt-il*      *kajar-i*  
tree-LOC      climb-PST  
'climbed the tree'

*avan*              *kajar-i*              *para-nnu*  
3SGM              climb-PST PRTPL      speak-PST  
'He interjected'

## Kudumbi

*ru:kə*    *coll-o*  
tree    climb-PST.M  
'climbed the tree'

*ta:ne*              *cor-nu*              *peltantə*              *sang-i:le*  
3SGM              climb-PRS PRTPL      there-MOD              tell-PST.M  
'He interjected'

It has to be considered as a case of contact-induced grammaticalization because,

- a. Same or similar construction is not found in Goa Kudumbi
- b. There is a similar construction in Malayalam

The process sketched here can be explained as,

The Kudumbi speakers observe that the verb for 'climb' in Malayalam is evolved to serve the function of modality marker. And they replicate the same process which happened in Malayalam in Kudumbi with its own linguistic material.

## Mechanism

- a. Speakers notice that in Malayalam (M) there is a modality marker which expresses displeasure which is evolved out of the posture verb meaning 'climb' (Mx)

- b. They create an equivalent category Rx in language Kudumbi (R) using their own posture verb meaning ‘climb’
- c. To this end, they replicate a grammaticalization process they assume to have taken place in language Malayalam, using an analogical formula of the kind [My > Mx]: [Ry > Rx]
- d. They grammaticalize Ry to Rx.

In accordance with the parameters of grammaticalization, the Kudumbi verb for ‘climb’ lost its grammatical category, turned into a modality marker (deategorialization).

To summarise, various lexical words in Kudumbi have been grammaticalized for different grammatical functions as shown below in the table:

<i>laggi</i> ‘near’ (spatial)	>	<i>laggi</i> ‘next’ (temporal)
<i>eta</i> ‘come’ (verb)	>	<i>eta</i> ‘come’ (habitual marker)
<i>va: t̪ə</i> ‘path’ (noun)	>	<i>va: t̪ə</i> ‘through’ (instrumental marker)
<i>dovornnu</i> ‘to keep’	>	<i>dovornnu</i> ‘at’ (locative marker)
<i>ha: t̪ə</i> ‘hand’	>	<i>ha: t̪ə</i> ‘possession’
<i>peltantu</i> ‘across’	>	<i>peltantu</i> ‘emphatic marker’
<i>ra:bə</i> ‘stand’	>	<i>ra:bə</i> ‘proximative marker’
<i>thə</i> ‘copula’	>	<i>thə</i> ‘focus marker’
<i>kall</i> ‘to take’	>	<i>kall</i> ‘modality marker’
<i>be:s</i> ‘to sit’ (verb)	>	<i>be:s</i> ‘progressive marker’
<i>be:s</i> ‘to sit’ (verb)	>	<i>bes</i> ‘existential copula’
<i>co:r</i> ‘to climb’ (verb)	>	<i>cor</i> ‘modality marker’

## **Conclusion**

Kudumbi community has been willfully shifting to Malayalam, the regional language of the state they migrated to. The community has been receptive to contact-induced language changes. The grammatical changes discussed here is not exhaustive, however it can be observed that the language has permitted changes even in the core areas of grammar like the emergence of 'progressive aspect'. Much of the newly emerged constructions co-occur with the original constructions occur as redundant structures. Nevertheless, since the language is on a process of shift, the changes might never establish as a language change. Grammatical knowledge is tacit, yet, the speaker's role as an external agency is not insignificant, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

## Chapter 5

### Grammaticalization: Socio-Cognitive Explanation

In this chapter, an integrated framework is discussed which incorporates extra linguistic factors along with a language- internal process. The attempt is to provide a possible explanation to the case of contact-induced grammaticalization of the language studied here through the framework of ‘socio- cognitive model of grammaticalization’. The studies in the areas of grammaticalization have been typically guided by the principles of internally driven linguistic causes, which is not contested even in the case of contact- induced grammaticalization. The basic concern of the chapter is to characterise the extra linguistic factors that intersect with the language internal grammatical change and establish a systematic relationship between them. The idea is that, in the context of language contact the speakers of the recipient language are introduced not only to a contact language but also to a new culture, the result being a shared world view and conceptual system. Consequently the speakers ‘acquire’ grammatical as well as communicative competence in the contact language. This widens the conceptual repertoire of the replica language speakers with elements from native as well as the model language, act as an enabling factor for the emergence of new grammatical categories in the replica language on the model of the model-contact language.

The main assumptions are:

- Acquired competence in the source language is the necessary criteria for initiating ‘inference’, eventually producing to contact- induced grammatical categories.
- Competence here means not only language proficiency and fluency, but ‘communicative competence’ which is a product of linguistic as well as socio- cultural competence that is acquired through strong cultural contact.
- Cultural contact comes through intense symmetric or asymmetric interaction between the communities.

## 5.1 Identifying the problem

As seen in the previous chapter, the major critique of Heine and Kuteva (2005) is that the model assumes that the whole process and pathway of grammaticalization which occurred in the model language are available to the speakers of the replica language as well. This lies in the assumption that even in the case of replica grammaticalization which follows a language exclusive pathway of grammaticalization, the same pathway is available to the speakers of the replica language even after the completion of the process in the model language. So the speakers of the replica language not only replicate the pattern but even the process itself which is exclusively available to the speakers of the model language. This view is criticised as it ascribes to a metalinguistic knowledge of the model language on part of the replica language speakers (Gast and van der Auwera 2012: 381- 389; Matthews 2000: 371- 373). It is right in its way that it is not made explicit enough how the pathway of grammaticalization in the model language is available to the replica language speakers, which is exclusive to the speakers of the model language and happened in a span of hundreds of years, and much before the speakers of the replica language come into contact with the model language. Nevertheless, Heine and Kuteva make the point that the model lies in the assumption that the sociolinguistic and other extra linguistic parameters give enough *conceptual clues* for the speakers to reconstruct the process.

The model calls for an intense contact and extremely long duration of contact between the speakers of the model and the replica language. With the kind of language in question, where we have only a bunch of language speaking population, and no written history, it is nearly impossible to trace the duration and intensity of contact. The duration and intensity of contact act as a factor in deciding whether the given grammatical category in the model language is a product of grammaticalization or, it is merely a loan translation, calquing or polysemy copying. The two processes, grammaticalization and polysemy copying have equivalent end products. Heine and Kuteva makes a clear distinction between grammaticalization and polysemy copying. Both polysemy copying and contact-induced grammaticalization has a common denominator, which is the polysemy of functions and meanings available to the speakers. However, what distinguishes

grammaticalization from polysemy copying is the stages of grammaticalization. Heine and Kuteva (2010:91) cites a case given by Breu (2003b) which is an exemplar of a case for polysemy copying. 'Breu (2003b) reports the case of grammatical replication in the contact situation between Italian, the dominant language, and Molisean which has been in contact with Italian for roughly 500 years: The Italian verb *portare* is polysemous, meaning both 'carry' and 'drive a car', while the pre-contact Slavic verb *nosit* only meant 'carry'. Speakers of Molisean replicated the Italian polysemy by extending the meaning of *nosit* to include both 'carry' and 'drive a car'. This process is called polysemy copying. Polysemy copying is fairly common in lexical replication, as in the present example, but appears to be rare in grammatical replication, where a more complex process tends to be involved. A replica category is not 'created' in a language, whereas it is being evolved. Rather than replicating a grammatical category, speakers start out with the replication of the initial stages of grammaticalization, and it requires a situation of long and intense contact for the replica category to attain the same degree of grammaticalization as the corresponding category of the model language.

The present study agrees that Heine and Kuteva's model of grammaticalization is an impressive and without parallel when it comes to the emergence of a similar grammatical category in a language when it comes into contact with another language. However, there are areas which need further research and clarity. Even though the present study is not an exhaustive explanation to every problem in hand pertaining to the theory of grammaticalization, nevertheless makes an attempt to address some of them.

The criticisms against the model of Heine and Kuteva basically allude to two basic points in contact-induced grammaticalization (especially the case of replica grammaticalization),

- In a bilingual context, when two languages are present in the system, the speakers form, what Heine and Kuteva call *equivalence relations*, and it enables the speakers of the replica language to identify and equate the (two) linguistic systems which are available to the speakers. Consequently, the

grammaticalization pattern and importantly, the ‘process’ itself is replicated in their own language on the pattern of model language.

- However, the history of the pathway of grammaticalization (linguistic and extra linguistic) spanning over generations, that led to the emergence of a grammatical feature in the model language, are certainly not available to the speakers of the replica language.

Therefore, it poses the question- what those *conceptual clues* are, that Heine and Kuteva (2005:92) allude to. How is it possible that the metalinguistic knowledge of the native speakers of a language pertaining to sociolinguistic, pragmatic, and grammatical features by virtue of which words are evolved into grammar, are available to the speakers of the replica language as well in order to replicate a mechanism itself in their own language using their own linguistic materials?. The study observes that the degree of ‘competence’ of the recipient language speakers in the model language provides the key to the problem. The higher the competence of the speakers in the model language, the more the potential they have for replicating a grammatical function or meaning on model of the patterns available in the model language. By language competence, it takes into account not only the lexico-grammatical competence of the speakers but also the communicative competence which is the cumulative outcome of linguistic and socio- cultural competence.

In the case of contact-induced grammaticalization, the grammatical categories are not created instantaneously but ‘evolve’<sup>32</sup> in a language over a period of time, with the active role of speakers at individual and community level. The time period for the activity itself suggest that the process cannot be similar to the processes like ‘lexical borrowing’ which could be a spontaneous and conscious. A change can be expected in bilinguals when one of the varieties is stigmatized. But considering the less- salient feature of grammar, the inclination to replace a stigmatized form is limited. Because by contact-induced grammaticalization, we are talking about an intense process which takes years to accomplish through deep

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<sup>32</sup> Certainly, there are cases of conscious efforts on the part of speakers in order to create a linguistic category on the model of a contact language for linguistic as well as socio- linguistic reasons, for example mixed languages and creoles. However, this is not true in every case. In a majority of the cases, we are dealing with an underlying unconscious cognitive mechanism.



contact between the languages, and cultural and societal interaction between the speakers.

## **5.2 Intensity of contact and multilingual competence: Role in grammatical change**

The discussion on the role of 'proficiency of the borrowers in the contact language in order to borrow a pattern or word has been mentioned in the literatures on language contact. To start with, Weinreich (1963: 72-80) discusses that the amount of interference can be correlated to the bilingual speaker's language aptitude, his switching facility, and the status he accords each language. Our present focus is on how the 'speaker's language aptitude' contribute to process of contact- induced grammaticalization. Also see Thomason (2001) who says,

Intensity of contact ...is a vague concept, and it cannot be made much more precise because it interacts with speaker's attitudes as well as with more easily specified factors, such as the level of fluency (emphasis added) of the borrowers and the proportion of borrowing- language speakers who are fully bilingual in the source language. You need not be at all fluent in a language in order to borrow a few of its words; but since you cannot borrow what you do not know, control of the source language's structure is certainly needed before structural features can be borrowed. (p.69).

How do we define these concepts like *aptitude* and *fluency*? Let's take an intense contact situation like the case of migration in the present study. In the present study, two linguistic situations are possible. Even with centuries of contact, a language community might maintain their language with minimum interference or 'infiltration'. Or, symmetrically or asymmetrically, similar patterns and forms can be seen among the migrant language and the host language. Here, we make an observation that, with the right kind of linguistic competence, which involve both grammatical as well as communicative competence resulting from intense cultural contact, it is possible for the replica language speakers to reproduce the grammatical process in one's own language on the pattern of the model language which could be the source of the '*conceptual clue*' for replicating the mechanism.

Here, the speakers of the migratory community are in contact and more importantly at a higher level of 'interaction' with both the language and the culture of the people of the host community. In that case, it can be safely assumed that a significant amount of grammatical as well as communicative competence of the model language is available to the speakers of the replica language as well.

Therefore, in such situations of intense language contact, the speakers acquire the grammatical and communicative competence in one's own language as well as the contact language. An equivalent competence in both the languages provides them with some amount of conceptual information to reconstruct a process presumed to have taken place in the model language. Certainly, there is no denial that the entire blue print of historical development of a category is not available to the replica language speakers. However with the right intensity of contact and interaction, (which certainly is not equivalent to the duration of contact), the speakers of the replica language acquire nearly 'native- like' competence in the contact language.

For instance, a lexical item evolved into a modality marker of course has a lot to speak about the world view of the speakers. Therefore, by competence, it is emphasised again that it means linguistic, pragmatic, social, and cultural competence. Also, it could be assumed that the chances of contact-induced grammaticalized categories evolving in a language, are reduced if the speakers do not possess adequate competence in the model language. A mere familiarity with the lexical item in the model language cannot enable the speakers of the replica language to establish an equivalence relation, and replicate the pattern in one's own language. It is imperative to have an optimum level of communicative competence, along with the grammatical competence for the contact-induced grammaticalization to initiate and accomplish. .

### **Defining 'Competence' - multilingual**

As given in the literature, 'linguistic competence'<sup>33</sup> means the people's innate knowledge of the language, the basic rules of the language- syntactic, semantic and phonological. 'Communicative competence'<sup>34</sup> can be defined as the competence of language use appropriate to the other participants of the communicative interaction and appropriate to the given social context and

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<sup>33</sup> The term 'linguistic competence' is basically associated with Chomsky (1965) wherein he made a distinction between linguistic competence and performance. Chomsky's concept of 'linguistic competence' is basically syntactic. He calls it 'tacit knowledge of the structure'. Nevertheless, following Chomsky the concept has been widened to accommodate to include the innate knowledge of rules of a language, syntactic, semantic and phonological.

