

***PROCESS OF CONVERGENCE: A COMPARATIVE CASE  
STUDY OF THE LANGUAGE OF KUDUMBIS AND  
KONKANIS OF KERALA***

Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
of the Degree of

**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

**RESMI P**



**CENTRE FOR LINGUISTICS  
SCHOOL OF LANGUAGE, LITERATURE & CULTURE STUDIES  
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY  
NEW DELHI- 100067**

**2010**

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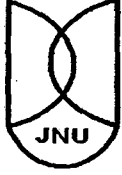
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## CERTIFICATE

This dissertation titled "**Process of Convergence: A Comparative Case Study of the Language of Kudumbis and Konkansis of Kerala**" submitted by Ms. Resmi P., Centre for Linguistics, School of Language, Literature and Culture Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, for the award of the degree of **Master 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.

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

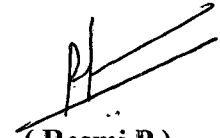
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This thesis titled "*Process of Convergence: A Comparative Case Study of the Language of Kudumbis and Konkans of Kerala*" submitted by me for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy, is an original work and has not been submitted so far in part or in full, for any other degree or diploma of any University or Institution.



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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

abl.	ablative
acc.	accusative
benef.	benefactive
conj.prt.	conjunctive participle
CV	compound verb
dat.	dative
ut. tns.	future tense
gen.	genitive
ger.	gerund
habit.	habitual
infin.	infinitive
intr.	intransitive
lit.trans	literal translation
loc.	locative
neg.	negation
part.	particle
per.	person
plu.	plural
pr. tns	present tense
pst.pns	past tense
sg.	singular
suff.	suffix
tr.	transitive



## CHAPTER - I

### INTRODUCTION

Gowda Saraswat Brahmins (GSBs) and Kudumbis migrated to Kerala between 13th - 16<sup>th</sup> A.D due to fear of religious persecution by Portuguese<sup>1</sup>. In Kerala, Gowda Saraswat Brahmins are associated with Konkani language and known as Konkanis, and Kudumbis are associated with Kudumbi language and known as Kudumbis. Thus Konkani and its variant Kudumbi have been enveloped by the Dravidian language Malayalam in Kerala. When two languages come into contact, there are various contact induced changes that can be triggered off, which could be predictable. The linguistic consequences range from linguistic borrowing, linguistic convergence, and language shift. In most cases this happens from a dominant to subordinate language, and in extreme cases language death of the 'lower' one. However, not only the linguistic factors which govern these changes, various social reasons along with it are responsible for these outcomes. Hence, a mere linguistic study may not be sufficient to provide a proper understanding of these language changes, and a concomitant sociological analysis is also necessary. This study provides a socio-linguistic analysis and aims to examine the contact induced changes which have taken place in Konkani and Kudumbi as a result of the contact with Malayalam and the social factors responsible for such changes.

### OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The major objectives of the study are as follows,

- (1) To capture the linguistic changes the languages of the Konkanis and Kudumbis<sup>2</sup> in Kerala have undergone due to their long history of contact with Malayalam. Language changes in the areas of lexicon, phonology, morphology, and syntax are analysed here;

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<sup>1</sup> Fort Kochi Municipal Centenary Souvenir. 1966.

<sup>2</sup> 'Kudumbis' and 'Konkanis' is used in the sense of plural

- (2) This study also gives equal importance to the sociological factors which are responsible for the consequent linguistic changes. It analyses the sociological premises of migration, bi/multilingualism, language ideologies, language attitude, language maintenance/ shift and so on;
- (3) This study also gives an analysis of the general situation of minority languages in India.

## **HISTORICAL BACKGROUND**

Konkani is the official language of Goa and is also one of the official languages of India. It ranks 15th in the list of scheduled languages by strength. According to the 2001 estimates of the Census Department of India, there are 2,489,015 Konkani speakers in India. Out of these, 602,606 were in Goa; 706,397 in Karnataka; 312,618 in Maharashtra, and 64,008 in Kerala. One of the oral history regarding the origin of Konkani states that the Brahmins who resided along the banks of the River Saraswati must have migrated to Gomantak, when seismic activity in the Himalayas made the river run underground around 1900 BC. They brought their own dialect of Shauraseni Prakrit, which over the time evolved into modern Konkani. Kudumbis trace their lineage back to Kunbis, the earliest settlers of Goa, who are a sturdy tribal community mostly, settled in Salcete taluka, who have converted to Christianity.

As a result of a decree issued in 1559 A. D. by King Joao III of Portugal, threatening the expulsion of non-believers in Christianity, especially Brahmins from Sasasti (Goa), 12,000 Saraswat families fled from the Salcette District of Goa. About 4,000 went North East to settle down in Maharashtra and Indore and others went South to settle in Karwar and South Canara. (Rayasaptra H.H. Srimad Upendra Tirtha Swamiji of Shree Kashi Mutt 1654 A.D. a record kept in Thirumala, a Devaswom temple in Cochin)<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Mallaya, Purushotama. 1994. *Saraswats in Kerala History*. Kochi: Konkani Bhasha Prachar Sabha.

The last of those who were expelled by the Portuguese from Goa landed at Calicut but were promptly driven out by the Zamorin. So they moved to Cochin and Travancore. This happened around the year 1560 AD. Among the Konkani speaking group, there were Brahmans (Gowda Saraswat, with whom Konkani language is associated with), Shonars (goldsmith), Kudumbis, as the Kunbi tribe were called in Kerala (workers in the paddy field, for instance)<sup>4</sup>.

It is seen from the 'Thitooram' (Royal Writ) issued by Vira Kerala Varma (1624-1637), the Raja of Cochin to Cochin Mahajanam inscribed on a copper plate in the year 1627, which says that Raja gave the Konkans certain privileges such as exemption from payment of a kind of tax, permission to construct houses and also to conduct business from Cochin with foreign countries. The Diwan of Cochin in his letter addressed to W. Cullen, British Resident of the then States of Travancore and Cochin, states, 'The traditions that exist regarding the first immigration of the Konkans into Cochin state that owing to certain religious disputes they were obliged to leave their native country Konkana with their idols in 1294 A.D. and travelling southward came to the territory of His Highness the Raja of Cochin having obtained grants of land and assured promises of protection from His Highness, they settled in Cochin and formed themselves into a community which they named 'The Cokanastha Mahajanam'. (Diwan's Diary, Vol.144/1858 dated 6-3-1858, State Archives, Ernakulam)<sup>5</sup>. The Bhagavathi Pattu, a song performed at some Vaisya-Vaniya temples also describes about their migration. According to this, Craganore, (the port which was formed earlier than Cochin Port) is the place where people first made their impression. Again in the year 1648 A.D. the Raja of Cochin, Vira Kerala Varma, gave the community under a Thitooram the civil and criminal powers to be exercised by them within a well defined boundary called 'Sanketam'. They called their place of settlement 'Gosripuram', which is the derivation of the word Goapuri.

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<sup>4</sup> Kerala History Volume 1 (p.1152), published by Kerala Historical Association: Cochin.

<sup>5</sup> Studies on Copper Plate No.8, Preserved at the Ernakulam Regional Office of the Archives, Kerala, 1992.

## **PROFILE OF KONKANIS AND KUDUMBIS**

### **Demographic Features:**

The Konkani and Kudumbis reside in community dwellings. They have their own pattern of residence. They are keen to preserve their identity within the metropolis. The Konkani- Kudumbis in Kerala are mainly based in Cochin spread into five major pockets viz. Fort Kochi, Palluruthy, Vypin, Ezikkara, and Elamakkara. Each of the settlement areas of Konkani, Kudumbis is developed around a temple (Grama Devata Temple). The typical settling of Konkani/ Kudumbis is in 'line houses' along the street locally known as 'Keri'.

### **Economic Features:**

The Konkani are supposedly economically, socially and politically superior to Kudumbis. Konkani are educated and hold good positions in government as well as private sectors. Kudumbis/Kunbis have been associated with domestic help and work in the paddy field and they had been usually illiterate in the past. Kunbis are said to have migrated to Kerala along with the GSBs as their domestic help. Till 1950s in Kerala, they worked mainly in the households of Konkani since they were not accepted by the other mainstream communities of Kerala like Nairs. Some of them worked in paddy fields too. The wages were given in kind than cash, which was usually low. It was only after 1950s that they have started working for other communities in Kerala. However the scene has changed with Kudumbis as the present generation is exposed to education holds office jobs and joined the mainstream.

### **Religious Features:**

The Konkani preserve their identity mainly through their religious practices. Religion and culture play an important role in each and every Konkani's life. They have their own rituals and ceremonies and they follow it diligently. Their religious life

is surrounded around the Grama-Devta temple. All the sacramental ceremonies of the Grama-Devta temple are performed by Pandits (priests) who originally hail from Mangalore. The GSBs of Kerala are disciples of Shree Kashi Mutt Samsathan, whose disciples control the religious and social affairs of Konkani. The Mutt plays a big role in the language maintenance of Konkani.

Konkanis, unlike Kudumbis still follow their own customs and manners. The festivals like Holi, Diwali are still celebrated in the soil of Kerala. An important custom prevalent in Konkani temples is the community feast 'Samaradhana', which is symbolic of their community tie.

In the case of Kudumbis, they no longer follow the religious practices which were unique to them at one point of time. They have almost shifted to the religious ceremonies of Kerala. Onam, which is a festival of Kerala, is more important for Kudumbis than Holi or Diwali. Even though they have a temple of Gram-Devta, they do not follow the Kudumbi ways of worship, to the extent that even the priests in the temple can be Keralites. We can perhaps claim that Kunbis have amalgamated with Kerala society more than the Konkani.

### **Social Features:**

The Konkani are an ethnic group which still holds their own cultural peculiarities. They are a close-knit group and have intense interaction among themselves. They give immense importance to their Mother Tongue- Konkani. For them, language identity is equivalent to cultural identity. They have minimum interaction with Kudumbis, only to the extent of employing them for household help. Similar tendency is being observed in the case of their interaction with Keralites also. It could be because of the consciousness of the 'Caste' they belong to as most of the Konkani dwellings are among the Non-Brahmin Keralites. The Kinship ties are very strong among the Konkani.

Both the communities have their own peculiar marriage ceremonies and are highly linked with their belief system. Traditionally marriage is one of the sixteen Samskaras (Sacraments sanctifying the body and mind) in the life of Kudumbis and Konkanis. The Konkanis never permit their marriages outside their group, but it has been noticed that Kudumbis tend to permit inter caste/religion marriages among other communities. Even the rituals followed by the Kudumbis have more or less adapted to the Hindu marriage system especially that of 'Ezhava' community<sup>6</sup>.

In the case of Kudumbis, they identify more with the Keralites than the Konkanis. Their cultural practices have more or less assimilated to the culture of Kerala. Same holds for the case of language also, since a gradual convergence and shift to Malayalam is seen in the case of Kudumbis.

### **Education:**

Konkanis are known to give lot of importance to education, whereas Kudumbis were till recently illiterate or less educated. For Konkanis, education means education through their language. The schools set up by the Konkani community gave primacy to the language teaching. Thirumala Devaswom Vidyasala, an Anglo-vernacular school was the first to set up. The Veda Patasala (1877) maintained by Thirumala Devaswom is the oldest standing Patasala, or school of Konkanis in Kerala. Temples managed by Konkanis maintained educational institutions which was an abode of their language preservation. Presently, Konkani is been taught in five government schools in Kerala. However, the most noticeable factor is the non participation of Kudumbis in such endeavours.

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<sup>6</sup> 'Ezhava' is a prominent Hindu community in Kerala, which belongs to Other Backward Community (OBC)

## RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

### I. Variables of the Study:

The basic variables used in the study are age, education and socio- economic status. The informants belonging to both the category, Kudumbi and Konkani are divided accordingly, with respect to the above mentioned socio-linguistic variables.

- (a) Age stratification of linguistic variables can reflect change in the speech community as it moves through time (historical change), and change in the speech of the individual as s/he moves through in life (age grading) (Eckert, Penelope, 1998)<sup>7</sup>. Age is the most important variable in this study. The changes that a language has undergone are reflected in the speech of the language speakers. The speech of each generation varies from the speech of other. Hence the speech of the informants should be recorded according to the age of the informants. To make it a broader classification, the speakers belonging to both the communities are divided into three generations - younger, middle and older generations. The informants between 10-25 come under younger generation; 25-50 come under middle generation and 50-80 under older generation.
- (b) Education is one of the important variables in this study, as it is an important factor that is believed to influence the process of change. On the basis of education, the respondents / informants are broadly divided into three levels- High, Medium, Low.

Graduation and any higher qualification are taken as the basis for high education level. Those who completed S.S.L.C or any technical course other than graduation belong to the medium education level and those below it are considered to be of low education level.

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<sup>7</sup> Eckert, Penelope. "Age as a Sociolinguistic Variable." *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*. Coulmas, Florian (ed). Blackwell Publishing, 1998. Blackwell Reference Online. 28 December 2007  
<[http://www.blackwellreference.com/subscriber/tocnode?id=g9780631211938\\_chunk\\_g978063121193811](http://www.blackwellreference.com/subscriber/tocnode?id=g9780631211938_chunk_g978063121193811)>

(c) Socio- Economic status is another important variable which can influence the process of change. Since Konkans belong to the Upper caste and socio-economically higher level, and Kudumbis belong to lower caste and socio-economically lower level, it should be considered as an important variable. In this section, the occupational status along with the socio-economic status of both the communities is taken into consideration. The occupational status is important to understand the changes in the social status which might have occurred. The occupational status of the informants is divided into categories as salaried jobs, self employed, menial jobs, and un-employed, according to older, middle and younger generation. The socio- economic division is made on the basis of the record of the annual income of the respondents. An annual income of below Rs.12,000 come under low income group, Rs 12,000-25,000 come under medium income and above Rs 25,000 come under High income group. In this section, the younger generations who are mostly students are not considered. The older and middle generations are divided as low, medium and high income groups.

## **II. Sample and Sampling Method:**

This study is based on a representative sample. In this study, a multi stage sampling procedure is followed. The five major areas of Konkans/ Kudumbis in Kerala are in the district of Ernakulam. They are Fort Kochi, Palluruthy, Vypin, Elamakkara, Ezhikkara. Out of this, Vypin had more concentration of the sample population. From these areas of Konkani and Kudumbi, twenty five were selected from older generation and twenty five were selected from the younger generation.

## **III. Techniques and Tools for Data Collection:**

Since I am a native speaker of Malayalam, the Malayalam data used in this study is basically native speaker's intuition. Grammar texts on Malayalam were also consulted.



To collect Konkani and Kudumbi data, the basic methods used in data collection are questionnaire method and random recordings.

- (a) Questionnaire: To cover the linguistic aspects, the questionnaire was specially designed for deriving all the aspects of language: lexicon, phonology, morphology, and syntax. The sociological aspects were recorded through the questionnaire method. It was particularly aimed to capture the notions of language attitude, language loyalty and ideologies, language consciousness and identity and so on.
- (b) Recording: Random recording of the natural speech sample is particularly necessary for this study, since it is a work on the aspects of language contact which focus on the influence of one language on another or each other. The basic problem I encountered with the questionnaire method is that, while eliciting data through question and answer process, especially the linguistic features, the informants tend to be too 'true to their data'. They have a tendency to be more conscious and deliberately keep aside the forms of 'interference' and provide the researcher with the original archaic forms. In this context, natural recordings done in a group conversation, family conversation served the purpose. Since it carries considerable extent of 'noise' recordings were done in closed doors on informal topics such as films and narratives and so on. After the recording, the informant was informed about it and upon his/her approval, I have used it as my data. I have used Philips Voice Tracer Compact Meeting Recorder for this purpose. The data is saved both in word and wave files in my personal computer accordingly for future use. To make it more secure, the important files have been sent and stored at [www.gmail.com](http://www.gmail.com) and [www.yahoo.com](http://www.yahoo.com).
- (c) Discussion: Discussion is an important part of this study. Since Konkani language has been widely studied and recorded, much has been written and recorded on the Konkani also. But absolutely nothing was available as far

as the Kudumbis are concerned. It is mainly drawn from the discussions with my informants. The historical background of Kudumbis is mainly collected through this approach. Even the sociological part of the study was served a lot through this method. It was found to be very beneficial to understand 'what and how a community feels for their language.'

- (d) Narratives and Literary texts: It was found very useful in understanding the accounts of lineage and exodus of the communities. A volume called 'A Collection of Konkani Sonnets' (1995) published by Kerala Konkani Sahitya Samaj is worth mentioning.
- (e) Observation: Last, but not the least as in any research mere observation during the time of field work has given me lots of useful and informative insights for the work. My experience in the field suggests that researcher will be provided with the most useful data through sheer observation, at least for the kind of work that I have undertaken.

## **FIELD WORK**

Data used in this work is primary in nature. The data was collected through field work and it took approximately two months. The researcher herself carried out the entire fieldwork, which helped to have a personal and deep understanding of the problem. The field work has been carried out in two phases. The first one was intended to provide a general understanding of the research problem, and the latter one was more intensive and focused.

**Field Experience:** Most of the respondents were co- operative and a number of people, whom I befriended during the field work, rendered their whole hearted support.

It was a touching experience that the innocent, uneducated Kudumbi older generation, though they were not much aware of the depth of my work, they were very passionate and keenly interested in providing me with any sorts of help regarding the work.

And I would like to suggest from my field experience that, uneducated informants provide you with the most relevant natural data, at least in the studies on language contact than the educated informants. Educated informants should be the ones, who the researchers can contact for contacts in the field and for relevant documents and booklets.

## PROFILE OF THE INFORMANTS

**Table 1**  
**Classification according to Age**

Age/ Generation	No of Konkani Speakers	No of Kudumbi Speakers
10-25/ Younger	5	6
25-60/ Middle	10	10
60-80/Older	10	9
Total	25	25

**Table 2.1**  
**Classification according to the Educational level**

### Konkanis:

Generation	Low	Medium	High	Total
Older	6 (60%)	3 (30%)	1 (10%)	10
Middle	1 (10)	5 (50%)	4 (40%)	10
Younger	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	5 (100%)	5
Total	7	8	10	25

**Table 2.2.**

**Kudumbis:**

Generation	Low	Medium	High	Total
Older	9 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	9
Middle	8 (80%)	2 (20%)	0 (0%)	10
Younger	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	6 (100%)	6
Total	17	2	6	25

**Table 3.1.1**

**Classification according to Occupational Status of the Informants**

**Konkani:**

Generation	Salaried Jobs	Self employed	Menial Jobs	Unemployed	Total
Older	1 (10%)	4 (40%)	0 (0%)	5 (50%)	10

**Table 3.1.2**

**Kudumbi:**

Generation	Salaried Jobs	Self employed	Menial Jobs	Unemployed	Total
Older	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	7 (78%)	2 (22%)	9
Middle	2 (2%)	4 (40%)	2 (20%)	2 (20%)	10

**Table 3.3.1**

**Classification according to socio-economic status of the respondents**

**Konkanis:**

Generation	Low	Medium	High	Total
Older	1 (10%)	6 (60%)	3 (30%)	10
Middle	1 (10%)	5 (50%)	4 (40%)	10
Total	2	11	7	

**Kudumbis:**

Generation	Low	Medium	High	Total
Older	9 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	9
Middle	7 (70%)	3 (30%)	0 (0%)	10
Total	16	3	0	

On the basis of relevant data and the graphs and diagrams, interpretations are made.

**SUMMARY**

This introductory chapter provides a brief note on the migration of the Konkanis and Kudumbis from Goa and their settlement in Kerala and the research methodology which is used in this study. It also gives information of their demographic, educational, social, and economic features. In the part on research methodology, the variables considered for the present study- age, education and socio- economic status are discussed. According to the variables- age, education and socio- economic status, the informants have been divided. According to age, the informants have been

divided into older, middle and younger generation. According to socio- economic status, they have been divided into groups of high, medium and low educational level. A division based on occupational level is also considered in this section. According to occupational level, the informants have been divided into those holding salaried jobs, menial jobs, self employed and un- employed. Moreover, according to educational criteria, they have been divided into low medium and high. It provides overall information of the informants who have been considered for the study and, consequently general information on the Konkans and Kudumbis in Kerala.

