MOTHER TONGUE MAINTENANCE AND LANGUAGE CONTRACTION: A CASE STUDY OF KONKANI SPEAKERS IN COIMBATORE CITY.

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This dissertation entitled MOTHER TONGUE MAINTENANCE AND LANGUAGE CONTRACTION: A CASE STUDY OF THE KONKANI SPEAKERS IN COIMBATORE CITY, submitted by R.Jayakrishnan, Centre of Linguistics and English, School of Languages, 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 full, for any other degree or diploma of any University. This may be placed before the examiners for evaluation for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy.

Dr. ANVITA ABBI

(Supervisor)

Prof. H.S. GILL

(Chair Person)

DEDICATED TO
MY BELOVED PARENTS

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I alone am responsible for any over-simplification and inaccuracies which may remain.

<div align="right">JAYAKRISHNAN R.</div>

CONTENTS

Chapter I

Introduction

CHAPTER - I

<u>INTRODUCTION</u>

Language is one of the most fundamental aspects of human behaviour. The development of language into a refined instrument of expression and communication is probably man's greatest achievement. Human life in the present form would be impossible without language. It made all human kind's subsequent social and economic evolution possible.

Language is associated with society and both are mutually indispensable. Language inevitably needs a social setting as its main aim is communication. Sociolinguistics is a branch of Linguistics which deals with the study of language in relation to society. It helps us to know more about the nature of language and society.

India is a multi-lingual, multi-ethnic and multi-cultural society. It is comprised of people who speak different languages belonging to four families namely Indo-Aryan, Dravidan, Tibeto-Burman and Astro-Asiatic.

India has officially recognised 15 languages. The 1961, 1971 and 1981 censuses had listed 1652

languages as Mother-tongues in India. Of that, 33 are spoken by people numbering more than a lakh.

All invasions pave way to exodus. India, rich in natural resources, had always been a temptation for invaders. Aryans were the first to invade, followed by Afgans, Mughals, Portugese, French and British.

The invasion and the consequent amalgamation of the invaders have contributed much to the making of multi-lingual, multi-cultural and multi-ethnic society that is India, to-day. Apart from these, natural calamities, regional imbalance in resources contributed much to the migration. Urbanisation too played a vital role. It attracted rural population to cities which resulted in large scale migration.

The word "Migration" denotes movement of population with change of residence. 'Migration takes place from an area of origin (departure) to one area of destination (arrival) and a group of migrants with common origin and destination is called mirgration stream.[1]

According to 'push and pull theory' of migration developed by Bagne, "Migration may occur as a search

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1. Najma Khan, Studies in Human Migration, New Delhi Rajesh Publication, 1983, pp 6.

for opportunity to improve one's lot in life. In this case, the destination exert a pull on migrants. Migration can also occur as a flight from undesirable social and economic situation. These situations constitute expulsive push of the community. Migration generally takes place when the positive pull factors at the place of destination is out numbered by negative push factors at the place of origin.[2]

The migrant community forms the minority group in the area migrated. "One element in the definition of a minority group is a shared physical, social or cultural characteristic that sets the group apart from the larger society.[3]

The "The majority group in any society may or may not constitute numerical majority. A majority group is termed 'Majority' because it exerts influence and possesses or controls the bulk of power within a given society.[4]

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2. Bagne (1969) in Najma Khan — Studies in Human Migration, New Delhi, Rajesh Publication, 1983, pp.7.

3. Jean Leonard Elliot, (ed), Immigrant Groups, Canada, Prentice Hall Publications, 1971, pp. 120.

4. Ibid.

Migration from an area where one language is spoken to an area where another language is spoken results in language contact situation. "Language contact situation arises whenever there is a meeting of speakers who do not all share the same language and who need to communicate. When communicative needs of people go beyond what gestures and other para linguistic signals can achieve, some use of second language becomes necessary.[5]

1.1. The Concept 'Mother Tongue'

Mother tongue is a distinguishing characteristic responsible for the minority groups subjected to unequal and differential treatment in their place of migration.

Mother tongue is a debatable concept. For the vast majority, mother tongue is the language of their parents. This is the language spoken at home and outside it. "Mother tongue demands from its speakers more often than not, devotion, respect, emotional attachment, loyalty and a certain amount of pride.[6]

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5. Terrence odlin Language transfer,Cambridge – Cambridge University Press, 1989, pp. 6.

6. M.S. Thirumalai & Shyamala Chengappa, Simultaneous acquisition of two languages: an overview, Mysore, CIIL, 1986, pp.26.

Thomas Campbell's poem 'The Parrot' provide the best illustration for mother tongue. "Mother tongue" is such a language with which one is emotionally identified. It is the language through which the child reorganises and organises his experience and environment around him. It is the language used to express one's basic needs, ideas, thoughts, joys, sorrows and other feelings. This is the language which if one gives up, one may remain intellectually alive, but grow emotionally sterile"[7]

Presenting brief summary of the popular and romantic notions about mother tongue, Shivendra K. Verma suggests that notion like 'Mother tongue', 'First Language' should be defined in functional terms.

He concludes his paper "My mother tongue is not my mother's tongue" by saying that "The mother tongue of the members of a speech community in a bilingual setting is that the tongue which they use as an intra group link language and the primary tool of their culture and feelings. The other languages in contact play either 'supplimentary' or complementary roles.[8]

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7. D.P. Pattanayak,Multilugualism and Mother Tongue Education Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1981, pp.51

8. Shivendra K. Verma 'My Mother tongue is not my mother's tongue, paper presented at the XIV All India Conference of Linguists, Nagpur, 1985.

'Mother Tongue is both a sociolinguistic reality and a product of mythic conciousness of people. It provides social and emotional identity to an individual with a speech community. It can be functionally defined at four axes, cognition, emotion, identity and predictability. (Predictability of collocations, sentences in discourse,speech events etc.)."[9]

When the mother tongue is not reinforced in the child and when it finds the majority language has more scope than its mother tongue, it naturally adopts majority language, which results in language shift. Even though the first generation of speakers maintain their mother tongue, the second generation with the predominant use of majority language as second language, becomes bilingual and the third generation gives up mother tongue in favour of majority language.

"An average Indian has a command over three languages, dialects which he uses throughout his life time, sometimes increasing the use of mother tongue as he advances in age."[10]

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9.   D.P. Pattanayak - Multilingualism and Mother-Tongue Education, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1981, pp.54.

10.   Anvita Abbi (ed), Studies in Bilingualism, New Delhi, Bahri Publications, 1986, pp.1

Mother tongue is maintained by the migrant communities at their place of migration. "A minority language speaking community maintains their language mainly at the family level and as well as in the place where people gather together". He further says that 'throughout India and other parts of Asia, we find immigrant groups who maintain their linguistic identity for many centuries even in relatively small communities." [11]

"Indian scene of societal bilingualism provides in general a case for peaceful co-existence of languages. The migrants here do not usually lose their mother tongue. In traditional context of India, we find non-competing and non-conflicting type of grassroot bilingualism "[12]

In the language contact situation, where bilingualism prevails, the language learnt by migrants sometimes show language mixing. They may borrow lexical items from the dominant majority language to their language. Generally they become bilingual in the dominant majority language.

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11.   Gumperz in Sam Mohanlal, Convergence and Shift in Linguistic Minority, Mysore CIIL, 1986, pp.11.

12.   R.N. Srivastava, in Foreword of Tomio Mizokami, Language Contact in Punjab, New Delhi, Bahri Publications, 1987.

"The dominant language speakers are less bilingual than the minority language speakers whenever they are bilingual, they are more likely to be bilingual in another dominant language rather than in a minority language." [13]

1.2   A Sketch of Konkani:

Konkani, also called 'lingua Brahmanica', 'lingua Canarim' or 'Canarina' and 'lingua Brahmana Goana' formerly means the language of Konkan - the land wedged between the Western Ghats and the Arabian Sea. It is an Indo-Aryan language spoken by about two million people in Goa and in parts of neighbouring states of Maharastra, Kerala and Karnataka. Konkani speakers are found in almost all states and union territories (Table 1 shows the details of Konkani speakers settled in different states and union territories of India).

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13.   D.P. Pattanayak Multilingualism and Mother tongue Education, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1981, pp.45.

TABLE 1:

KONKANI SPEAKERS SETTLED IN VARIOUS STATES OF INDIA

STATE	SPEAKERS OF KONKANI
Andhra Pradesh	2,643
Assam*	...
Bihar	228
Gujarat	18,134
Haryana	94
Himachal Pradesh	11
Jammu & Kashmir	21
Kerala	100,934
Madhya Pradesh	456
Maharashtra	212,214
Manipur	3
Meghalaya	21
Mysore (Now Karnataka)	640,738
Nagaland	9
Orissa	93
Punjab	44
Rajasthan	54
Tamil Nadu	5,803
Tripura	9
Uttar Pradesh	71
West Bengal	161
Andaman and Nicobar	24
Arunachal Pradesh	6
Chandigarh	54
Dadar Nagar Haveli	19
Delhi	2,184
Goa-Daman-Diu	600,004
Laccadive, Minicoy and Aminidivi	2
Pondicherry	29
Total number of speakers in India	1,584,063

* No Census was conducted in Assam. Therefore, the figure does not include Konkani speakers in Assam.

Source: Census of India 1981. Paper-I of 1987, pp.467-468

The language is fragmented into dialects due
to geographical and socio-political reasons. Konkani
shows geographical variation and sociolectal
differences between Christian and Hindu speakers of
the language and between the Brahmin and Non-Brahmin
varieties.

The dialectal varieties of Konkani could not
be bridged by citable standard for a number of
reasons. Katre states that "Konkani at no subsequent
period became either a court language or the language
of literature. There was therefore no binding force
which would evolve a standard language."[14]   This
may have also contributed to the lack of accepted
script.

1.2.1   Migration Process:- Historical Background

Gowda Saraswath Community, locally called
'Konkanis' belonged to the southern most part of
Konkan.   They are also known as 'Sasastikars' as it
is believed that they belonged to Sasasti (Modern
Salsete) in Goa.   They held dominant position in

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14.   S.M. Katre, The Formation of Konkani, Pune,
        Deccan College, 1966, pp.175

public life and were pious and learned. Some of them were very good at trade.

During 16th Century, when the Portugese invaded Goa, in order to escape from religious persecution at the hands of Portugese in Goa, they migrated to Kerala. At first, they landed in Kozhikode. There, they had to face troubles from the chief trading community 'Moors' who thought Konkanis would be a threat to their flourishing trade.

The Konkanis moved to Kochi. This was in the Malayalam Calendar year 836 (corresponding to English Calendar year 1663). Sakthan Thampuran, the then Raja of Kochi gave asylum to Konkanis. They were protected and respected in all aspects. Land was given for their settlement.[15]

Konkanis began to flourish and later became most important segments of Hindu Community. They became conspicuous in all the learned professional lines. Many of them are engaged in trade, money

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15.   Puthezhath Raman Menon, Sakthan Thampuran,
       Calicut, Mathrubhoomi Publishers, 1989,
       pp.307.

lending and agricultural pursuits. In Ernakulam district in Kerala, Konkani occupies the second position of important language next to regional and official language, Malayalam. Organisations like 'Konkani Bhasa Prachar Sabha' and 'Kerala Konkani Academy', both in Kochi are taking active role in the upliftment of Konkani language.