<sup>34</sup> 'Communicative competence' is a term coined by linguist Dell Hymes (1972), in an argument against the concept of linguistic competence introduced by Noam Chomsky (1965).

situation. Canale (1983, 1984) defined communicative competence in terms of four components:

1. grammatical competence- words and rules
2. sociolinguistic competence- appropriateness
3. strategic competence- appropriate use of communication strategies
4. discourse competence- cohesion and coherence

Also, in order to have a complete picture of multilingual competence among the bi/multi-linguals, we need to talk about the cultural competence as well. The cultural competence of a language acts as the source for pragmatic competence. When the replica language speakers acquire an equivalent communicative competence in the model language, it could be assumed that the speakers are enabled with the capability to trace and reproduce<sup>35</sup> the pathway of change occurred in the model language over the years.

### **Intense Cultural contact and Acquired Competence**

Lapolla (2001:242-245), even though not directly addresses the argument but, gives a brilliant account of how the kind of cases of 'intense contact' as in the case of migration is different from other contact situations. He argues that if there is a strong cultural contact, the contact may slowly change the way the borrowers conceptualize certain events. Ross (2001) also argues when languages are in heavy cultural contact, speakers increasingly come to construe the world around them in the same way as the contact group; they create '*a common cultural core*' which results in metatypy. This common cultural core or construal of the world can then lead to the creation of similar constructions. Ross (ibid.138) makes strong claims that, after a period of contact, which is referred as equilibrium period<sup>36</sup>, the cultures of the speakers of both the model and contact languages merge, and 'no discernible cultural difference is displayed other than the linguistic differences'. Discussing the Kupwar situation, Ross (ibid.147-148) refers to Grace (1981:23-32), who argues that the one-to-one lexical replacement in the metatypy situation in Kupwar

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<sup>35</sup> It could be an unconscious linguistic activity, except for cases like 'gap filling'.

<sup>36</sup> Concept of Dixon (1997:70)

is not possibly as simple as it sounds. In the case of Takia language, Ross (ibid.144) claims that the syntactic change which occurs in the language is the result of restructuring of the language as Takia speakers have increasingly come to construe the world around them in the same way as the Waskia, which also results in the *semantic* organization of Takia on the Waskia model. That the equivalent lexical items in Takia and Waskia have the same range of meaning, closed sets of morphemes have similar membership and semantic structure.

Ross' arguments appear to say that with ideal contact situation, speakers equate both the linguistic systems accessible to them. The present study does not take such an extreme position, but certainly holds the view that when there is an amalgamation of culture in a strong contact situation, the 'common cultural core' is reflected in the ways in which speakers conceptualize the world around and eventually finds a representation in the language they speak. The cases presented by Ross can substantiate the arguments portrayed in the present research. We hold the idea that with intense interaction between the speakers and the culture of a society, the speakers of the replica language develop bi/multilingual competence which includes linguistic, social, cultural, pragmatic competence pertaining to the contact language.

The cultural contact between both the languages results in the emergence of a conceptual repertoire in recipient language speakers composed of the elements from the conceptual system of both the languages. This combined conceptual system with elements of both replica and model language, the acquired world view of both the languages in the system enables the recipient speakers to acquire a multilingual competence. And the resulting common conceptual repertoire and multilingual competence is the seat of conceptual clues for the recipient language speakers to form equivalence between the languages, its functions and meanings and isolating the source and arriving at the target. This conceptual repertoire, thus, is defined by the common cultural ways of thinking, world view, reality and other cultural conceptual elements that the recipient language speakers assimilate into their system from the model language and culture, due to the intense interaction. World view of a language is imparted by the culture of a society.

### **Competence to Inference: Initiation of grammaticalization**

In the previous section we talked about the existence of multilingual competence in bilinguals acquired through intense level of contact and interaction with the language and culture of the society. It could be assumed that with the requisite amount of linguistic and communicative competence in the source language, the inferences- metaphoric, metonymic or context induced - associated with a lexical item or construction which initiate the process of grammaticalization in the model language are available to the speakers of the recipient language as well. 'Inference' is considered as the initiating process of grammaticalization which demands an adequate level of competence in the language.

On a similar line of thought, with adequate level of competence, it can be suggested that the speakers can recognise what are called the 'layers' of meaning as Hopper (1991) calls it. Among the five principles of grammaticalization proposed by Hopper (ibid.) the process of 'persistence' is defined as "when a form undergoes grammaticalization from a lexical to a grammatical function, so long as it is grammatically viable some traces of its original lexical meanings tend to adhere to it, and details of its lexical history may be reflected in constraints on its grammatical distribution" (22). Also 'layering' which is defined as "within a broad functional domain, when new layers are continually emerging, the older layers are not necessarily discarded, but may remain to coexist with and interact with the newer layers." (ibid.22). Hence, we can make an assumption that in the context of contact- induced grammaticalization, when 'traces of original lexical meaning' or 'older layer' still exist in the model language, the grammaticalization paths are much more accessible to the speakers of the replica language, with adequate 'competence'. We may call this '*the visibility of pathways*'. Therefore, in some of the cases, the source is visible to the speakers in the form of sedimentary layers. And with the adequate level of competence in the model language, the speakers can identify these layers, equate the lexical source and pattern of change, and initiate the mechanism of grammaticalization in their own language on the pattern of model language.

### 5.3 Speakers' role: Evolution or Creation?

One of the intriguing questions which any discussion on grammar change confronts is the role of speakers, which never found a satisfactory explanation. Even though we have discussed in length about the role of competence in contact-induced grammaticalization that has an abstract existence at the level of cognition, the role of an external agency in grammaticalization is not yet deciphered. In the discussion on competence, we have maintained that the acquired competence in the source language results in the evolution of grammatical functions and meanings on its model in the replica language, emphasizing the extent of duration of the process. It is this lengthy time span which is one of the main factors that distinguishes contact-induced grammaticalization from other processes like lexical borrowing. Moreover, the claim that the categories are evolved in the replica language also entails that the action is purely cognitive with limited exercise of speakers' activity. Nevertheless, the vagueness does not contend the role of speakers in the process of contact-induced grammaticalization. In the present study we observe that establishing 'equivalence relation' between the languages and consequently between the grammatical functions is a process of evolution which takes years to accomplish with right level of competence. Only a multi causal explanation can address this problem. It could be partly answered by the theories of 'innovation' and partly by the theories of 'propagation'. The theories of innovation for language change suggest both internal and external factors as causes for change. As discussed in the previous section, when there is a shared conceptual system, the speakers might be exploiting their conceptual repertoire to be more expressive, but, within the constraints of one's language. The innovation becomes change when it gains frequency and propagated effectively, eventually becoming a feature of a language. Especially in a case of a process like contact-induced grammaticalization, the propagation of 'innovation' needs a thorough study.

Abbi's (2000a) investigation of the language of Bangani community in the Bagan area of Uttarakhand is an important one in the line of studies on language contact. Bangani, a multi lingual community, owing to its geographical location comes into contact with Himachali and Hindi resulted in generating contact induced grammatical structures. It is seen that unlike the regular syntactic distribution, Bangani permits 'parallel structures' and 'redundant' structures (in the



language- contact situation involves studying the socio-cultural organization of the language and reorganization of the communication systems under the influence of contact. Linguistic structures do not change in isolation and thus cannot be studied without probing into the cognito-semantic make up of its speakers who under the influence of contact situation change, modify and restructure their thought process.'

Even Sharma (2013) discusses similar cases in the case of 'Contact Hindi in Meghalaya and Arunachal Pradesh. The speakers have innovated new meanings and functions through semantic extension and morphological reanalysis in order to express themselves in Arunachal Hindi and Meghalaya Hindi. Even though the linguistic mechanisms that led to the semantic and grammatical readjustment are completely controlled by the internal tendencies of the language, it is essentially correlated to the socio- linguistic factors of such tendencies. The intensity of language contact which plays the determining role is also to a large extent governed by the social factors. In the case of Arunachal Hindi, the younger group of speakers is extremely motivated to use Arunachal Hindi as a means of communication. 'Like in many of the similar cases, the younger generation is happy to forget their mother tongue. The elders prefer to teach their children Hindi other than their indigenous language as Hindi gives more mobility and accessibility across the country.

The propagation of an innovation is steered by a number of socio linguistic factors, which is not different in the case of contact-induced grammaticalization also. Contact-induced grammatical changes take years to accomplish and, each stage of grammaticalization calls for 'frequency of use' which to a large extent is determined by the speakers or the speech community. Having discussed the cognitive aspects, we turn to the social aspects where the role of speakers comes into play.

### **The social embedding of the process of contact-induced grammaticalization**

Heine and Kuteva (2005) assert that there are no sociolinguistic parameters that are found in correlation with the presence or absence, or distinctness between specific types of grammatical replication. The primary reason for Heine and Kuteva to reject sociolinguistic parameters as an active participant in the process is because grammaticalization in general is a cognitive activity. The view is that



grammatical replication is a fairly ubiquitous process that can be observed across all kinds of sociolinguistic setting. Whereas, Bryun (2006:725) criticise Heine and Kuteva's position that the sociolinguistic factors are not crucially linked to grammatical replication. Also Aikhenvald (2008:190) cites the examples of 'mixed' and 'inter-twined' languages to prove the point that the sociolinguistic factors such as language attitudes have a key role in grammatical replication. She (ibid.191) says,

...when a new structure emerges under the influence of another language, first it arises as a deviation from an existing norm, then it may gradually become part of a new norm, giving rise to a new category as the result of grammaticalization...the factors that favour or disfavour 'crystallization' of meanings acquired through language contact require further study.

Regarding grammaticalization in particular, Nevalainen and Collin's study (2011) argues that 'that a process of grammaticalization need not differ from other types of linguistic change in terms of its social embedding and evaluation and sociolinguistic perspectives of grammaticalization can be described using the same sociolinguistic frameworks as other processes of linguistic change'. However, when it is a language contact situation, we are dealing with a much more complex sociolinguistic situation with more nuances. There are claims that the social aspects play an equal role as the linguistic factors in contact situations or at the least are governing factors to the linguistic outcomes (Thomason, 1988; Thomason, 2001: 77; Croft 2000; Winford 2003: 25). Pertaining to the claim, the concepts of status, prestige, attitude, identity have been widely discussed. The present study also proceeds with the belief that the sociolinguistic factors have an important role in the kind of linguistic process discussed here.

Let us go back to the definition of grammaticalization and, the role of contact in grammaticalization in the context of language contact. Grammaticalization is a process in which grammatical categories are evolved in a language through a process leading from 'lexical to grammatical and grammatical to even more grammatical'. And, in the case of contact-induced grammaticalization, it is the contact language which forms the source of trigger and model for the evolution of grammatical categories in the replica language. The new grammatical categories which evolve can co- exist with the already existing categories which perform the same or similar grammatical function or, replace the

existing ones (Abbi, 2000:50-53). Abbi's (ibid.) concept of 'conflicting stage' and 'compromise stage', that language passes through two important stages- a conflicting stage that results in parallel structures and the compromise stage resulting in redundancies- is a key part in contact-induced grammaticalization also. During contact-induced grammaticalization, in the conflicting stage, the speakers have the freedom to choose between the native and the replicated structure. In the compromising stage, the speakers make a choice between the structures and depending on the language attitude of the speakers, obligatory use of a particular structure is maintained. The choice of the speakers is a socio-linguistically governed situation.

In this linguistic situation, we are dealing with a socio-linguistically governed situation, as any language contact situation necessarily involves myriads of social conditions and constraints. The study argues that, for the new categories to evolve in a language, at each 'stage' of the process the speaker intervention or speaker's attitude towards a particular innovation plays a decisive role. In short, the present study makes an observation that the working principle of the interaction between 'social' and language internal processes that take place in contact-induced grammaticalization, though not completely predictable, are not random either.

### **Propagation as a governing factor**

In the usage based approaches to the evolution of grammar, the aspect of 'diffusion or propagation' which is a requisite for an innovation or change to be established forms an equally important part as the innovation itself. Once an innovation occurs for internal, structural or social reasons, it is certainly the social setting of the speakers which play a major role in the propagation and the stabilization of the innovation/ change. Therefore, the 'sociolinguistic circumstances' of the speech community may or may not trigger contact-induced changes, but, they are the factors that facilitate<sup>37</sup> or contain the spread of innovations through a speech community and the consequent emergence of a

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<sup>37</sup> Note that Aikhenvald and Dixon (2006:2 ) have termed such factors as 'facilitating factors'

contact-induced change. Here, the two important factors that come into play are, salience of the innovation and the willingness of the speakers to accept the change.