## CHAPTER - II

### THEORIES ON LANGUAGE CONTACT

“Two or more languages will be said to be in CONTACT if they are used alternatively by the same persons” (Weinreich 1953:1). Language contact is prevalent everywhere. Language contacts are more intense in some places than elsewhere and at other times. The most common result of language contact is the change which occurs in some or all of the languages, at least one of the languages will exert some influence on at least one of the other languages. A contact situation could be stable or unstable. Any contact situation, even it has been more or less constant for many generations, is subject to change at any time, for social reasons that may or may not be predictable. The consequences of language contact can range from linguistic borrowing or interference, code switching, linguistic convergence to language shift and in an extreme case language death, given the right mix of social and linguistic circumstances. (Thomason 2001:1-21).

According to Myers Scotton (2006), generally “**borrowing**” only refers to lexical elements, not grammatical elements and “interference” is often used as a cover term for whatever effects one language has on another. This includes the borrowing of words, but “**interference**” also refers to all forms of language-contact phenomena, i.e., every linguistic changes that happens to the structures of languages when their speakers are in contact. **Code Switching** refers to the use of two language varieties in the same conversation. Convergence and attrition occur when one language becomes more like another. **Convergence** is speech by bilinguals that has all the surface level forms from one language, but with part of the abstract lexical structure that underlies the surface-level patterns originating from another language or languages. **Attrition** involves the same outcome, but is generally thought of as language change within the speech of one individual.

## **FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO LANGUAGE CONTACT**

Wei (2001) lists a number of key external factors contributing to language contact (Crystal, 1987; Baker and Prys Jones, 1998) which include, *political or military* acts such as colonisation, annexation, resettlement and federation can have immediate linguistic effects. People may become refugees, either in a new place or in their homeland, and have to learn the language of their new environment. *Natural disaster*, as famine, floods, volcanic eruptions and other such events can be the cause of major movements of population. New language contact situations then emerge as people are resettled. In *religious reasons*, people may wish to live in a country because of its religious significance, or to leave a country because of its religious oppression. In either case, a new language may have to be learned. A desire to identify with a particular ethnic, cultural or social group usually ends up in learning the language of that group. Very large numbers of people across the world have migrated to find work and to improve their standard of living. This factor accounts for most of the linguistic diversity.

## **STUDIES ON LANGUAGE CONTACT**

The researches in the field of 'language contact' could be traced back to the researches which took place in the area of historical linguistics in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It mainly focused on dialects in contact, language evolution and its quest for a common ancestor. And it proceeds later to the studies of the formation of pidgins and creoles, borrowing, code-switching, language maintenance and attrition, loss and death as well as multilingual individual's social and cognitive competence. It evolved as an explanation to solve the mysteries left unexplained by the genetic relationship of 'language family-tree'. The pioneers of this work were William Dwight Whitney and Hugo Schuchardt. Whitney (1881) explicitly discusses the role of borrowing in language change. Schuchardt documented a number of complex situations of



language contact from 1880 onwards. Hesseling (1899, 1905), Turner (1949), Broch and others followed this line of thought.

In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, linguists like E. Sapir, L. Bloomfield, N.S Trubetzkoy and many others gave a new dimension to the language studies by viewing it in a social context. Thus linguist started examining language contact situation through an angle, giving importance to its social context. J. Fishman and D. Hymes contribute to the concepts of Language Maintenance and Shift which is a sociological outcome of language contact situation.

W. Labov emphasized that internal structural linguistic pressures and external, socio-cultural and socio-psychological pressure systematically alternate in the mechanism of language contact, variation and change. Labov argued for “the stronger claim that it is not possible to complete an analysis of structural relations within a linguistic system and then to external relations” (Labov 1972: 573), thereby emphasizing the importance of the study of the sociological context of the language change. The theory of Communication Adaption Theory (CAT) formulated by H. Giles and his associates gives an insight into the extra-linguistic reasons of various linguistic phenomena like code switching, contact- induced language change and so on. The milestones in research on language contact are the important studies by Weinrich (1953) and Haugen (1953) in the 1950s. Both emphasized the need to combine intra-linguistic considerations with socio-cultural perspectives, giving new impetus to ‘contact linguistics’ and laying the ground for integrating linguistic analysis and contextual explanation to account for contact induced processes of language change. The most recent work on the topic is by Thomason and Kaufman (1988), address on the external influences on language other than linguistic factors. Thomason (2001) also maintains the importance of the study of social factors for a complete understanding of the studies in language variation. Weinrich’s classic distinction between borrowing and interference as the two fundamental types of cross linguistic

influence was chosen and followed by Thomason and Kauffman. Myers-Scotton (2002) has also contributed to the study of different kinds of linguistic outcome in the languages involved in the contacts, ranging from borrowing to the formation of pidgin and creole languages. She has given a framework for the processes happening in the language contact phenomenon through her MLF model.

If we closely understand the lineage of researches that has taken place in the area of language contact, the nineteenth century researches in this field was more or less focused on the linguistic features of the language contact situation, ignoring external factors as the facilitators contributing to this change. It might be due to the reason that the so called 'external factors' might not offer themselves for classification and systematisation which was the attention of the period. But gradually the scene has changed in such a way that language change is no longer studied in separation with the social factors which contribute to that changes.

### **Contact Induced Language Changes**

All the contact induced mechanisms, code-switching, linguistic convergence, language shift, language death is initiated by the process of borrowing. Hence the literatures I have surveyed upon mostly focus on the cover term 'borrowing' to speak about the processes and effect of language changes.

Abbel and Muysken (1987: 154) list five ways in which grammatical borrowing takes place:

- (a) Through convergence: In a situation in which several languages have been spoken in the same area and mostly by the same people for a long time, they may start converging. It is most apparent at the 'phonetic level'. As a result, the sound system of the languages may grow to be more and more similar to the dominant language. Roman Jakobson has described a number of cases of

phonological convergence, in terms of the notion 'phonological sprachbund' (1931), a notion derived from the work of Trubetzkoy.

- (b) Through cultural influence and lexical borrowing: A very important scenario for borrowing is through cultural influence. The most important effect of this type of influence is lexical borrowing;
- (c) Through second language learning: It explains how the daughter language came to diverge widely from the mother language. It happens when a language is brought into another region than that of its original use, and when speakers of other languages adopt it as their second language;
- (d) Through re-lexification : It is the process in which the replacement of the vocabulary of one language with that of another language, while maintaining the original grammar;
- (e) Through imitation of prestige patterns: It occurs in the cases in which sentence patterns or complex expressions of a prestige language are imitated.

## **SOCIAL AND LINGUISTIC FACTORS OF LANGUAGE CHANGE:**

### **Social Factors:**

When two languages come into contact not only the languages, but also the speakers of that languages and their culture also come into contact with each other. If the analysis of linguistic interference or borrowing is done purely in a linguistic context, without considering the cultural environment in which contact occurs, it will be inadequate. 'Language contact is essentially seen as cultural contact also. In a study of linguistic interference, both structural and non structural factors which are responsible for such interference are taken into consideration. The non- structural features are derived from the contact of the system with the outer world, from given individual's familiarity with the system, and from the symbolic value which the

system as a whole is capable of acquiring and the emotions it can evoke' (Weinreich 1953:5).

Besides it is the socio-political and economic features associated with the speakers of the particular language that decide the fate of the language in a contact situation. In other words, the existence and changes caused to a language is more or less governed by the power associated with the speakers of that language. Differences in power are responsible for the rejection or the acceptance of a speech variety in a multilingual context. It might leave the less powerful language at disadvantage. More powerful the language (speakers) is, more likely for them to resist the changes in their language. But of course, language attitude is the major driving force besides it. If the speakers of a language want to identify with each other, they may find themselves adjusting their speech to eliminate the more obvious differences in their speech and if the speakers do not want to identify with each other, they emphasize the difference in their speech.

Weinreich (1953:3) lists a number of extra linguistic factors that are responsible for linguistic interference, of which the social factors suggested include,

- (a) stereotyped attitudes towards each language; Indigenous or immigrant status of the languages concerned;
- (b) size of bilingual group and its socio cultural homogeneity or differentiation; break down into sub groups using one or other language as their mother tongue; demographic facts; social and political relations between the sub groups;
- (c) attitudes toward culture of each language community;
- (d) attitudes toward bilingualism as such;
- (e) tolerance or intolerance with regard to mixing languages and to incorrect speech in each language.

Thomason and Kauffman (1988:65) also discusses a number of social factors along with linguistic factors which are responsible for contact-induced changes: (a) the

intensity and length of contact (b) the relative number of speakers of each variety, (c) cultural and political dominance of speakers over other etc. Thomason (2001) suggests (a) presence vs. absence of imperfect learning and (b) speakers attitude along with it.

Field (2002:4) summarizes reasons other than linguistic that have been posited by researchers in recent years:

- TH-19311
- a. As a result of the cultural dominance of the donor language (Watson 1989:49-51; Mougeon and Benaik 1989: 303-307; Hill and Hill 1986:4; cf. Gal 1989:318);
  - b. To be associated with speakers of the dominant language (and gain socially from its prestige) (Mertz 1989: 112; Hill and hill 1986: 103ff; Thomason and Kauffman 1988: 44ff; Grosjean 1982: 336-337);
  - c. To fill lexical gaps in recessive language well along in the process of shift (Myers- Scottson 1993a: 67; Huffines 1982:21; Bavin 1989: 270ff; Haugen 1989: 65; Grosjean 1982: 336; Karttunen and lockhart 1976: 16ff);
  - d. To facilitate understanding with younger speakers who are no longer familiar with original forms of the recessive language (Bavin 1989:277; haugen 1989:67);
  - e. For affect or convenience (Hoffman, 1991, pp. 101-103; Grosjean 1982:311-313).
  - f. Grosjean (1982) also points out that borrowing of specific words may occur because only one language has the desired word, or because an individual is not equally familiar with the words of both languages and chooses the most available word (311).

### **Linguistic Factors:**

It has been claimed by various linguists that not all the linguistic features can be borrowed in a contact situation. Two linguistic factors cited as playing promoting and



inhibiting roles in borrowing given by Van Hout and Muysken (1994:42)<sup>8</sup> and Weinreich (1953:61) are frequency and formal equivalence as cited in (Field 2002:5).

According to Weinreich (1953), 'the frequent words come easily to mind and are therefore more stable; relatively infrequent words of the vocabulary are, accordingly, less stable, more subject to oblivion and replacement'. Frequently occurring items may have a pushing effect on a borrowing language. Because, if a linguistic item occurs more frequently in the donor language, it is easily borrowable for the recipient language and if a linguistic item is more frequent in the recipient language, it creates more of an inhibiting effect, there by resisting or blocking the process of borrowing. However frequency may be a factor in the integration of particular content items into a recipient language, its overall effect may depend on other linguistic factors such as semantic transparency, relevance and so on (Van Hout and Muysken 1994:52-54). 'Equivalence' suggests that when the borrowers find 'equivalences' in the specific linguistic areas with respect to the recipient language, the likelihood of the process of borrowing is quite high and conversely, borrowing may have greater difficulty in finding equivalence in specific areas where a greatly decreased likelihood of formal and semantic correspondence exists. Weinreich (1953: 57-59) also suggests that lexical borrowing takes place in order to resolve the 'clash of homonyms' in a language and another reason arise from the 'need for synonyms' in certain languages. The linguistic factors which can govern borrowing as given by Thomason (2001:60) are Universal Markedness, degree to which features are integrated into the linguistic system, typological distance between the source and the recipient languages. One of the important claim, which was first held by the great French linguist Antoine Meillet and still valid is that grammatical interference is confined to features that fit well typologically with the structure of the receiving language. The degree to which features are integrated into the linguistic system also find factual, since its been quite

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<sup>8</sup> Van Hout, R. and P. Muysken. 1994. "Modelling lexical borrowability". In *Language Variation and Change*, 6(1): 39-62.

common to observe that non basic vocabulary item are the easiest to borrow, since in most languages a new noun or even a verb, can be easily inserted into existing constructions and inflectional morphology is the hardest to borrow, because its component parts fit into a whole that is relatively small, self- contained, and highly organized. It is quite similar to the concept of 'equivalence' which is discussed earlier.

## **HIERARCHIES OF BORROWING**

It has long been noted that some linguistic elements are borrowed more freely than others. The linguist most often cited as the first to make this observation was the Sanskritist William Dwilight Whitney, who in 1881 noted that nouns are the most frequently borrowed elements of the language, followed by other independent words ("other parts of speech"), then suffixes, inflections, and individual sounds (in that order). A hierarchy based on these orderings as given by Van Hout and Muysken (1994: 41) is given as <sup>9</sup>,

nouns> other parts of speech> suffixes> inflections> sounds

Haugen (1950:224) suggested a similar ordering in this scale, based on a synthesis of data from American Norwegian and American Swedish:

nouns> verbs> adjectives> adverbs, prepositions, interjections

In this scale, nouns are borrowed more frequently than verbs, and verbs more frequently than adjectives, the latter an order not reflected in a report on English borrowings in Hindi (Singh 1981, cited in van Hout and Muysken 1994: 411), illustrated as:

nouns> adjectives> verbs> prepositions

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<sup>9</sup> Cited in Field, Frederic W. 2002. *Linguistic Borrowing in Bilingual Contexts*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins

In general, such hierarchies illustrate borrowing patterns that are consistent with the statement that speakers of subordinate varieties borrow from a dominant variety, in which content items more frequently borrowed than grammatical items and grammatical words more frequently borrowed than inflectional affixes (Comrie 1989 :209-210)

Thomason and Kauffman (1988) explain the predictability and the probability of borrowing of the linguistic items from one language to another using a '**borrowing scale**'. Borrowing scale can predict which types of borrowed elements that can be expected to appear in increasingly in tense contact situation. The most basic prediction of this scale is vocabulary is borrowed before structure. And it is the non basic vocabulary which gets borrowed under the conditions of casual contact. It is because less tightly structured features are easier to borrow than features that fit into tightly integrated closed structures. Relatively superficial phonological features such as stress placement and syntactic things such as the word order are the next easiest things to borrow, with the inflectional morphology being at the opposite end of the scale.

Thomason and Kauffman (1988: 63-96) and Kauffman (2001) proposes the following Borrowing Scale according to the intensity of contact:

1. Casual Contact: Lexical Borrowing only

When the cultural pressure is minimum, that means any combination of social factors that promote borrowing, only lexical borrowing is expected. In lexical borrowing, it is the non basic vocabulary before the basic vocabulary which is borrowed. It does not include function words, only content words are borrowed.

For instance, Deshpande (1979:258), points out that hundreds of Indic loan words entered Southeast Asian languages without introducing any new phonemes or other structural interference. Large number of English loan words



in scientific and technological areas occur in many languages, which are not accompanied by structural borrowing is yet another example<sup>10</sup>.

## 2. Slightly More Intense Contact to More Intense Contact: Slight Structural Borrowing

In this period apart from content words, function words are also borrowed. It includes, conjunctions, adverbial particles, and positions, derivational and inflectional affixes, personal and demonstrative pronouns and low numerals. In the case of phonological borrowing, appearance of new phonemes with new phones in loan words is observed. With more contact, borrowing will probably include the phonemicization even in native vocabulary of previously allophonic alternations also happens. In syntax, in the early stages of intense contact, syntactic features borrowed will probably be restricted to new functions and new orderings that cause little or no typological disruption. With more intense contact, some more intense change for instance, as in borrowed post position in an otherwise prepositional language or vice versa is observed.

For example, Sridhar (1978: 202-206), observes that in India, Sanskrit has said to have influenced Dravidian languages both phonologically and morpho-syntactically, in speech and writings of educated Hindus<sup>11</sup>. In phonology, Sanskrit loan words are not non-nativized, retaining Sanskrit pronunciations and even extend some of the features to the non occurring Sanskrit words also. Lexical borrowing includes quantifiers, intensifiers, conjunctions, derivational affixes. Syntactic borrowings are also seen as in passive construction, relative construction and so on.

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<sup>10</sup> Thomason, Sarah Grey and Kaufman, Terrence. 1988. *Language Contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics*. California: University of California Press. p 78.

<sup>11</sup> *ibid.* 79.

### 3. Intense Contact: Moderate to Heavy Structural Borrowing

With more intense cultural pressure, the borrowing can reach to an extent of moderate to heavy structural borrowing. Major structural features are borrowed with relatively little typological change. Phonological borrowing includes introduction of new distinctive features in contrastive sets that are represented in native vocabulary and perhaps loss of some contrasts. New syllable structure constraints even in native vocabulary and a few natural allophonic and automatic morphophonemic rules are seen. Extensive word order changes will occur at this stage. In morphology, borrowed inflectional affixes and categories will be added to native words, especially if there is a good typological fit in both category and ordering.

For example, Weinreich (1953) cited in Thomason and Kauffman (1988: 83) discusses a Romansh case in which almost all Romansh speakers are bilingual in the socially dominant language of their region, German and in which there is no standard dialect of Romansh to hinder structural borrowing<sup>12</sup>. Some of the interference features include; loss of gender in predicate adjectives, partial replacement of noun- adjective word order by adjective- noun word order and the future tense formation.

### 4. More Intense Contact: Heavy Structural Borrowing

In structure, major structural features are borrowed that cause typological disruption. It includes added morphophonemic rules; phonetic changes; loss of phonemic contrasts and of morphophonemic rules; changes in word structure rules, categorical as well as more extensive ordering changes in morphosyntax and added concord rules, including bound pronominal elements.

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid. 83-84 .

For example, in the case of Brahui, Brahui has intensively borrowed from Balochi. In Phonology, the Dravidian vowel system has almost completely converted into one like that of Balochi. In morphosyntax also considerable changes has been observed in the light of its interference from Balochi, as for instance distinction between exclusive and inclusive first person plural 'we', loss of Dravidian gender system. Quite like some Iranian and Indic languages, Brahui has developed enclitic or suffixed pronominal elements that function as possessives when added to nouns and as objects when added to verbs. And finally, Brahui has borrowed one aspectual verbal prefix directly from Balochi and has developed two or three derivational verbal prefixes with locative meanings, on Balochi model, from native Dravidian morphemes, which is a striking innovation for a language belonging to the exclusively suffixing Dravidian family<sup>13</sup>.

## **TYPES OF BORROWING**

“Those instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language, i.e., as a result of language contact, will be referred to as INTERFERENCE phenomena (Weinreich 1953:1). Linguistic Interference or borrowing implies the rearrangement of the patterns of one's language as a result of the introduction of foreign elements from another language into the highly structured domains of language, such as phonemic system, morphology, syntax and some areas of vocabulary.

### **Lexical Borrowing:**

In 1950, Einar Haugen gave a primary distinction to 'lexical borrowing' into two as 'importation' and 'substitution'. Importation involves bringing a pattern into a

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid.92-93

language whereas substitution involves replacing something from another language with a native pattern. On the basis of importation-substitution distinction, Haugen (1950:214) distinguishes three basic groups of borrowings,

- (1) Loan Words: Morphemic importation without substitution
- (2) Loan Blends: Morphemic importation as well as substitution
- (3) Loan Shifts: Morphemic importation without substitution. In loan shifts, meaning of the loan words are extended for other semantic functions.