1.2.2   Migration to Coimbatore:

It was early in 1920's a few members of Gowda Saraswath Brahmin community migrated from Kerala to Coimbatore in search of employment. They were known under titles like Pai, Prabhu, Shenoy, Kammath, Mallan etc. Their dialect has many borrowed words from Malayalam and can be called as Gowda Saraswath Brahmin - Cochin dialect (GSB - Cochin dialect). They speak Konkani and Malayalam. Most of them have learnt Malayalam in school. They read Malayalam newspaper and magazines. Their Konkani magazine is printed in Malayalam script and many of them are subscribers to it. Some Gowda Saraswath Brahmins have come from Mangalore who know Kannada, Konkani and Malayalam.

Deivagna Brahmins migrated from Mangalore
to Coimbatore. They are also known as 'Sonars' as
their main occupation was Goldsmithing. Many of them
are engaged in jewellery work. They belong to sects
like Raikar, Vernarkkar, Koppikar, Revankar ettc.
They speak Konkani and Kannada. Many of them have
learnt Kannada and their dialect has borrowed items
from Kannada. Their dialect can be named as
Deivagna Brahmin – Mangalore dialect (D B Mangalore
– dialect).

Christians have migrated to Coimbatore from
Mangalore. They are very few in number when compared
to Gowda Saraswath Brahmins and Deivagna Brahmins.
Their dialect is different from Brahmin dialect.
There is variation between Christian Dialects. It
can be named as Christians – Catholic Mangalore
dialect (Ch-C Mangalore dialect). Their dialect too
had borrowed items from Kannada but the level of
borrowing is not much when compared to Gowda
Saraswath Brahmin and Deivagna Brahmin dialects.
Christian dialect is more close to Goah Konkani than
to other dialects.

1.2.3 Settlement Pattern:

The Konkani speakers are distributed almost
in every corner of Coimbatore City. But in places
like Kalveerampalayam, Saibaba Colony, R.S.Puram,
Gandhipark, Gandhipuram, Ramanathapuram they are seen

settled in groups. Gowda Saraswath Brahmins are seen in groups and isolated in the outskirts of the city. Deivagna Brahmins are centered in and around the market area were most of the jewelleries are located. Christians are found to be settled independently. Most of them live in the city area.

1.3   Aim of the Study:

Konkani is a non-scheduled language belonging to Indo-Aryan family, spoken by about two million people in Goa and in parts of the neighbouring states of Maharastra, Kerala and Karnataka. "1981 census data reveals that Tamil Nadu has 5,803 speakers and Coimbatore has 1078 speakers".[16]

The study aims to explore some of the issues related to Konkani speakers in Coimbatore. Its main purpose is to find out how far a language could be maintained through spoken form without the help of scripts. In addition to this the study also takes into account.

1.   The domains of use of mother tongue - Konkani.

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16.   Census of India 1981, pp.790-91

> 2. The domains of use of majority language
>   – Tamil.
> 3. The language attitude of Konkani –
>   Speakers towards their mother tongue
>   and Tamil.
> 4. Language preferences at school.
> 5. Language proficiencies (skills)
> 6. Role of language based association.
> 7. Linguistic convergence towards Dravidian
> 8. Language contraction.

1.3.1 Previous Related Studies in the Field:

Many studies have been made pertaining to linguistic minorities and language maintenance and language shift of linguistic minorities in India. Some of the studies worth mentioning are Pandit (1972), Dua (1979), Bayer (1980), Mukherji (1980), Ranjit Singh (1980), Sachadeva (1980), Satyanath (1983), Mohan (1984) and Mahapatra (1985).

"While most of the studies on linguistic minorities in India indicate strong propensities towards language maintenance, there are also indicators of acculturation leading to convergence,

and at times tendencies of ambivalence "[17] But Pandit
presenting a contrast between the patterns of
language shift aand language maintenance in Western
countries and those in India; says "A second
generation speaker in Europe and America gives up
his language in favour of the dominant language of
the region. Language shift is the norm and language
maintenance an exception. In India, language
maintenance is the norm and shift an exception."[18]

1.3.2 <u>Studies about Linguistic Minorities in Tamil Nadu</u>:

Many of the cities and towns in Tamil Nadu
have communities who speak different languages. Some
of the communities settled in Tamil Nadu are Telugus,
Kannadigas, Malayalis, Gujaratis, Marwaris,
Saurastrians, Marathas, Punjabis, Jains, Lambadis,
Konkanis etc.

17. Jennifer Marie Bayer, <u>Dynamics of Language Maintenance Among Linguistic Minorities</u>, Mysore, CIIL, 1986, pp.3.

18. Pandit, <u>Language in a plural society</u>, New Delhi, Devaraj Chanana Memorial Society, 1977.

Minority languages in Tamil Nadu can be grouped
into two.

1.   Minority languages belonging to same
family - Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam.

2.   Minority languages belonging to
different family - Hindi, Marwari,
Marathi, Punjabi, Lambadi, Konkani,
Gujarathi.

Many studies are undertaken which deals with
various minority language speakers and various
aspects of their language. Some of them are Pandit
(1972). Padmanabha Pillai (1977), Karunakaran (1980,
1983), Jayakumar (1982), Arokianathan (1983),
Rengaswamy (1984), Casimir (1984), Neethivanan
(1986), Kothai Nayaki (1988).

1.4   Area Selected for the Present Study:

Coimbatore was selected for the present study
due to various reasons. Coimbatore is an inland
district which lies in the extreme west of Tamilnadu
and shares its border with Kerala State. In the West
and South the mountain ranges viz. the Western Ghats
and Anaimalais provide its boundary. There is a
mountain pass in the Western Ghats which helps the

district to benefit from southwest monsoon and influence the climatic conditions of the district.

"Next to Madras, Coimbatore is the most industrialised district in the state. It has 52.577 of its main workers depending on non-agricultural sectors for their livelihood. As per 1981 census, the total population of the district is 3,060,184 with 1,544,171 people living in urban area."[19] Coimbatore city deserves special attention on account of metropolitan features. According to 1981 census, it is the 13th largest city in India.

With more than 30 percent migrants and about 67 spoken languages, Coimbatore is a goldmine for linguists. The largest number of migrants recorded by Coimbatore district is 1.45 million as opposed to other districts with over a million migrants. Migration due to available facilities of study, employment, business etc. also add to the increasing number of inmigrants.

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19.   Census of India 1981.

20.   Census of India 1971

Coimbatore city has been rightly been called the 'Manchester of South India' and could be compared with Bombay or Ahmedabad in the North as regards textile industry is concerned. Besides this, the growth of engineering industries and their concentration in Coimbatore have been rather remarkable.

Coimbatore offers ample opportunities for business and employment and attracts lots of other tongue speakers from different regions. Many Konkani speakers have settled in Coimbatore and established their families. Some of them are employed in various professions and others are well established in business.

Location of Coimbatore city, area of data collection is illustrated in the following page.

INDIA

KARNATAKA

KERALA TAMIL NADU

COIMBATORE CITY
AREA OF DATA
COLLECTION

COIMBATORE DISTRICT
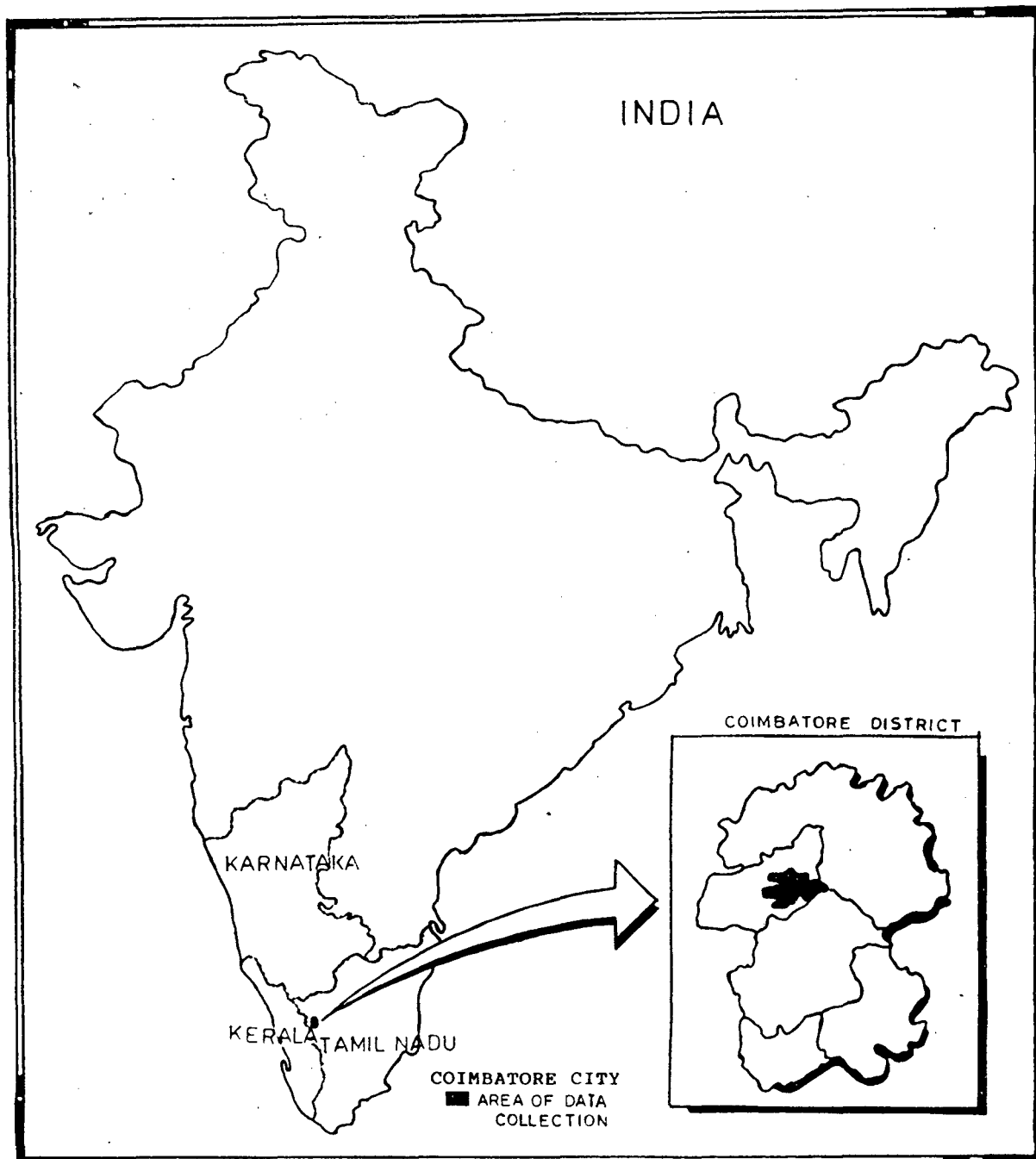
1.4.1   Language Situation in Coimbatore City:

Census figures show that 67 languages were spoken in the area. "Tamil speakers numbered to 1,934,782 and Konkani speakers were 1078 in number in 1981."[21]

In Coimbatore, Tamil is the regional and official language. Besides this, many other languages like Malayalam, Telugu, Kannada, Hindi, Punjabi, Marathi, Gujarathi, Urdu, Konkani etc. are also spoken. Konkani being the mother tongue for the immigrants settled in Coimbatore is maintained only at spoken level at home and outside where relatives and friends join together.

Malayalis form a major part of the migrants. Coimbatore, being a border area, and Malayalam being linguistically close to Tamil, many people of Coimbatore know Malayalam more than any other minority language spoken. In Coimbatore, Malayalam newspapers, magazines, etc. are easily available. The language speakers are socially dominant and influential. They have their own association that has schools where Malayalam is taught.

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21.   Census of India (1981) pp.790

A large number of people and their active participation in associational activities have helped them to preserve their language to some extent.

Hindi speaking population in Coimbatore also has an association and there are schools where Hindi is being taught. Telugu and Kannada are also spoken by many communities, but there are no schools where Telugu and Kannada are taught. These languages are used only at spoken level.