A number of studies<sup>38</sup> have argued and shown that the changes happening at the level of grammar, particularly the less salient features have the higher potential for being propagated. As a simple rule, the less salient an innovation is, the more the potential it holds for being propagated and being established as a 'language change'. The structural change or any linguistic change could be initiated as a subconscious error, a deviation from the norm or innovation from the part of the speakers ahead of getting established as a linguistic change. For an 'innovation' to be established as a change, it has to be used more 'frequently', that is, the speakers of a language has to use the particular innovation more frequently without 'monitoring' it. Such innovations which gain frequency are 'propagated' across the communities and, established as a change. For example, De Mulder and Lamiroy (2011: 04) give an instance of 'the disappearance of gerund progressive in French due to the external factors such as criticism by normative grammarians who consider it Italianism. Likewise, in one of the initial studies in this line, speaking about the elicitation of data, Dorian (1973:415) in her study of dying East Sutherland dialect of Scottish Gaelic observes that, speakers' are aware about lexical, phonological or morphological changes, but on the contrary, are unaware of changes in the 'mutational grammar'. 'Explicit comment on the decline in the quality of their Gaelic focuses entirely on the lexicon (emphasis added) but there is no awareness at all in the community of the development currently underway in the grammar of the so called 'initial mutations'. However, it is recorded that there are salient features even in the level of grammar also – some prominent grammatical features of a language which serve as an identity marker. Any attempts to change those features are easily noticed. Aikhenvald and Dixon (2006) observe that, it is the features which they term the 'emblematic features'<sup>39</sup> of a language are the ones that resist changes. As the above cases suggest, emblematic

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<sup>38</sup> The case of Kupwar (Gumperz and Wilson 1971: 155), the case of Vaupes region Aikhenvald (2006) , the case of Hup (Aikhenvald and Dixon (2006 : 53),The case of Basque (Jendrascheck 2006: 160), the case of Israeli Hebrew (Zuckermann 2003; Aikhenvald 1990) cited in Aikhenvald and Dixon (2006: 42) point out that the grammatical patterns are allowed and propagated in the language, but no change or borrowing of the forms are permitted.

feature of a language is mostly, but not limited, to the lexicons, but also some of the prominent grammatical features of a language.

Emblematic features are the ‘salient prototypical features’ in a language. And since they are salient, changes in such features are noticeable and any attempt to bring a change in is actively resisted by the language loyalists and purists. And also, since they are the prototypical features of a language they are considered as the identity markers. And hence conscious efforts are made to retain the emblematic features and any changes to such features are not ‘tolerated’. As Storch (2006:110) makes it precise, (a) emblematic features are prototypical features, and are always retained or revitalized. They are never replaced by foreign grammatical material, but may rather aggressively spread into typologically different contact languages. (b) Secondly, the speakers consider such recognizable properties as a salient part of their identity and resist changes happening to such features.

The emblematic features vary from language to language. For example, a prominent feature of the Yawalapiti language of the Xingu area is the unusual sound,  $r^{\sim}$  which is carefully nurtured by the speakers of this highly endangered language as an identity marker; the rigid maintenance of lexical forms in Kupwar area; in Labwor, the grammar converges to neighbouring systems, but never the noun categorization and number-marking patterns, which are the emblematic features (Storch, 2006: 111). Therefore, the changes in the grammatical features generally go unnoticed, except for the cases when the feature is emblematic in nature.

### **How is emblematicity related to grammaticalization?**

If the hierarchy of changes is sketched, in the case when the speakers are keen on the identity of one’s language, any changes in the emblematic features fall at the bottom of the list. The studies have shown that, in the case of minority languages the language loyalists who are motivated to maintain the use of a language are also highly conservative monitor of the form of that language. And on the other hand, in a context of shift, the innovations and changes go unmonitored. Woolard (1989:370) says ‘language defence’ is a conscious process, the will for maintenance and purity does have the same roots. When the language community does not give importance to the maintenance of their language, it

entails that they do not advocate for the maintenance of the purity of the language by monitoring the speech forms from being ‘adulterated’. Schmidt (1985c; cited in Woolard (1989: 374), reports that the older Dyirbal speakers constantly correct less proficient young speakers, which results in the young speakers resorting to Jambun English to avoid this merciless correction. Also, Matras (2012:33) makes a similar observation while putting across the idea of ‘selection malfunction’, that most of the individual ‘lapses’ will not lead to language change; ‘they will either be self-repaired by the speaker, corrected by the listener, or ignored by the participants. In such cases an effort will be made by the speaker to avoid the embarrassment of apparent ineptness’. However, frequently occurring selection malfunction may become stabilized in an individual’s idiolect as they are left ‘uncommented’ upon and at the same understood by a regular audience of interlocutors. Such a situation is seen among the bilinguals where the flexibility in linguistic choice is tolerated. And, it mostly occur in minority language communities especially on the verge of shift, the low motivation to intervene and consciously shape language use , ‘malfunctions’ in the term of Matras (2012) or innovations generally, eventually become tolerated and no longer subjected to self-repair by the fellow elder members of the society.

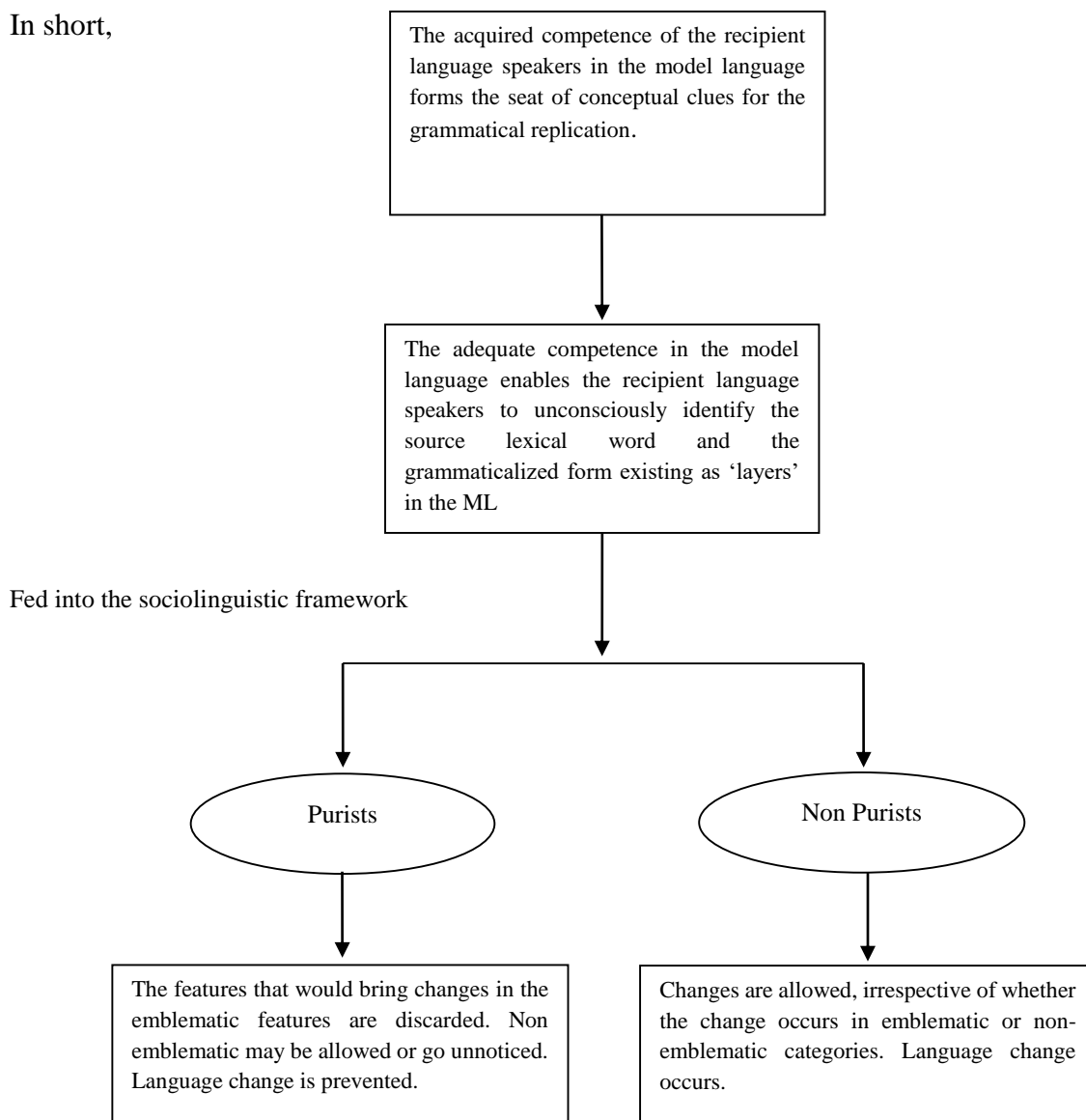
All the cases discussed here point towards the broad concept of ‘language attitude’ of the speakers. The present study suggests that in the broad area of ‘language attitude’, it is precisely what could be called the ‘tolerance towards a linguistic change’ or the ‘willingness to accept a change’ which form the deciding factor here. The speakers who are strict monitors of language change are never tolerant toward changes in emblematic features even if tolerant towards changes in non- emblematic features. And, the speakers who are not strict monitors of language change, by choice or compulsion are tolerant towards changes in emblematic and non –emblematic feature. Hence this is a speaker- controlled situation.

Attitude of the speakers - The will of the speakers	
Purists (Non tolerant towards changes)	Non-Purists (Tolerant towards changes)
Changes in emblematic features are never tolerated even if non –emblematic changes go unnoticed. They are strictly corrected.	Emblematic and non-emblematic features are non – monitored and the changes are tolerated or go unnoticed. The non purists are willing to accept changes.
Innovation is retarded and changes do not occur.	Innovation gains frequency.
	Innovation is propagated.
	Linguistic change is established.

In the case of language purists, they are non-tolerant towards accepting a new grammatical category which might co-exist or replace their emblematic categories. Hence the evolution of new grammatical categories which causes any sort of aforementioned changes in the emblematic categories is under strict surveillance. Meanwhile, on the other hand the non-emblematic features are not monitored enough and hence have the higher probability of undergoing changes. Any innovation in a language which may alter an existing category, as we saw above, has to be used frequent enough in order to be established as a change. Since the non-emblematic features are not monitored, they are the ones which are the potential categories in this process, which means, these categories are susceptible to be replaced with a new one or an additional category can emerge.

In the case of the non-purists speakers of a language, especially in the case the shifting population, the speakers are passively tolerant towards the destiny of their language. Even if the elders of the language are conscious of their linguistic identity, they are not capable of preserving their language for social reasons. In such circumstances of language shift, speakers are more ‘tolerant’ towards new changes in one’s language, and changes in both the emblematic and non-emblematic features can be expected and also it can be expected that new additional categories are emerged on the pattern of the model language.

In short,



#### 5.4 The case of Contact-Induced Grammaticalization in Kudumbi

The case of Kudumbi language is analysed in this section in the framework discussed above. It can tell us why the language has converged with Malayalam over the years.

**Acquired competence in Model language as the seat of conceptual clues:** It is discussed that an adequate competence in the model language can provide the conceptual clues for contact-induced grammaticalization. The right kind of competence acquired in the model language enables the speakers to

identify the co-existing 'layers' of meaning and functions which exists in the model language which sets in the process of grammaticalization. This section discusses how a migrant community acquires the competence in the second language in order to replicate a complex linguistic process like grammaticalization in the context of language contact.

As far the Kudumbi language is concerned, we are dealing with a community with a very long history of language contact. However, the duration of language contact cannot amply explain contact-induced linguistic changes. What is focused here is the duration of interaction, which could be explained as the actual interaction between the speakers of replica language and the speakers of the model language. The community has been in contact with the host community for more than five hundred years. A demographical analysis of the community shows that the earlier Kudumbis used to be a closed knit community. In the span of the last five decades, the community has evolved into largely open society, moving away from its traditional roots. The domains in which Kudumbi language was in use at one point of time is replaced by the regional dominant language, Malayalam. The 'domains of language use' (Fishman,1972) can speak about the language choice of the individuals and the society. The concept of 'domains of use' is extended here to the 'domains of interaction' in order to capture the actual interaction of Malayalam with Kudumbi.

What is seen here is that, the magnitude of interaction that Kudumbis have with Malayalam language and culture of the people has increased with the 'emergence of middle class in Kerala'<sup>40</sup>. Both men and women were employed as domestic helps in regional households. Women worked in the kitchen and men tilled the land. This resulted in Kudumbis moving towards the language and the culture of the region. However, it certainly does not mean that the Kudumbi language was not in contact with Malayalam until then, but rather the intensity of contact and interaction increased during this time period. Not only sharing the language, but also the same geographical conditions and culture can create a similar world view for both the speakers. Certainly, operating within the realm of

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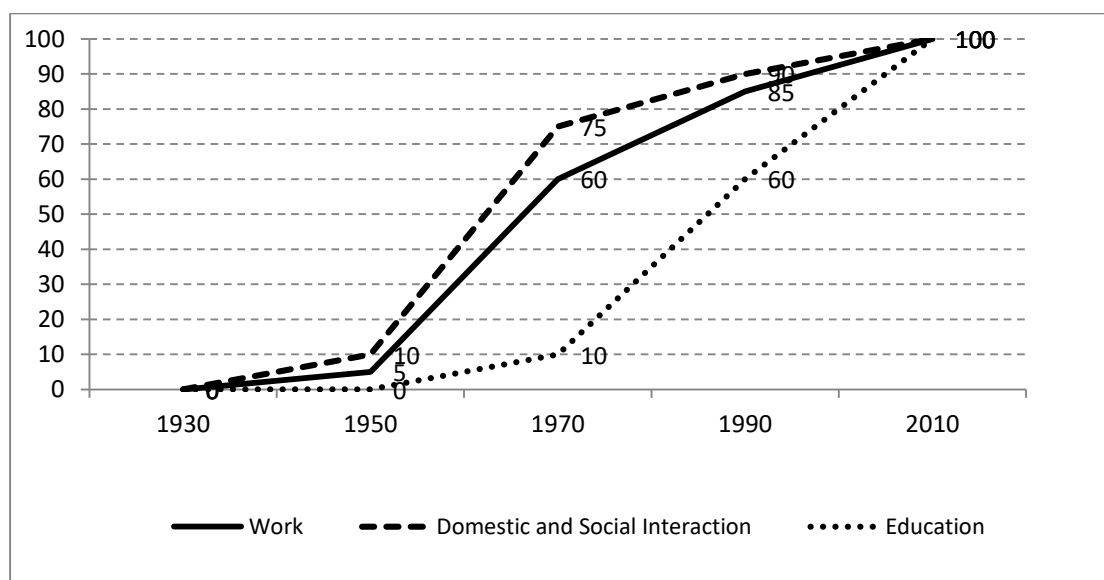
<sup>40</sup> The land reform movements in 1950s and the Gulf boom in 1960s resulted in the emergence of middle class in Kerala.



the structural constraints, the shared cultural world view and social behaviour resulted in developing conceptual clues for the evolution of grammatical functions and meanings in Kudumbi on the model of Malayalam. The adequate knowledge in the model language helped them to identify the linguistic sources from which the particular grammatical function derived from, in the model language and Kudumbi language replicated the process with its own material.