Weinreich (1953: 47) differentiates between two mechanisms of lexical interference, namely 'those initiated by simple words and those initiated by compound words and phrases'. In the interference of simple word it involves (1) the outright transfer of the phonemic sequence from one language to another; (2) the extension of the use of an indigenous word of the influenced language in conformity with a foreign model; and (3) when the expression of a sign is changed on the model of a cognate in a language in contact. In the case of compound words and phrases, three types of interference are possible, (1) in analyzed form, when the elements of a compound or phrase are adapted to word - formative or syntactic patterns of the recipient language; (2) reproduction in terms of equivalent native words can be carried out with compounds, phrases, and even larger units such a proverbs. This form is generally known as loan translation which is subdivided into (a) Loan Translation in which model is reproduced exactly, element by element; (b) Loan Renditions in which the model compound only furnishes a general hint for the reproduction; (c) Loan Creation in which new coinages are formed not by cultural innovations, but by the need to match designations available in a language contact ; (3) The third type of interference in compound lexical units involves the transfer of some elements and reproduction of others.

## **Social and Cultural Determinants of Lexical Borrowing**

When languages come into contact, it is quite common that words are borrowed freely among them. But it should also be noted that borrowings are constrained and governed by certain factors which are not linguistic. Weinreich (1953) gives a number of reasons why words may be borrowed. Though I have earlier listed the social factors responsible for the linguistic changes in contact situation, this covers only the cases of lexical borrowing. They are,

- (1) Through cultural influence;
- (2) Rare native words are lost and replaced by foreign words;
- (3) Two native words sound so much alike that replacing one by a foreign word resolves potential ambiguities;
- (4) There is a constant need for synonyms of affective words that have lost their expressive force;
- (5) Through borrowing, new semantic distinctions may become possible;
- (6) A word may be taken from a low status language and used pejoratively;
- (7) A word may be introduced almost unconsciously through extensive bilingualism.

## **Phonological Borrowing:**

Phonetic borrowing takes place when the phonetic system of one language affects or influences the phonetic system of the other language in a contact situation. It occurs when 'a speaker perceives and reproduces the sounds of one language, which might be designated secondary, in terms of another to be called primary. Interference arises when a bilingual identifies a phoneme of the secondary system with one in the primary system, and in reproducing it, subject it to the phonetic rules of the primary language' (Weinreich 1953).

Weinreich (1953:38-43) explains the phenomena of phonic interference through four processes,

- (1) Under-Differentiation of Phonemes : It occurs when two sounds of the secondary system whose counter parts are not distinguished in the primary system are confused;
- (2) Over-Differentiation of Phonemes: It involves the imposition of phonemic distinctions from the primary system on the sounds of the secondary system, where they are not required;
- (3) Reinterpretation of Distinction: It occurs when the bilingual distinguishes phonemes of the secondary system by features which in that system are merely concomitant or redundant, but which are relevant in its primary system;
- (4) Actual Phone Substitution: It applies to phonemes that are identically defined in two languages but whose normal pronunciation differs.

## **INTEGRATION OF BORROWED WORDS**

**Phonological Integration:** It is the process of making borrowed words fit the sound system of the recipient language. It involves complete integration of the borrowed words in the recipient language to the extent that it is hard to tell that they were not original words in the recipient language. But there also are many words that show only partial integration and some that show hardly any integration at all. The borrowed words are frequently adapted to the sound system of the recipient language. The 'borrowing' depends on the fact if the borrower wishes to associate him or herself with the donor language's culture, or because the borrower speaks the donor language as an L2. Myers Scotton (2006: 219- 221)discusses some of the aspects of phonological integration as,

- (1) Phonotactics: The phonological integration of the borrowed element in a recipient language largely depends on the phonotactics of the recipient language. A

language's phonotactics are the combinations of sounds that are permissible in that language. Hence, the phonotactics of a language suggest the extent of phonological integration which occurs, for instance many language have CVCV system, meaning that consonants and vowels alternate. Such languages do not allow consonant clusters of the borrowed words. It will be modified and integrated according to the phonological system of the recipient language.

- (2) Inventory of Distinctive Sounds: All languages have its own distinctive system. So when the words are borrowed to a recipient language, the phonemes of the borrowed words are modified according to largely its presence or absence in the phonemic system of the recipient language. Hence, for instance if the recipient language does not have a phoneme in its sound system which is present in the loan word, they tend to pronounce the loan word by substituting the nearest identical phoneme in its own sound system
- (3) Attitude towards sounding 'native': Different cultures and different individuals vary in how much importance they place on the importance of approximating native sounds, or attempting to "sound like" when they borrow a word.
- (4) Trying to stay close to the donor language or not: Whether borrowed words are integrated may depend on any value that is attached to sounding like a speaker of the donor language. Hence depending on that, speakers try to conform to the structure of the donor language. But it largely depends on the fact that if the recipients are aware of the sound system of the donor language.

**Morphological Integration:** The second type of integration that can affect borrowings is morphological integration. It is somewhat a universal fact that the borrowed words are almost always adapted to the recipient language in morphology. With regard to lexical borrowing, the borrowed element fits into the frame of the recipient language. In the case of many borrowings, they are fitted so firmly into the morphosyntax of the recipient language that they are treated as members of a specific gender or noun class or case.

## **GRAMMATICAL INTERFERENCE**

In the case of grammatical interference, the transfer of morphemes which are as strongly bound as inflectional endings seems to be extremely rare in most of the cases (plural marking of English is seen very often being suffixed to Hindi nouns). Free morphemes are transferred into a language in pairs, with and without an affix. The transfer of morphemes is facilitated between highly congruent structures. Morphemes with complex grammatical functions seem to be less likely to be transferred by the bilingual than those with simpler functions. For example, a preposition which determines one of several cases is less likely to be transferred than a freely occurring noun. On the contrary, unintegrated morphemes as sentence - words and interjections would be easily transferred. It largely depends on the structure of the recipient language. If it contains cases which the bilingual can identify with the case system of the other languages in contact, the transfer of a preposition may be facilitated. Hence, the fuller the integration of the morpheme, the lesser likelihood of its transfer is.

The grammatical interference can affect every type of grammatical relation: order, modulation, agreement and dependence.

- (a) Order: Weinreich (1953) gives various example of the cases in which a shift in word order has taken place.
- (b) Modulations: Even the modulation pattern of a dominant language could interfere with the subordinate language.
- (c) Agreement and Dependence: Interference among relationship of this type is easily observed.

## **CODE SWITCHING**

Code Switching comprises a broad range of contact phenomena. Its linguistic manifestation may extend from the insertion of single words to the alternation of languages for larger segments of discourse. There are two kinds of code switching,



inter-sentential which includes the switching between full sentences, and intra-sentential code switching which happens within a sentence. It may be deployed for a number of reasons: filling linguistic gaps, expressing ethnic identity and achieving particular discursive part and so on.

Myers and Scotton (1993, 1997, 2002, 2006) present a framework for code switching called the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model. The 'frame building language' among the participating languages is called Matrix Language and the other 'participating language' as Embedded language. Myers-Scotton's MLF model, first developed to explain intra-sentential code-switching constraints, contains principles which apply to all language contact phenomena: the System/Content Morpheme distinction, and the Matrix/ Embedded Language distinction. While Myers-Scotton does not argue that all language contact phenomena are versions of code-switching, she does argue that they all undergo versions of the same processes. The main premises of MLF model are, (1) Matrix Language (ML) and Embedded Language (EL) do not participate equally in constituent structure; (2) Not all morpheme types are equal in the sense that not all types can come equally from the ML and EL; (3) Both languages are also "on" when a speaker engages in code switching.

For the present study it is particularly important because through her model she suggests that code switched forms can contribute to structural convergence. The lexical items enter a language as spontaneous switches by bilingual individuals, and then gradually become used by some members of the population who do not speak the source language of the borrowed item. Thus code switching leads to borrowing and from a diachronic perspective, it is difficult to make a clear distinction between the two. It further says that the borrowed and code switched forms can contribute to structural convergence, i.e., 'Code Switching often precedes (or combines with) convergence or attrition' (et al. 2006:288).

## **LANGUAGE ATTRITION**

Attrition involves language change within the speech of one individual. Winford (2003) cites that Batibo (1992:90-92) suggests different stages of language attrition. There is a first stage of monolingualism, followed by a period of growing bilingualism, with the ancestral language (AL). At this point, the AL is used in most kinds of in-group interaction, in domains like family, neighbourhood etc. In stage two, L2 is used for wider inter- group communication. Stage 3 is a period of continuing bilingualism during which more and more speakers adopt the L2 as their primary language. In the fourth stage, the members of the community display more limited production of AL. The final stage is the complete replacement of AL by L2 and thereby death of the AL.

Sasse (1992:20) also suggested something similar. The stages of language death, he summarizes as,

1. Primary language shift, in which shifting speakers become more proficient in the L2 and use it more often than the AL;
2. Language decay, characterized by significant structural change in the AL;
3. Language death and replacement, that is, monolingual competence in L2 and total loss of competence in the AL.

## **CONVERGENCE**

When languages are in contact with each other for a very long period of time, they tend to assimilate several features of languages in contact at all levels of grammar and thus deviate considerably from the characteristic features of their own genetic stock (Abbi 2001:45). An extreme effect of language contact is linguistic convergence, or the extensive structural modification of the languages of a geographical area in the direction of one another, even though the languages may belong to different language families (Sridhar: 1996:60). Convergence results in the formation of a sprachbund (a term introduced by Trubetzkoy and further discussed by

Emeneau 1956:3), or a linguistic area in which languages come to resemble each other structurally more than do their siblings from the same genetic stock. Convergence is distinguished from the other phenomena of borrowing by the fact that usually conservative areas of morphology and syntax may be affected in addition to the phonology and lexicon. It is an adaptation and assimilation of the structure of one language by another.

As we could gather from the 'borrowing scale' which is discussed earlier, convergence and intensity of contact are directly proportional to each other. It is only with more and more intense contact; convergent features emerge in a language. None of the literature has observed convergent features in contact languages in a context of slight or minimal contact. In the period of contact, the language submit itself to the phases of contact induced linguistic changes as code switching, borrowing, convergence and ultimately shift or death sequentially. The features which develop as 'attrition' in an individual become convergence, which is a property of a speech community only with a prolonged contact. Hence the idea of the correlation between the intensity of contact and the process of convergence can never be over looked.

Johanson (2005:6) suggests that convergence means that codes in contact gradually become more like each other, regardless whether this is due to unilateral influence, reciprocal influence or both. It means that codes involved in contact within or outside a given family tree get closer to each other. Convergence can be unilateral due to the influence of one code on another: Code A becomes more similar to Code B. It can be bilateral, due to reciprocal influence: Code A and Code B become more similar to each other.

Appel and Muysken (1987 ) cites an interesting case of sprachbund area in which Konkani converges with Kannada, which is relevant for the present work. 'Some centuries ago, a group of Konkani (Indo-European) speakers moved to an area where Kannada, a Dravidian language, is spoken, and they were forced by circumstances to become bilingual. They used Konkani inside the home and Kannada outside. *That their bilingualism was maintained and*

*shows no sign of disappearing is perhaps due to the rigid ethnic, religious and caste divisions that cut through Indian society. The Konkani speakers were Brahmins and kept themselves separate socially. Nadkarni (1975) claims, however, that the structure of the Konkani dialects involved was directly affected, becoming very much like the structure of Kannada.*

For Example,

The original Konkani relative clause, formed with a relative participle as in (a), was gradually replaced by a Kannada type relative clause, formed with a question word and a yes/ no interrogation element as in (b),

(a) jo mha:nta:ra pepar va:ccat a:ssa. to da:ktaru a:ssa  
 rel old-man paper reading is that doctor is

(b) khamco mha:nta:ra pepar va:ccat assa-ki, to da:ktoru a:ssa  
 which old man paper reading Y/N that doctor is

It is not Konkani grammar undergoing some change, but the replacement of a Konkani grammar rule by a rule of Kannada grammar, while maintaining Konkani vocabulary. This may be called resyntactization and is a strategy of anti-neutrality. Centuries of coexistence and massive bilingualism have led to the convergence of the grammars of Indian languages, but the existing social divisions called for pluriformity. Therefore languages remained as separate as possible on the lexical level.

The best and foremost instance of convergence comes from the study of Gumperz and Wilson (1971) which discusses the situation of Kupwar in India. In their classic paper “Convergence and Creolization: A Case from Indo Aryan/ Dravidian Border in India”, they discuss how language contact has led to linguistic diffusion, in Kupwar, a small village in Maharashtra. The languages spoken in this area belong to two

different language families- Marathi and Urdu belonging to Indo- European language family and Kannada and Telugu to the Dravidian family. Because they all live in the same village, most or all of them are bilingual or trilingual. Gumperz and Wilson have analyzed a large number of morphological and syntactic structures in the languages of the area to show that each language have adopted some features or other. "The need for constant code-switching and for mutual adaptation within a situation in which home languages are maintained has led to reduction and adaptation in linguistic structure. Historically viewed, moreover, where one is used to thinking of grammar as more persistent, lexicon as most changeable, in the normal development of a language, in Kupwar it is grammar, that has been adaptable, lexical shape most persistent."(p.166)

Gumperz and Wilson discuss sixteen features in all. Kupwar Marathi has changed toward Kannada in four of these features; Kupwar Kannada has changed toward Marathi, and Urdu too in five or six features; and Kupwar urdu has changed toward kannada and or Marathi in twelve features. All sixteen features are morphosyntactic: gender categories; the exclusive/inclusive 'we' distinction; subject-verb agreement rules in four different constructions; a head- modifier agreement rule; two word order features; an equational construction, NP-is-NP; three features involving case functions; yes/no question marking; use of demonstrative and possessive forms in attributive and predicative constructions; and the forms of past tense nonfinite verb forms in two constructions.

## **REDUNDANCIES IN GRAMMAR**

Abbi (2001:46) suggests that language contact not only leads to convergence of languages, but give rise to complex and redundant grammatical features. Redundancies can be identified by the existence of non-optionality between two linguistic structures performing the same or similar functions. It arises when the retention of indigenous structures and the adoption of contact language structures

exist together. Abbi (ibid.53) says that the oscillation between old and new culminates in redundant expressions that can be found at any level of grammar. In redundancy the key factors are the existence of more than one feature of the same meaning and the non optionality to use any one of them. In long contact, the languages tend to adopt either of them and give up the other one.

Abbi (ibid.52) provides a very fascinating example from Bangani, an Indo Aryan language spoken in the Western Himalayan region of Grahwal with a history of contact with various languages over the past 2000 years.

1. (a) ram (na) n̄thi aude lagiū  
 Ram neg. neg-aux come prg/dur

(b) ram na r̄̄ and̄̄ lagi  
 Ram neg. dur. come prog/dur

‘Ram is not coming’

2. (a) aū khaṇ̄ (na) n̄thi th̄̄ khandi lagiū  
 I food neg. neg-aux aux(pst.msg) eat prog/dur

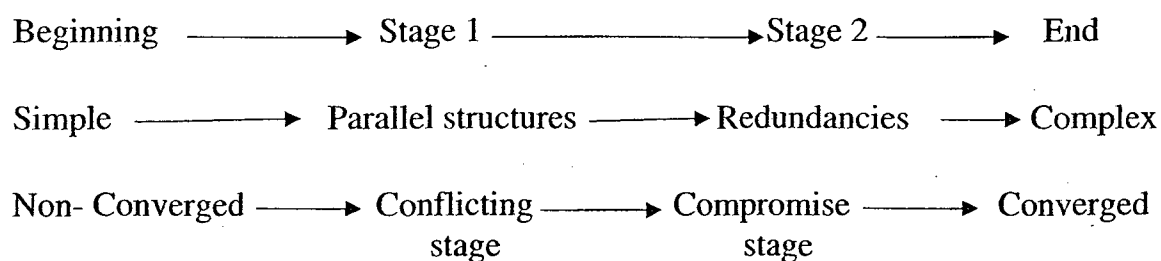
(b) aū khaṇ̄ na r̄̄ th̄̄ khandi lagiū  
 I food neg. dur. aux(pst.msg) eat prog/dur

‘I was not eating food’

From the data presented above, it is clear that for the speakers of Bangani, both ‘na’ and ‘n̄thi’ play the same linguistic function of negation. Due to the phenomenon of redundancy in languages both these particles are used simultaneously in expressions with intended meaning of negation as in sentences 1.a and 2.a.

## STAGES OF LANGUAGE CHANGE IN CONTACT SITUATION

Abbi (200:51) says that when language communities stay in long and stable contact, it results in various changes in the grammatical structures and, even restructuring of their languages. Languages pass through two important stages while they restructure their grammar, a 'conflicting stage' that results in parallel structures and the 'compromise stage' that results in redundancies. The conflicting stage gives the speakers the freedom to choose between indigenous and borrowed structures. In the compromise stage, it is seen that the obligatory use of a particular structure is maintained. Thus, during the course of the language change some features might be at stage one and others might be at stage two. It results in complex linguistic changes most of the time. Abbi (ibid.51) gives a diagrammatic representation of the stages of language change in contact situation.



### SUMMARY

This chapter provides a literature survey of the concept of 'language contact' and linguistic processes which occurs in a contact situation; which involves borrowing, interference, code- switching, attrition, redundancy and linguistic convergence. It also gives a very brief discussion of some relevant case studies as well. This literature survey, basically suggests that in a long and stable language contact situation there exists a hierarchy in borrowing and consequent contact- induced language changes. And, it is directly proportional to the intensity and time of contact.

## CHAPTER - III

### ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

Though my proposed study suggested that Konkani seemed to exhibit lesser convergence and language maintenance even in the influence of the mainstream dominant language Malayalam, and Kudumbi seemed to exhibit more convergence and language shift, my fieldwork data speaks something different. As discussed in chapter 2, it is not only the linguistic factors which govern these change but various social reasons are also responsible for the linguistic changes.

(1) **Brief discussion and analysis of the proposed study:** In my proposed work, I had referred to the work of Thampuran(1982) which has given instances of linguistic convergence of Kudumbi with Malayalam . He has suggested that Kudumbis have more or less converged with the lexical as well as grammatical system of Malayalam and undergoing a process of shift to Malayalam while Konkani have maintained their language with lesser convergence. Some instances of 'linguistic convergence' he has given are,

In Kudumbi lexicon, it is not seen to exhibit aspiration and nasalization in most of the case. Loss of aspiration and loss of nasalization identified in Kudumbi is considered to be an influence of Malayalam.

#### (a.1) Loss of aspiration :

Example ,

Konkani	Kudumbi	
p <sup>h</sup> aati	faati	`back'
b <sup>h</sup> aabdu	baabdu	`cart'



**(a.2) Loss of nasalization:**

<b>Konkani</b>	<b>Kudumbi</b>	
mūyi	muuyi	'ant'
cōddu	codu	'child'

**(b) Number:**

Malayalam has the plural suffix /kaar/. Kudumbi uses the same marker with slight phonemic alternation.

<b>Kudumbi</b>	<b>Malayalam</b>	
kuuttəkaari	kuuttu kaar	'friends'
totto kaari	toottakkaar	'gardner'

The plural marker /ka/ of Malayalam has been borrowed in Kudumbi as /galə/

<b>Konkani</b>	<b>Kudumbi</b>	<b>Malayalam</b>	
haat-ə	haat.galə	kaykal	'hands'
diis-ə	diisu.galə	divasankal	'days'

**(c) Case suffixes**

A few Malayalam case suffixes are attested in Kudumbi.

### *Accusative*

The accusative case suffix *ne/e* of Malayalam is being used in Kudumbi in the place of */-ni/*, the accusative suffix in Konkani.

<b>Konkani</b>	<b>Kudumbi</b>	<b>Malayalam</b>	
Putta–ni	putta–ne	putrane	`son' (acc.)
Paksiyā–ni	paksi–ne	paksiye	`bird' (acc.)

### *Genitive*

The genitive case marker *–ude* of Malayalam is being used in Kudumbi.