1.5   Methodology:

Before actual data collection began, information regarding Konkani speakers were gathered through some Konkani speaking friends. Some of the informants were visited and a good rapport was made with them.

A Questionnaire was prepared and administered which aimed at collecting general informations, language use in various domains and language attitudes. It was prepared with utmost care so that it elicited all the necessary information needed. Questions selected were already tested and proved in various studies.

Besides questionnaire, a list of words which has been widely used in the comparative study of languages and dialects was used. Known as 200 wordlist it includes words from Swadesh's list (1955) and from Gutschinsky's (1956) list. Some more words were added to this list. The list was translated into Tamil and 5 informants from each dialect group were selected for collection of the words. Some sentences in three dialects were collected. The sentences and some Konkani Bhajans and folk stories were recorded in order to note the dialectal variations and borrowings.

Questionnaires were given to the informants which they duly filled in. Interviews were conducted with informants to collect informations regarding their language, customs, etc. 'Participant Observation' method was also used during the study to investigate their language use, language proficiency, language attitude, language loyalty and code-mixing phenomenon.

A copy of the Questionnaire appears in the appendix 1 - Page No.

1.5.1   Selection of Samples:

Since Konkani population were numerically few and were scattered, it was difficult to identify the potential speakers. The association namely 'Coimbatore Samyukta Gowda Saraswatha Sabha' was approached and the address list of the members was collected. Samples were taken from that using Random sampling technique. In this technique every effort was taken to control the choice of items so that every item in the list had an equal chance of being included in the sample. According to this procedure, the items in the list are numbered systematically, and each item selected for the sample is made in accordance with random numbers. Tippets table (1927) was used for Gowda Saraswath Brahmins and Deivagna Brahmins. Addresses of Deivagna Brahmins were collected from a person who was senior among the community. For Christians, an informant who was a student in Bharathiar University was approached and some addresses were collected. Deliberate sampling technique was used in selecting individual samples which represented the whole community.

1.5.2   Sample or coverage:

For the present study, 50 samples were taken which consisted variables like

    1.   Caste

    2.   Age

    3.   Education

    4.   Duration of Domicile

1.6   Constraints in Data Collection:

Many problems were faced during data collection. The major one was the scattered nature of the Konkani speakers. Due to this it was difficult to see more than two informants in one day. Since many of the informants are employed in and around Coimbatore City, generally they find time only after 7 p.m.

Some informants asked to handover the questionnaires to them and get it collected after two or three days. In such cases, interviews were not possible.

Most of the time of informant meeting and interviews were during evenings. When there were some

television programmes, the respondents showed little interest in giving information. In such cases the data collection was frequently stopped to accomodate informant's interest.

1.7   Field Experiences and Observations:

Field work throughout was a remarkable experience.   The informants were very co-operative and hospitable. They were very proud to know that their language is being 'studied' and offered all sorts of help possible by them. Some experiences during the field visit are given below:

In one household, the head of the family was not there.   When told that researcher had come to know more about their language, immediately they switched over to Konkani from Tamil.   When they were told that the researcher was not well versed in Konkani, they felt bad.

One informant who was very helpful throughout the field work provided a pamphleet published by their association in Kerala and asked the researcher to pass the information contained in it about their language to other Konkani speakers who were not aware of it.

One informant who was an office bearer in their association provided the address list and a souvenir published by their association. He was a business man and even during his business hours, he spared time and gave information about the activities of the association.

Some informants told that their language was not included in the list of scheduled languages and they were eager to know whether the researcher or the study can do something in this matter.

One informant came up with a valid question "How can you learn about our language unless you speak it?" When explained in detail, he was convinced and congratulated the researcher for showing interest in their language.

Some of the informants while collecting sentences gave informations about dialectal variation and lexical variations and the trouble they had encountered due to this.

Some of the informants were not aware that their language belonged to Indo-Aryan family and it could be written in Devanagari script.

Lexical Borrowing, Lexical Convergence and Multilingualism in Coimbatore Konkani

CHAPTER - II

LEXICAL BORROWING, LEXICAL CONVERGENCE AND MULTI-

LINGUALISM IN COIMBATORE KONKANI

A multilingual set up is unique with its multi-cultural and multi-ethnic population. The large scale migration leads to language multiplicity in a multilingual setting. The migrants maintain their language identity despite the small size of their population. They speak mother tongue in their domestic settings and use majority language of the area in all other contexts.

In a multilingual society, the more powerful group who speak the dominant language are able to force their language upon the less powerful migrants. Migrants become bilingual finding that they must acquire the majority language that is beginning to dominate them. Many lexical items are borrowed in the initial stages and later on borrowing takes place at morphological and syntactic levels and the new structure converges with that of the minority language. Variables like age, caste, education and duration of domicile also play an important role in borrowing and linguistic convergence taking place in a multilingual set up.

Coimbatore Konkani is no exeption to this, in this chapter, the variables, the word list, language proficiencies (skills) and sentences collected during the field work are analysed and discussed briefly.

2.1 • Data Analysis:

Variables like (1) Caste, (2) Age, (3) Education, (4) Duration of Domicile etc. were taken into account.

2.1.1 Caste:

The data elicited from two groups were based on caste variable and one group was based on religion. The castes covered were (1) Gowda Saraswath Brahmins and (2) Deivagna Brahmins. Christians (Catholic) were covered under third group.

Caste as a variable was divided into three groups

S.No.	Community	No. of Informants
1.	Gowda Saraswath Brahmins	27
2.	Deivagna Brahmins	14
3.	Christians	9
	Total	50

Among the three groups, Gowda Saraswath Brahmins are the dominant group in Coimbatore. They were the first Konkani migrants to Coimbatore. They formed their association in 1956 under the name 'Gowda Saraswatha Brahmana Sabha' and later changed the name into 'Coimbatore Samyukta Gowda Saraswatha Sabha'.

The next major group is Deivagna Brahmins. As such, they do not have any association. Some of them are members of Coimbatore Samyukta Gowda Saraswatha Sabha'. Christians form the third group who are very few in number. They donot have any association.

Caste as a variable plays an important role among the Konkanis. Their association is not based on language but on caste. The name of the association denotes this. Even the Deivagna Brahmins feel that the association is dominated by Gowda Saraswatha Brahmins and many of them do not become members because of this reason.

Caste restricts membership of individual to association. So Christians are not members of the

association. Whereas other language communities in Coimbatore have language based association in which members from any caste can take part in the active functioning of the association.

2.1.2 **Age:**

Age as a social variable was divided into 4 groups:

1. Below 25 years

2. 25 - 40 years

3. 40 - 55 Years

4. Above 55 Years

The minimum age recorded was 18 years and the maximum was 69 years.

The break up of the sample in terms of age among the three group is as follows.

S.No.	Community	Below 25	25-40	40-55	Above 55
1.	Gowda Saraswath Brahmins	4	5	9	9
2.	Deivagna Brahmins	2	3	7	2
3.	Christians (Catholic)	4	2	2	1
	Total	10	10	18	12
	Grand Total = 50				

Age plays an important role in various aspects of language. Maximum number of informants were found in the age group of 40-55 years. The younger generation had more exposure to language Tamil. Tamil is the language they speak right from their childhood to their neighbours, friends and learn it in school. The youngesters did not show much interest in maintaining their language whereas the informants in the age group 40-55 years and above 55 years showed more attachment towards Konkani.

2.1.3 Education:

Education as a variable was divided into three groups.

S.No.	Community	I-V Std	VI-X Std	+2, College
1.	Gowda Saraswath Brahmins	2	13	12
2.	Deivagna Brahmins	–	6	8
3.	Christians (Catholic)	–	1	8

Grand Total = 50

All informants have been to school. They have learnt Malayalam, Kannada, Hindi, Tulu, Tamil, English as their second or third languages. Almost 64% (32 out of 50) of them have been to colleges. Since they are migrant communities in search of employment, educational qualification which is a must for better employment is met by them.

2.1.4   Duration of Domicile:

Duration of Domicile in Coimbatore was taken as a variable and was divided into four subgroups:

S.No.	Community	Below 10 Yrs. I	10-25 II	25-40 III	Above 40 IV	Total
1.	Gowda Saraswath Brahmins	–	11	12	4	27
2.	Deivagna Brahmins	3	6	4	1	14
3.	Christians (Catholic)	1	4	4	–	9
						50

Duration of Domicile denotes the contact with the majority language. Longer the duration, higher is the chance for language shift. From the table

it is found that Gowda Saraswath Brahmins are staying
in Coimbatore for longer period than others. There was
no informant in the first group i.e. (below 10 years)
belonging to this community. Most of them were found
in the II and III group (10-25 years and 25-40 years)
respectively.

Deivagna Brahmins are found in all groups.
Most of them were found in the II group (10-25 years).
Christians were found only in three groups I, II, III.
No one was found residing in Coimbatore above 40 years.

2.2. LINGUISTIC CONVERGENCE AND LINGUISTIC INTERFERENCE:

When the immigrant community moves to a new
area, the speakers encounter a variety of things which
are specific to the new area or culture. Migrants adopt
readily available words from the local language to
communicate. Later these words become a integral part
of their language.

Linguistic convergence is a feature of
Bi/Multilingual societies. "The term convergence itself
implies the meaning of 'fusing together' or 'merging
together' It can be considered as an agent because it
reduces the linguistic distance between languages." [1]

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1. K.Kalavathi, Coimbatore Kannada (From a descriptive
   and convergence point of view) M.Phil dissertation,
   Coimbatore, Bharathiar University, 1988, pp.1

When convergence takes place, one language may have the chance to be influenced by the other language. So it becomes inevitable for a language to borrow lexical items, grammatical rules etc. of another language. The direction of transference of elements from one language to another language is bidirectional but yet the direction from the majority language to the minority language is very common in convergent situation.

Sometimes in language contact situation, majority language accepts and starts to adopt certain linguistic features found in minority language due to convergence. This phenomenon is found mostly in border areas where bilingualism prevails. The acceptance of Malayalam and Telugu by Tamil in the Tamil-Malayalam and Tamil-Telugu language contact area is well depicted by Karunakaran.[2]

Linguistic convergence often takes place when the minority languages come into contact with majority language of a particular region.

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2. K. Karunakaran, 'Language Contact and Linguistic interference in Dravidian — A Preliminary study, Paper presented in III Dravidian Linguistics Seminar, Annamalai Nagar, 1971.

Convergence leads to uniformity, simplicity and efficiency in usage. In convergence situation, the linguistic features adopted by the minority language is not given up. Convergence gets identity only when it gives importance to the usage of particular feature which it borrows from another language. Once the items get acceptance, they will have permanent place for ever. This process of internationalisation of other language depends upon the society and social need.

2.3 LINGUISTIC INTERFERENCE AND BORROWING:

"The term linguistic inteference implies the rearrangement of patterns that result from the introduction of foreign elements into more highly structured domains of language, such as the bulk of phonemic system, a large part of the morphology and syntax, and some areas of the vocabulary."[4]

'Interference is ultimately a product of the bilingual's use of more than one language in everyday interaction.'[5] Mackey gives the distinction between

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4. K. Karunakaran, 'Language contact and Linguistic interference in Dravidian − A Preliminary study', Paper presented III Dravidian Linguistic Seminar, Annamalai Nagar, 1971.

5. Suzanne Romaine, Bilingualism Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1989 pp.51

the interference and borrowing. He sees 'interference as contigent and individual, while borrowing is collective and systematic.'[6]

According to Weinreich, 'a full account of inteference in a language contact situation, including diffusion, persistance, and evanescence of a particular inteference phenomenon, is possible only if extra linguistic features are fuly considered.'[7]

Convergence depends on factors like majority vs minority languages, the significance attached to the contacting languages in actual use, the efficiency and easy adoptability.