The ‘domains of interaction’ show an increase in interaction, and the degree of interaction has been on a higher side for nearly a century now. This results in an amalgamation of language and culture of Kudumbis with the language and culture of the people of contact in Kerala.

Figure 5.1: Language and Socio-Cultural Interaction<sup>41</sup>



**Analysing the ‘competence’ of the speakers:** Collocations find its origin in the culture of one’s society. One has to acquire them, when exposed to the culture of a society. Collocations do not reflect the lexical or grammatical competence of the speakers, but the cultural competence. Collocations are to be ‘acquired’ and not ‘learned’<sup>42</sup>. The language pedagogical studies have proven that

<sup>41</sup> The figure is based on the qualitative analysis of the socio-cultural interaction of Kudumbis with mainstream Malayali population over eight decades starting from 1930- 2010. The questions are benchmarked on three spheres of interaction i.e., work, education and domestic and cultural spheres.

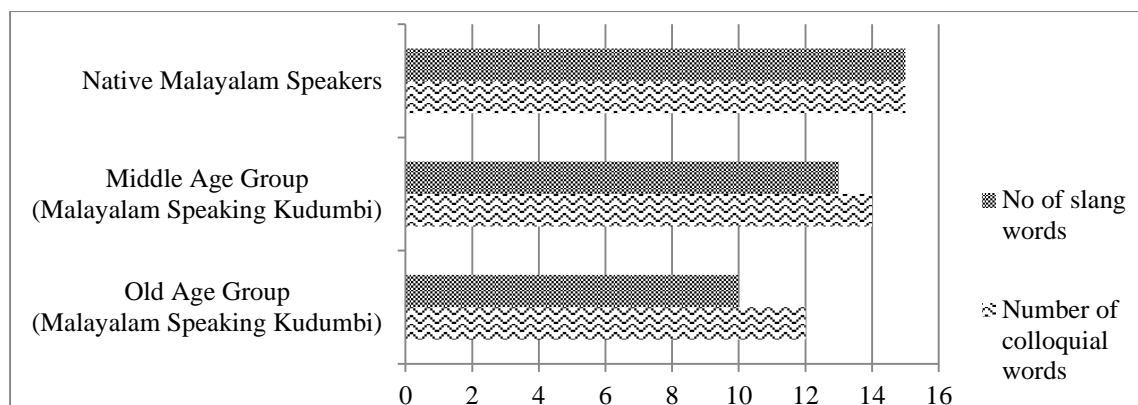
The data is quantified by extrapolating averages of qualitative data provided by the informants from a questionnaire.

<sup>42</sup>. The difference in acquisition and learning of a language as proposed by Krashen (1988).

mastering collocations is one of the difficult tasks which the second language learners encounter, and knowledge of collocations is directly proportional to the proficiency of the speakers (Namvar, 2012; Hsu and Chiu, 2008). Studies show that ‘collocational knowledge’ speaks about of the communicative competence, world view of the speakers (Benson, 1985; Cowie, 1981; Lewis, 1997). Benson and Ilson (1986) categorize collocations into two: Grammatical collocations and Lexical collocations. We are using lexical collocations the study in order to examine the competence of the speakers.

Contact-induced grammaticalization, though not very explicit is largely dependent on the culture of one’s society. The key to replica grammaticalization in which the speakers not only replicate the patterns but also the pathway of grammaticalization, is the ‘competence’ of the language speakers. The speakers need to have competence at both the levels, communicative and linguistic competence. Collocations are a way to capture the metalinguistic knowledge of the speakers as far as the model language is concerned. This implies that collocational competence is good indicators of the communicative competence or native knowledge of the language speakers (metalinguistic awareness could be a strong word to use here). The pedagogical findings that that non-native speakers encounter extensive difficulty in selecting the accurate combination of words in collocations, even in cases where the learner knows the individual words supports the claim. Also, the slang usages are culturally evolved coinages which divide the insiders from outsiders. A number of slang usages in Malayalam are also taken into account here in order to assess the cultural competence of the Kudumbi speakers.

Figure 5.2: Analysis of competence of Kudumbi speakers in Malayalam vis-à-vis native Malayalam speakers



For an empirical analysis here, a list of collocations and slang words are used (given in the appendices no 2 and 3). The analysis shows that, in present day, Kudumbis have an equivalent competence with native speakers in collocations and slang words. It is also pertinent to note that with each generation<sup>43</sup>, there is a gradual upward shift of competence. This is suggestive of an adequate socio-cultural and linguistic competence the Kudumbi speakers possess in Malayalam which enables them to identify the layers of meaning

**Identifying the existing layers of meaning:** As discussed, with adequate linguistic and socio-cultural competence in model language, the speakers are able to identify the existing layers in the model language. There are hundreds of instances of grammaticalization, identified in Malayalam (See appendix 1), which are available to the speakers of the Kudumbi language as well. The competence in the model language enables the recipient language speakers to unconsciously identify the ‘layers’, i.e., the source lexicon and its grammaticalized form and eventually initiate the pathway of replication in their own language with its own linguistic material (Hopper, 1991:22). When the speakers can identify the source and the target, as well as the subconscious socio-cultural competence can provide the conceptual clues for the ‘pathway’ of grammaticalization, the process can be set in on the model provided by Malayalam. When the process is initiated, then

<sup>43</sup> The younger generation of Kudumbis have not been considered in deriving the data as they have lesser competence in Kudumbi language.

comes the role of propagation which is by large determined by the socio- linguistic factors.

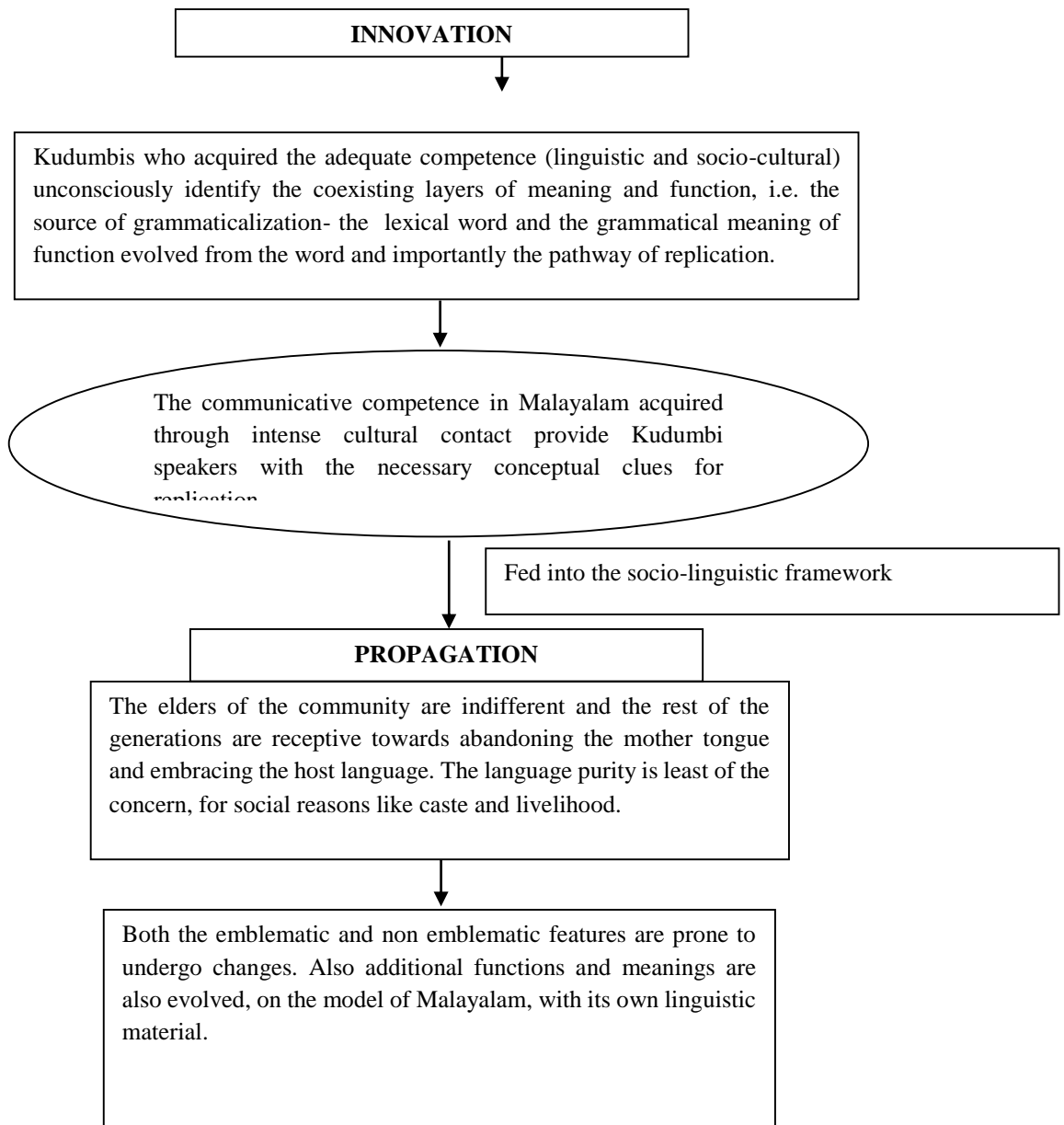
**Feeding the Linguistic into the Social:** The study finds an urge among the Kudumbi community to amalgamate into the culture of the mainstream community which is amply reflected in their language. This process could be considered as a general propensity of the minority languages in a migratory context. If a migrant community is less powerful, socio- economically and politically backward as compared to the host community, it exhibits the tendency to adopt the mainstream language and culture. Language is equivalent to identity (Gumperz & Gumperz, 1982; Giles et al., 1977; Pandit, 1977; Khubchandani, 1981; Bayer, 1990; Pattnayak 1976). For the migrant communities, the loss of the language is equivalent to the loss of their identity. Sometimes it is a deliberate effort on the part of the migrant community to give away their language in order to conceal their identity as it serves various socio- economic purposes. Among the Kudumbis, the mother tongue is not retained even in the family domain. If a language is not retained at least in the home domain of a community, then it entails that the concerned community is on a process of language shift and ultimately language loss. The older generation, who is proficient in the language, is not able to communicate in its mother tongue with the younger generation, who has adopted Malayalam as their Mother Tongue. Importantly, most of the Kudumbis, even the older generation are indifferent towards such changes.

The concept of language attitude in a context of migration like this can be the attitude the community itself holds towards their mother tongue which is the result of their social political and economic circumstances, and it is very much what the host community perceives of the migrant community. As Fasold (1984: 148) rightly says that attitude towards a language are often the reflections of attitudes the members of that speech community. The studies like Bright and Ramanujan (1972), Bean (1974), identify caste as one of the dominant variable in India, as far as the language is also concerned. Unfortunately, the scene has not changed much from then. In Kerala, Kudumbis are recognised as a community of lower social status, most importantly the caste being the reason. The stigma of the caste identity of the people is a fact which the speakers willfully attempts to hide. Till some years ago, the clothing and the occupation spoke of their identity, the

attempt to assume another identity was not possible. Also, it was a period when the caste and the caste stigma was an accepted norm. So the community did not make any conscious effort to give away with their identity. But with the emerging educated people in the community, there is an urge to identify as one among the native citizens and to hide the caste identity. And, language the identity marker is the first to be abandoned. As Dorian (1982: 47) points out, 'language loyalty' persists as long as the economic and social circumstances are conducive to it, but if an alternative language proves to have greater value, a shift towards the other language begins. Therefore, in the present language situation, there is no scope of 'purism'. And, it could be assumed that the changes were acceptable, excusable, and permissible, rather than focusing on the language purity. Therefore, as the language purists goes, the elders in the community who are the custodians of the purity of the language were either indifferent or helpless towards the destiny of their language. To quote an informant during the field visit.

“In schools, our friends used to make fun of our language and even the teachers used to scold us for communicating in Kudumbi amongst us. We do not want our children to go through such embarrassment. Let them speak Malayalam.”

In short, the findings can be summarised as



## **Conclusion**

Here we do not advocate that the primary agents for grammatical change are extra-linguistic factors, but, the point is that the influence of such factors on grammar change is not negligible. When changes in a particular direction are witnessed, for example, even the emblematic features are replaced, the grammatical meaning / function are evolved for categories that already exist, when the period of development is longer or shorter than normal, we cannot possibly ignore the extra- linguistic reasons for it. The less cautious we are, in neglecting the extra linguistic factors in order to guard the sanctity of the inherent internal reasons for the evolution of grammar, the more spectacular the results are.