<b>Konkani</b>	<b>Kudumbi</b>	<b>Malayalam</b>	
ruk <sup>h</sup> aa–lē	ruk <sup>h</sup> aa–de	marattinte	`of tree'

### *Dative*

*/kə/* is the dative case marker in Konkani. Kudumbi uses the Malayalam dative case suffix */nu/*.

<b>Konkani</b>	<b>Kudumbi</b>	<b>Malayalam</b>	
raamaakə	raaman	raamanu	`rama (dat)
siitaakə	siitaau	sittakku	`sita (dat)

### *Locative*

The Malayalam locative case marker /-il/ is found in Kudumbi speech.

<b>Konkani</b>	<b>Kudumbi</b>	<b>Malayalam</b>	
renaant	kaadilu	kattil	`in forest'
pondaakə	pondeelu	cuvattil	`down'

### **ANALYSIS**

In my fieldwork, I have reassessed and verified the aforementioned data, but my data suggest that other than (a) the 'phonological features nasalization and de-aspiration (b) interference in plural marker, none of the features were observed to exist in the speech of Kudumbis as a convergent marker. Hence it could be assumed that, those might have been instances of mere interference or attrition, could have been recorded from select few speakers..

In my analysis it has been found that, as proposed, it is quite evident that Kudumbi exhibit more linguistic changes when compared to Konkani. The analysis is given below:

#### **I. Analysis of Basic Word List**

Analysis of basic word list suggests the most important fact that Kudumbi is a variety of Konkani or closer to Konkani. The list of basic word list is given in the appendix. Kudumbi exhibits differences from Konkani in some vocabularies like in the case of following examples:

Lexicon	Konkani	Kudumbi
'father'	bappə	a:bu
'cry(n)'	reḍettə	bɔbbəgə əttə
'earring'	veḍi	kaṇṇə
'elephant'	eṣṭi	esɔ:ti
'snake'	ḍivɔ:ḍə	pambɔ:ḍə
'thumb'	ungɔ:tṭə	bɔ:tə
'pond'	bajīn	tɔ ə
'cough'	kha:nki	hōnki ḷi

## II. Lexical Borrowing

In the case of lexical borrowing,

- (a) Kudumbi exhibit more lexical borrowing than Konkani
- (b) In the case of Kudumbi, some core lexical items, as in Kinship terminology, numerals and household items are seen to be borrowed. And, these borrowings are seen as convergent features in Kudumbi, since they no longer use Kudumbi kinship terms or numerals.
- (c) In the case of Kudumbi, it exhibit more 'loan words' whereas Konkani exhibits more of 'loan blends' and 'loan shifts'.
  - It is an important finding that in the case of lexical borrowing in Konkani, the pattern of borrowing suggests that in Konkani the borrowing takes place mainly to fill a lexical gap. In the context of migration, they have borrowed lexical items from the host language to

the new concepts and items which were introduced newly to them. Even in this case, most of the time it has been seen that ,the Konkani have not adopted these lexical items as ‘loan words’, but as modified forms or ‘loan blends’ . While, Kudumbi exhibit ‘loan shifts’ as well as loan blends’, and the frequency of loan shifts being higher than loan blends.

**(a) Kinship Terminology**

Lexicon	Malayalam Lexicon	Konkani/ Kudumbi
Father	accən	a:bu(kn)/ bappə(kd)
Mother	ammə	avai(kn)/ avoi(kd)
Elder sister	cecci	akkə*
Elder brother	ceṭṭən	annə*
Younger brother	anijən	ba:vu
Younger sister	anijətti	beiṇin
Grand father	appu:ppən	adʒdʒɔ
Grand mother	ammu:mmə	adʒdʒi
Son-in-law	marumakən	dʒavɔi
Daughter-in-law	marumakəl	su:nə

\*/akkə/ for elder sister and /aṇṇən/ is the kinship term for elder brother used by migrated Brahmins like Tulu Brahmins, Tamil Brahmins in Kerala. It shows that even though some of the Kinship terms were given away, they tends to adopt the Brahminical expressions, not the Malayalam ones.

- In the table given above, examples of the Kinship terms originally used by Konkani and Kudumbis (in Kerala) are given. It has been found that Konkani still retain those forms, whereas Kudumbis have shifted to the Malayalm Kinship terminologies.

## Numerals

Numbers	Malayalam	Konkani/ Kudumbi
1	oṅṅə	ekkə
2	raṅḍə	d <sup>h</sup> :ni
3	mu:ṅṅə	ti:ni
4	ṅa:lə	ca:ri
5	andʒə	a:nci
6	a:ɾə	sɔi
7	e:zə	sa:tə
8	eṭṭə	a:ttə
9	ɔnpaḍə	Nau
10	paṭṭə	ḍa

- In the table given above, the numerals originally used by Konkani and Kudumbis (in Kerala) are given. In the study, it has been found that the Konkani still retain the same numeral system, whereas Kudumbis have shifted to the Malayalam ones.

## Everyday Items<sup>14</sup>

- (1) 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, whereas Konkani informants gave the names of Konkani

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<sup>14</sup> English gloss cannot be provided since its name of the food items

names, which are loan shifts. It was done to observe how the indigenous words have been borrowed.

Example:

Malayalam	Kudumbi	Konkani
dosa	ɖɔsa	pɔɔ:
iddili	idɖɔli	paɔɔɔɔɔ
tɔ:ren	tɔ:ren	ukɔ:ri
mɔ:rəkəɽi	mɔ:rəkəɽi	takkəɽendɔi
pappadem	pappadem	appɔɔ
ku:ttəkəɽi	ku:ttəkəɽi	gəssi

(2) In the name of green vegetables, the Konkani exhibit the same pattern. When only elder Kudumbis remembered some of the names, Konkani have their own vocabulary still in use ,

Example :

Malayalam	Kudumbi	Konkani	
mattəŋə	mattəŋə	ɖuddi	'pumpkin'
kumbaɔŋə	kumbaɔŋə	kuva:ɔ	'gourd'
e:lekka:jə	e:lekka:jə	eɔesəŋə	'elaichi'
kəttəmali	kəttəmali	kəttəmba:ri	'coriander'
ce:nə	ce:nə	su:ɽnə	'elephant yam'

venḍə	venḍə	benḍə	'ladies finger'
pa:vakkə	pa:vakkə	kaṛa:tə	'bitter gourd'
vazudaneṅə	vazudaneṅə	vainganeṅə	'brinjal'
paḍəvaleneṅə	paḍəvaleneṅə	ṛoḍḍo:ḷə	'gourd'

The usages /kuva:ḷə/ and /ṛoḍḍo:ḷə/ can be considered as 'loan blends' since it has similar equivalents in Malayalam as /kumbaḷəm/ and /paḍavaləm/ respectively.

### III. Phonological Interferences

Analysis of the Phonology of Speech Samples: Phonology is one level in which we can observe the highest level of contact induced changes.

(1) **Prosodic Interference:** The prosodic features of Malayalam seem to have heavily influenced the Kudumbi speech pattern. Kudumbi speech is quite slow with more long vowels like the Cochin dialect of Malayalam. It has reached to an extent that the Kudumbi speech resembles or has become very much like the Cochin dialect of Malayalam. Whereas the Konkani have still maintained their supra-segmental distinctiveness, without giving any scope of apparent resemblances in its prosodic features.

(1.1) **Vowel lengthening and 'ə' Insertion:** In Cochin dialect of Malayalam, the vowels are lengthened a little and a 'ə' is inserted at the final position, which results in a comparatively slower speech. A similar pattern is observed in Kudumbi speech, but not in Konkani.

Example:

<b>Kudumbi</b>	<b>Konkani</b>	
hēggə	heggə	'all'
essīni	essini	'garlic'
pīja:və	pīja:və	'onion'



su:rə	su:ɾ	'liquor'
co:rə	co:ɾ	'thief'
ri:ŋə	ɾi:ŋ	'debt'

(1.2) Praat Analysis: The Praat Analysis has been done on the speech samples collected from three informants (female), with the same equipment, on the same topic, under similar conditions. See Appendix (5) Praat Analysis.

The averages of the amplitude and intensity has been calculated. Average has been taken, so as to avoid the possibility of individual differences in amplitude. It mainly gives an idea of the differences of 'loudness' between Konkani and Kudumbi. The findings are,

- (a) The spectrogram pattern shows similarities in the pattern of waves between Kudumbi and Malayalam compared to Konkani and Malayalam;
- (b) The average value of amplitude and intensity of Kudumbi and Malayalam are found to be similar, whereas Konkani and Malayalam show quite a difference;
- (c) It shows that, Kudumbi and Malayalam exhibit similarity in the pattern of loudness than Konkani and Malayalam.

(2) **Loss of Nasalization:** Nasalization is seen to be lost in most of the cases in Kudumbi. Whereas Konkani speech exhibits nasalization. Nasalization is not a prominent phenomenon in Malayalam. Hence the non-existence of nasalization in Kudumbi, could be considered as an influence of Malayalam.

**Loss of nasalization:**

Konkani	Kudumbi	
mūyi	mu:yi	'ant'

kūkə	kukə	'potato'
kēs	kes	'hair'
pāvə	pavə	'foot'
bōvi	bōvi	'eye brow'
mūji	muji	'house fly'

(3) **Loss of Aspiration:** Loss of aspiration is more observed in Kudumbi speech. But the data suggest that even the Konkani speech has lost some of the aspirations. It cannot be considered to be entirely a feature of Kudumbi.

Konkani	kudumbi	
b <sup>h</sup> a:v	ba:və	'ego'
b <sup>h</sup> ogənti	bogənti	'goddess'
t <sup>h</sup> ənd	tənd	'cold'
d <sup>h</sup> ul	dul	'dust'
d <sup>h</sup> imi	dimi	'knee'
j <sup>h</sup> uvor	juvor	'smoke'

Some of the Konkani kinship terms are seen to be lost aspiration. These words are found to be carrying aspiration in Konkani literature texts.

baajlə	'wife'
bamu:ŋə	'husband'
ba:və	'brother'

(4) **/ə/ Insertion:** The data show that in most of the cases, Kudumbi follows the Malayalam pattern of addition of a schwa /ə/ to meet the phonotactic constraints

of Malayalam in words with one mora. It is not observed much in Konkani speech.

Example:

<b>Kudumbi</b>	<b>Konkani</b>	
ga:ɽə	ga:ɽ	'house'
su:ɽə	su:ɽ	'liquor'
co:ɽə	co:ɽ	'thief'
ri:ŋə	ɽi:ŋ	'debt'
ta:kə	ta:k	'butter milk'
fattɔɽə	fattɔɽ	'stone'
mosəŋə	mosəŋ	'cemetery'
madzəɽə	madzəɽ	'cat'
kɔvɔ:də	kɔvɔ:d	'door'
gɔbbɔ:ɽə	gɔbbɔ:ɽ	'ash'
vaɽdi:gə	vaɽdi:g	'wedding'

(5) **Phonological Integration of Loan Words:** Both Konkani and Kudumbi display a similar pattern of phonological integration of loan words in terms of gender. Malayalam possesses the pattern of natural gender system, while Konkani possesses a pattern of arbitrary gender system in which inanimate nouns may be masculine, feminine or neuter. In the case of Kudumbis, they tend to observe both the natural pattern of Malayalam and the three gender system of Konkani. This is a strong case of redundancy in grammatical structures.

(a) In the data it is seen that most of the nouns ending in /-u/ are assigned to class of masculine nouns . It might be because most of the Konkani nouns ending in /-u/ are masculine. Hardly any data has been found that the Malayalam nouns ending in /-u/ have entered the feminine and neuter noun classes of Konkani.

In the data, it is seen that most of the nouns ending in /-u/ are assigned to class of masculine nouns. It might be because most of the Konkani nouns ending in /-u/ are masculine. In some borrowings which are neuter in gender, neuter gender itself is assigned.

Example:

pu:ttu      ha||ə      pɔ||-ɔ  
 rice cake    down      fall-past, mas  
 puttu fell down

➤ Masculine gender is assigned.

puzu      mɔɾ-ŋə      ɔɔ||-ɔ:  
 insect    die-part.    lie-pst, masculine  
 the insect lie dead

➤ Masculine gender is assigned

uppu    sell-ə  
 salt    finish-pst,neuter  
 salt got finished.

➤ Neuter gender is assigned

(b) Malayalam loan words ending in /-i/ in most of the case are assigned feminine gender:

Example:

kuppi            halle            pɔ||i

bottle          down          fall-pst, fem

the bottle fell down

- Feminine gender is assigned.

vaṅḍi      ge:ɾ -kade      pauli

vehicle      home loc      reach-pst, fem

the vehicle reached home

- Feminine gender is assigned

(6) **Gemination:** Malayalam shows quite a number of patterns of gemination.

Kudumbi speech tends to exhibit many geminated sequences which could be assumed an influence of Malayalam.

Example:	Kudumbi	Konkani	
	da:ttə	da:t	teeth
	gɔbbɔ:ɾə	gobo:ɾ	ashes
	kɔppɔ:ɾə	kɔpo:r	copper
	tu:ppə	tu:p	fat
	suɾu:ppə	suɾu:p	snake

#### IV. Discourse Markers

It is seen that some Malayalam discourse markers have entered in both Konkani and Kudumbi speeches.

Example:

(a) /e:j/      which is a vocative marker in Malayalam

e:j,      aŋge      besu:ŋ- gə      pa:ŋə

voc      there      sit-impr.      do-neg

'Hey, don't sit there'

(b) /mikkəva:ɹum/ 'most of the time'

Here is an instance from an informal conversation

"/maɿtə keselə dʒa-ukə?  
pumpkin which take-deb ?  
'Which pumpkin has to be taken?'

/ɖeviṭə ca:ŋgi. endu: vasələ kɔzappəm ɲa:/  
white good-part. yellow even problem Neg

'White is good, yellow is not even a problem'

/pakʃe ɖeviṭə mikkəva:ɹum kaɖ-ɔ:pə/."  
Compl. white mostly take-hab.

'But white is taken mostly'

(c) /cilappo/ 'probably'

cilappo, sa:ndʒə ʃi:veli eggə att-eli  
probably evening temple performance all be-fut.fem

'probably, there will be temple performance and all in the evening'

cilappo, fallə boɾppə meɿt-ele  
probably tomorrow letter get-fut.neutr

'probably tomorrow the letter will get delivered.'

## V. Pronominals

In the case of pronominals, the most striking feature is the use of 'tummi', which is a second person pronoun and is +honorific.

In Malayalam, though there is an equivalent /ta:ngal/, a second person pronoun which is a polite form of address, in day to day Malayalam conversation, is not used. Since it shows higher level of formality. Instead, address term is used. The same pattern is followed in Kudumbi speech. But Konkani follow the Indo Aryan pattern.

#### **MALAYALAM:**

'amme:,	ammə	evidə	poj-irunnu'	(Malayalam)
Mother!	mother	where	go-past-perf	

(address)

'Mother!, Where did you go'

#### **KONKANI**

'a:vai,	tummi	kisse	kəɽta:ji	vo vo:lə'	(Konkani)
Mother!	2nd p-pl	how	do-inf.	dish	

'Mother! how do you make 'volvolu dish'

#### **KUDUMBI**

'amme:	ammə	kisse	kəɽta:ji	pədəva:ɽə	aŋt:ji
Mother	mother	how	do-inf.	fish	curry

(address)

'Mother! how do you make sardine dish'

## **VI. Case Marking**

In Konkani, the nominative case is indicated by the case marker '-an'. In the case of Kudumbi, an interesting case is observed that, the old generation still continue to use the nominative case marker whereas in the speech of the middle generation,

who are shifting the nominative case marker is not seen. It should be because the nominative case is unmarked in Malayalam.

### **Konkani**

raman-an	sit-ak	mar-l-ɔ
ram-nom	sita-acc	hit-pst
ram hit sita		

jon-an	ghər	ban-l-e
john-nom	house-sg	build-pst-sg
john built a house		

### **Kudumbi**

Raman	sit-ak	mar-l-ɔ
raman-nom	sita-acc	hit-pst
ram hit sita		

jon	ghər	ban-l-e
john-nom	house-sg	build-pst-sg
john built a house		

## **OVERALL ANALYSIS**

It is not an exhaustive data which has been presented here. But it draws our attention to much unforeseen interesting facts.

In a contact situation like this, for more than five hundred years, the linguistic changes that the languages concerned with submit itself to could be predictable on the basis of similar studies and literature. But the actual field work data speaks contrary to the expectation. It is observed that both Konkani and Kudumbi have not undergone much



of convergence, despite its long term contact with Malayalam. The explanation for this fact does not merely come from the linguistic factors, but social factors.

It is found that Konkani, still maintain their language with lesser convergence. They have resisted the language changes which could have possibly occurred to their language in an alien land with such a long contact. It is because of the socio- political and economic reasons. Gowda Saraswat Brahmins, with whom Konkani language is associated with, are upper caste Brahmins who are socially, politically and economically higher than Kudumbis (Table: 2&3). Apart from this fact, most of the settlements of Konkani are situated around the Hindus like Nairs or Ezhavas, who are lower in caste hierarchy than Brahmins. Hence, Konkani themselves find higher in caste when compared to the neighborhood and even they receive acceptance from the host community. Thus, it is not a surprising fact that they still manage to maintain their language. This viewpoint is further elaborated in the next chapter.

But the unanticipated fact is the discovery of the case of Kudumbis. Kudumbis, taking into account their long history of contact and their socio- political and economic backwardness, certain linguistic outcomes are expected to happen. It could predict a situation of plethora of linguistic convergence and an ultimate case of language shift. As the literatures like Weinreich(1953), Thomason and Kauffman(1988) suggest, in such a long history of contact, Kudumbi is expected to undergo such phases of on-going linguistic processes before culminating in a stage of language shift.

The Kudumbi data clearly show that Kudumbis have shifted to the mainstream language Malayalam, in a long run which is quite likely to happen. But the puzzle is in the case of process of 'convergence'. Kudumbi, even with such a long history of contact and favourable social reasons, the course of interference has not reached a level of 'convergence' per se. the features of convergence is seen only in the level of prosodic features and lexicon. Quite before the higher levels of phonology, morphology and syntax got affected, the kudumbis have shifted themselves to

Malayalam, in the recent years. The historical and social background of the Kudumbis answers this riddle.

The discussions with the older generation informants belonging to Kudumbi community provided with an insight to probe into the historical background of Kudumbis in Kerala. The informants Saraswati Bhai(78), Mani Bhai(75), Leela Bhai(58), Saraswati Bhai(70), Rajan (64) who are still engaged themselves as household workers, provided the information that *'earlier, in their childhood times even though they didn't have any objection, the Kudumbis were not hired in the households of the mainstream Keralites like Hindu Nairs and Namboothiris. Hence they were 'forced' to continue to work for their Konkani peers. And they were so taken for granted by them that they were never properly paid and never in cash, but in kind. And it is only recently they have started been employed in the households of other communities, especially in the case of women and men started being engaged in some menial works outside the holds of Konkani community'*.

The reason for this statement come from the 'Kerala land reform movement of 1963 and 'Kerala Gulf Boom of 1970s, since both these movements were 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 socio- economically lower middle class people of Kerala. (Malayala Manorama Year Book, 1991).

It is indirectly related to the process of language contact of Kudumbis with Malayalam. As said earlier, though the Kudumbis were not employed in the Upper caste households of Keralites, with the emergence of a new 'middle class', the

Kudumbis started seeking jobs in the households of other middle class communities like Ezhavas, Muslims and Christians, who had no objection in hiring them. The main reason was the financial benefit, since they were least benefited economically with their work in Konkani households. Hence Kudumbis have been in Kerala for more than five hundred years, the actual contact which could result in such intense linguistic changes started happening only recently in a span of fifty to sixty years.

Besides, even in the case of education, the profile of the informants (table 2.1, 2.2) suggest that the Kudumbis have started attaining education recently. With the introduction to education and schools, the Kudumbis started getting exposed to the mainstream community and it occurred as a necessity for them to shift to the language of the mainstream group, since language has such a strong revealing power of one's identity, which the Kudumbis try to resist being in a socio-economically lower community.