2.3.1
LINGUISTIC BORROWING:

The process of adoption of lexical items both phonologically and morphologically by the immigrant communities from the host language to their language is referred as borrowing. At the phonological level, morphological level and syntactic level, there may be

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6.   Mackey (1968:56) in Suzanne Romaine   Bilingualism
      pp 51
7.   Weinrich (1953:59-60) in K. Karunakaran, Lingui-
      stic Convergence, pp.42.

assimilation of various degrees or no assimilation. The words adopted phonologically and morphologically are referred to as loan words.

"A developing society which wants to modernize its language tends to borrow concepts and lexical items from the developed societies. This leads to the process of lexical innovation in their own language. "Lexical innovation concern itself with various kinds of linguistic processes to absorb new cultural traits. The linquistic material could be either native or a mixture of both." [8]

The processes of lexical innovation are:

1.   Loan borrowing:

In this the lexical item is adopted from the donor language to recipient language by perceptible and non-perceptible phonic adaptation.

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8.   Anvita. Abbi. and S. Imtiaz Hasnain, 'Lexical modernization and its socio-linguistic effects' A case from Indian Urdu, IJAL, Vol. 14 No.1, January 1988. pp.41

2.3.2

Lexical borrowing in Konkani Language:

The language contact situation in Kerala and Karnataka has led to lexical borrowing in Konkani from Malayalam and Kannada. In the following pages am attempt is made to identify the lexical borrowing in Konkani. Some borrowings from Tamil to Konkani are also identified.

The process of lexical borrowing seen in Coimbatore Konkani are:

1.   Loan borrowing: In loan borrowing the lexical item is adopted from the donor language (Dravidian) to recipient language (Konkani) by perceptible and non-perceptible phonic adoptation.

Loan borrowing in Coimbatore Konkani can be divided into two

1. Borrowing with phonetic change.

2. Borrowing without phonetic change.

1.   In borrowing with phonetic change the items borrowed undergoes phonetic alteration.

Loan borrowing by Gowda Saraswath Brahmins from Malayalam with phonetic change.

Table No. 2

Gloss	GSB Konkani	Malayalam	Goan-Konkani
garden	to:ṭṭa	to:ṭṭam	porsu
heart	hRiday	hRidayam	ka:lij
knee	muṭṭu	muṭṭə	do:pa:r
palm	patti	kaipatti	ha:t
person	a:ḷu	a:ḷ	manis
wide	visa:l	visa:lam	ru:nd
smooth	mridul	mridulam	mou

Borrowings from Tamil:

Table No. 3

Gloss	GSB Konkani	Tamil	Goan-Konkani
bird	parava	paravai	šabne
liver	kalli:ru	kalli:ral	fi:nth

Borrowing by Deivagna Brahmins from Kannada:

Gloss	DB Konkani	Kannada	Goan-Konkani
day	divas	divasa	di:s
feet	pa:d	pa:da	pa:y
mountain	parbat	parvat	donga:r
sea	samidru	samudra	dharyo
skin	ca:m	carma	ka:t

2.   Borrowing without phonetic change:

In this type of borrowing the lexical items are borrowed and is exactly as in donor language.

borrowing without phonetic change by Gowda Saraswath
Brahmins from Malayalam.

Table No. 4

Gloss	GS Konkani	Malayalam	Goan-Konkani
bird	pakṣi	pakṣi	sabne
garbage	kuppa	kuppa	be:s
spear	kuntam	kuntam	bʰalo
tail	va:l	va:l	s mpti
hunt	mRigaya	mRigaya	shika:r
swell	ni:r	ni:r	sujj
work	jo:li	jo:li	ka:m
liver	kudal	kudal	fi:nt
swim	ni:nt	ni:nt	povvap
suck	urinc	urinc	tˢo:kh
split	piriccu	piriccu	chirp
think	a:loci	a:loci	chinta:p
mother	amma	amma	avvo:y
river	nadi	nadi	nɛy
snow	mañ̃	mañ̃	barf
float (to)	poŋ̃i	poŋ̃i	uffe:vp

Borrowings from Kannada by Deivagna Brahmins

Table No. 5

Gloss	DB.Konkani	Kannada	Goan-Konkani
animal	pra:ni	pra:ni	jana:var
bird	pakṣi	pakṣi	sabne

Gloss	DB. Konkani	Kannada	Goan-Konkani
dirty	galı:j	galı:j	melo
egg	moṭṭe	moṭṭe	tã:ti
many	mostu	mostu	dza:yte
root	pa:l	pa:l	mv:l
sky	a:ka:s	a:ka:s	mola:b
tail	ba:l	ba:l	sompti
thin	sappu:r	sappu:r	bʰari:k
think	a:locena	a:locena	chinta
with	oṭṭu	oṭṭu	sangatta

Table No. 6

Tamil to Konkani

Gloss	DB. Konkani	Tamil	Goan-Konkani
river	a:ru	a:ru	nεy
thick	gaṭṭı	gaṭṭi	dʰa:t
nail	naham	naham	nanku:t

English to Konkani

Table No. 7

Gloss	DB.Konkani	English	Goan-Konkani
road	ro:d	ro:d	ma:rg
liver	livər	livər	fi:nt
ice	ais	ais	barf

Borrowing without phonetic change by Christians (Catholic) from Kannada.

Table No.8

Gloss	Ch.C.Konkani	Kannada	Goan-Konkani
fight	lada:y	lada:y	dzagada
know	gottu	gottu	ja:na
may	mostu	mostu	dzayte
mountain	parvat	parvat	donga:r
root	pa:l	pa:l	mu:l

Loan blends:

Another category of borrowing found in Coimbatore Konkani is loan blending. In this, "the recipient language builds new words through transfer of the elements of the compounds of the donor language and reproduction (generally literal translation) of the other elements of the compounds form from its own source".[9] Loan blends found in Coimbatore Konkani are given below:

Loan blends found in Deivagna Brahmin Dialect.

Table No.9

Gloss	DB. Konkani	Kannada	Goan-Konkani
Leftside	da:ve dikka:ne	dikka:ne	da:ve ku:s
	kon ka	(direction)	

9. Anvita Abbi. and S Imtiaz Hasnain, 'Lexical moderni-zation and its socio-linguistic effects', A case from Indian Urdu, IJAL, Vol. 14 No 1 January 1988 pp 41

Gloss	DB. Konkani		Kannada	Goan-Konkani
Right side	ujje	dikka:ne	dikka:ne	ujjo ku:s
	kon	ka		
because	tejjo	bo:skar	go:skara	kitya:k
	kon	ka	(because)	
knee	payya	ganti	ganti	dopa:r
	Kon	Ka	(joint)	

In the above forms the first part of the blend is nature form and the preceeding part is Kannada form. Whereas in the forms given below, the first part is Kannada form and Konkani form preceeds this form.

Table No. 10

Gloss	DB. Konkani		Kannada	Goan-Konkani
know	gottu	ta:le	gottu	Ja:na
	ka.	ko.	(know)	
kill (to)	maran	ka:di	marankolisu	ji:vana:si
			(Kill)	-ma:r
thumb	heb	be:t	hebberlu	ango:t
	Ka.	Ko.	(thumb)	

Loan blends in Gowda Saraswath Brahmin dialect.

Table No. 11

Gloss	GSB. Konkani		Malayalam	Goan-Konkani
knee	payya	muṭṭu	muṭṭ	dopa:r
	ko.	mal.	(joint)	
Stab	kutt	kartta:y	kutt	su:ritopp
	Mal.	ko.	(stab)	

When the languages in contact are belonging to the same family, the chance of borrowing is more. Weinreich believed that "the primary motivation for core borrowing was prestige. If one of the lanauges have greater prestige than the other, then the speakes will use more loan words as a means of displaying social status.

Many items in the word list are preserved in Gowda Saraswath Brahmin dialect, Deviagna Brahmin dialect and Christian (Catholic) dialect. These forms are given below:

Konkani forms preserved in Gowda Saraswath Brahmin, Deivagna Brahmin and Christian (Catholic) dialects.

46

Table No. 12

GLOSS	GS, DB, Ch FORM
ash	gobbo:r
dog	su:ne
flower	fu:l
grass	thən
horn	se:nk
leaf	pa:n
night	ra:t
salt	mi:t
sand	ræ:v
seed	bi:
stone	pattor
sun	su:rya
tree	ru:k
water	udda:k
woman	ba:yl
woods	ra:n
worm	ki:d
wind	va:re
black	ka:la
blue	ni:l
green	paccve
red	tambi:de
white	deve
yellow	halduve
blow	fu:ŋ
dance	na:cc

GLOSS	GS,DB,Ch. FORM
drink	pi:
give	di:
hit	ma:r
laugh	has
play	khel
sew	si:v
sit	bɛs
stand	rab
swell	sujj
tie	ba:nd
wipe	pu:s
work	ka:m
back	pʰa:tti
beard	k a:d
belly	po:ṭ
blood	reggə:t
bone	ha:d
ear	ka:n
eye	do:le

The above list of items prove that a large number of basic vocabulay 'words' including kinship terms, and body parts, verbs etc. are borrowed from Dravidian languages such as Kannada, Malayalam and Tamil. This attracts our attention towards the phenomenon of heavy linguistic borrowing leading to linguistic interference and ultimately resulting in linguistic convergence.

2.4 Syntactic Borrowing: Analysis of sentences.

During the study few sentences were collected from the informants belonging to the three groups. Gowda Saraswath Brahmins, Deivagna Brahmins and Christians. A small sample of them is given below. A close look into the linguistic structure reveals the fact that Coimbatore Konkani is moving towards Dravidian syntactic pattern, a sign of linguistic convergence.

These sentences were taken from the studies[10] made on Goan Konkani in 1988 in JNU. Some sentences consisting participle construction, compound verbs and Negation were taken for these studies.

2.4.1

Participle constructions:

Indo-Aryan languages have three way distinction in participles like present participle, past participle and (Vala) construction. Studies have proved that his three way distinction is absent in Konkani and semantically Konkani does not recognize the difference between the present participle and the 'vala' construction.

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10 a.   Sabita Nagarajan, Noun Modifiers in Konkani, M.A. Dissertation, New Delhi, JNU, 1988.

b.   Mona Narang, Negation in Konkani, M.A.Dissertation, New Delhi, JNU, 1988.

egs.:   Hindi :   bolne   vale   ka   na:m   kya   he

                      speak   name   what is

             What is the name of the one who is speaking

Goan-Konkani   uleta:cce   na:m   ka:le

                    speak + gen.name   what

These particular sentences *type of were* tested against the Coimbatore Konkani. This was done in order to see how deviant is Coimbatore Konkani from Goan Konkani. Sentences were collected in three dialects. Gowda Saraswath Brahmins (GSB), Deivagna Brahmin (DB) and Christian (Catholic) (Ch.C).

Consider the results:

a) <u>Save the falling boy</u>

Hindi	girte	hue	bəcce	ko	bəcao
Goan-Konkani	parta	tya	buRIgya:k		wats il
	fall+pr. pple	that	boy + acc		save

Cbe.Ko. GSB	<u>polle:l Cerda:k</u>		rekshicc kɛri
	fall+rel. child pple.		save do. imp.

DB.	<u>podca cellya:k</u>	ra:k
	fall+rel. child pple.	save

Ch.C.	<u>podtte:l buRgya:k</u>	ra:ki
	fall+rel. child pple.	save

b) <u>Hit the running dog</u>

Hindi   dorṭe hue kutte ko maro

Goan-Konkani <u>dhauta</u>   <u>sunyak</u>   ma:r

               run+pr. dogṭacc   hit
                     pple.