The higher the linguistic- communicative competence an individual or a community possess in the model/contact languages, the higher are the chances for contact- induced grammaticalization to occur and vice versa. It could be also assumed that, it gives a higher chance for completing the entire stages of grammaticalization including the final stage- Erosion. With the right kind of competence in the model language, a speaker can identify the source of the lexical word from which the grammatical form emerged and replicated the pathway using one's own resources in the replica language. The study also observes that in an intense cultural contact and interaction like in the case of migration, the cases of contact-induced grammaticalization could be observed to a great extent. Therefore in a contact situation, when the communicative needs of the speakers' demands, the acquired metalinguistic knowledge by virtue of an adequate competence in the model language enables the speakers to create an equivalence relation between the languages and by which new grammatical categories are 'evolved' in the replica language on the model provided by the model language.

## Chapter 6

### CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the findings and the generalisations that are deduced from the research are summarised. The highlights of the present study as well as the limitations are described, with suggestions for further research. The ‘theory of contact-induced grammaticalization’ allow us to understand the process involved in the transfer of grammatical meaning and function from one language to another in the context of language contact, without any morpho-phonological transfer. The present research “Contact-induced grammaticalization in the language of Kudumbis of Kerala” attempts to answer some of the significant questions in the area. The fundamental aim of the study was to investigate the presence of some of the grammatical categories that are seen in the Kudumbi language of Kerala, but not present in the Kudumbi speaking in Goa. It is arrived at the conclusion that these categories are the instances of internally evolved grammatical categories following the principles of contact-induced grammaticalization in the language of Kudumbi as a result of intense contact with Malayalam. The internal grammatical evolution of categories is triggered by the contact with Malayalam and is on the model provided by Malayalam. The present study is a testimony to the claim made by Heine and Kuteva (2005) that even in the case of language contact, grammatical categories are not ‘simply’ copied, whereas, the grammatical replication proceeds in a systematic way following the universal principles of grammaticalization without the borrowing of morpho-phonological materials. The theory emphasises the cognitive nature of the evolution of grammatical features in contrast with other linguistic transfers such as lexical or phonological ones.

Nevertheless the speaker/ speakers’ involvement in the activity is not discussed as part of the theory contending the limits of the role of sociolinguistic factors in the processes of the kind pointed out by Heine and Kuteva (2005). The limitations of extra- linguistic factors like socio-linguistic factors in an unconscious cognitive activity like grammaticalization are certainly understood. However, the study proceeded with the assumption that, when we study a language community, one should proceed with the knowledge that the language is not a linear entity, but an organism with a genetic makeup, a concrete form, evolutionary



and social history, and death. If we approach language as a holistic entity, with the concrete characteristics of the speakers- communicative goals, attitudes and desires embedded in the level of abstraction, it becomes imperative that we need to consider the extra - linguistic factors for a complete understanding and evaluation of the nature of an internal language process. In the study we followed an integrated approach to the study of contact-induced grammaticalization with both linguistic and extra- linguistic factors being taken into consideration. The study attempted to improve the understanding of the effects of language contact in the grammar of a language, by examining numerous factors that conspire together resulting in the internal evolution of grammatical categories in the recipient language on the model provided by contact language.

We discussed that we are dealing with a complex linguistic contact situation where two genetically unrelated languages come into an asymmetric contact and the years of interaction between the communities have resulted in a case of asymmetric bilingualism among the Kudumbis. It has resulted in a transfer of grammatical meaning and functions from Malayalam to Kudumbi without any morpho-phonological transfer. It is assumed that the grammatical features have evolved in Kudumbi on the model of Malayalam in contact with Malayalam using its own lexical materials following the principles of grammaticalization. With the help of existing studies and data in the area, a systematic framework that account for both internal and external characteristics of contact-induced grammaticalization is followed to account for the analysis of the instances of newly emerged grammatical features in Kudumbi. The grammatical meanings and functions that are evolved in Kudumbi on the model of Malayalam are put into systemic analysis using Heine and Kuteva's (2005) framework of contact-induced grammaticalization. The first -hand data reveals that grammatical change witnessed in Kudumbi follow a definite pattern. This not an exhaustive study, and the results obtained are in the initial stages. Yet the available results indicate that the auxiliaries and the modal categories are largely replicated than other categories.

There are limits to the role of extra linguistic factors in a cognitive activity like grammaticalization. The degree of competence- grammatical and communicative- which involves socio-cultural competence, is identified as the key factor which determines 'the source for grammaticalization, the pathway of

grammaticalization, and the degree of grammaticalization' It is seen that the concept of frequency forms the bridge between language- internal and language- external factors. The frequency with which an innovation is used leads to the crystallization of the forms as a 'change'. And it is the external agencies that control the 'frequency'. The less 'emblematic' nature of a linguistic feature is assumed as one of the facilitating factors initiating the process years ago during a period when the community were closely knit and Kudumbi was spoken as the first language of the community.

### **Deduction and Generalisation: An overview**

The study completely agree to what Curnow (2001) says that 'in a contact situation the attempt to develop any universal hierarchy of borrowing should perhaps be abandoned'. As Aikhenwald and Dixon (2006: 03) suggests, we better look for 'tendencies' rather than universal hierarchies<sup>44</sup>

In Chapter 4, it is seen that in the case of Kudumbi, there are more cases of ordinary contact-induced grammaticalization than replica grammaticalization. The 'universal ways of conceptualization' wired in the individual facilitate the process of ordinary contact-induced grammaticalization which did not happen in their language prior to the language contact. Whereas, in the case of replica grammaticalization, it lacks the assistance of the in-built blue print and hence makes the process more restricted in its occurrence. This is a very preliminary observation, and needs sufficient amount of data to arrive at a definite conclusion.

The present study reinforces the need for primary data with in-depth knowledge of the community in order to accomplish a fair comprehension and analysis of the research problem in an area like contact studies. The different contact patterns, areal contact between the languages, virtual contact like in the case of global English, and contact due to migration, contact due to trade each has its own characteristics. The kind of speaker interaction, the socio- psychological facet of the speakers, the linguistic objective and the like are not the same in each kind of these contact situations. In the present case of migration, years of contact and interaction has resulted in Kudumbi speakers sharing the world view of

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<sup>44</sup> "Some scholars have even expressed doubt as to whether looking for such constraints and hierarchies is at all a sensible task (Thomason 2001a, 2001b; Thomason and Kaufman, 1988: 14)"

Malayalam. When such shared cultural world view is represented in one's grammar over years of evolution, the community fails to recognise them as foreign. A case of areal language contact might not yield similar results.

It seems that contact-induced grammaticalization is the most non-salient of all kinds of grammatical transfer. As, when it is the equivalence in conceptualization which leads to forming grammatical equivalence, it suggests that the speakers are least aware of these as foreign language interference. So it could further suggest that even among the purists, it is the instances of grammaticalization which go unnoticed, as they might not realize it as a foreign material. However, in this study we are dealing with a receptive language which is open to infiltration, interference or borrowing or even shift to another language.

The study also calls for an attention to the period of actual interaction to the duration of contact. Though Kudumbi has been in contact with Malayalam for 500 years, the actual period of palpable interaction between the languages is much lesser. It further emphasises the importance of the knowledge of the history of the language and its speakers. From the study we have seen that more than the length of contact, it is the intensity of the interaction which is the most crucial part.

One of the challenging questions is the motivation for such a change to occur. We do not intend to say the categories were developed in the replica language on the model of another language in order to fill the requirement of such a category which is termed in literature as a 'gap'. There are exceptions, but we believe that even when there are no equivalents each language has its own ways and means to express them. But a language always evolve ways to be 'more expressive'. It seems that, from the data discussed here, of the competing motivations- expressivity, ease of communication, gap filling, it is the motivation for expressivity (Lehmann, 1985:10, Haspelmath, 1999) which is more prominent in the current study. Language is not static, but interactive. The speakers and language always adapt to the need of the situation. When the society, the culture of a society demands it, a language or here specifically grammar of a language evolve accordingly over the years.

There is interplay of factors like frequency, conceptualization within the frame of linguistic and sociolinguistic constraints in producing a grammaticalized

category. Frequently used concepts and meaning in the model language finds a place in the replica language, but, not all. It is restricted by the ways of conceptualization and typological compatibility and sociolinguistic constraints like emblematicity. Again, an innovation budded in the replica language has to be used more frequently in order to be propagated. The propagation of change depends on the resistance to contact and resistance to change. Resistance to change is not directly opposite to receptivity to change. Receptivity does not necessarily require an agent. Receptivity can take place as an unconscious activity, whereas, on the other hand resistance to change is a strong activity with agents of language purists. The process involves various stages, in which the initial stages in the initial years requires pieces of discourse which contains the particular use patterns which is used over years to emerge into a grammatical category. The non-emblematic features have higher potential over the emblematic features for propagation and resulting in a linguistic change, as it passes over the scrutiny of the competent speakers in the initial stages.

The principal focus of the study was to investigate the occurrences of the grammatical categories evolved in a language as a result of contact with another. However in the course of the research, it is realised that on contrary to the dominant idea in the area, we need a broader perspective that recognises extra linguistic parameters also, for a comprehensive treatment of the process. We have many language contact studies which deal exclusively with the language internal mechanisms for change. We certainly do not deny the pivotal role of the same.

The study does not dismiss or undermine the researches on the internally driven causes of grammatical change, however, attempts to say that at times when the source of change is language- external, there are some extra linguistic factors which conspire together with language- internal factors to act as facilitators or inhibitors for the grammatical changes to occur and their role requires a serious study. The study showed that an integrated approach combining the theory of grammaticalization which deals with the innovation of a grammatical category, along with the theories on the propagation of the innovation from individual to a speech community can provide us with a brighter picture.

## **Limitations of the Study**

There are certain issues which we did not discuss as part of this work, as it is believed that it is not directly related to the present work. For example, there are debates concerning, whether all the criteria or parameters are necessary to define grammaticalization, questioning the concept of unidirectionality, and whether grammaticalization is epiphenomenal. As long as grammaticalization remains a useful process in order to explain the evolution of grammatical categories in a language, the matter of whether it is epiphenomenal is not a serious concern. Also, we acknowledge the fact that there are some exceptions to the principles of unidirectionality. Also on other issues like debates on whether grammaticalization is a process of enrichment or reduction<sup>45</sup>, the study does not probe into the issue.

## **Suggestions for further research**

The further research in the area can investigate whether the pace of the process is equivalent in contact-induced grammaticalization and non- contact-induced grammaticalization- whether the availability of a model facilitates the pace of the process. We are not dealing with it because of the inadequacies in the information.

Overall, the study observes that contact-induced grammaticalization depends on the degree of competence of the speakers, interaction between the speakers, receptivity to innovation and diffusion. This alludes to Abbi's observation referring to the contact situation in India that that we might identify 'a core grammar of Indian languages' (Abbi, 2001: 45) Also, it might also be the case of Indian way of conceptualization because of the contact with each other; cross linguistically widespread conceptual schema because of shared world view. The study thus expects to enhance our understanding on the interplay on language and the social from a more theoretical perspective; how the social is systematically incorporated in a language internal mechanism like grammaticalization.

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<sup>45</sup> Himmelmann, 2004; Fischer, 2007; Traugott, 2010

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## Appendix 1

### Grammaticalization in Malayalam

ALLATIVE > BENEFACTIVE

a.	na:n	ni-nte	vi:tt-il-e:kkə	varu-nnu
	1SG	2SG-GEN	house-LOC-ALL	come.PRES
' I am coming to your house'				

2.	aççan	maŕiçç-appa	makan	pustakam	ellam
	father.NOM	die-when.TEMP	son	book	all.INCL

library-il-ekke	koŕu-ttu			
library-BEN	give-PST			
when the father died, the son gave all the books to the library'				

Here the post position construction Locative followed by Allative marks the indirect object.

ALLATIVE > PURPOSE

Allative marker /-e:kkə/ is grammaticalized to a marker showing purpose

a.	veet[il-ekke	vaji-jə	paççakaŕi
	house-LOC-ALL	buy-PAST PRTPL	vegetables
'vegetables which are bought for the house'			

B	naa[aj-il-ekke/ naa[-e:kkə	sambatikk-aŕam
	tomorrow-PURP	save-DEB
'we should save for tomorrow'		

## 2. AVERTIVE

In Malayalam, one of the ways of expressing the avertive function is through the suffix *-ene*. No convincing route has been found so far regarding the origin. Nevertheless, the Tamil verb *en* ‘say’ ‘think’ has an infinitive form *ena* which is reanalysed to be a post position expressing comparison ‘like’, ‘as’. (Lehmann: 375)

Malayalam

kuppi	poṭṭ-i	po:-jene
bottle.NOM	break-PST	go-AVERT
‘The bottle could have broken’		

Tamil

kumar	puli	ena	pay-nt-aan
kumar.NOM	tiger.NOM	say-INF	jump-PST-3SM
‘kumar jumped like a tiger’			

Since both are in an overlapped semantic domain, a chance cannot be ruled out. Moreover, the verb of origin is not identified. It is a preliminary observation. There are not much of supporting evidences.