## **FINDINGS**

- The basic argument which has come out of the analysis is the Konkans have maintained their language with lesser convergence whereas Kudumbis have shifted to Malayalam abruptly with not much of convergence, as expected;
- In both the cases, Konkani and Kudumbi the data show more of borrowings / interference, attrition or code switching patterns than of a stable convergence.
- Convergence patterns in Kudumbi are seen in lexicon (kinship terminology), prosodic features, phonology, and discourse markers, which shows an initial stage of convergence.
- The data collected from the three generations in each of the community show that Konkans tend to resist much of borrowings from Malayalam in all the three generations. While Kudumbis could have been prone to language changes, yet they resisted such changes because they were not amalgamated in the Malayali society deep enough to bring in convergence in the language.

## **CHAPTER IV**

### **THEORIES ON LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND SHIFT**

In this study, though the outcome is found to be linguistic, the reasons responsible for it could be drawn from the social factors. When a language- contact situation is examined in detail, the interrelation of socio- cultural conditions and linguistic phenomena is apparent (Weinreich, 1953:83). Khubchandani (1981: 4) observes that in a multilingual setting, apart from the practical demands of a situation, a contact language is often acquired because of the privileges/ status accorded or prestige attached to it, or because of the pressures of social identification. It has been observed in the last chapter that Konkanis maintain their language with lesser convergence, whereas Kudumbis are shifting to the mainstream language with comparatively more convergence. This chapter discusses these phenomena of language maintenance and shift, which has been observed among the Konkanis and Kudumbis respectively. The relevant socio- linguistic concepts of domains of language use, language attitude, language loyalty, language and economics, and language and caste are taken into consideration.

### **LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND SHIFT**

Sometimes, in the context of migration the speakers hold on to their own language despite the influence of powerful host community and sometimes it occurs that they yield to the influence of host community and speakers assimilate to the dominant language. In the former case, it is language maintenance and, in latter it is language shift. According to Hoffman (1991:186), 'when a community does not maintain its language, but gradually adopts another one, we talk about language shift while language maintenance refers to a situation where members of a community try to keep the language (s) they have always used'. Hoffman also observes that under certain cultural, social and political conditions, a community might opt to change one set of

linguistic tools for another. This phenomenon is acute in the case of migrant communities. In a multilingual setting, language or language varieties sometimes displace each other, or at other times maintain their own. The study of language maintenance and language shift is concerned with the relationship between change or stability in language usage patterns, on the one hand and the on going psychological, or cultural processes on the other hand, by the speakers in a multilingual setting. Fishman (1968: 85-108) suggests that an exhaustive study of language maintenance and language shift ultimately involves the diachronic and synchronic interrelation of the three major topical sub divisions:

- (a) habitual language use at more than one point of time or space;
- (b) antecedent, concurrent or consequent psychological, social and cultural processes and their relationship to stability or change in habitual language use;
- (c) behavior toward language, including directed maintenance or shift efforts.

The first deals with the habitual language use in a contact situation. This requires a study of 'degree of bilingualism' and 'location of bilingualism', along sociologically relevant dimensions. Degree of bilingualism is recognizable in terms of automaticity, proficiency and code intactness at the phonetic, lexical, and grammatical levels. Location of bilingualism requires investigation with respect to functional diversification in appropriately designated domains of language, each domain being abstracted from patterned role- relations, topics, locales and /or other lower order phenomenon. The second major topical division of the study of language maintenance and language shift deals with ascertained changes in habitual language use, which is caused as a result of some psychological, social and cultural factors. The third and major sub division of the study pertains to behavior towards more focused and conscious behaviors on behalf of maintenance or shift. Three major sub-topics within this topic are recognizable: attitudinal- affective behaviours as loyalty, antipathy etc., overt behavioural implementation as control or regulation of habitual language use via

reinforcement, planning, prohibition, etc., and cognitive behaviours as language consciousness, language knowledge, language related- group perceptions, etc.

In the case of language maintenance, language preservation must be equivalent to culture preservation. Language is maintained by the migrant community to keep their cultural or regional identity intact, as the language is very much associated with culture and region. Language shift might happen in the cases, when the migrant community wants to recognize themselves in newer domains, or with the realization that their economic, political and social interests are not met, by maintaining their own language, along with various other social, political reasons.

In the following part, various factors which are responsible for language maintenance and shift in a multilingual context are discussed.

### **(a) Domains of Language Use**

Joshua Fishman (1972) developed the notion of 'domains of language use' which paved the way for a systematic study of the distribution of the varieties of a language within a speech community. Domain gives us ways of studying the distribution and choices of language and language varieties in a society. Fishman suggests that one language is more likely to be appropriate in some specific contexts than another. Domains are defined in terms of institutional contexts or socio-ecological co-occurrences. They attempt to designate the major clusters of interaction situations that occur in particular multilingual settings. Domains enable us to understand that language choice and topics are related to widespread socio-cultural norms and expectations (Fishman 1972: 19). According to Fishman, there is no invariant set of domains applicable to all multilingual settings, as language behavior reflects the socio-cultural patterning. Domains can thus be defined intuitively, theoretically or empirically. They, too, can differ in terms of socio-psychological and societal-institutional level. Socio-psychological analysis distinguishes intimate, informal, formal and intergroup domains. These domains can then be identified with domains at

the societal-institutional level such as home, school, etc., which coincide with which activities (ibid. 19-20). Domains help us understand the language choice of individuals and society. Domain separation or overlap is a contributing factor for language maintenance or shift. If the language displacement advance so far that the mother tongue remain only in restricted and non- overlapping domains, it can result in language shift. Hence domain overlap can be considered as an indication of on-going language shift, and domain separation as an indication of stability, i.e. language maintenance (Fishman 1972:115-116).

Weinreich (1953:87) cites that Schidt- Rohr distinguishes nine domains of language use, to wit, the family, the playground, the school (with subdivisions), the church, literature, the press, the army, the courts, and the administration. He also claims that each domain has to be studied separately and a total inter- domain configuration presented if various types of bilingualism were to be differentiated and understood.

By looking at the languages used in different domains, one can get an idea as to whether there are any particular linguistic preferences for different domains and different interlocutors. Then what remains to be seen is whether this multilingual community is stable or unstable (Fishman 1968).

### **(b) Relative Status of Languages**

Relative status of the languages involved in a bi/ multilingual situation has an important role in the process of language maintenance and shift. It is one of an important factor which decides the direction of change among the involved languages, even from the very starting process of interference or borrowing to language shift or death.

Weinreich (1953:73-79) identifies seven criteria which determines the relative status of languages or the dominance of one language over another in a bilingual context. They are relative proficiency, mode of use, order of learning and age, usefulness in

communication, emotional involvement, function in social advance, and literacy-cultural value. Of this, 'usefulness in communication' and 'function in social advance' need special mention in this study.

'Usefulness in communication' is an important factor which serves to establish the dominance of one of two languages. Usefulness in communication means the utility of a language or the extent to which it is actually used. The usefulness of a language or the awareness of the usefulness of a language among the speakers could be one important possible reason for learning it. The greater extent to which one language is used, it becomes a source of interference for the recipient language.

'Function in social advance' is another important factor which determines the dominance. In certain social conditions, the mastery of a language becomes important for an individual not merely as a medium of communication, but as a means of social advance too. And sometimes, it happens that 'the conditions of social advance may even require the ostensible ignorance of another language- which may be a person's mother tongue'.

### **(c) Language and Identity**

Language and identity is essentially linked to each other. Or, to put it in other words language holds the immense power of revealing or concealing one's identity, consciously or unconsciously. Indian society is segmented along several dimensions such as religion, caste, mother tongue, occupation and region. This segmented structure of society finds expression in the prevailing patterns of speech in a society. Identity pressure is one of the social norm which regulates the language behavior in a community (Khubchandani 1981:3).

According to Haugen (1971:288), 'Language is more than an instrument; among other things, it is also an expression of personality and a sign of identity'. Giles (1977),



discussing social identity, says 'a person's social identity involves self- evaluation which derives from being a member of a specific group.'

Gumperz (1972) says that 'Language serves as a symbol of distinctness in much the same way as do differences in dress and markings on the forehead'. (Gumperz and Cook (Gumperz 1982:7) hold the view that 'social identity and ethnicity are in large part established and maintained through language''.

Mahapatra (1981) cited in Bayer (1990: 103) ,discussing ethnicity, identity and language shows that in most cases ethnicity is the primary focus of group identity and that language and ethnicity are co- extensive, or one is the derivative of the other.

Bayer (1990: 101) discusses the notion of identity among the minorities. Linguistic minorities are generally bi/multilingual. The functional use of their mother tongue is generally restricted to the home and in-group interaction while the dominant language(s) of the environment perform the role of other functions, such as in education, administration and mass communication. Thus language, singly or in clusters, acts as a token of cultural identity of individuals and groups. Bayer (ibid.101), further says that there is a hierarchy of identity exist in a multilingual society i.e., each group stresses primary attachment to one identity and at the same time, stresses differing degrees of attachment for other identities, each in symbiosis with the whole network of identity of the individual and of the group.

One's identity is usually associated with one's mother tongue. In a multilingual context, one can observe the range of issues associated with one's mother tongue and their identity which come along. It involves retaining their identity through holding onto one's language or surrendering it by shifting or losing one's mother tongue. 'Mother tongue is the expression of primary identity and of group solidarity. One is identified with a linguistic, ethnic, religious or a cultural group through one's mother tongue. The early socialization function, identity function and psychic function are rooted in mother tongue. Myths, symbols, systems of beliefs and practices are

transmitted naturally through the mother tongue. Mother tongue anchors the child to culture, the loss of which results in the loss of intellectual and aesthetic creativity and results in intellectual impoverishment, emotional sterility and cultural perception blind spot'. (Pattanayak 1990: ix).

As Pandit (1977:3) points out, 'identities are revealed in many ways. One's social class is indicated by the dress and demeanor, one's religious identity is revealed by one's home and sacred marks on one's persons and by many other visual clues. Speech does not merely replicate this information; it serves the function of bringing speakers together despite their differences'.

#### **(d) Caste and Language**

It is said in the previous section that language reveals one's identity. But sometimes, it occurs that identity refers to one's caste identity, which has a lot to communicate in Indian society. Caste as a rigid and hierarchical system had long been prevalent in India (Fuller 1997:5). Gupta (2007) says that, in India the caste system is slowly dying, but caste identities are still strong. He (ibid.126) further says that the single most important feature of Hindu system of stratification is the existence of profound mutual repulsion among castes that is fed on the notion of "difference". Fuller (ibid.28) suggests that, in urban as well as rural India today, there exists a 'half-hierarchical', 'half-substantialist' notion of caste and it still pervades in all the social, political, and economic spheres of life.

Weinreich(1953:92) views that religious difference, quite often coincides with a mother tongue division. He gives an example that in many Ukrainian towns before World War I, the mother tongue division between Ukrainian, Polish, and Yiddish coincided with religious division between Uniates, Catholics, and Jews. The religious division acts as a greater barrier to the integration of the communes than the linguistic one. The restricting effect on language contact and interference exercised by religious differences, especially in rural areas, should never be lost sight of (ibid.93). This

perspective could possibly be extended to the case of caste system, which is equally rigid in India.

Bayer (1990: 110) says that, India has been referred to as a society hierarchically structured in terms of caste. On the basis of caste, groups are identified as speaking dialects. Until more recently most scholars divided them into the Brahmin dialect, the non- Brahmin dialect, and Harijan dialect. Bayer (ibid.110) cites that, Bean (1974) in her survey of 'Linguistic variation and the caste system in India' concludes that 'caste status is the dominant variable'.

Gumperz (1972:598) comments on the caste system of Indian society as 'a characteristic feature of Indian society is the segmentation of populations into ethnically distinct, endogamous groups or castes. These groups are only in part territorially separate. In many instances they co-exist as a single community. They hold similar religious beliefs and regularly exchange services. Yet, although they are in constant communication, they may speak distinct languages and dialects at home. Whereas in other areas of the world, intergroup communication in time tends to obliterate language differences, in India such differences appear to be in large part maintained'.

He gives an instance from the works of Bright and Ramanujan<sup>15</sup>. 'Bright and Ramanujan, in a series of articles compare present- day social dialects with material from earlier stages, noting that different dialects have employed different sources of innovation. Brahmin Kannada is resistant to phonological and grammatical change in native forms although it readily accepts both phonological lexical borrowings from other literary languages. Non- Brahmin dialects, on the other hand, are less affected by foreign borrowings, but show more change in native phonology and grammar. The authors go on to state that the former process indicates conscious innovation, whereas

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<sup>15</sup> William, Bright. "Social dialect and language history", *Anthr* 1.424-425 (1960); William Bright and A.K. Ramanujan, "Sociolinguistic variation and language change". In Horace G. Lunt (Ed.), 'Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Linguistics'. 1107-1114 (The Hague)

the latter represent sub conscious innovation, presumably affecting the internalized linguistic patterns. Evidence from Tulu, an adjoining Dravidian language, on the other hand, shows that both Brahmins and non- Brahmins innovate unconsciously, whereas conscious innovation is confined largely to Brahmins. A further comparison of educated Brahmin and non- Brahmin speech in Tamil by Ramanujan again shows that non- Brahmin Tamil has changed in the direction of simplifying inflectional paradigms and reducing morphophonemic irregularities of the older language<sup>16</sup>. Brahmin speech, on the other hand, tends to favor those innovations which set it off from non- Brahmin speech. Language here serves as a symbol of distinctness in much the same way, as do differences in dress and markings on forehead’.

Pattanayak (1976) gives a different version suggesting that the notion of ‘caste dialect is unscientific, and unnecessary’ and ‘caste difference in dialects may be a marginally determinant variable only at the rural sub- caste level’ and that ‘scholars who have investigated language variation in India have taken caste dialect for granted as an a priori assumption’. Pattanayak’s contention is that there is a distinction between the structure and function of caste on the one hand and that of language of the other. Therefore, caste and language cannot be treated as coterminous. He says, ‘In the process of modernization of the traditional society of India, caste is also in the process of transforming its structure into a corporate group fulfilling its social function. Caste as a social group even if it continues to provide an important alternative to one’s life chances and act as an identity marker in the process of change, such identity carries over to other sets of social categories’.

Indian society, however progressive and civilized it claims to be, it is aware of the existence of caste and practice the same knowingly or unknowingly. Simultaneously, they are conscious of ‘caste dialects’ also. The attitude towards ‘caste dialects’ is governed by the local caste hierarchy. Hence, it is not surprising if it is observed that

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<sup>16</sup> A. K. Ramanujan, “The structure of variation: A study in caste dialects”, to be published in the ‘Proceedings on the congress on social structure and social change in India’, held at the University of Chicago, 1965.

a language group tries to reveal or conceal its identity by maintaining or repressing their language.

### **(e) Language Attitude**

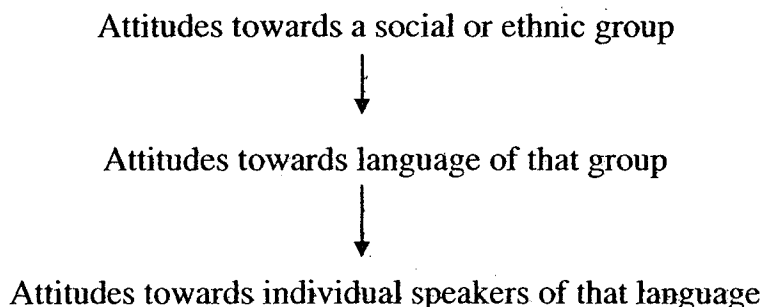
One of the important factors that has an impact on shift and maintenance of language is attitude.

According to Baker (1988) 'attitudes are learned predispositions, and or inherited. They are relatively stable and are affected by experiences. They are complex constructs as there may be positive, negative as well as neutral feelings attached to a particular language situation'.

Fasold (1984:148) suggests that attitude towards a language are often the reflections of attitudes towards the members of that speech community. People's reaction towards a language variety reveals their perception regarding the speaker's attitude of the particular variety, their social, political and economic back drop.

Edwards (1982: 20) discusses the major dimensions along which the views about language can vary, they are social status and group solidarity. The distinction between standard and non- standard variety of languages depends upon the relative social status or power of the group of speakers and social forces held responsible for the situation. The social pressures to maintain language or language varieties even without social prestige reflects the in- group solidarity or language loyalty.

From the point of view of Appel and Muysken (1987:16),



To give an example on language attitude, Weinreich (1953:88) could be quoted. He says that 'the realization that one's mother tongue is not a standardized language applicable in all types of formalized communication (governmental activities, literature, radio, schools etc.) often makes people indifferent to interference in it. Dialectal diversity, too, is often seized on as a token of the "unstandardized" state of a language and its functional inferiority, with resulting indifference to interference in it'. For the purpose of understanding and predicting language influences, according to its use in different domains, he gives an instance that, if one of the language is used in educational system(if any), it is of greater importance. Hence what the school achieves as a conservatory agency is not accidental, but a part of broader cultural setting with its specific prevailing attitudes on language purity.

#### **(f) Attitude of the Host and Migrant Communities**

In the context of migration, the attitude of the host community also matters a lot. Schermerhorn (1970) suggests that there are two kinds of forces working in a community- Centripetal and Centrifugal force. If both migrant and host communities are operating on a centripetal force, they adopt the language of the host. Some countries do not hold a receptive attitude towards the migrants. Then, in this context it is the centrifugal force which is operating. These countries will not accept the host and the host will not accept them also. So there will be a total maintenance of languages among the migrants. Most of the communities are a combination of both.

#### **(g) Language Loyalty**

Language loyalty is a notion which could be considered as a derivative of language attitude. Weinreich (1953:99) suggests that 'language loyalty' is quite similar to the notion of 'nationalism'. 'A language, like a nationality, may be thought of as a set of behavior norms; language loyalty, like nationalism, would designate the state of mind in which the language like the nationality, as an intact entity, and in contrast to other languages, assumes a high position in a scale of values, a position in need of being

defended'. In a scenario of impending language shift, language loyalty produces an attempt at preserving the threatened language; or in the case of interference, as a reaction, it makes a standardized version of the language a symbol and a cause. Thus language loyalty exhibits in the case where people consciously and explicitly resist changes in either the functions of their language, as a result of language shift or in the structure or vocabulary which is caused as a result of interference.

### **(h) Language and Economics**

In a community, especially in a contact situation the speakers show the tendency to shift to the language which serves them in their social as well as economic upward mobility. An epitome of this situation is the global acceptance of English language, as it opens a whole world of opportunities and a subsequent economic development. The role of economic circumstances of the speakers in the context of language maintenance and shift cannot be over looked. Like, in any other sociological study it is an important variable in determining the process of language changes.

Edwards(1985: 91-96) holds the view that economic considerations are of central importance. He cites different viewpoints of various scholars to substantiate his argument.

Fishman (1984) has protested against 'economic reductionism' and Ridler (1984) has discussed the 'priceless nature of language and identity'. But there are other scholars who have given sufficient importance to the relation of language and economics. Dorian (1982: 47) has pointed out that ' language loyalty' persists as long as the economic and social circumstances are conducive to it, but if some other language proves to have greater value, a shift to that other language begins. William (1979:58) has observed that 'language allegiance is firmly rooted in the economic order rather than in any independent cultural order'. Patterson (1997: 145) emphasizes the power of economic considerations:

“There is no a priori reason to believe that individuals always chose ethnic identification over other forms of identification. The primacy of economic factors over all others have been demonstrated...people never make economic decisions on the basis of ethnic allegiance, but, on the contrary...the strength, scope, viability, and bases of ethnic identity are determined by and used to serve economic and general class interests of individuals.