CBE.Ko. GSB. <u>davce</u>   <u>sunyak</u>   ma:r

               run+pr. dog+acc   hit
                     pple.

         ·DB. <u>davce</u>   <u>sunya:k</u>   ma:r

               run+pr. dog+acc   hit
                     pple.

        Ch.C. <u>davce</u>   <u>peṭṭak</u>   ma:r

               run+pr.   dog+acc   hit
                     pple.

c) <u>Catch the running thief</u>

Hindi   dɔrte hue co:r ko pakaṛo

Goan-Konkani <u>pɛlpi</u>   <u>tsorak</u>   pəkə ṛ

               run+pr. thief+acc   catch

CBE.KO. GSB   <u>davce</u>   <u>co:ra:k</u>   dɛri

               run+pr.   thief+acc   catch
                     pple.

         DB. <u>davce</u>   <u>co:ra:k</u>   dɛri

               run+pr.   thief+acc   catch
                     pple.

       Ch.C. <u>davce</u>   <u>co:ra:k</u>   dɛri

               run+pr.   thief+acc   catch
                     pple.

d)   <u>Don't get off the running bus</u>

| Hindi | cʌlti hui busse mat utro |

Goan-Konkani	<u>tsəlpi</u>	<u>busan</u>	dewun	naka
	run+Pr.	bus+loc	get	not(neg.imp)

CBE.Ko. GSB	<u>davce</u>	<u>bussatukkuni</u>	de:v	naka
	run+pr. pple.	bus (loc)		not (neg.imp)
DB	<u>davce</u>	<u>bussatakkunu</u>	de:v	naka
	run+pr. pple.	bus (loc)	get	not (neg. imp)
Ch.C	<u>davce</u>	<u>bussartane</u>	de:v	naka
	run+pr. pple.	bus (loc)	get	not (neg.imp)

It is noted that in all the sentences given above the speakers prefer to use participle construction than relativized constructions of the type 'save the boy who is falling' which is expected of any other Indo-Aryan language. Many other Indo-Aryan languages including Hindi has now adopted these form wider Dravidian influence.

2.4.2

COMPOUND VERBS: Some sentences were collected to see the nature of compound verbs in Coimbatore Konkani.

a. <u>Mani did'nt do that work for me.</u>

   1. GSB -   Mani makka te   joli <u>kornu dille:na</u>
                                                 ECV

               Mani   I   that   work   do   GIVE
               (nom) (dat)   (pst. (pst.
                                     prt) (neg.)

   2. DB -   Mani mejja kette:ri te   ka:m <u>kornudi:ni</u>
                                                ECV

               Mani   I   for   that work do GIVE
               (nom) (dat)   (pst. (pst.
                                     prt) neg.)

   3. Ch.C.- Mani   ne   makka te ka:m karo:na

               Mani erg   I   that work   do
               (nom)   (dat)   (pst. Neg.)

In these sentences, the first and second sentences have an ECV form with morpho̱logical negation. This is a Dravidian influence on Konkani language ~~in which~~ as negation is not allowed with ECV in Indo Aryan languages. The third sentence has a simple verb with morphological negation.

b. <u>The plants in our garden dried up for want of water.</u>

   1. GSB - amgille totta:ntu   assil dzat   udda:k
                   our   garden-loc be past plants   water

        naktille   <u>sukkun khelli</u>
                                     ECV

        be neg.pple   dry   Go
                             (Pst.   (pst.
                             pple)   tns)

2. DB   - amgille   parma:ntu   se:le   sarsiyo   udda:k

            our   garden loc be past   plants   water

    nattilya:n   <u>sukkun   khelli</u>
                                ECV

    be. neg pple   dry   Go
                        (pst.   (pst.
                        pple)   tns)

3. Ch.C.- amgille   to:tta:cce   dzat

            our   garden loc   plants

    udde   na:si   <u>sukkun   khelli</u>
                              ECV

    water neg.conj.   dry   GO
             pple.   (pst.   (pst.
                        pple)   tns)

In these sentences we can see that an ECV structure is
preceeded by a negative conjunctive participle which is a typical
Dravidian feature which is not seen in Indo-Aryan languages.
So this may be due to borrowing from Dravidian. It is a typical
example for convergence.

c. <u>Rice is overcooked.</u>

    1. GSB - si:t   <u>vi:rnu gelle</u>
                             ECV
                rice   cook   GO
                        (pst.   (Pst.
                        pple   tns)

2. DB.   -   si:t   mast   <u>sidde:ne</u>
                                                   SV

            rice   over   cook
                                          (pst. tns)

3. Ch.C.- si:t   ce:d   <u>sijje:ne</u>
                                                   SV

            rice   over   cook. past

Sentence (1) representing the Gowda Saraswath Brahmin dialect has an ECV form parallel to Malayalam - Tamil. 'vendi pooyi'/vend   pooc /bend hoyittu (Kannada) sentences (2) and (3) on the other hand representing the Deivagna Brahmin dialect and Christian (Catholic) dialect   Show a simple verb form instead.   This shows that eventhough Dravidian influence is there, the structure has not penetrated completely into Coimbatore Konkani yet.

2.4.3   **Negation:**

Another construction type taken for the study was Negation.   The Goan Konkani has seven negation markers like:

1. na

2. naka

3   nasl

4.   nat'

5.   ni

6.   nu

7.   nakaga

These seven forms were identified during the study conducted in Goa during 1988.

But in Coimbatore Konkani only three forms were identified during the study. They are

1.   -na

2.   -ni

3.   -naka

Sentential negation in Coimbatore Konkani is expressed basically by the forms -na and -naka. -na can be compared with English 'not.'   -ni is used to denote 'didnot' in English. '-naka' is used to either prohibit or to suggest no desire for something. Consider:

1.   It is not raining.

Hindi   : abhi ba:ris nohi   ho:ra:hi ^h

                           Neg.   MV

               now   rain   not   is (Pres.)

CBE.KO.GSB: pa:vsu   polla:na

                           MV   neg.

               rain   fall + neg.

               rain is not falling

```
DB      -   pa:vsu      po:lna
                        MV  neg.

            rain        fall + neg.
            rain is not falling


Ch.C.       pa:vsu      e:na
                        MV + neg.

            rain        come + neg.

            rain is not coming
```

2.   <u>Don't beat her.</u>

```
Hindi       use         mat     ma:ro
            her         Neg. (MV) beat

CBE.KO.GSB              tikka    ma:r      naka
                       her(acc) beat      neg.
                                (MV)      (imp)


        DB             tikka    ma:r      naka
                       her(acc) MV        neg. imp


        Ch.C.          tikka    ma:r         naka
                       :   (acc) MV          neg. imp.
                       her      beat         dont

                       Dont beat her
```

3.   <u>He didn't do the work</u>

```
Hindi       usne        ka:m    nahi      kiya
            he(acc)     work    do neg.+ (MV)

CBE.KO.GSB tane         jo:li   kellina
                                MV. neg.

        GS.             tane    ka:m    kerni
        Mang.                           MV + neg.
```

```
DB        tane   ka:m     kelna
                          MV + neg.

Ch.C.     tane   ka:m     karona
          he     work     MV + neg.
          (acc)           do + neg
```

4. I didn't write a letter.

```
Hindi          mene   citti    nahi    likha
                               neg     (MV)

CBE.KO.GSB     awe    barp     bare:lna
                               MV + neg

DB             awe    patr     bare:nl
                               MV + neg.

Ch.C.          awe    ka:gat   boro:na
                               MV + neg.

               I      letter   write + neg.
```

A typical Dravidian negative construction takes negative particle as a suffix to the main verb, unlike Indo-Aryan languages that use negative preceeding the main verb. Coimbatore Konkani due to Dravidian influence follows the Dravidian pattern.

Another feature noted in these sentences are the borrowing of lexical items from Dravidian languages. Many of the Konkani words have been replaced by Kannada and Malayalam words.

All these point to the fact that borrowing not only takes at the lexical level but also at the *syntactic* level in Coimbatore Konkani due to Dravidian Influence.

2.5

LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY:

In order to know the language proficiency of the Konkani speakers, a question regarding this was asked in the questionnaire. Each informant filled the questionnaire with the information according to the languages they were proficient in. Under the term 'Proficiency' all the four linguistic skills such as understanding, speaking, reading, writing were covered.

Separate language proficiency tables are shown below for each community based on a representative sample from each community. In the following tables when we talk of 'proficient' in 1 language, 2 languages etc. We mean that a speaker has all the four skills in that particular language.

For example in table No.   5th column proficient in 1 language indicates that 11.11% Gowda Saraswath Brahmins know all the four skills of Tamil and 7.40% know all the four skills of Malayalam. This is in addition to the fact that all people understand and speak Konkani.

LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY OF BILINGUAL GOWDA SARASWATH BRAHMINS

(In Percentage)

Table No. 13

LANGUAGE(S) KNOWN (U.S.R.W.)	PROFICIENT IN 4 Lgs	PROFICIENT IN 3 Lgs	PROFICIENT IN 2 Lgs	PROFICIENT IN 1 Lg.	TOTAL % INFOR- MANTS
TA.MA.HI.ENG.	11.11				
TA.KA.HI.ENG.	7.40				
TA.MA.KO.HI.	3.70				22.22
TA.HI.ENG.		14.81			
MA.HI.ENG.		3.70			
KA.HI.ENG.		3.70			
KO.HI.ENG.		3.70			25.92
TA.ENG.			7.40		
KA.ENG.			3.70		
MA.ENG.			3.70		
TA.MAL.			14.81		29.62
TA.				11.11	
MA.				7.40	18.51

(Based on a small representative sample of 27 speakers)

(U.S.R.W.) - U-Understand, S-Speak, R-Read, W-Write

TA. - Tamil

MA. - Malayalam

KA. - Kannada

KO. - Konkani

HI. - Hindi

ENG. - English

Lgs. - Languages

Lg. - Language

Note: All informants can understand and speak Tamil & Konkani.

LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY : DEIVAGNA BRAHMINS

Table No.14   (In Percentage)

LANGUAGE(S) KNOWN (U.S.R.W.)	PROFICIENT In 4 Lgs.	PROFICIENT IN 3 Lgs.	PROFICIENT IN 2 Lgs.	PROFICIENT In 1 Lg.	TOTAL% INFORMANTS
TA.KA.HI.ENG.	28.57				
KA.MA.HI.ENG.	7.14				35.71
KA.HI.ENG.		14.28			14.28
TA.ENG.			7.14		
KA.ENG.			14.28		
KA.ENG.			7.14		
HI.ENG.			7.14		42.85
TA.				14.28	14.28

(Based on a small representative sample of 14 speakers).

U.S.R.W. - U-Understand, S-Speak, W-Write, R-Read

Lgs.	–	Languages
Lg.	–	Language
TA.	–	Tamil
KA.	–	Kannada
MAL.	–	Malayalam
HI.	–	Hindi
ENG.	–	English.

Note: All informants can understand and speak Tamil and Konkani.

LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY : CHRISTIANS (CATHOLIC)

Table No. 15

LANGUAGES KNOWN (U.S.R.W.)	PROFI-CIENT IN 5 Lgs.	PROFI-CIENT IN 4 Lgs.	PROFI-CIENT IN 3 Lgs.	PROFI-CIENT IN 2 Lgs.	PROFI-CIENT IN 1 Lg.	Total % OF INFRO-MANTS
TA.KA.MAR.HI.ENG	11.11					11.11
KO.KA.TU.ENG.		11.11				
KO.KA.HI.ENG.		11.11				22.22
TA.HI.ENG.			22 22			22.22
HI.ENG.				44.44		44.44

(Based on a small representative sample of a speakers)

(U.,S.R.W.) - U-Understand, S-Speak, R-Read, W-Write.