## 4. ANTERIOR/ FRONT > BEFORE (TEMPORAL)

The anterior post-position marker */mupə/* is evolved to temporal marker ‘before’.

a.	vi:ṭi-nte	mup-il	maram	uṇṭə
	house-GEN	front-LOC	tree	be.PRES
‘ There is a tree in front of the house’				

b.	mu:nə	ma:satt-inə	mupə
	three	month-DAT	before
‘before three months’			

## 5. FRONT > EARLIER

The spatial post-position */-mupə/* is grammaticalized into the temporal marker meaning ‘earlier’.

a.	vi:ṭi-nte	mup-il	maram	uṇṭə
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	house-GEN	front-LOC	tree	be.PRES
'There is a tree in front of the house'				
b.	munpə	eni-kkə	baikkə	unʔa:jirunnu
	earlier.TEMP	1SG-DAT	bike.NOM	be.PERF.PST
'earlier I had a bike'				

6. BACK > ACROSS (Spatial)

The body part /puʔam/ 'back' is grammaticalized into a spatial marker meaning 'across'

a.	ente	puʔam	ve:ʔani-kkuŋu
	ISG.GEN	back	hurt-PRES
'my back is hurting'			

b.	kaʔaj-uʔe	a-ppuʔam	a:ŋə	vi:ʔə
	shop-GEN	DEM-ACROSS	be.PRES	house.NOM
'The house is across the shop'				

7. BACK (spatial) > BEYOND

The spatial post position /-puʔam/ is grammaticalized into a temporal marker meaning 'beyond'.

a.	ente	puʔam	ve:ʔani-kkuŋu
	ISG.GEN	back	hurt-PRES
'my back is hurting'			

b.	thinkaʔa:zcha-kkə	a-ppuʔam	po-villa
	Monday-DAT	BEYOND	go-FUT.NEG
'(It) will not go beyond Monday'			

8. TOUCH > PROXIMITY

The lexical verb /ʔotukə/ 'touch' is grammaticalized to a spatial marker to show proximity.

a.	appu	pu:cca-je	ʔott-u
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	Appu.NOM	cat-ACC	touch-PST
‘Appu touched the cat’			

a.	vi:ʃi-nte	toʃʃə	a:ŋə	kaʃa
	house-GEN	near.PROX	be.PRES	shop.NOM
‘The shop is just next to the house’ (spatial)				

9. BACK > BEHIND (spatial)

The body part /*puʃakəl* ‘back’ is grammaticalized into a spatial marker meaning ‘behind’.

a.	ente	puʃam	ve:ʃani-kkuŋu
	ISG.GEN	back	hurt-PRES
‘my back is hurting’			

b.	amma	kutti-uʃe	puʃak-il	po-ji
	mother.NOM	child-ACC	back-LOC	go-PST
‘The mother went behind the child’				

10. BACK/POSTERIOR > REASON

The spatial marker /*pin-*/ meaning ‘posterior’ is grammaticalized into marker showing ‘reason’

a.	utupp-inte	puʃak-il	kaʃa	a:ji
	dress.GEN	back-LOC	stain	be.PST
‘the dress is stained on the back’				

b.	i:	vidʒajatt-inə	pinn-il	avan-a:ŋə
	this.DEM	success-DAT	back-LOC	2SGM-be.PRES
‘He is the one behind (the reason) for this success’				

11. FRONT > AHEAD

The spatial marker /*munni*/ ‘front’ is grammaticalized into a marker denoting the meaning ‘ahead’.

a.	vi:ʈi-nte	mun- <i>il</i>	maram	uŋʈə
	house-GEN	front-LOC	tree	be-PRES
'There is a tree in front of the house'				

b.	avan	class- <i>il</i>	ellarekkaʈum	munnil	a:ŋə
	3SGM	class-LOC	all.COMP.INCL	ahead	be.PRES
'He is ahead of everyone in the class'					

### 13. BENEFACTIVE > PURPOSE

The benefactive marker /*ve:ŋam*/ 'want' is grammaticalized into a purpose marker.

a.	enikkə	va:ʈi-kkan	pustakam	ve: ŋam
	1SG-GEN	read-INF	book	want
'I want a book to read'				

b.	va:ʈi-kkan	ve: ŋ-ʈi	vaŋi-jə	pustakam
	read-INF	PURP	buy-PST.PRTPL	book.NOM
'The book which was bought to read'				

### 14. WANT > BENEFACTIVE

The noun /*veŋam*/ 'want' is evolved into a benefactive post position /*veŋʈi*/

a.	enikkə	va:ʈi-kkan	pustakam	ve: ŋam
	1SG-GEN	read-INF	book	want
'I want a book to read'				

b.	mo:ʈ-kkə	veŋʈi	paŋi-tə	vi:ʈə
	daughter-DAT	BEN	build-PST.PRTPL	house.NOM
'The house which was built for the daughter'				

15. BODY > INTENSIVE- REFLEXIVE

The noun /*tanu*/ ‘body’ is evolved into intensive reflexive marker /*tanne*/.

a.	ente	ṭanu
	1SG-GEN	body
‘my body’		

b.	na:n	tanne	paṅṅj-ella:m	ḷej-tu
	1SG	myself.INTEN-REFL	work-all.INCL	do-PST
‘I myself did all the work’				

In Malayalam, *tanne* marks Intensive- Reflexive function. Though there are no clear evidence for the pathway, a general pathway Body > Intensive Refl is widely attested. In Malayalam, *tanu* literally is body, *taan* is Reflexive, which makes is that, it could be assumed that *tanne* is derived out of *tanu*.

16. FOOT/FOOT-STEP > UNDER (spatial)

The noun /*aṭi*/ ‘foot, footstep’ is grammaticalized into a spatial marker meaning ‘under’.

a.	kuṭṭi-juṭe	ka:laṭi
	child-GEN	foot step
‘foot-step of the child’		

a.	kase:ra-juṭe	aṭi-jil
	chair-GEN	foot-LOC
‘under the chair’		

/*cuvate*/ ‘foot’ , footstep’ grammaticalized into subessive markers. Subessive case is a case which indicates location under or below something (Blake: 153)

b.	uṛacca	ḷuvate
	firm- ADJL PRTPL	foot step
‘firm steps’		

b.	ma:vi.nte	ḷuvaṭṭ.il
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	mangotree.GEN	under
'under the mango tree'		

17. BOUNDARY > UNTIL

a.	a:	vara	kaṭakk-arutə
	that	line/ boundary	cross-PROH
'do not cross the line'			

b.	aṭuttə	vaṛṣam	vare
	next	year	until.TEMP
'until next year'			

In Malayalam, *vara* literally means a mark of line. There is an attested pathway 'boundary > until' in African languages. It could be assumed that a similar pathway is in process here as well, in which, *vare* 'until' is evolved out of *vara* /'line'.

18. CENTRE > BETWEEN

The spatial noun *naṭukkə* 'centre' is grammaticalized into a grammatical marker for 'between'.

a.	avan	a:ṭuka[-uṭe	naṭukkə	irunnu
	3SG.M	people-GEN	centre	sit-PRES
'he sat in the middle of the people'				

b.	samsa:rati.nte	naṭukkə	saljapeṭutarutə
	talk.GEN	between	disturb.INF.PROH
'do not disturb between the talk'			

19. LOWER BACK (BODY PART) > CENTRE (SPATIAL)

The body part noun *naṭu* 'lower back' is grammaticalized into a spatial marker meaning 'centre'.

a.	ente	naṭu	ve:ṭanikkuṇu
	1SG.GEN	lower back	hurt-PRES
'my lower back is hurting'			

b.	mutati.nte	naṭuvil	oru	kuḷam-uṅṭə
	courtyard-GEN	centre.LOC	one	pond-be.PRES
‘There is a tree at the centre of the courtyard ’				

21. COPULA > FOCUS

The copula marker /a:ŋə/ ‘be’ is grammaticalized into a focus marker.

a.	pu:cca	mṭəgam	a:ŋə
	cat	animal	COP
‘cat is an animal’			

b.	mi:ra	a:ŋə	vannatə
	meera	FOC	come.RP.NOML
‘It is Meera who came’			

22. COPULA > POSSESSIVE

The copula marker /uḷḷə/ is grammaticalized into a possessive marker.

a.	paisa	uḷḷə	a:l
	paisa	be.PRES.POSS	man
‘The man who has money’			

23. CHILD > DIMINUTIVE

a.	kuṅṅə	karyam
	small-ADJ PRTPL	matter
‘(a) small matter’		

/kuṅṅə/ ‘child’ is grammaticalized into a diminutive marker.

24. COME > CONSECUTIVE

The verb /varikə/ ‘to come’ is grammaticalized into a grammatical marker denoting the sense ‘consecutive’

a.	bi:na	varuṅṅu
	beena	come-PRES
'Beena is coming'		

a.	varu-nna	kollam
	come-RP.CONSEC	year
'The year which is to come/coming year (consecutive)'		

25. COME > CONTINUOUS

The verb /*varikə*/ 'to come' is grammaticalized into a grammatical marker showing continuous aspect.

a.	bi:na	varuṅṅu
	beena	come-PRES
'Beena is coming'		

b.	paŋi	kaziŋə	varunnu
	work	finish.PST PRTPL	come.PRES CONT
'Work is in the process of finishing'			

26. COME TO > CHANGE OF STATE

The verb /*varikə*/ 'to come' is grammaticalized into a grammatical marker showing 'change of state'

a.	bi:na	var-uṅṅu
	beena	come-PRES
'Beena is coming'		

b.	ni:	kaṟuṅṅə	var-uṅṅu
	2SG	dark.INF	come-PRES
'You are becoming darker'			

27. COME TO > PROXIMATIVE

The verb /*varikə*/ ‘to come’ is grammaticalized into a grammatical marker showing a proximative action. The distribution is quite restricted.

a.	bi:na	var-uṅṅu
	beena	come-PRES
‘Beena is coming’		
b.	maza	var-unnu
	rain	come-PRES
‘Rain is coming/ Rain is going to fall’		

28. COME > HABITUAL

The verb /*varikə*/ ‘to come’ is grammaticalized into a grammatical marker showing habitual aspect.

a.	bi:na	var-uṅṅu
	beena	come-PRES
‘Beena is coming’		

b.	o:ṇam	çiṇatt-il	a:ghoḷi-ççə	var-unnu
	onam	chingam-LOC	celebrate-PST PRTPL	come-PRES
‘Onam is celebrated in the month of chingam’				

29. GOOD > INTENSIFIER

The word /*nalla*/ ‘good’ is grammaticalized into a intensifier marker

a.	ṅalla	kuṭṭi
	good-ADJ PRTPL	child
‘good child’		

a.	nalla	uṛakkam	var-unnu
	good.INTNS	sleep	come-PRES
‘feeling sleepy very badly’			

30. SOCIATIVE > PERLATIVE CASE

The sociative case /*ku:ʃe/* ‘along’ is grammaticalized into perlative case marker meaning ‘through’. “A separate case for path is not so common but such a case is found in a few Australian languages (Blake 1987:40), and is part of local case system in some Northeast Caucasian languages including Avar” (Blake 2001 :151)

kuʃi	amma-juʃe	ku:ʃe	po:-ji
child	mother-GEN	along with	go-PST
‘the child went along with the mother’			

dʒanal.il	ku:ʃe	ka:tə	varunnu
window.LOC	along.SOC	wind	come.PRES
‘wind coming through the window’			

dʒanal.ilu:ʃe	ka:tə	varunnu
window.PER	wind	come.PRES
‘wind coming through the window’		

31. BACK > ADESSIVE MARKER

The body part /*puʃam/* ‘back’ (body part) is evolved into an adessive marker when followed by a locative suffix. When it follows a noun, it means a location which is ‘on top of’. The ADESSIVE case represents the “location ‘on top of’ or ‘near’”.

a.	ente	puʃam	ve:ʃani-kkuʃu
	ISG.GEN	back	hurt-PRES
‘my back is hurting’			

b.	me:ʃa-ppuʃattə	pustakam	uʃʃə
	table-top	book.NOM	be.PRES
‘Book is on the table’			

32. SOCIATIVE CASE > ILLATIVE CASE

Illative case is a locative case which means ‘into’ (Blake:153). In Malayalam sociative case /-o:ʃə/ is the source for the illative marker /-o:ʃʃə/. Both involve a semantic domain of direction.



a.	kuṭṭi	amma-jo:ṭə	paṭa-nnu
	child.NOM	mother-SOC	tell-PST
'The child told to the mother'			

b.	kuppij-ilo:ṭṭə	veḷḷam	ozi-ccu
	bottle-ILL	water	pour-PST
'Water was poured into the bottle'			

34. SOCIATIVE CASE > MANNER

The sociative case marker /-o:ṭe/ 'with' is grammaticalized into a marker to show manner.

a.	kuṭṭi	amma-jo:ṭə	paṭa-nnu
	child.NOM	mother-SOC	tell-PST
'The child told to the mother'			

b.	avan	snehatt-o:ṭe	cirri-ccu
	3SGM	love-MANN	smile-PST
'He smiled with love'			

35. SOCIATIVE > TEMPORAL

The sociative case marker /-o:ṭe/ 'with' is grammaticalized into a temporal marker.

a.	kuṭṭi	amma-jo:ṭə	paṭa-ṅṅu
	child.NOM	mother-SOC	tell-PST
'The child told to the mother'			

a.	na:ej-o:ṭe	na:n	ayakk.am
	tomorrow-by.TEMP	1SG	send.FUT.DECL
'I will send by tomorrow'			

36. COMRADE > COMITATIVE

In Malayalam, /*kootɛ*/, /*koottə*/ ‘along, along with’, lie in the semantic domain of comraderie, friendship. *oṭə piṛannavan* is an old usage for brother. So it could be assumed that the words for comrade, comraderie have an essential contribution towards the formation of sociative case.

kuttɪ	amma-juṭe	ku:ṭe	po:-ji
child	mother-GEN	along with	go-PST
‘the child went along with the mother’			

b.	ammaj-o:ṭə	paṭṛaṇṇu
	mother-SOC	tell.PST
‘told to the mother’		

### 37. NEAR > COMITATIVE

The word /*aṭuttə*/ ‘near’ is grammaticalized into a comitative marker.

a.	vi:ṭi-nṭe	aṭu-ṭṭə	kaṭa
	house-GEN	close-PST PRTPL	shop
‘The shop near the house’			

b.	kuttɪ	amma-juṭe	aṭuttə	paṭṛaṇṇu
	child	mother-GEN	near.COM	tell.PST
‘The child told to the mother’				