Bayer(1990: 102) discussing the multilingual context in India says that ‘due to economic factors impinging on such a complex social situation, one finds the existence of majority groups with superior rights and advantages over minority groups, who live under differential and unequal treatment’.

### **(i) Interference and Switching**

Fishman (1968:109) suggests that the presence or absence of interference can have cognitive, affective and overt implementational implications for language maintenance and language shift. Certainly both interference and switching are related to the domains and variance sources of bilingualism, on the one hand, and to socio cultural processes and type of interaction on the other hand. He says that, where attitudes and awareness concerning ‘purism’ develop, interference is sometimes viewed as an imperfection- not only in the speaker or in his productions but in the language itself. At the opposite pole, there are multilingual contact situations in which conscious, purposive interference obtains. In these instances speakers attempt to incorporate into their language usage as many elements or features as possible from another language including interference in stress patterns, intonation and so on. Certain occurrences are considered to be more acceptable, excusable, permissible, and necessary than others. In either case, it can become a factor in hastening language shift. All in all, recognition of interference, attitudes toward interference, and the behavioral consequences of interference has an important role in the study of language maintenance and shift.



## **SUMMARY**

This chapter gives a literature survey of the basic concepts of language maintenance and shift. Various other related topics, which are relevant for the study like domains of language use, language attitude, language identity, language and economics, caste and language, are also discussed. Analyses of domains of language use and language attitude provide an important means to understand the phenomenon of language maintenance and language shift.

## CHAPTER - V

### ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

This chapter discusses the questionnaire which has been designed for the study and, it further provides the analysis which has been done on the basis of the questionnaire. 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

Konkani

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

(1) How far is your understanding of Konkani?

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

(2) How good is your understanding of Kudumbi?

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

(3) 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?

To Kudumbis (15 & 16),

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 Konkani (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)

22. If you belong to Konkani/ Kudumbi community, in which language you communicate to Kudumbis.

## DATA ANALYSIS

The questionnaire is well designed to capture two main aspects- language attitude and domain analysis.

### I. Language Attitude

Language attitude here is dealt with in two ways. The attitude, the migrant community holds towards their own language and, the attitude the host community holds towards the migrant community. The former is worked out on the basis of questionnaire, and latter on the basis of relevant theories.

In the questionnaire, the questions- 16 to 22 are specially designed to understand the language attitude of the speech community towards their language.

**Question No: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?’.

*(This question is designed specially for Kudumbis)*

**Table: 1**

Informants	Yes (No. of Speakers)	No (No. of Speakers)	Indifferent (No. of Speakers)
Older generation (9)	4 (44%)	3 (33%)	2 (22%)

**Question No:17** ‘Do you want to send your children/ grand children to schools where Konkani is being taught?’

*(This question is designed specially for Kudumbis)*

**Table:2**

Informants	Yes (No. of Speakers)	No (No. of Speakers)	Indifferent (No. of Speakers)
Old Generation (9)	3 (33%)	3 (33%)	3 (33%)
Middle Generation (10)	2 (20%)	4 (40%)	4 (40%)

**Question No: 18** ‘Do you want to learn your grandparent’s language? (to younger generation)’.

*(This question is designed specially for Kudumbis)*

**Table:3**

Informants	Yes (No. of Speakers)	No (No. of Speakers)	Indifferent (No. of Speakers)
Younger Generation (6)	1 (10%)	2 (20%)	3 (50%)

**Question No: 19** ‘Do you discourage the use of Malayalam or Malayalam interference among the younger Konkani generation? (to older and middle generation)’

*(This question is designed specially for Konkanis)*

**Table:3**

Informants	Yes (No. of Speakers)	No (No. of Speakers)	Indifferent (No. of Speakers)
Older Generation (10)	10 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Middle Generation (10)	10 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

**Question No: 20** ‘Do you consciously avoid Malayalam interference? (to younger generation)’

*(This question is specially designed for Konkanis)*

**Table: 4**

Informants	Yes (No. of Speakers)	No (No. of Speakers)	Indifferent (No. of Speakers)
Older Generation (10)	9 (90%)	0 (0%)	1 (10%)
Middle Generation (10)	8 (80%)	1 (10%)	1 (10%)
Younger Generation	1 (20%)	2 (40%)	2 (40%)

**Question No: 21** Do you think learning Malayalam helps you in economic advancement than Konkani/ Kudumbi?’

*‘(This question was designed for both Konkanis and Kudumbis to capture their attitude towards Malayalam in serving the purpose of their social advancement).*

**Table:5**

Informants	Yes	No	Indifferent
Konkani (25)	9 (36%)	14 (56%)	2 (8%)
Kudumbi (25)	20 (80%)	1 (4%)	4 (16%)

**Question No:22** ‘Arrange the following languages- Malayalam(M), Konkani(KN), Kudumbi(KD), in your order of preference, as 1, 2, 3, according to the number given below’

*(This question is designed for both Konkanis and Kudumbis, to capture the notion of relative status of the languages involved and the consequent order of preference).*

**Table 6.1: KONKANI**

Informants	Order : KN> KD> M	Order: KN>M> KD	Order: M>KN>KD
Older Generation	4 (40%)	6 (60%)	0 (0%)
Middle Generation	9 (90%)	1 (10%)	0 (1%)
Younger Generation	0 (0%)	4 (80%)	1 (10%)

**Table 6.2: KUDUMBI**

Informants	Order: KD>KN>M	Order: KD>M>KN	Order M>KD>KN	Order KN>KD>M
Older Generation(9)	3 (33%)	4 (44%)	1 (11%)	1 (11%)
Middle Generation(10)	2 (20%)	5 (50%)	3 (30%)	0 (0%)
Younger Generation (6)	0 (0%)	2 (33%)	4 (67%)	0 (0%)

- A general analysis of the data from the above given table suggests that, Konkanis are more loyal towards their mother tongue than Kudumbis, whereas Kudumbis are rather indifferent or doesn't show much of loyalty towards their mother tongue.;



- The data from table (5) suggest that Kudumbis are aware of the fact that, it is Malayalam. the mainstream language which helps them more in their economic and consequent social advancement;
- The data from table (4) suggest that Konkani are keen on preserving the 'purity' of their language. Their 'indifference' among some of the younger generation speakers might be due to the unawareness of the language issue, because of their younger age;
- The data from table (17) suggest that even the parents do not really want their children to learn Kudumbi.
- The data from table (6.1 &6.2) suggest that it is Konkani, their mother tongue which is of primary importance to Konkani; whereas Kudumbis , shows a growing desire to adopt the host language.
- It could be substantiated from an excerpt from an online blog "*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*". (see Appendix 4)

## **DISCUSSION FROM FIELD WORK EXPERIENCE**

I would like to give two different excerpts from my field work experience, which can best explain the language attitude of both the communities towards their language.

In an informal discussion with one of my Konkani informants, to answer my question, 'If they encourage their children to speak Konkani', she said '*forgetting our mother tongue is equivalent to forgetting our own mother. So we will never let our children forget Konkani*'.

In a similar situation, one of my Kudumbi informants said, "*in schools, all our friends used to make fun of our language and even the teachers used to scold us for communicating in our language among us*". We don't want a similar plight to happen to our children, let them speak Malayalam only'

## **ATTITUDE OF THE HOST COMMUNITY: KERALA**

If a migrant community can possibly flourish and maintain their language and culture in an alien land, then the socio- cultural aspects of the host land cannot be overlooked. Kerala usually exhibits a receptive nature towards changes, which are appropriate and beneficial. It exhibits more of a 'welcoming' nature. In Jeffrey's (2004:647) viewpoint, Kerala is seen to be different due to some relevant social factors. To put it in his words, "Why is that place - Kerala - different?" This question, which has been asked for at least 30 years, usually provokes a multi-pronged response that includes

- Politicization,
- Maritime and commercial connections,
- A plural society,
- Social reform groups and their leaders,
- Christianity and Christian missionaries,
- Communism and communist activists,
- Reform-minded Indian princes and
- The position of women.

Moreover, Cochin where the main settlement of Konkans and Kudumbis is mainly seen is the hub of migrants in Kerala. It includes, Kashmiris, Nepalis, Marathis, Punjabis, Gujaratis, Bengalis and so on. They came mainly as traders and has settled down. They maintain their own language and culture, though the influence of the host is quite possible. Cochin provides them with ample freedom to maintain their own language and culture, without any compulsion. While, in the case of Kudumbis, as discussed in the previous section, Malayali middle class seem to have had a warm and open- hearted feelings towards Kudumbis. It might have favoured their process of shift towards Malayalam, along with many other social factors.

It could very well explain both the occurrences that, how Konkanis could effectively maintain their language in Kerala and, even why Kudumbis adopted Malayalam, giving away their mother tongue.

## II. Domain Analysis:

### KONKANI:

(i) No of Konkani Speakers against different Domains (home, friends, work place, religious place)

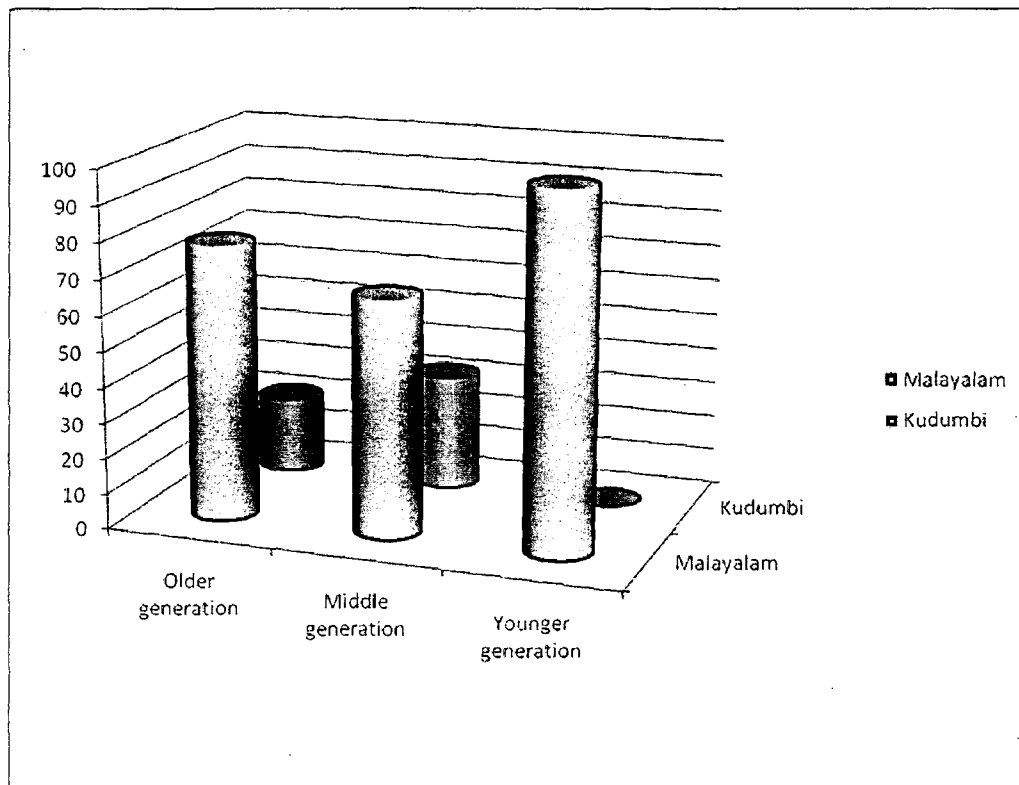
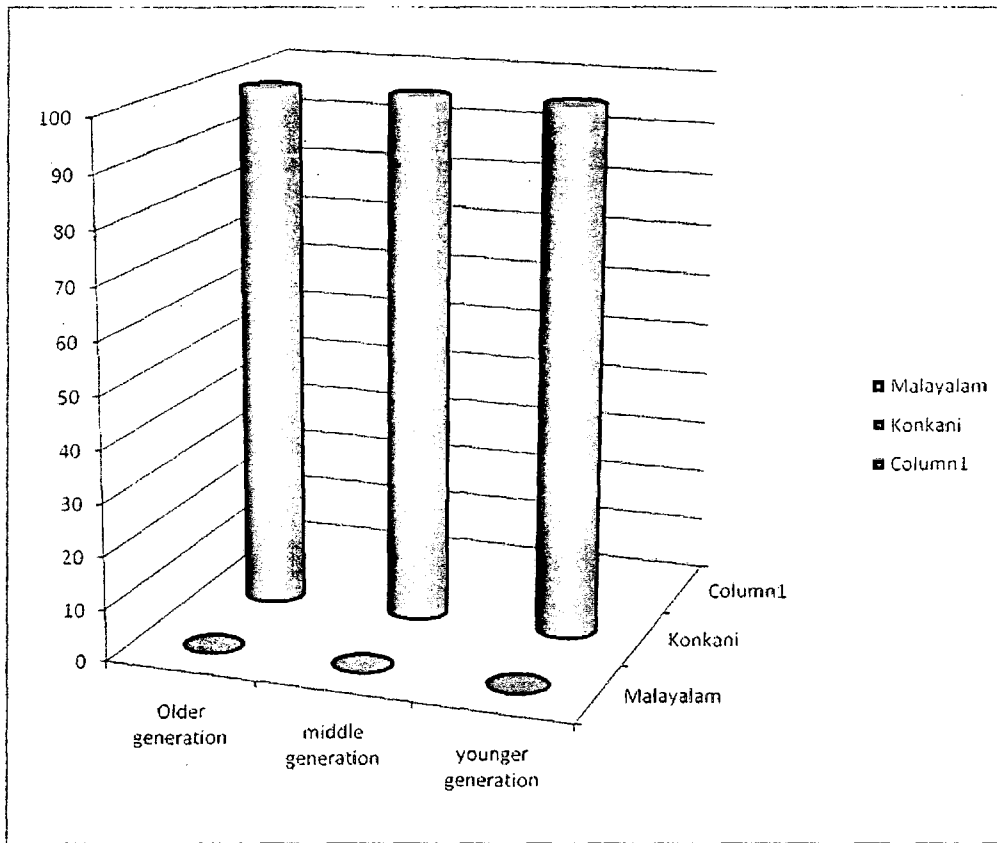
Domains of language use	Older (10) No of people and percentage	Middle (10) No of people and percentage	Younger(5) No of people and percentage	Total No of people and percentage
<b>Home</b>				
Konkani	10 (100%)	10 (100%)	5 (100%)	25 (100%)
Malayalam	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
<b>Friends</b>				
Konkani	8 (80%)	4(40%)	0 (0%)	12 (48%)
Malayalam	2 (20%)	6 (60%)	5 (100%)	13 (52%)
<b>Work Place</b>				
Konkani	0(0%)*	0(0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Malayalam	2 (100%)*	10(100%)	5(100%)	15/15=100%
<b>Religious Place</b>				
Konkani	10(100%)	10 (100%)	5(100%)	25(100%)
Malayalam	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

*\*Among the total number of 'older generation' informants of Konkani, only two are employed.*

## KUDUMBI:

(ii) No of Kudumbi Speakers against different Domains (home, friends, work place religious place)

<b>Domains of language use</b>	<b>Older (9)</b> No of people and percentage	<b>Middle (10)</b> No of people and percentage	<b>Younger(6)</b> No of people and percentage	<b>Total</b> No of people and percentage
<b>Home</b>				
Kudumbi	2 (22%)	3 (33%)	0 (0%)	5 (20%)
Malayalam	7 (78%)	7 (67%)	6 (100%)	20 (80%)
<b>Friends</b>				
Kudumbi	7 (78%)	2 (20%)	0 (0%)	9 (36%)
Malayalam	2 (22%)	8 (80%)	6 (100%)	16 (64%)
<b>Work Place</b>				
Kudumbi	5 (56%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Malayalam	4 (44%)	10 (100%)	6 (100%)	15/15=100%
<b>Religious Place</b>				
Kudumbi	2 (22%)	1 (10%)	0 (0%)	3 (12%)
Malayalam	7 (78%)	9 (90%)	6 (100%)	22 (88%)



- From the above presented charts, it is quite evident that, the Kudumbis are shifting from Kudumbi to Malayalam in the home domain drastically, irrespective of their age while, the Konkans have kept their language intact in the home domain. The gradual process of shift of domain among the older and middle generation, and the abrupt shift among the younger generation, provides with ample evidence for the phenomenon of language shift among Kudumbis. The preservice of their mother tongue in the home domain, among all the generation gives an evidence for language maintenance among Konkans.

### **III. Overall Interpretation**

The interpretation derived from both the analysis on 'attitude' and 'domain' suggests that Konkans maintain their language, whereas Kudumbis on the other hand are in the process of shifting to the language of the host community, Malayalam.

### **SUMMARY**

It is found from the above given analysis that, when Konkans stubbornly maintain their Mother Tongue, and resist the linguistic changes which could possibly happen to it; Kudumbis on the other hand is on a process of giving away their Mother Tongue to the mainstream language. It is inferred that the possible reasons for this phenomenon is the difference in the socio- economic status of the concerned communities. Konkans being socio- economically powerful than Kudumbis and equally powerful as the host community, they are succeeded in maintaining their language. While, Kudumbis being socio- economically weaker than both Konkani and the host community, they are undergoing a process of abrupt language shift to the mainstream language, Malayalam. Data suggest that, Kudumbis shows a strong desire to shift to Malayalam, for their socio- economic mobility.

## CONCLUSION

The present study suggests the urge of the Kudumbi community to amalgamate into the culture of the mainstream community. This has been amply reflected in their language and can be contrasted with the higher level of resistance shown by Konkans to any such changes. 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. While, if a migrant community is equally or more powerful, socio- economically or politically as compared to the host community, it tends to resist the changes that are likely to occur in the heritage language and culture. Language is equivalent to identity. For the migrant communities, the loss of the language is equivalent to the loss of their identity,. Sometimes it's 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. However, the migrant communities who are proud of their identity, in terms of either caste, economic or social status, always tend to reveal the same. These communities never let themselves to give away their language, which is their identity marker.

This is a sociolinguistics study, which revolves around both linguistic and sociological aspects of a language contact phenomenon. Hence this work is equally devoted to linguistic as well as sociolinguistic investigation.

In chapter 1: Introduction, the 'objective of the study' of the study, 'research methodology' are given. Three main objectives were given: (1) To capture the linguistic changes the languages of Konkans and Kudumbis in Kerala have undergone because of its long history of contact with Malayalam; (2) to analyse the sociological factors which are responsible for the consequent linguistic changes; (3) to understand the general situation of minority languages in India. The chapter further

provides a brief outline of the history of migration and settlement of Konkanis and Kudumbis in Kerala. The demographic, social, economic, educational, and religious features of both the community are discussed. The informants have been grouped according to the sociolinguistics variables of age, education and socio economic status. It has been inferred that, the Konkanis are socio- economically better off than Kudumbis.

In chapter 2, a brief literature survey on the topic is provided. It discusses the concept of Language Contact and the contact induced language phenomena such as borrowing, interference, code switching, attrition, redundancy and convergence. It also discusses about the 'hierarchy of borrowing' in linguistic borrowing, which suggests that the linguistic items are borrowed from one language in an order of hierarchy and, the rate at which the borrowing takes place from one language to another is directly proportional to the intensity of contact between the languages.

Chapter 3 provides a comparative analysis of the Konkani and Kudumbi linguistic data. It has been found that Kudumbi shows larger number of linguistic changes than the Konkani. Another finding is that, though Kudumbi has been in contact with Malayalam for a considerably long period of time, the contact- induced linguistic results that are expected normally are not evident. They are limited to the level of lexicon and phonological features. This may be the result of the historical and sociological background of the Kudumbis in Kerala. Though Kudumbis have been in Kerala for a long period, their actual contact with the mainstream Malayalam community has begun only recently. It is the recent amalgamation that has helped them in avoiding total convergence or convergence at grammatical level. It can be predicted that in near future we may expect convergence at higher level and the grammar of Kudumbi may converge also.