Lgs.	–	Languages.
Lg.	–	Language
TA.	–	Tamil
KA.	–	Kannada
MAR.	–	Marathi
KO.	–	Konkani
HI.	–	Hindi
ENG	–	English
TU.	–	Tulu

Note: All informants can understand and speak Konkani and Tamil.

Among the three communities, maximum number of informants are found proficient in two languages. Informants proficient in five languages were found only among Christians. Moverover, informants proficient only in one language were not found among Christians. This shows their high proficiency rate in bi/multilingualism. Monolingualism is an exeption.

Domains of Language Use and
Language Attitude

CHAPTER III

DOMAINS OF LANGUAGE USE AND LANGUAGE ATTITUDE

3.1 General:

Communication process in society is carried over by more than one language in the present world. In the continents of Asia, Africa and South America, we find societies using more than one language for communicative purposes.

"In many parts of the world, it is just normal requirement of daily living that people speak several languages; perhaps one or more at home, another in Village, still another for purposes of trade; and yet another for contact with the outside world of wider social or political organisation".[1] This is known as multilingualism.

Bloomfield defines bilingualism as 'native like control of two languages by an individual'.[2]

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1. Wardhaugh.R, An Introduction to Sociolinguistics New York, Basil Blackwell, 1986. pp.94-95.

2. Bloomfield (1953; 56) in Suzanne Romaine, Bilingualism, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1989, pp.10

Stewart describes "national multilingualism
as, the use within a single polity of more than one
language".[3] This type of situation exists to some
extent in all the major areas of the world.

In bilingual and multilingual settings,
different languages are used for various purposes.
It was Joshua Fishman, who developed the notion of
'domain of language use' which paved way for systematic
study of the distribution of varieties of a language
within a speech community. The notion of a domain
links the larger society wide level to that of
particular utterances in context on the larger level,
it gives us ways of studying 'the distribution of
varieties in a society as a whole'. "A domain is a
grouping together of recurring situation types in
such a way that one of the languages or varieties in
a repertoire, as opposed to the others, normally occurs
in that class of situations. And members of the speech
community judge that the use of that variety, and not
the others, is appropriate to that domain".[4]

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3.   Stewart (1962) in Jayakumar , M, A study of
     Multilingualism in Dharmapuri district (Tamilnadu),
     Ph.D. dissertation, Annamalainagar, Annamalai
     University, 1985.

4.   EdwardSapir, Language - An introduction to the
     study of speech, London, Rupert Hart-Davis, 1970
     edn. pp.49.

"A domain is an abstraction which refers to a sphere of activity representing a combination of specific times, setings, and role relationships".[5]

Domains provide a powerful tool for analysing language use and language shift by immigrant communities. In the process of immigrant assimilation and adaptation to a host society, large scale societal bilingualism is generated. The 'new language' (of the host society) is introduced into various domains by migrants which in later course spread and ultimately result in language shift.

There are various domains in which language is used. Family; friendship, employment, travelling, religion, market, education etc. are some of them. Each domain is influenced by competing pressures like economic, administrative, cultural, political, religious etc. which in turn influence the bilingual towards use of one language rather than the other. It is not possible to predict with absolute certainity, which language an individual uses in a particular situation.

5.   Suzanne Romaine, Bilingualism, Oxford, Basil
      Blackwell, 1981, pp.29

3.2   Language use in the Home domain:

Mother tongue is maintained by the immigrant community mostly in the home domain. In this domain, the members interact freely in their mother tongue. "Fishman has discussed two different approaches in studying language use in the home domain. One is what Braunshausen and Mackey (1962, 1965, 1966) have specified as family "Members" father, mother, child, domestic, governess, etc. And the other is what Gross (1951) speficied as dyads: grandfather to grandmother, etc. ie., language of interaction between speaker and hearer within the home domain".[6]

In this study, the language use by the informant with various role relationships like grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, spouse, children, cousins, inlaws were taken. Language used with servants is also included as they are commonly seen in household. The model followed for the study is based on the model used by J.M.Bayer 1986.[7] The study had in view the following hypothesis regarding the language use.

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6.   Braunshausen and Mackey (1962, 1965, 1966) in Fishman J. 1972 Language in Sociocultural change in Bayer Jennifer. Language maintenance among linguistic minorities, Mysore, CITL, 1986, pp.47.
7.   J.M.Bayer, Dynamics of Language maintenance among Linguistic minorities − A Sociolinguistic investigation of the Tamil communities in Bangalore. Mysore, CITL, 1986.

1. The language used with grand parents/parents, will be Konkani. It is assumed that older generation uses Konkani only. It is assumed that with females only Konkani is used.

2. The language used with father/children or children/father will show variation. Konkani, Kannada, Malayalam and Tamil will be used in varying degrees.

3. The language used among young ones will be Tamil, English and less of Konkani. It is assumed in a multilingual neighbourhood, peergroup influences, will result in the lesser use of Konkani.

4. The language used with inlaws will be Konkani.

5. Use of language with servants will be Konkani, Tamil, Malayalam and Kannada.

In other words, use of language across role relationships was elicited to check the hypotheses that Konkani will not continue to be the sole dominant language used within the domain home. Duration of domicile, age and level of education are the additional factors, responsible for such situation.

LANGUAGE USE IN HOME DOMAIN: GOWDA SARASWATH BRAHMINS

Role Relationship		Konkani	Kannada	Malayalam	English	Tamil
Grandfather	Oral	74.07	7.40	25.92	..	..
	Written	0.00	3.70	14.81	..	..
Grandmother	Oral	85.18	7.40	25.92	.	..
	Written	0.00	3.70	14.98	..	..
Father	Oral	96.29	7.40	7.40	22.22	..
	Written	0.00	18.51	33.33	18.51	..
Mother	Oral	96.29	7.40	7.40	3.70	..
	Written	0.00	18.51	29.62	7.40	..
Spouse	Oral	77.77	7.40	11.11	11.11	..
	Written	0.00	33.33	33.33	7.40	..
Children	Oral	74.07	7.40	18.51	18.51	11.11
	Written	0.00	0.00	14.81	29.62	7.40
Inlaws	Oral	77.77	11.11	11.11	22.22	..
	Written	0.00	18.51	14.81	18.51	
Cousins	Oral	92.59	11.81	14.81	7.40	..
	Written	0.00	14.81	18.51	22.22	..
Servants	Oral	7.40	3.70	14.81	..	85.18
	Written	0.00	0.00	..	..	0.00

(Based on a small representative sample of 27 speakers).

Table No. 17

LANGUAGE USE IN HOME DOMAIN BY (DEIVIGNA BRAHMINS)

Role Relationship		Konkani	Kannada	Tamil	English
Grandfather	Oral	85.71	21.42	..	..
	Written	0.00	42.85	..	..
Grandmother	Oral	85.71	21.42	..	...
	Written	0.00	42.85	..	..
Father	Oral	92.85	28.57	..	..
	Written	0.00	57.14	..	..
Mother	Oral	92.85	14.28	..	..
	Written	0.00	0 00	..	..
Spouse	Oral	71.42	42.85	..	21.42
	Written	0.00	35.71	..	14.28
Children	Oral	64.28	21.42	14.28	28.57
	Written	0.00	14.28	7.14	42.85
Inlaws	Oral	92.85	64.28	..	..
	Written	0.00	57.14	..	..
Cousins	Oral	71.42	21.42	..	7.14
	Written	0.00	14.28	..	28.57
Servants	Oral	28.57	14.28	21.42	..
	Written	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

(Based on a small representative sample of 14 speakers)

Table No. 18

LANGUAGE USE IN HOME DOMAIN: CHRISTIANS (CATHOLIC)

Role Relationship		Konkani	Kannada	English	Tamil
Grandfather	Oral	55.55	..	22.22	..
	Written	0.00	..	66.66	..
Grandmother	Oral	44.44	..	22.22	..
	Written	0.00	..	55.55	..
Father	Oral	66.66	..	66.66	..
	Written	77.77	..	77.77	..
Mother	Oral	77.77	..	33.33	..
	Written	0.00	..	33.33	..
Spouse	Oral	44.44	..	44.44	
	Written	0.00	..	44.44	..
Children	Oral	44.44	..	44.44	..
	Written	0.00	..	44.44	..
Inlaws	Oral	44.44	..	33.33	..
	Written	0.00	..	22.22	..
Cousins	Oral	88.88	..	100.00	..
	Written	0.00	..	100.00	..
Servants	Oral	..	..	..	88.88
	Written	..	..	..	0.00

(Based on a small representative sample of 27 speakers)

The tables given above show the language use by Gowda Saraswath Brahmins, Deviagna Brahmins and Christians (Catholic) in the home domain. It is found that all the three groups uses Konkani at home across all relationships. Written script of Konkani is not used by any group. The use of Konkani is high among the relationships like Father, Mother, Cousins in some group and Father, Mother, Cousins, Inlaws, Spouse in other group. The usage of Konkani is less among servants.

3.2.1 Gowda Saraswath Brahmins:

More informants were from the Gowda Saraswath Brahmin group. Besides Konkani, Gowda Saraswath Brahmins who came from Kerala were using Malayalam in all role relationship both in spoken and written form. During the collection of data, it was noted that codeshifting was taking place mostly among Gowda Saraswath Brahmins between Konkani and Malayalam. Most of them spoke Malayalam and they have learnt Malayalam as a second language in school. Konkani is found highly used among Father, Mother, Cousins and Grandmother. When compared with Deivagna Brahmins and Christians Konkani is found to be highly used by Gowda Saraswath Brahmins. Use of English with children

is high mainly because they study in English medium
school and the languages Malayalam and Kannada are not
known to all of them. With grandfather and grandmother
English is not used. Hence the usage of English is
a recent phenomenon. Use of Tamil is with servants
and children. Some of the children study Tamil at
school and they communicate in Tamil between
themselves.

The parents told that some Konkani items were
explained in Tamil for children to understand easily.
Gowda Saraswath Brahmins who came from Mangalore were
found using Kannada. They use Kannada across all
relationships. Written form is not used with children
and servants. It's use is highly found among spouse
and it was less used with children and servants.

3.2.2 **Deivagna Brahmins:**

Konkani, Kannada, English and Tamil were found
to be used in various role relationships among Deivagna
Brahmins. Among father, mother, inlaws, grandfather,
grandmother the use of Konkani is found to be high.
For written purposes Kannada is used except with mother
and servants. English is used among children, spouse
and relatives in both oral and written level. Its use
was high among children. Tamil was used among children
and servants with servants it was only used orally.

3.2.3 **Christians:**

Only Konkani and English were found to be used among various role relationships among christians. Christians had a good knowledge of English. They used Konkani at spoken level and English at both spoken and written levels except while communicating with servants. Kannada is not used at all. Tamil is used only with servant at oral level. Konkani is used more with father, mother and cousins than with others among various role relationships.

Konkani eventhough spoken by all groups across all role relationships, Devangari script is not used for writing Konkani. They either use Malayalam script or Kannada Script for correspondence with their relatives. Some of them uses English for correspondence.

Among Gowda Saraswath Brahmins more number of languages were in use. They were found to be multilingual. Many of the people in the age group above 25 years had studied either Malayalam or Kannada as second language in school. It is the language in which they communicate with each other.