### 38. KEEP > COMPLETIVE

The verb /*vajkkukə*/ ‘to keep’ is grammaticalized into a marker to show the completion of an action.

a.	na:n	paṇij-okke	cejṭə	vaccu
	1SG	work-all.INCL	do.PST PRTPL	keep-PST
‘I completed all the work’				

### 39. CONTINUOUS > HABITUAL

a.	o:ṇam	chiṇaṭil	a:ghoḷiccə	varunnu
	onam.NOM	chingam.LOC	celebrate.PST PRTPL	come.CONT

‘Onam is celebrated in the month of chingam’

come > continuous has already been discussed in section ()

40. LIE (to lie down) > CONTINUOUS

The verb /kiṭakukkə/ ‘to lie down’ is grammaticalized into a marker to show continuous aspect.

a.	road	ke:ṭa:ji	kiṭakunnu
	ro:ṭə	damage.PST PRTPL	lie.PRES
‘The road remains to be damaged’			

b.	muṭi	aṭṭṭə	kiṭakunnu
	room	close.PST PRTPL	lie.PRES
‘The room remains to be closed’			

41. LOCATIVE > CONTINUOUS

a.	avan	ezutt-il	a:ṇə
	3SGM	write-LOC	be.PRES
‘He is in writing/ He is writing’			

42. HAND > POSSESSIVE

The word /kai/ ‘hand’ has given rise to a grammatical marker showing possession. It is followed by locative suffix /-il/.

a.	ente	kaijj-il	paṇamunṭə
	1SG.GEN	hand-LOC.POSS	money.be.PRES
‘I have money’			

43. NEAR > POSSESSIVE

The word /aṭṭə/ ‘near’ is grammaticalized into a marker showing ‘possession’.

a.	ente	aṭṭə	paisa	unṭə
	1SG.GEN	near.POSS	money	be.PRES

'I have money'
----------------

44. FINISH > COMPLETIVE

The verb /kazjukə/ 'finish' is grammaticalized into a marker to denote 'completion'.

a.	avan	eʒuti	kazjɲu
	3SG.M	write.PST	finish.PST.CMPLTV
'He completed writing'			

45. FLANK (body part) > SIDE (spatial)

The word /vafam/ 'body part' is grammaticalized into a spatial marker meaning 'side'.

a.	veeʃi.nte	oru	vafam	kaʃal-.a:ŋə
	house.GEN	one	side.SPAT	sea-be.PRES
'It is sea on one side of the house'				

46. FUTURE > EPISTEMIC MODALITY

The future marker /-um/ is grammaticalized into an epistemic modality marker.

a.	avan	dʒajikkum
	3SG.M	win.FUT.EPIS MOD
'He will win'		

47. GO TO > FUTURE

The verb /povukə/ 'to go' is evolved into a marker to show future action when preceded by an infinitive.

a.	avan	vi:ʃə	paŋja:n	povunnu
	3SG.M	house	build.INF	go.PRES
'He is going to build a house'				

48. RECEIVE > MODAL AUXILIARY (Succeed)

The word /kittukə/ 'receive' is evolved into a modality maker to show 'succeeding in an action'

a.	avan	vannu	kitti
	3SG.M	come.PST PRTPL	get.PST
'He has come (finally)'			

b.	a:	paŋi	cejtə	kiŋi
	DEM	work	do.PST PRTPL	get.PST
'That work was managed to be done'				

49. GIVE > BENEFACTIVE AUXILIARY

The verb /koŋukkukə/ 'to give' is grammaticalized into a benefactive auxiliary.

a.	avan	ava[-kkə	eʒuti	koŋuttu
	3SG.M	3SG.F-DAT	write.PST PRTPL	give-PST.BEN
'He wrote it for her'				

50. SPATIAL > EMPHATIC MARKER

The spatial pronoun /aŋə/ 'there' is grammaticalized into an emphatic marker.

a.	ɲa:n	aŋə	paʒaŋŋu
	1SG	be.PRES.EMPH	say.PST
'I did say'			

51. GO > AUXILIARY

The verb /povukə/ 'to go' is evolved into a modal auxiliary.

a.	pa:tʃam	poŋi	po:ji
	vessel	break.PST	go.PST
'The vessel broke'			

52. STAND > PROXIMATIVE

The verb /nilkkukə/ 'to stand' is evolved to denote a grammatical meaning to 'proximity'.

a.	a:	maram	vi:ʒa:n	nilk.unnu
	DEM	tree	fall.INF	stand.PRES.PROX
'That tree is about to fall'				

b.	ɲaŋaɭ	iʒaŋa:n	nilk.unnu
	we	start.INF	stand.PRES.PROX
'We are about to start'			

53. HEART > CENTRE

The body part noun /*hɹdajam*/ ‘heart’ is grammaticalized into a spatial marker meaning ‘centre’

a.	nagarati.nte	hɹdaja.til	aaŋə	shop
	town.GEN	heart.LOC	be.PRES	kaʃa
‘The shop is in the centre of the town’				

54. HOLD, CONTAIN > INSTRUMENTAL

The verb /*koʃʃukə*/ ‘to contain’ has given rise to an instrumental marker / *koŋʃə*/

a.	vaʃi	koŋʃə	aʃiccu
	stick	hold.PST.INST	bea.-PST
‘beat with a stick’			

55. TAKE > ACCOMPLISH

The verb /*eʃʃukukə*/ ‘to take’ is evolved into a modality marker meaning ‘to accomplish’.

a.	varaccə	eʃʃuttu
	draw.PST PRTPL	take. PST
‘succeeded in drawing’		

56. LEAVE > PERMISSIVE

The verb /*viʃʃukə*/ ‘to leave’ is grammaticalized into a permissive marker

a.	accan	moʃe	piknik-nə	viʃʃtu
	father.NOM	daughter.ACC	picnic-DAT	leave.PST
‘The father allowed the daughter to go for picnic’				

59. MAN > MALE

The word /*a:ŋə*/ ‘man’ has given rise to grammatical marker meaning ‘male’.

a.	a:ŋə	pu:cca
	MAS	cat
‘male cat’		

60. WOMAN > FEMALE

The word /*peŋŋə*/ ‘woman’ has evolved into a grammatical marker to denote ‘feminine’.

a.	peŋ	pu:ccə
	FEM	cat

'female cat'
--------------

61. SIMILE > MANNER

The word /*pole*/ 'similar' has evolved into a grammatical marker meaning 'manner'.

a.	ijʃam	uʃa	pole	cejju
	like	be.PRES	MANNER	do.IMP
'do as you please'				

62. QUOTATIVE > EVIDENTIAL

The quotative marker /*ennə*/ is evolved into an evidential marker.

a.	ta:dʒmahal	a:gra –il	a:ŋə	ennu
	taj mahal.NOM	agra-LOC	be.PRES	EVID
'They say that Tajmahal is in Agra'				

63. RIGHT > INTENSIFIER

The word /*feri*/ 'right' is grammaticalized into intensifier followed by dative marker.

a.	avan	ferikkə	paŋi	eʃukk-um
	3SGM	right-DAT- INTEN	work	take-FUT
'He works very hard'				

64. NEED/ WANT > MODALITY

The verb /*ve:ŋam*/ 'want' is evolved into a modality marker. It seems the word over the course of grammaticalization has phonetically reduced to /-*aŋam*/.

a.	enikkə	kuttj-je	uʃakkaŋam
	1SG.DAT	child-ACC	sleep.DEB
'I need to put the child to sleep'			

65. WANT/ OBLIGATION > DEDUCTIVE MODALITY

The verb /*ve:ŋam*/ 'want' is evolved into a modality marker. It seems the word over the course of grammaticalization has phonetically reduced to /-*aŋam*/.

a.	atə	makaʃ	a:kaaŋam
	DEM	daughter	be.PRES.MOD
'That should be the daughter'			

66. ONE > INDEFINITE

The word for ‘numeral one’ /*oru*/ is grammaticalized into an indefinite marker.

a.	oru	kut̪i
	one	child
‘some child’		

68. ONE (NUMERAL) > SAME

The numeral one /*onnə*/ is grammaticalized into a marker to denote the sense of ‘sameness’.

a.	i:	raŋjə	buk-um	onn.a:ŋə
	these	two	book-INCL	same.PRES.COP
‘these two books are the same’				

69. FINISH > PAST

The verb /*kaz̪jukə*/ ‘finish’ is grammaticalization into a marker to show the meaning of ‘past’

a.	kaz̪j̃ŋna	vaɽʃam
	finish-PST PRTPL	year
‘past year’		

69. COME > POSSIBILITY

a.	f̩ast ra:nkə	avanə	a:vum
	first rank	3SGM.GEN	come.FUT-MOD
‘he could have got the first rank’			

68. PLACE > INSTEAD

The word /*sta:nam*/ ‘place’ is grammaticalized into a marker meaning ‘instead’ when followed by a locative marker

a.	avante	sta:nattə	anijan	vannu
	3SGM-GEN	place.LOC.INSTEAD	younger brother	come.PST
‘His younger brother came instead of him’				

70. WHAT > DUBITATIVE MOOD

The question word /*entə*/ is grammaticalized into a dubitative mood marker when followed by quotative particle /-o/.

a.	avaɽ	paɽhikunundo	ent-o
----	------	--------------	-------



	3SGF	study-PRES.INTER	what-QP.DUB
'I wonder whether she is studying'			

71. GO > MODALITY MARKER

The verb /*povukə*/ 'to go' is grammaticalized into a modality marker to denote displeasure in the action or event concerned.

a.	avan	poji	kalja:ɲam	kazjccu
	3SG.M	go.PST.MOD	marriage	eat.PST
'he went ahead and got married'				

72. SIT > TEMPORAL (meanwhile)

The verb /*irikkukə*/ 'to sit' has given rise to a temporal marker meaning 'in the mean time'

a.	parɲɲə	irikke	maza	pejtu
	say.PRES PRTP	sit.PRES PROG	rain	rain.PST
'meanwhile it rained'				

73. THIRD PERSON PLURAL > RESPECT MARKER

The third person plural pronoun /*avar*/ has been grammaticalized into third person singular pronoun in order to show respect.

a.	avar	valija	ezutuka:ri	a:ɲə
	3P.PL	big	writer	be.PRS.COP
'she is a big writer'				

74. ONLY > RECENT PAST

The word /*u||u*/ 'only' is grammaticalized into a temporal marker to denote the meaning 'recent past'.

a.	u:ɲə	kazjɲu.u  u
	lunch	finish.only.EMP
'lunch just got over'		

75. FINISH > SPATIAL

The verb /*kazjukə*/ is grammaticalized into a spatial marker.

a.	kaɲa	kazjɲu	vi:tə	a:ɲə
	shop	finish-PST	house	be-PRES.COP
'the house is after the shop'				

76. SIMILE > SPECULATIVE MODALITY

The word /*pole*/ ‘simile’ is grammaticalized into a speculative modality marker.

a.	a.ro	vannə	pole
	someone	come-PRES PRTPL	SIM
‘looks like someone has come’			

77. CLIMB > MODALITY MARKER

The verb /*kajaɾukə*/ ‘climb’ is grammaticalized to a modality marker to denote displeasure regarding the concerned action or event.

a.	avan	kajaɾi	paɾaɾɿɿu
	3SG.M	climb.PST PRTPL	tell.PST
‘He went ahead and told’			

78. TEMPORAL > DISCOURSE MARKER

a.	enikkə	ippo	entə	cejja:n	patum
	1SG.GEN	now.TEMP	what.INTER	do.INF	can.FUT
‘What can I do now?’					



## Appendix 2

### List of Collocations

1. *patti cattu* ‘dog died’
2. *a:na ceriṅṅu* ‘elephant died’
3. *ra:dza:və na:tə- ningi* ‘the king passed away’
4. *reghu mariccu* ‘raghu died’
5. *ramu bhakṣaṅam kaṛiccu* ‘ramu had food’
6. *patti ti:tə tinnu* ‘the dog had food’
7. *paṣu cattu* ‘the cow died’
8. *swami samathijaji* ‘the seer has died’
9. *a:na ni:ra:ṭi* ‘the elephant took a swim’
10. *vanci tuṣajuka* ‘to row a boat’
11. *saikkil cavittuka* ‘to pedal a bicycle’
12. *u:ṅṅa:l a:tuka* ‘to play on a swing’
13. *vajassa:ja muttaṣṣi* ‘an old grand mother’
14. *paṣunte ca:ṅakam* ‘cow dung’
15. *patti ka:ṭṭam* ‘dog faeces’
16. *koṣi ti:ṭṭam* ‘chicken droppings’

## Appendix 3

### Slang words

1. *ko:ṅṅa:ttaja:ji* ‘ruined
2. *kattijaṭikkukə* ‘talk nonsense’
3. *kattapoka* ‘hopeless’
4. *muṭṭṅṅə kuttupa:lajedukkukə* ‘ruined to an extreme’
5. *potti pa:li:sa:ji* ‘broken down completely’
6. *aṭipoli* ‘extremely nice’
7. *aṭiccə pa:mpa:ji* ‘intoxicated’
8. *kiṭilam* ‘superb’
9. *bhu:lokə sambhavam* ‘phenomenal
10. *kalippə* ‘trouble’
11. *o:sə* ‘get something done for free’
12. *kattapporattə* ‘qaugmire’
13. *va:lə vaccə* ‘throw up’
14. *begili* ‘over excited’
15. *beṭakkə* ‘trouble maker’
16. *konaṣṭṭə* ‘crooked’
17. *jamaṅṭan* ‘unusually huge’
18. *kṅa:ppan* ‘good for nothing’

## Appendix 4

### Questionnaire- Language Attitude

The questionnaire has been specially designed to analyse the concepts of 'domains of language use' and 'language attitude' among the Konkani and Kudumbi speakers. Questionnaire was prepared in Malayalam, since most of the informants were not proficient in English. In the case of Kudumbis, the researcher herself has noted down the answers since the majority of the older and middle generation informants were illiterates.