It also suggests that if a linguistic problem is approached only through a linguistic point of view it might not provide the researcher with enough understanding of the



problem. For a better understanding, it is necessary to study and understand the sociological context in which the relevant linguistic problem occurs. A linguistic analysis should not be confined into a descriptive analysis and interpretation of the linguistic data. The 'why' and 'how' aspects, provided by the social context of such linguistic results cannot be overlooked.

Chapter 4. deals with the literature survey of the phenomenon of language maintenance, noticed in the Konkans; and language shift, which was observed in the Kudumbis. It has been found that the Konkans preserve their language and culture in the host land, whereas Kudumbis are on a process of abrupt shift to the mainstream language, Malayalam. Discussions on concepts like language identity, language attitude, language and economics, and, caste and language are also provided in this part. This chapter argues that it is plausible that a community's inclination towards their identity associated with their Mother Tongue and the attitude which they hold towards the same, influences the process of language shift and maintenance. However, along with it, economic status and the notion of caste, which contribute to the 'social status' of a community may also play a major role, at least in an Indian context.

Chapter 5 deals with the sociolinguistic analysis of 'domains of language use' and 'language attitude' among the Konkani and Kudumbi speakers. Both of them served as the tools to empirically analyse the phenomenon of language maintenance and language shift which is being observed among the Konkans and Kudumbis respectively. A questionnaire was designed for the purpose focuses on capturing the notions of domains of language use, language loyalty, and language attitude. The domain analysis discovered that among 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. The data shows that the Kudumbis are undergoing an abrupt language shift. Importantly, most of the Kudumbis, even the older generation are indifferent towards such changes. While, in the case of Konkans, they show high resistance towards any kind of linguistic changes happening to their language and maintain their language. They show high level of loyalty towards their Mother Tongue. These differences observed among the two communities belonging to two varieties of a single language have been explained through the notions of socio- economic differences and their positioning in the 'caste hierarchy'. The Konkans belong to the higher castes and socio- economically more advanced as compared to Kudumbis. Hence the Konkans manage to maintain their language in a host land. Whereas Kudumbis show a strong urge to amalgamate into the mainstream language, Malayalam.

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## APPENDIX (1)

### Profile of the Informants

Date: 03/12/2009

SI No: 1

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

SI no:2

Date: 03/ 12/ 2009

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

SI no:3

Date: 05/2/2009

Name: Ambika

Age: 45

Sex: F

Mother Tongue: Kudumbi

Education: Pre- degree

Marital Status: Married

Occupation: Helper in an Ayurvedic 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

Sl no: 4

Date: 05/12/2009

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

Sl no:5

Date: 05/12/09

Name: Thushara  
Age: 20  
Sex: F  
Mother Tongue: Kudumbi (she said it as Malayalam)  
Education: pursuing graduation  
Marital Status: Umarrried  
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,

Sl no: 6

Date: 05/12/2009

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

Sl no: 7

Date: 08/12/2009

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

Sl no: 8

Date: 08/12/2009

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

Sl no: 9

Date: 11/12/2009

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

Sl no: 10

Date: 11/12/2009

Name: Appu  
Age: 10  
Sex: M  
Mother Tongue: Kudumbi  
Education: Studying in Std V  
Marital Status: Unmarried  
Occupation: student  
Community: Kudumbi  
Place of Residence( Rural/ Urban): Tripunithura (rural)  
Kind of Settling (Community/ Individual): Individual  
Family (Nuclear/ Joint): Nuclear  
Place of Origin: Tripunithura  
Languages Known: Malayalam

Sl no: 11

Date: 15/12/2009

Name: K. K Subrahmanian  
Age: 60  
Sex: M  
Mother Tongue: Kudumbi  
Education: TTC  
Marital Status: Married  
Occupation: Retired School Teacher, Now the Chairman of Kerala Konkani Sabha  
Community: Kudumbi  
Place of Residence( Rural/ Urban): Cherai (Rural)  
Kind of Settling (Community/ Individual): Individual (but the neighbourhood constitutes community dwellings of Konkani)  
Family (Nuclear/ Joint): Joint  
Place of Origin: Cherai  
Languages Known: Malayalam, Konkani, Kudumbi, Hindi, English

Sl no: 12

Date: 15/12/2009

Name: Manoj  
Age: 42  
Sex: M  
Mother Tongue: Kudumbi  
Education: Graduation  
Marital Status: Married  
Occupation: Primary school teacher  
Community: Kudumbi  
Place of Residence( Rural/ Urban): Cherai (Rural)  
Kind of Settling (Community/ Individual): Individual  
Family (Nuclear/ Joint): Joint  
Place of Origin: Cherai  
Languages Known: Malayalam, Konkani, Kudumbi

Sl no:13

Date: 15/12/2009

Name: Maya  
Age: 35  
Sex: F  
Mother Tongue: Kudumbi  
Education: Pre- degree  
Marital Status: Married  
Occupation: House wife  
Community: Kudumbi  
Place of Residence( Rural/ Urban): Cherai (rural)  
Kind of Settling (Community/ Individual): Individual  
Family (Nuclear/ Joint): Joint  
Place of Origin: Vypin  
Languages Known: Kudumbi, Malayalam

Sl no:14

Date:16/12/2009

Name: Santhosh Kumar  
Age: 48  
Sex: M  
Mother Tongue: kudumbi  
Education: Diploma  
Marital Status: Married  
Occupation: I T sector  
Community: Kudumbi  
Place of Residence( Rural/ Urban): Cochin (Urban)  
Kind of Settling (Community/ Individual): Individual  
Family (Nuclear/ Joint): Nuclear  
Place of Origin: Aleppey  
Languages Known: Kudumbi, Konkani, Malayalam, Hindi, English

Sl no:15

Date: 08/01/200

Name: Vimala Bhai  
Age: 60  
Sex: F  
Mother Tongue: Konkani  
Education: 4<sup>th</sup> Std  
Marital Status: Married  
Occupation: House wife  
Community: konkani  
Place of Residence( Rural/ Urban): Vypin (rural)  
Kind of Settling (Community/ Individual): Community  
Family (Nuclear/ Joint): Nuclear  
Place of Origin: Tripunithura  
Languages Known: Konkani, Malayalam

Sl no:16

Date:08/01/2009

Name: Thankamani  
Age: 5  
Sex: F  
Mother Tongue: Konkani  
Education: SSLC  
Marital Status: Married  
Occupation: House wife  
Community: Konkani  
Place of Residence( Rural/ Urban): Vypin (rural)  
Kind of Settling (Community/ Individual): Community  
Family (Nuclear/ Joint): Nuclear  
Place of Origin: Vypin  
Languages Known: Konkani, Malayalam

Sl no:17

Date:11/01/2010

Name: Venketesha Prabhu  
Age: 62  
Sex: M  
Mother Tongue: Konkani  
Education: Graduation  
Marital Status: Married  
Occupation: Retired School Teacher  
Community: Konkani  
Place of Residence( Rural/ Urban): Edavanakad  
Kind of Settling (Community/ Individual): Community  
Family (Nuclear/ Joint): Joint  
Place of Origin: Edavanakad  
Languages Known: Konkani, Malayalam, Hindi, English

Sl no:18

Date: 11/01/2010

Name: Vidheesh Prabhu  
Age: 30  
Sex: M  
Mother Tongue: Konkani  
Education: Post graduation  
Marital Status: Married  
Occupation: Working with UN  
Community: konkani  
Place of Residence( Rural/ Urban): Dubai  
Kind of Settling (Community/ Individual): Individual  
Family (Nuclear/ Joint): Nuclear  
Place of Origin: Edavanakad  
Languages Known: Malayalam, Konkani, English, Hindi, Arabic

SI no:19

Date: 11/01/2010

Name: Megha Mukundeswar  
Age: 27  
Sex: F  
Mother Tongue: Konkani  
Education: Pursuing PhD  
Marital Status: Married  
Occupation: Lawyer  
Community: Konkani  
Place of Residence( Rural/ Urban): Cochin (Urban)  
Kind of Settling (Community/ Individual): Individual  
Family (Nuclear/ Joint): Nuclear  
Place of Origin: Cochin  
Languages Known: Malayalam, Konkani, Hindi, English

SI no:20

Date:12/01/2010

Name: Lekha Bhatt  
Age: 26  
Sex: F  
Mother Tongue: Konkani  
Education: Ph D  
Marital Status: Married  
Occupation: Researcher  
Community: Konkani  
Place of Residence( Rural/ Urban): Cochin (urban)  
Kind of Settling (Community/ Individual): Individual  
Family (Nuclear/ Joint): Nuclear  
Place of Origin: Cochin  
Languages Known: Konkani, English, Malayalam, Hindi

SI no :21

Date:13/01/2010

Name: Sreevidya Shenoï  
Age: 24  
Sex: F  
Mother Tongue: Konkani  
Education: Graduation  
Marital Status: Married  
Occupation: Technical assistant  
Community: Konkani  
Place of Residence( Rural/ Urban): cochin (urban)  
Kind of Settling (Community/ Individual): Individual  
Family (Nuclear/ Joint): Nuclear  
Place of Origin: Cochin  
Languages Known: Konkani, Malayalam, English, Hindi

Sl no:22

Date:13/01/2010

Name: Manoj Prabhu  
Age: 30  
Sex: M  
Mother Tongue: Konkani  
Education: MBA  
Marital Status: Married  
Occupation: Marketing  
Community: Konkani  
Place of Residence( Rural/ Urban): Cochin( Urban)  
Kind of Settling (Community/ Individual): Individual  
Family (Nuclear/ Joint): Nuclear  
Place of Origin: Thrissur  
Languages Known: Konkani, Malayalam, Hindi, English

Sl no:23

Date:16/01/2010

Name: Krishna Prabhu  
Age: 62  
Sex: M  
Mother Tongue: konkani  
Education: Graduation  
Marital Status: Married  
Occupation: Business  
Community: Konkani  
Place of Residence( Rural/ Urban): Paravur (Urban)  
Kind of Settling (Community/ Individual): Community  
Family (Nuclear/ Joint): Joint  
Place of Origin: Paravur  
Languages Known: Malyalam, Konkani, English, Hindi

Sl no:24

Date:16/01/2010

Name: Savitri Prabhu  
Age: 54  
Sex: F  
Mother Tongue: Konkani  
Education: Pre degree  
Marital Status: Married  
Occupation: House wife  
Community: Konkani  
Place of Residence( Rural/ Urban): Paravur  
Kind of Settling (Community/ Individual): Community  
Family (Nuclear/ Joint): Joint  
Place of Origin: Alappuzha  
Languages Known: Konkani, Malayalam, Hindi



Sl no:25

Date: 15/01/2010

Name: Lakshmi Bhai  
Age: 58  
Sex: F  
Mother Tongue: Konkani  
Education: SSLC  
Marital Status: Married  
Occupation: House wife  
Community: Konkani  
Place of Residence( Rural/ Urban): Vypin (Rural)  
Kind of Settling (Community/ Individual): Community  
Family (Nuclear/ Joint): Joint  
Place of Origin: Vypin  
Languages Known: Konkani, Malayalam

Sl no:26

Date:19/01/2010

Name: Aditya Prabhu  
Age: 10  
Sex: M  
Mother Tongue: Konkani  
Education: In Std V  
Marital Status: Unmarried  
Occupation: Student  
Community: Konkani  
Place of Residence( Rural/ Urban): Cochin (urban)  
Kind of Settling (Community/ Individual): Individual  
Family (Nuclear/ Joint): Nuclear  
Place of Origin: Cochin  
Languages Known: English, Konkani, Malayalam

Sl no: 27

Date: 19/01/2010

Name: Rita Prabhu  
Age: 35  
Sex: F  
Mother Tongue: Married  
Education: Post graduation  
Marital Status: Married  
Occupation: IT Sector  
Community: Konkani  
Place of Residence( Rural/ Urban): Cochin (urban)  
Kind of Settling (Community/ Individual): Individual  
Family (Nuclear/ Joint): Nuclear  
Place of Origin: Cochin  
Languages Known: Konkani, Malayalam, English, Hindi

Sl no: 28

Date:20/01/2010

Name: Venkateshwari  
Age: 74  
Sex: F  
Mother Tongue: Konkani  
Education: Primary  
Marital Status: Married  
Occupation: House wife  
Community: Konkani  
Place of Residence( Rural/ Urban): Tripunithura  
Kind of Settling (Community/ Individual): Community  
Family (Nuclear/ Joint): Joint  
Place of Origin: Thrissur  
Languages Known: Konkani, Malayalam

Sl no: 29

Date:20/01/2010

Name: Mahalakshmi Shenoj  
Age: 74  
Sex: F  
Mother Tongue: Konkani  
Education: Nil  
Marital Status: Married  
Occupation: House Wife  
Community: konkani  
Place of Residence( Rural/ Urban): Paravur (urban)  
Kind of Settling (Community/ Individual): Community  
Family (Nuclear/ Joint): Joint  
Place of Origin: Paravaur  
Languages Known: Konkani, Malayalam

Sl no:30

Date:12/12/2010

Name: Mani Bhai  
Age: 74  
Sex: F  
Mother Tongue: Kudumbi  
Education: Nil  
Marital Status: Married  
Occupation: Domestic Help  
Community: Kudumbi  
Place of Residence( Rural/ Urban): Mala (rural)  
Kind of Settling (Community/ Individual): Community  
Family (Nuclear/ Joint): Joint  
Place of Origin: Mala  
Languages Known: Kudumbi, Konkani, Malayalam

Sl no:31

Date:12/12/2010

Name: Lalitha

Age: 45

Sex: F

Mother Tongue: Kudumbi

Education: Nil

Marital Status: Married

Occupation: Domestic Help

Community: Kudumbi

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

Kind of Settling (Community/ Individual): community

Family (Nuclear/ Joint): Joint

Place of Origin: Tripunithura

Languages Known: Malayalam, Kudumbi, Konkani

## APPENDIX 2 : BASIC WORD LIST

Sl. no	English Gloss	Translation in Malayalam.	Konkani	kudumbi
1.	all	ella:m	həgə	həggə
2.	animal	mɾəgem	-----	----- <sup>⊗</sup>
3.	ashes	ca:rem	gobɔ:ɾ	gobbo:ɾə
4.	bindi	pottə	ti:ɔ	ti:ɔ
5.	banana	paɾam	ke:lə	ke:lə
6.	blouse	blaus	co:li	co:li
7.	book	puɾtəkəm	-----	-----
8.	cloud	megham	Kup	kuppə
9.	bangles	vaɾə	kako:ŋə	kakko:ŋə
10.	chilli	muɾakə	mi:rə	mi:rə
11.	cold	taŋuppə	t <sup>h</sup> ɔnd	tɔndə
12.	comb (n)	ci:ɾppə	ho:ŋi	hɔ:ŋi
13.	copper	cembə	koppɔ:ɾɔ	koppɔ:ɾɔ
14.	cough (n)	cumə	k <sup>h</sup> a:nki	hɔnkili
15.	cow	paɾu	gai	gai
16.	crow	ka:kka	kailɔ	kavəulɔ
17.	cry (n)	karaccil	redəttə	bɔbbəgəlettə
18.	dog	patti	su:ŋə	pettɔ
19.	door	va:ɾil	kəve:dəɟə	kɔvɔ:də
20.	drizzle	ca:tal maza	pa:vsu	pa:vsu
21.	earring	kamməl	vedji	kanŋə
22.	elephant	a:nə	estɪ	esɔ:ti
23.	festival	utsavəm	-----	-----
24.	eye brow	purikam	bɔŋvi	bɔŋvi
25.	fever	pani	-----	-----
26.	finger	virəl	bɔ:ttə	bɔ:ttə

<sup>⊗</sup> denotes Malayalam borrowing

27.	food	b <sup>h</sup> akfanam	-----	-----
28.	garlic	vellulli	əsi:ni	əssi:ni
29.	God	ḡaivəm	ḡe:vu	ḡe:və
30.	Goddess	ḡevi	b <sup>h</sup> ḡo:nti	bḡo:nti
31.	gold	svarḡnam	baḡga:ṛə	baḡga:ṛə
32.	hot	cu:də	ū:ḡḡə	ū:ḡḡə
33.	house	vi:də	g <sup>h</sup> eṛ	ga:ṛə
34.	house fly	i:ccə	mu:su	mu:sə
35.	itch (v)	kaḡikkukə	hḡṛdz hattə	hḡṛdzə hottə
36.	language	b <sup>h</sup> a:fə	-----	-----
37.	lips	cunḡə	ḡ:ḡta	ḡ:ḡta
38.	liquor	kaḡḡə	su:ṛ	su:ṛə
39.	mango	ma:ḡə	ambḡ	ambḡ
40.	vegetable	pacca kaṛi	-----	-----
41.	medicine	maruḡḡə	ḡko:də	ḡkko:də
42.	mirror	koḡḡaḡi	koḡḡo:ḡi	koḡḡo:ḡi
43.	money	paḡəm	ḡa:mu	ḡa:mu
44.	mosquito	koḡtukə	mumbu:ṛu	mumbu:ṛu
45.	mouse	eli	vindi:ṛu	undi:ṛu
46.	nail	a:ḡi	-----	-----
47.	necklace	ma:lə	siṛpḡ:li	mali
48.	nose-pin	mu:kkutti	pulli	-----
49.	onion	savḡ:lə	pija:və	-----
51.	pain (v)	vedəna	ḡuk <sup>h</sup> :ṛə	ḡuki:
52.	plait (v)	pinnijidāl	p <sup>h</sup> aḡḡi	ḡəlli
53.	pond	kuḡam	baḡīn	ku:kə:ḡə
54.	potato	uruḡkizoḡə	ku:kə	ku:kə
55.	rice -cooked	cḡ:ṛə	si:ṛə	si:ṛə
56.	rice (raw)	ari	ḡ:ṛḡ:r	ḡ:ṛḡ:və
57.	road	vazḡi	va:ttə	va:ttə
58.	shirt	ḡaṛttə	cogḡḡ	cogḡḡ
59.	snake	paḡbə	ḡivo:də	paḡbḡ:də
60.	spectacles	kaḡḡaḡə	-----	-----
61.	spoon	kaḡil	ḡavu:ṛu	ḡavu:ḡə
62.	sugar	pancasa:ṛə	peīḡa:ṛa	peīḡa:ṛə
63.	tasty	sva:ḡullə	ca:ḡə	suva:ḡu
64.	tea	ca:jə	-----	-----
65.	teeth	paḡḡə	ḡāṛə	ḡāṛə
66.	thumb	viraḡ	ungḡ:ṛḡ	bḡ:ṛə
67.	turmeric	maḡḡal	elḡ:ṛi	elḡ:ṛi
68.	up	mukaḡil	ūca:ri	ūca:ri

## APPENDIX (3)

### Sound System of Malayalam and Konkani

#### Malayalam- A Dravidian Language

Sound system of Malayalam:<sup>1</sup>

#### Vowels:

i ii	u uu
	ə
e ee	o oo
(æ)	
a aa	

---

<sup>1</sup> Asher, R.E., and Kumari, T. C. 1997. *Malayalam*. London and New York: Routledge.

## Consonants

	Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
<b>Stop</b>							
Voiceless	P	t	t̪	ʈ	c	k	
Voiceless asp	ph	th		ʈʰ	ch	kh	
Voiced	B	D		ɖ	j	g	
Voiced aspirated	bh	Dh		ɖʱ	jh	gh	
Fricative	(f)		S	ʂ	ʃ		h
Nasal	M	N	ɳ	ɳ̠	ɲ	ŋ	
<b>Liquid</b>							
Trap/Trill			r, ɽ				
Lateral			l	ɭ			
Approximant				ɻ			
Glide	V				y		

## KONKANI PHONETIC VOWEL CHART<sup>2</sup>

	FRONT		CENTRAL		BACK		
	-long	+long	-long	+long	-long	+long	
HIGH	i	<b>ī</b>	i:		u	<b>ū</b>	u:
	ɪ				ʊ		
MID	e	<b>ē</b>	e:		o	<b>ō</b>	o:
				ə	ə:	ɔ	
	ɛ	<b>ē</b>					
LOW					a	<b>ā</b>	a:

<sup>2</sup> Kidwai, Ayesha. 1990. "Verb Agreement and Syntax: A Exposition through Konkani". Unpublished M. A Dissertation.