Tamil, eventhough the majority language of the area is used only among children and servants. The

children who have more exposure to Tamil in the
neighbourhood, school, among friends etc. find Tamil
easy foor communicative purposes. Knowledge is imparted
to them through Tamil. So in some cases, facts are
perceived by them easily in Tamil than in any other
language.

The three groups are equally exposed to several
languages, individually and collectively, in different
domains, different situations and contexts. As is
evident from the analysis Konkani is most often, the
language used with 'grand parents' and 'parents'. This
is more clear with 'grand mother' and 'mother'. This
is a possible indication that women are reluctant to
be easily moulded by forces of change. Women play an
important role in language maintenance. Anvita Abbi
points out that 'women are the largest force in
maintaining language'.[8]

3.3.   **Language use among other domains:**

Other domains of language use taken up for the
study are:

1.   Language use with friends.

2.   Language use in office.

3.   Language use in college.

8.   Anvita Abbi ed. in preface of 'Studies in Bilin-
      gualism', New Delhi, Bahri Publications. 1986.

4.   Language use in Market

5.   Language use in Hospital

6.   Language use while travelling

7.   Language use in religious domains, etc.

3.3.1 Language use with friends:

"The domains of communication with friends is an important aspects in the life of the individual patterns of language use in maintaining friendship indicates networks of interaction across language groups.   It indicates the extent of linguistic acculturation of both the minority as well as majority".[9]

A section in the questionnaire was about the language(s) they use with their friends. By having a close book at this, (1) the extent to which mother tongue is used in interaction networks outside home, and (2) the other language(s) the speaker used for communicating with friends etc. could be inferred.

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9.   J.M. Bayer, <u>Dynamics of language maintenance among linguistic minorities</u>, Mysore, CIIL, 1986, pp. 61.

The language choice ranged from two to five languages.
They are as follows:

1.   (English, Tamil) (Malayalam, Tamil)

         (Konkani, Tamil) (Kannada, Tamil)

2.   (Konkani, Tamil, English)

         (Konkani, Tamil, Malayalam)

         (Konkani, Tamil, Kannada)

3.   (Konkani, Tamil, Malayalam, English)

         (Konkani, Tamil, Kannada, English)

         (Konkani, Tamil, Hindi, English)

4.   (Konkani, Tamil, Malayalam, Hindi, English)

         (Konkani, Tamil, Kannada, English, Hindi)

In all these groupings, Tamil the majority language of the area is used more for communication among friends. But Konkani was used among Konkani speaking family friends. The variables like age, education and period of stay in Coimbatore are significant factors which also influence the language use. The younger generation speakers are more bilingual than the speakers of older generation.

In Tamil Nadu, there is some aversion against Hindi. The Governmental patronage towards Tamil had

led to the opposition of Hindi imposition in the state. At Government level there was some movement against Hindi imposition and the controversy still persists. Hindi, inspite of being declared as a national language, is not offered as a second or third language in Government schools.

Since Konkani belongs to Indo-Aryan group and its similarity with Hindi, the majority language speakers are not in a position to demarcate between Hindi and Konkani. The minority status of Konkani speakers coupled with inferiority complex, the Konkani speakers are less interested to expose their identity and thus Konkani is restricted to home domain. Outside the home domain the regional language such as Tamil as extensively used.

3.3.2   **Language use in Office:**

In order to know the language(s) used in office, a section was given in the questionnaire which elicited language used with superiors, colleagues, subordinates, menials and outsiders. Housewives did not give any response for this section.

Most of them used Tamil and English in office. The level of use of English was high among superiors. Among colleagues Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada and Hindi was also used. Menials and outsiders were entertained in Tamil only.

3.3.3   Language use in Colleges:

In Colleges Tamil and English were the languages that were used. With teachers English was used mostly for discussions etc. With classmates and juniors Tamil was mostly used. English was also used sparingly. With office staff and others, only Tamil was used.

The use of English was high among students who studied in English medium schools. At written level, English occupies the first place among the educated speakers.

3.4   Interpersonal Communication:

Interpersonal communication gives us the total picture of the language use by the linguistic community with the other language group in various situations. In this section of the questionnaire language(s) used in various situations were elicited. They were

1. Interaction during market transactions.
2. Interaction in Hospital with Doctor, Nurse and Compounder.
3. Interaction in public transport system like Bus, Taxi and Auto.
4. Interaction in the religious institutions like Church, temples etc.

3.4.1 Interaction during market transaction:

In Market, Tamil was the main language used. It helped to carry out transactions smoothly. The use of English was limited to some prestigious shopping centres. Kannada, Malayalam and Konkani was also used accordingly when they visited the shops owned by Malayalis, Kannadigas and Konkanis.

3.4.2 Interaction in Hospital with Doctor, Nurse and Compounder:

In hospitals, English and Tamil were used with doctors. With Nurse and Compounder Tamil is used. Some informants used English with nurse but not with compounder.

3.4.3 Interaction in public transport system:

In bus, with conductor and driver Tamil was used. While travelling in auto or in a taxi Tamil was used to interact with driver.

3.4.4 Interaction in religious institutions:

Gowda Saraswath Brahmins when they visisted their temples in their native place, they used Konkani for interacting with priest. Priest also talked to them in Konkani. Sanskrit is used by the priest while performing worship. Informants worshiped in Sanskrit and Konkani.

Deivagna Brahmins visited their temples every year which was in Goa. They had seperate temples for each sects. Konkani was used for interacting with priest. Priest used Konkani for interacting with them and for prayer also. Informants used Konkani and Sanskrit for performing worship.

Christians used English and Tamil for interacting with priest in the church. The mass in the church was performed either in English or in Tamil by the priest. Eventhough Konkani was not used for mass in the church, Christians never used Tamil for their personal prayers. They used Konkani or English for that.

The use of language, elicited in several domains shows that language choice made in each domain is dependent on the language ability of the interactants who are involved in a specific speech act.

3.5   **Language attitude of Konkani speakers in Coimbatore City:**

Language, associated with society tends to vary accordingly. Variation is an unavoidable phenomenon. Languages and variation within languages play both a unifying and diversifying role in human society as a whole.

Social interaction is a process of the societies. People get various experiences from interaction. Due to this interaction they tend to develop attitudes toward whatever they experience, towards other people, towards language, towards political and religious institutions, towards moral and philosophical systems apparently towards anything.

Language attitude gets developed during the social interaction process. The concept of language attitude arises from attempts to account for observed regularities in the language behaviour of individual persons. "An attitude is the disposition to behave in particular ways toward specific objects".[10]

Language attitude can be defined with the help of this definition as "the disposition in an individual's behaviour towards language".

The quality of one's lanauge attitude is judged from the observable evaluative responses he tends to make. He might react to other language speaking persons

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10. Gergen, 1974 ; 620 in Susan Gal, Language shift, Newyork, Academic press, 1979.

with expressions of dislike, with derogatory comments about their honesty or intelligence or he may advocate repressive, exclusionary public policies against them. On the evidence of such negative responses, he is said to have an infavourable attitude towards a particular language.

Language attitude is a bipolar evaluative judgement of the language. It is essentially a subjective judgement that shows like or dislike towards language.

For assessing attitudes of all the people in a society, it may not be feasible to consult each member of the population under study. In this study questionnaire based on language attitude was collected from all the total samples. Interview method was avoided because respondents may tend to show 'interview bias' by stating attitudes they perceive to be in agreement with the interviewers own. Questionnaire contained questions which elicited their individual attitude towards language and language speakers. Most of the questions were 'yes'

or 'No' type. Some had multiple choices. The
questions revealed the following:

1. Attitude towards Mother tongue - Konkani.

2. Attitude towards Tamil.

3   Attitude towards Hindi

4. Attitude towards Tamil Speakers.

5. Attitude towards Konkani speakers

6. Language preferred at school

7. Language maintenance and identity

8. Disadvantages of using mother tongue.

The response for each question was analysed.
Some questions were not applicable to students and
bachelors. Some questions were left unresponded.
The questions are discussed below:

1. **Attitude towards Mother Tongue:**

Do you like to speak Konkani?

        Yes   No

    (49) 98%   (1) 2%

Do you think Konkani is a good language to
speak?

        Yes   No

    (49) 98%   (1) 2%

Are you proud to be a Konkani speaker?

Yes   No

(50) 100%

Do you want your children to speak Konkani?

Yes   No   N A.

(39) 74%   (1) 2%   (12) 24%

Analysis regarding attitude towards mother tongue shows that all informants were proud to be the Konkani speakers They want to maintain their language. 74% of them want their children to speak Konkani. 98% of them liked to speak Konkani. This shows their strong attachment towards their mother tongue.

Attitude towards Tamil:

Do you think Tamil is difficult than your language?

Yes   No

(21) 42%   (29) 58%

Do you like to read newspapers and magazines in Tamil?

Yes   No

(37) 74%   (13) 26%

Do you enjoy Tamil songs?

Yes   No

(48) 96%   (2) 4%

Which T.V. programme would you prefer?

Tamil	Hindi	English	Doesn't see
(28) 56%	(15) 30%	(5) 10%	(2) 4%

Tamil is the host language and the analysis show that they had a friendly attitude towards Tamil.   42% of them found Tamil difficult at their initial stages of migration Some questionnaires were returned with the response 'at first' - they found Tamil difficult and later they adopted Tamil as their 'Lingua Franca'   74% of them read newspapers and magazines in Tamil.   96% enjoyed Tamil songs.   56% of them preferred Tamil television programmes.   76% of them liked to settle in Coimbatore.   Whereas 24% liked to go back to their native place in Karnataka, Kerala etc.   This shows that they have accepted and adopted the host language Tamil.

Attitude towards Hindi:

Do you accept Hindi as National Language?

Yes	No
(46) 98%	(4) 8%

Do you enjoy Hindi songs more than Tamil songs?

Yes	No
(31) 62%	(19) 38%

Do you think that by knowing Hindi your job opportunities will becomes wider?

Yes	No	No Response
(41) 82%	(7) 14%	(2) 4%

Attitude towards Hindi, the major language of their family (Indo-Aryan) which also plays the role of National language was elicited with the help of some questions. 92% of them accepted Hindi as National language. 62% of them enjoy Hindi songs more than Tamil songs. This may be due to the fact that both Hindi and Konkani belonged to the same language family and their evident similarity in lexicon and syntax. 82% of the speakers think that by knowing Hindi their job opportunities will become wider.

Attitude towards Tamil Speakers:

Would you like to invite your Tamil speaking friends to celebrate your festivals.

Yes	No
(49) 98%	(1) 2%

Would you like to join them in their festivals?

Yes	No
(49) 98%	(1) 2%

Would you like to have alliance (Marriage) with Tamil speakers?

Yes	No	No Response
(4) 8%	(44) 88%	(2) 4%

Would you like to settle in Coimbatore?

Yes	No
(38) 76%	(12) 24%

Konkani speakers have good relations with Tamil Speakers as their neighbours. They took part in festivals

of each other. 98% of them invited Tamil speakers to celebrate their festivals and joined Tamils in celebrating their festivals. But when a question was asked about the possibility marriage alliance with Tamil speakers, almost 88% of them expressed their dislike. 8% were not against it. 4% did not respond to this question. This shows that eventhough they have friendly attitude towards Tamil spakers, they were not ready to integrate in the Tamil society by marriage alliance. It also shows strong family attachments.

Attitude towards Konkani Speakers:

Do you prefer to go to shops owned by your people?

Yes   No

(29) 58%   (21) 42%

If you have a job to offer/recommend, will you prefer a Konkani speaker?

Yes   No

(29) 58%   (21) 42%

Incase you let out your house would you prefer?

Konkani Speaker   Tamil Speaker   Any other as tenent?

(14) 28%   (12) 24%   (24) 48%

Which language speaking person you prefer as a servant in your house?