#### QUESTIONNAIRE

1. What is your mother- tongue?
2. What is your native language?
3. Which language you use at home?
4. What is your parent's mother- tongue?
5. What is your grand parent's mother tongue?
6. How many languages do you know? : Please give a tick mark for your answer

• Languages    Speak    Write    Read    Understand

Malayalam

Hindi

English

Kudumbi

7. Degree of Understanding: please give a tick mark for your answer

(1) How good is your understanding of Kudumbi?

- (a) Can speak and understand
- (b) Can understand very well
- (c) Can understand, but not much

(2) How good is your understanding of Malayalam?

- (a) Can speak and understand
- (b) Can understand very well
- (c) Can understand, but not much

8. Which language do you speak at home?

- with your parents –
- with your siblings –
- with your grand- parents-
- with your children –
- with your spouse –
- with your relatives-

9. Which language do you speak outside your family domain?

- Work place
- In friend circle
- School
- Marriage gathering
- Temple gathering

10. In which language do you think?

11. In which language do you count?

12. Do you participate in any religious ceremonies or gatherings?

13. Do you subscribe to any religious texts?

14. Which newspaper do you subscribe?

15. In the presence of grand children, in which language you communicate with the other members belonging to your same generation or middle generation? (to older generation)

16. Do you feel bad that your grand children no longer use your language or even you are not able to use it with them?

17. Do you want to send your children/ grand children to schools where Konkani is being taught?

18. Do you want to learn your grandparent's language? (to younger generation)

To Konkanis (19-20),

19. Do you discourage the use of Malayalam or Malayalam interference among the younger Konkani generation?(to older and middle generation)

20. Do you consciously avoid Malayalam interference?

21. Do you think learning Malayalam helps you in economic advancement?

22. Arrange the following languages- Malayalam, Konkani, Kudumbi in your order of preference,as 1, 2, 3, according to the number given below

(1)

(2)

(3)



## Appendix 5

### Borrowing behaviour of the language/community

In the case of lexical borrowing, some core lexical items, as in Kinship terminology, numerals. Kudumbi exhibits ‘loan shifts’ as well as loan blends’, however the frequency of loan shifts being higher than loan blends.

#### 1. Kinship terms are entirely shifted to Malayalam

Lexicon	Malayalam Lexicon	Kudumbi
Father	accən	bappə(kd)
Mother	ammə	avoi(kd)
Elder sister	cecci	akkə*
Elder brother	ceṭṭən	annə*
Younger brother	anijən	ba:vu
Younger sister	anijətti	bein̩in
Grand father	appu:ppən	adʒdʒə
Grand mother	ammu:mmə	adʒdʒi
Son-in-law	marumakən	dʒavoi
Daughter-in-law	marumakəḷ	su:nə

#### 2. The numerals are entirely shifted to Malayalam

Numbers	Malayalam	Kudumbi
1	oṅṅə	ekke
2	raṅḍə	dʰɔ:ni
3	mu:ṅṅə	ti:ni
4	ṅa:lə	ca:ɽi
5	andʒə	a:nci
6	a:ɽə	sɔi

7	e:zə	sa:t̪ə
8	eʃt̪ə	a:t̪ə
9	ɔnpaɖə	Nau
10	paʃt̪ə	ɖa

### 3. Every day words are borrowed

When the informants were asked to give names of the breakfast items and name of 'curries', Kudumbis gave the Malayalam names of the breakfast items typical to Kerala.

\*English gloss cannot be provided since its name of the food items

<b>Malayalam</b>	<b>Kudumbi</b>	<b>Konkani</b>
dosa	ɖɔsa	pɔlɔ:
idɖili	idɖɔli	paʃt̪əɖɔ
tɔ:ren	t̪ɔ:ren	ukɔ:ri
mɔ:rəkari	mɔ:rəkari	t̪akkaʃendɔi
pappadem	pappadem	appaɔlɔ

Example, names of green vegetables.

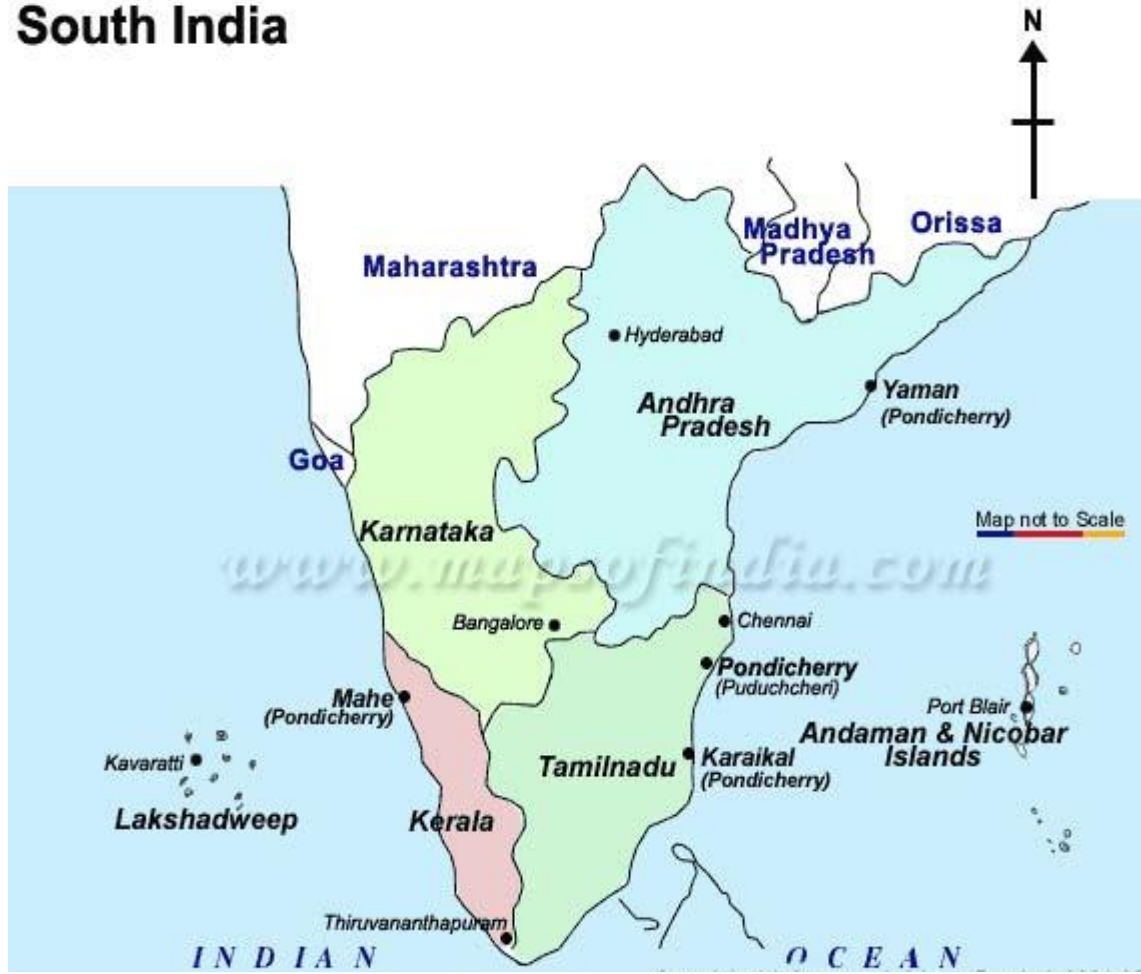
<b>Malayalam</b>	<b>Kudumbi</b>	<b>Konkani</b>	
maʃt̪ɛɳə	maʃt̪ɛɳə	ɖuɖɖi	'pumpkin'
kumbaʃɳə	kumbaʃɳə	kuva:lɔ	'gourd'
ce:nə	ce:nə	su:ʃnə	'elephant yam'

## Appendix 6

### Map

The kudumbis migrated from Goa to Kerala in the 1500 A.D

## South India



Source: Map of India Pvt. Ltd

## APPENDIX 7

<http://n2.nabble.com/Learn-Kudumbi-td1501657.html#a1501657>

Learn Kudumbi @

<http://kudumbi.weebly.com/learn-kudumbi.html>

23 posts

Dec 19, 2008; 06:01pm Re: Learn Kudumbi

Reply Threaded More

(This post was updated on Dec 20, 2008; 12:09pm)

Shaji Tukka Namaskar,

Konkani/Kudumbi Bhasin angeell Loka-n lagge ullou-nkka mounu boonu santoshu assa. Ya forum aam-ka chaan-gu vaat dhakia-tha.

It means...

Im happy to speak Konakani/Kudumbi Bhasa with my people. This forum will show us a nice path. (Hope this is understood).

Many kudumbis still have a wrong notion that speaking in Kudumbi Bhasha will affect their Normal malayalam accent neutrality and is looked upon as a low sign of status/culture. In this scenario ur love towards the language is a highly appreciated. Its an eye opener to those pseudo-status or pseudo-cultured people. More to come on this post from me.

Santosh

[santoshkrish@gmail.com](mailto:santoshkrish@gmail.com)

[« Return to forum | 49 views](#)

## APPENDIX 8

### Sample profile of the Informants

Name: Saraswati Bhai

Age: 78

Sex: F

Mother Tongue: Kudumbi

Education: Nil

Marital Status: Married

Occupation: Domestic Help

Community: Kudumbi

Place of Residence( Rural/ Urban): Edavanakad (Rural)

Kind of Settling (Community/ Individual): Community

Family (Nuclear/ Joint): Nuclear

Place of Origin: Tripunithura

Languages Known: Malayalam, Kudumbi, Konkani

Name: Leela

Age: 58

Sex: F

Mother Tongue: Kudumbi

Education: 2<sup>nd</sup> Standard

Marital Status: Married

Occupation: House Wife

Community: Kudumbi

Place of Residence( Rural/ Urban): Mala (Rural)

Kind of Settling (Community/ Individual): Individual

Family (Nuclear/ Joint): Nuclear

Place of Origin: Edavanakad

Languages Known: Malayalam, Kudumbi

Name: Ambika

Age: 45

Sex: F

Mother Tongue: Kudumbi

Education: Pre- degree

Marital Status: Married

Occupation: Helper in an Ayrvedic Medical Shop

Community: Kudumbi

Place of Residence( Rural/ Urban): Edavanakad (Rural)

Kind of Settling (Community/ Individual): Community

Family (Nuclear/ Joint): Nuclear

Place of Origin: Mala

Languages Known: Malayalam, Kudumbi, Konkani

Name: Dasan

Age: 52

Sex: M

Mother Tongue: Kudumbi

Education: Nil

Marital Status: Married

Occupation: Helper in a Stationery Shop

Community: Kudumbi

Place of Residence( Rural/ Urban): Edavanakad (Rural)

Kind of Settling (Community/ Individual): Community

Family (Nuclear/ Joint): Nuclear

Place of Origin: Edavanakad

Languages Known: Malayalam, Kudumbi, Konkani

Name: Thushara

Age: 20

Sex: F

Mother Tongue: Kudumbi (she said it as Malayalam)

Education: pursuing graduation

Marital Status: Umarried

Occupation: Student  
Community: Kudumbi  
Place of Residence( Rural/ Urban): Edavanakad (Rural)  
Kind of Settling (Community/ Individual): Community  
Family (Nuclear/ Joint): Nuclear  
Place of Origin: Edavanakad  
Languages Known: Malayalam , Kudumbi,

Name: arun  
Age: 18  
Sex: M  
Mother Tongue: Kudumbi  
Education: Pursuing Engineering  
Marital Status: Unmarried  
Occupation: Student  
Community: Kudumbi  
Place of Residence( Rural/ Urban): Edavanakad (Rural)  
Kind of Settling (Community/ Individual): Community  
Family (Nuclear/ Joint): Nuclear  
Place of Origin: Edavanakad  
Languages Known: Malayalam, English, Hindi

Name: Mani  
Age: 50  
Sex: F  
Mother Tongue: kudumbi  
Education: 3rd Std  
Marital Status: Married  
Occupation: House Wife  
Community: Kudumbi  
Place of Residence( Rural/ Urban): Edavanakad (Rural)  
Kind of Settling (Community/ Individual): Community

Family (Nuclear/ Joint): Nuclear  
Place of Origin: Edavanakad  
Languages Known: Malayalam, Kudumbi, Konkani

Name: Rajan  
Age: 58  
Sex: M  
Mother Tongue: Kudumbi  
Education: Nil  
Marital Status: Married  
Occupation: Coolie  
Community: Kudumbi  
Place of Residence( Rural/ Urban): Edavanakad (Rural)  
Kind of Settling (Community/ Individual): Community  
Family (Nuclear/ Joint): Nuclear  
Place of Origin: Edavanakad  
Languages Known: Malayalam, Kudumbi, Konkani

Name: Anitha  
Age: 35  
Sex: F  
Mother Tongue: Kudumbi  
Education: 7<sup>th</sup> std  
Marital Status: Married  
Occupation: House wife  
Community: kudumbi  
Place of Residence( Rural/ Urban): Tripunithura (Rural)  
Kind of Settling (Community/ Individual): Individual  
Family (Nuclear/ Joint): Nuclear  
Place of Origin: vypin  
Languages Known: Malayalam, Kudumbi