\*Bolted sounds are Phonemes



# KONKANI CONSONANT CHART<sup>1</sup>

	BILABIAL	LABIODENTAL	DENTAL	ALVEOLAR	RETROFLEX	PALATAL	VELAR	GLOTTAL
<b>PLOSIVES</b>								
Asp	b <sup>h</sup>		t <sup>h</sup> d <sup>h</sup>		t <sup>h</sup> d <sup>h</sup>		k <sup>h</sup> g <sup>h</sup>	
Unasp	p      b		t      d		ɽ      ɖ		k      g	
<b>AFFRICATES</b>								
Asp				ç <sup>h</sup>				
Unasp				ʃ      ʒ		ç      ʝ		
<b>FRICATIVES</b>								
Slit		f      v						h
Groove				ʃ      ʒ		ʃ		
<b>NASALS</b>	m      m <sup>h</sup>			n      n <sup>h</sup>	ɳ	ɲ	ŋ	
<b>LATERALS</b>				l      l <sup>h</sup>	ɭ			
<b>TRILLS</b>				r				
<b>FLAPS</b>					ɽ			
<b>FRICTIONLESS CONTINUANTS</b>	w	v				y		

<sup>11</sup> Kidwai, Ayesha. 1990. "Verb Agreement and Syntax: A Exposition through Konkani". Unpublished M. A Dissertation.

## APPENDIX (4) : On line Discussion

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

008; 11:59am Learn Kudumbi

Reply Threaded More

Dear Folks,

Amchem Bhas (Kudumbi) ullaythatve?

Learn Kudumbi @

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

Regards

Shaji

Santosh Kumar

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 Konkani/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 Bhasa 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.

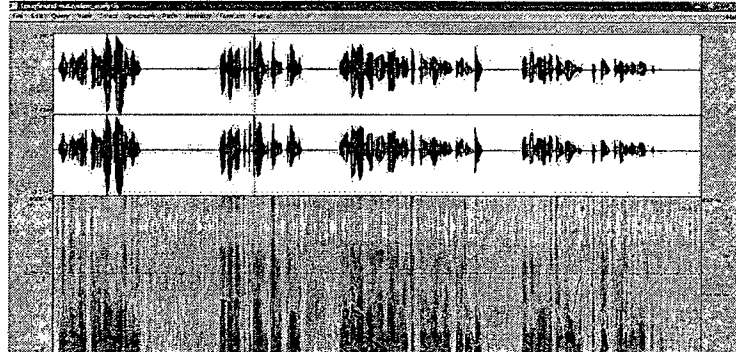
Santosh

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

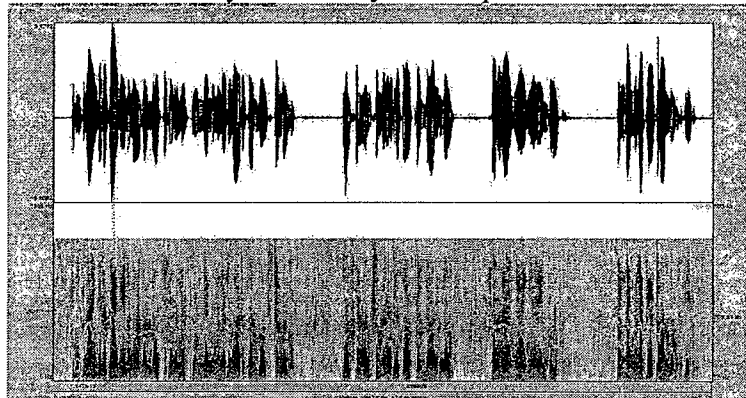
« Return to forum | 49 views

## Appendix (5): Sound Analysis

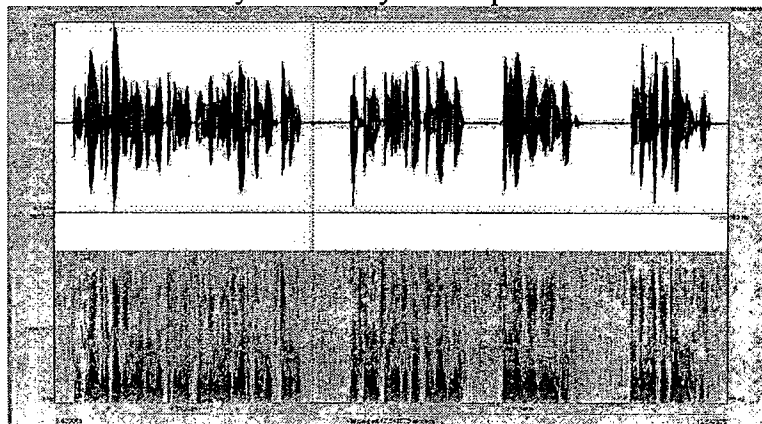
Malayalam Analysis: Respondent 1.



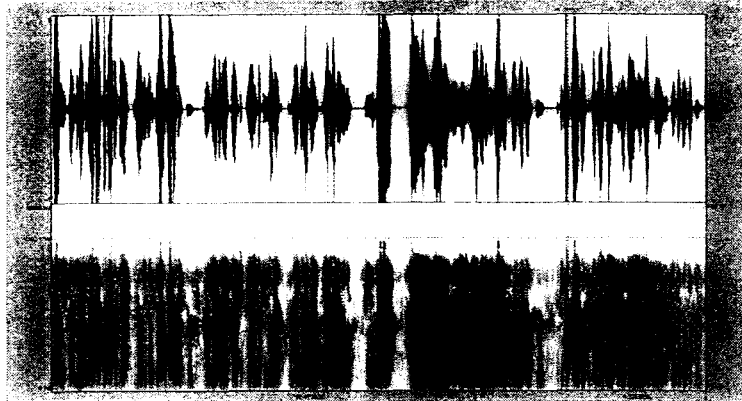
Malayalam Analysis: Respondent 2



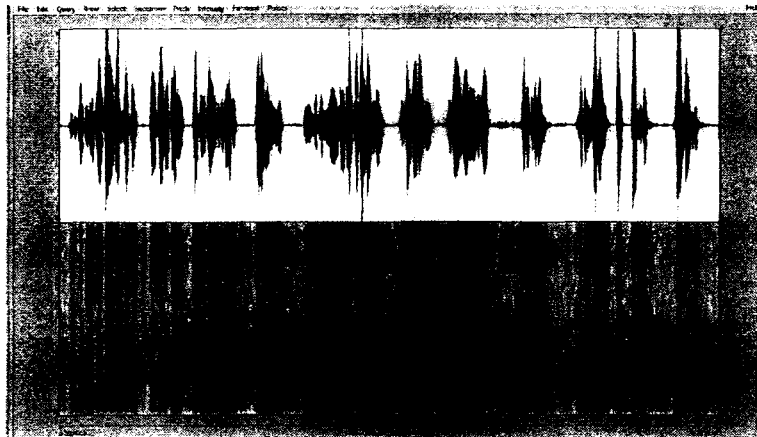
Malayalam Analysis: Respondent 3



Konkani Analysis: Respondent 1



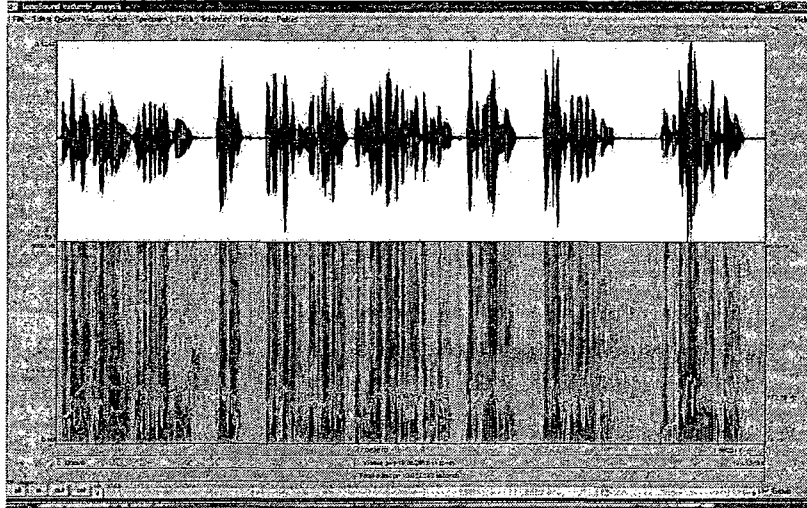
Konkani Analysis: Respondent 2



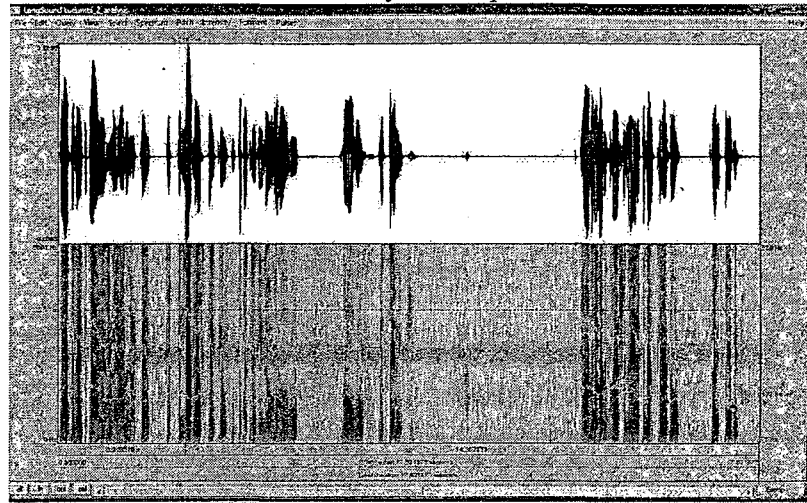
Konkani Analysis: Respondent 3



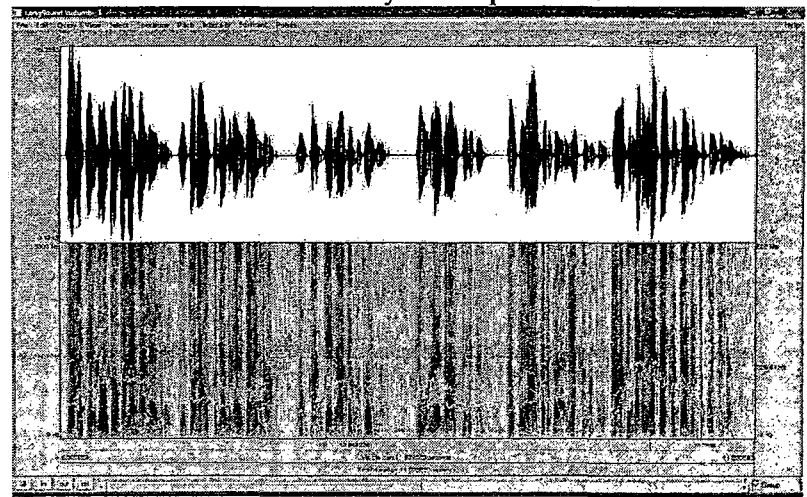
Kudumbi Anlysis: Respondent 1



Kudumbi Analysis: Respondent 2

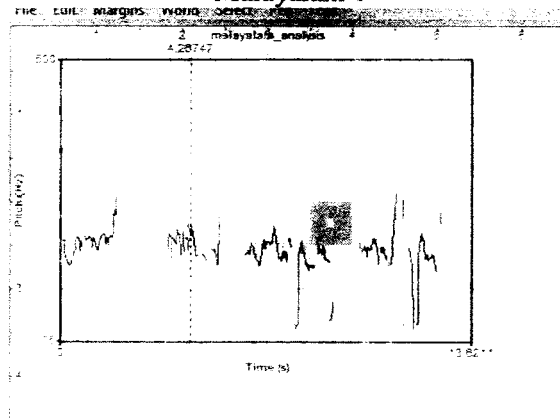


Kudumbi Analysis: Respondent 3

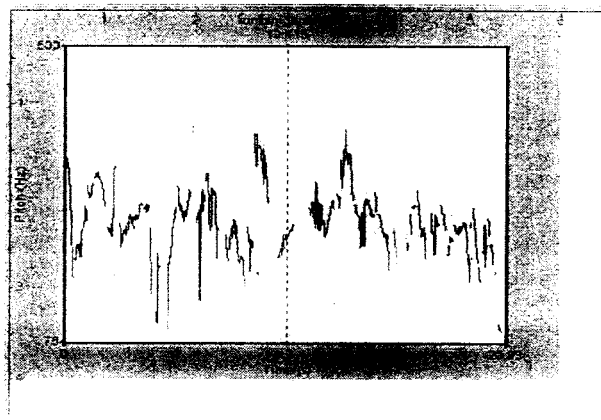


## Comparative Analysis of Amplitude and Intensity in the Three Languages

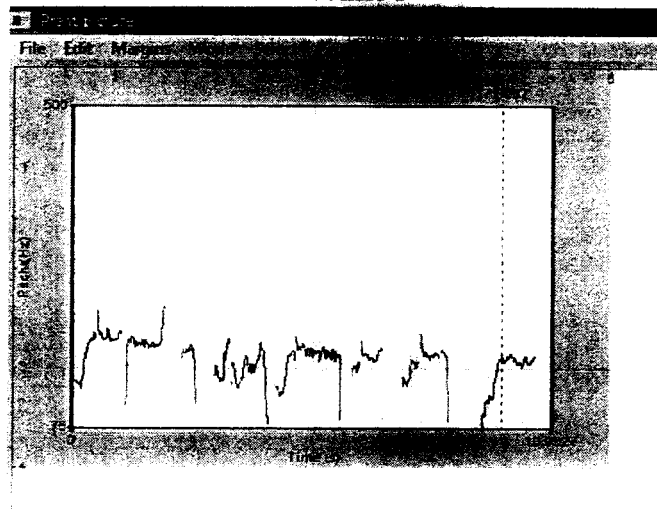
### Malayalam 1



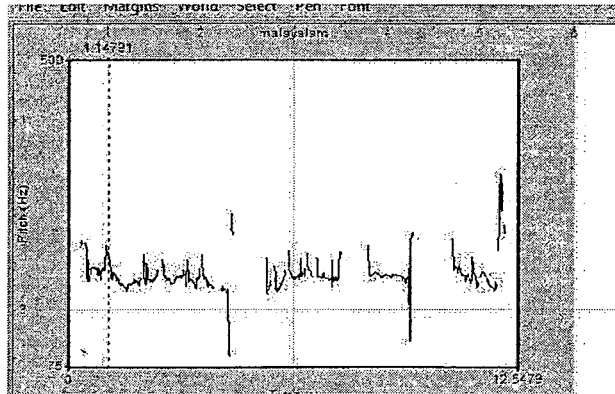
### Konkani 1



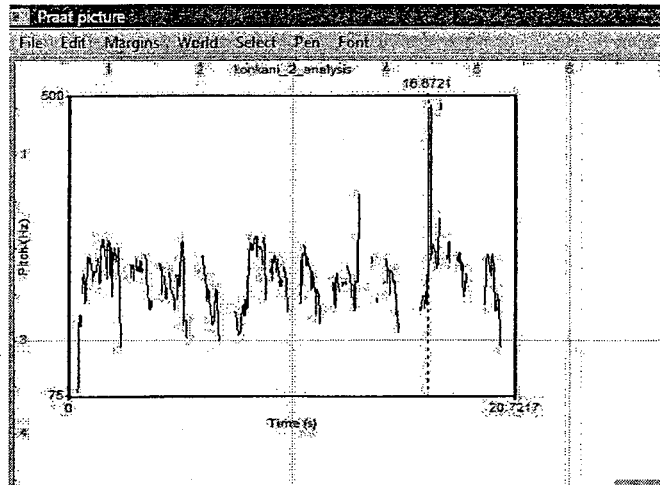
### Kudumbi 1



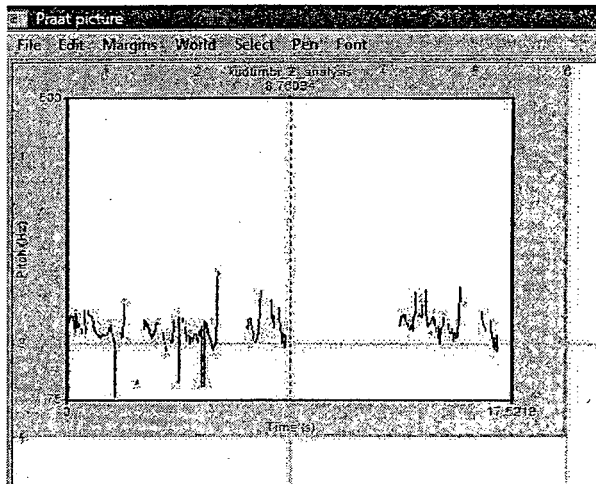
## Malayalam 2



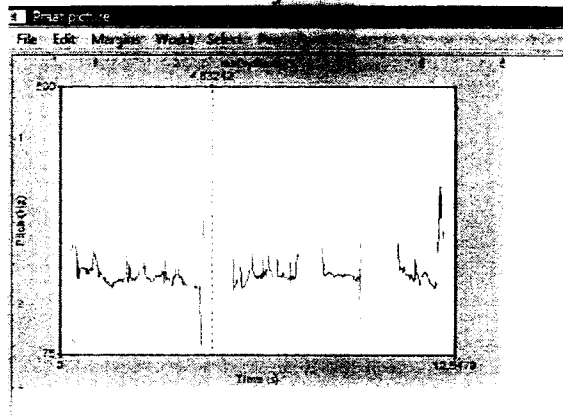
## Konkani 2



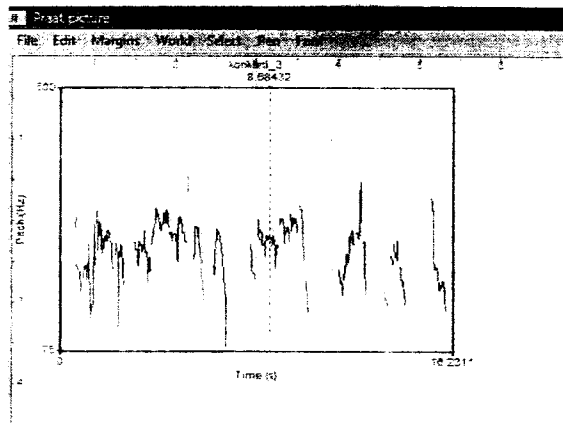
## Kudumbi 2



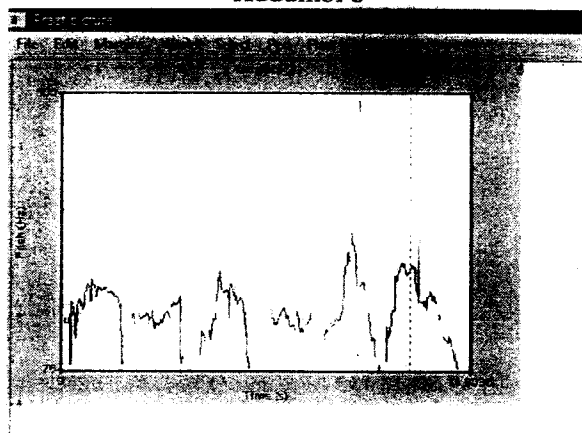
### Malayalam 3



### Konkani 3



### Kudumbi 3





# Comparison of Wave Pattern of Sound in Three Languages