Konkani   Tamil   Others   No Response

(10) 20%   (26) 52%   (12) 24%   (2) 4%

Attitude, preference towards the same mother tongue group was elicited through some questions. 58% of them preferred to go to shops owned by their people. 82% of them preferred Konkani speakers when they had some job to offer. But this preference was not shown in the preference of a tenant when they had let out their house and when they wanted to hire a servant. 24% of them preferred Tamil speakers as tenant and 48% preferred any other language speakers as tenant. 52% of them preferred Tamil servants and 24% preferred others as servants. The reason they gave for this was that their privacy will be lost if they prefer Konkani speakers as tenants or as servants.

Language preferred at School:

Which language you prefer as second language at school?

Tamil	Hindi	N.A.
(12) 24%	(36) 72%	(2) 4%

Which language you prefer for education of your children?

Tamil	Hindi	N.A.
(6) 12%	(33) 66%	(11) 22%

Do you send your children to English/Tamil medium schools

English	Tamil	N.A.
(32) 64%	(7) 14%	(11) 22%

Language preferred at school showed that they preferred Hindi more than Tamil. This may be due to the fact that they found Hindi more easy to understand than Tamil and they believed that Hindi has more scope than Tamil at national level. 72% of them preferred Hindi as school language at school and 66% of them preferred Hindi for the education of their children.

Language Maintenance and identity:

Maintenance of Konkani is necessary for Konkani identity and solidarity?

Agree	Disagree	Neutral
(35) 70%	(4) 8%	(11) 22%

Is it necessary to speak Konkani language to be Konkani?

Yes	No	No Response
(35) 70%	(12) 24%	(3) 6%

Do you use Tamil with people of your own language?

Yes	rarely	No	Often
(15) 30%	(16) 32%	(19) 38%	00

Do you think other group consider your community as distinct?

Yes	No	Sometimes
(25) 50%	(11) 22%	(14) 28%

Do you think that your community is changing?

Yes	No
(47) 94%	(3) 6%

Questions pertaining to language maintenance and identity were asked. The responses had the choices like agree, disagree, neutral. 70% of them agree that maintenace of Konkani is necessary for Konkani identity and solidarity. 22% were neutral to question 8% disagreed. 70% of them were of the opinion that it is necessary to speak Konkani to be a Konkani. 50% of them had the feeling that others consider their community as distinct A question was asked about the changes taking place in their community. 94% of them had the feeling that their community is changing and adopting the ways of other community.

Disadvantages of mother tongue:

Have you had any problems as a result of being a Konkani speaker?

Yes	No	Sometimes	No Response
..	(35) 70%	(14) 28%	(1) 2%

Do Tamil speakers discourage you in talking Konkani?

Yes	No	Sometimes	No Response
(4) 8%	(26) 52%	(19) 38%	(1) 2%

Do you feel embarassed to talk in Konkani in the presence of Tamil speakers?

Yes	No	Sometimes
(6) 12%	(29) 58%	(15) 30%

Some questions were asked to find out whether they had any disadvantages of being a Konkani speaker. 70% of them did not have any problem of being a Konkani speaker. 28% responded that sometimes they had problems. 2% left the question unresponded.

Another question, regarding the discouragement by Tamil speakers when they talk in Konkani was asked. 8% responded 'yes' to this question. They were youngesters, when they moved with friends in a group, their Tamil friends discouraged them from talking in Konkani. The main reason was that their language i.e. Konkani was difficult to be followed by Tamil speakers.

The question regarding embarassment to talk in Konkani before Tamil speakers was responded. 12% of them felt embarassed before Tamil speakers The reason they gave that talking in Konkani revealed their identity and another reason was that some common words in Konkani had some 'abusive' meaning in Tamil.

Language Maintenance, Language Contraction
and Language Change

CHAPTER IV.

LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE, LANGUAGE CONTRACTION

AND LANGUAGE CHANGE

4.1. LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE:

In multilingual communities, different speech communities are forced to live together in the state of constant competition and conflict in learning the language of others. The immigrant communities maintain their language for generation despite its minority status. They speak their mother tongue in home and where the speakers of their language meet together. This language maintenance goes on until and unless the majority language of the area exerts pressure on the immigrant language.

There are various factors whose presence is almost invariably favourable to language maintenance. Kloss[1] defines six factors like:

1) religious and social isolation.

2) time of immigration

3) whether language enclaves are involved

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1. Kloss 1966 in J.M. Bayer, Dynamics of language maintenance among linguistic minorities, Mysore CIIL, 1986, pp.97.

4) whether the migrants belong to a religious
   sect that operates its own schools.

5) prior experience in language maintenance before
   migration.

6) earlier use of language as an official
   language.

Let us see how these factors are relevant to
Coimbatore Konkani.

There is no harmony between the three groups
like Gowda Saraswath Brahmins, Deivagna Brahmins and
Christians. They are socially and religiously isolated
from the rest of other social and religious groups
in Coimbatore. Konkani Christians share their faith
with Tamil Christians. Though Gowda Saraswath
Brahmins and Deivagna Brahmins belong to same
religion, ther are inherent differences in social and
religious practices. Eventhough they speak different
regional varieties of the same language, in some
sense, they are isolated from other groups. Gowda
Saraswath Brahmins the dominant group, consider
themselves to be superior to Deivagna Brahmins.

All three Konkani speaking communities in
Coimbatore had migrated from Kerala and Karnataka.
Their migration to Kerala and Karnataka dates
back to 16th Century. So for Centuries, their

language is under the influence of Dravidian languages. Migration to Coimbatore, their second phase of migration, makes no difference as the migration is again to a Dravidian language spoken area. Their language have been under immense pressure from Dravidian languages like Kannada, Malayalam and Tamil.

Language enclaves are not seen because their population size was very small and scattered. Many houses were seen in a particular area but they were not immediate neighbours.

The migrants belonged to different religious sects which lacked harmony between them. The total number of migrants was also very small when compared to Kerala and Karnataka. So they were not in a position to start a school of their own to teach Konkani through Devanagari script.

Before migrating to Coimbatore they were in Kerala and Karnataka where Dravidian languages are spoken by majority of speakers. They had a prior experience in maintaining Konkani in these areas. The language situations in Karnataka and Kerala provided congenial atmosphere for their language maintenance.

Konkani has the status of official language in Goa. But, the migrants had long back migrated from Goa to Karnataka and Kerala where Kannada and Malayalam have the status of official language. They had no prior experience of using Konkani as official language.

As far as the Konkani speakers in Coimbatore are concerned. They are very far away from their nature land where Konkani is spoken. Some of them visit their relatives in native place once in a year for holidays, weddings, festivals, selection of spouse etc. Some of them visit their family dieties in Goa. This short visit does not help to reinforce language maintenance.

4.2 ROLE OF ASSOCIATION:

The association 'Coimbatore Samyukta Gowda Saraswatha Sabha' which has nearly 400 members play a vital role in the unification of Konkani speakers. Some religious festivals like Sree Rama Navami, Sumangali Pooja, Vinayaka Chaturthi, Gokulastami, Satya Narayana Pooja etc. are celebrated in the 'Vyasamandir' - the hall belonging to association.

Talks by their reverred Swamiji of 'Sree Kashi Mutt Samsthan' are also held in the hall in which many Konkani speakers take part.

No efforts are being made by the association regarding the development and reinforcement of Konkani. Unlike Konkani associations in Kerala and Karnataka, the association in Coimbatore is not having any school were Konkani script is taught. One main reason is their population size. Besides this, there is lack of interest in people. Infact, there was a move to appoint a teacher from Kerala to teach Konkani language and script. But lack of response led to the dropping of that idea.

The speakers are not interested in learning Konkani because learning it is of not any immediate help to them. Instead, they learn Hindi, which belongs to their language family.

4.3   LANGUAGE CONTRACTION:

In language contact situation gratuitous borrowing by immigrants from the dominant language, simplification of linguistic structure, retention of indigeneous forms by women speakers and loss of basic vocabulary are common. These are strong indicators of language attrition. The two opposite forces of language loss and language maintenance results in language change which is a manifestation of

multilingual areal convergence. The socio-political and sociopsychological factors play their independent roles for such minority language like Konkani to maintain its original linguistic structures.

"Language contact interference is a precursor to minority language contraction and language loss".[2] Language operates in different environments. In this operation, the language gets expanded. New vocabulary items, syntax pattern, morphological structures are added to the language. Pressure from the other surrounding languages also play an important role. Due to this pressure, the basic vocabulary which are least resistant to changes get changed. This is a mark of language contraction. Actually the language is not dying, it is expanding. Language expansion and Language contraction can be said as the two sides of the same coin. In language expansion, new structures are being infiltrated into the language which under goes the process of language contraction.

Sometimes, the minority language give up their syntax pattern and adopt the syntax pattern of the dominant language.

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2. Haughen 1989 in Anvita Abbi, 'Language contraction Language Shrink and Language Conflation : A Case Study of Kharia.

The tables of borrowed items in Chapter 3 indicates that a large proportion of Dravidian loan words have been incorporated and assimilated in varying degrees, in the Konkani lexical inventory. It is the areal pressure and large scale 'gratuitous' borrowing that has replaced the existing Konkani lexicon. It draws attention specifically to facts, other than material artifacts introduced to the Konkani in their interaction with Dravidian culture. Much of the basic vocabulary which is considered most resistant to change has been affected.

The following items from the basic word list were not in use among the younger generation of Konkani speakers in Coimbatore. They were not able to recollect the equivalent forms. They use either Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada or English equivalent forms. Only older generation speakers, especially women, were able to recollect the native forms.

Table No. 19

Konkani Forms	Gloss:body parts
lokdo	brain
hadde	breast
ga:l	cheek
kappal	fore-head
ku:	hip
dopar	knee
mandi	lap
ha:t	palm
ja:nk	high

Konkani Forms	Nouns
jana:var	animal
dabghu:l	claw
bhu:yi	earth
se:nk	horn
barf	ice
tale	lake
nɛy	river
mu:l	root
soro:p	snake
barf	snow
bhalo	spear
lugga:t	cloth
ba:kh	wing

| ki:d | worm |
| ra:n | woods |

Konkani Forms	**Verbs**
sukkuvp	dry
uffe:vp	float
gɔtevp	freeze
sika:r	hunt
ɟi:ranisi marp	kill
khanap	dig
ja:naja:vp	know
dhansp	rub
kharp	scratch
si:vp	sew
cʰirp	split
su:rito:p	stab
chogp	suck
povvᴀp	swim

Konkani Forms	**Adjectives**
mand	dull
da:veku:s	leftside
ujjvoku:s	rightside
ka:y	some
motko	short
ru:nd	wide
ubeco	warm

The above table shows that the language of the younger generation is under pressure from Dravidian languages and is changing. It is

expanding in the direction of Dravidian. They have given up native terms and the Dravidian vocabulary items have infiltrated into their vocabulary. Besides this, the reduction of negation markers from seven in Goan Konkani to four in Coimbatore Konkani, use of participle constructions than relativized constructions all show that the speakers have adopted Dravidian forms were recollected by the speakers forms and their language is undergoing a change.

4.4   Language Change:

All languages are constantly in a state of flux. It is a fact that languages are born, experience periods of ascent and descent and die in course of time. The purpose of language is to communicate with one another. A new language is born out of the need to face new situations just as an old language is lost because of its impotence to face up to the challenges of changed situations. A language flourishes when it bestows advantages on those who learn it; it decays, when it offer no incentives.

Peter Trudgill argues that linguistic change may come in two rather different types "Someform of linguistic change may be 'natural' in the sense that they are liable to occur in all linguistic systems, at all times, without external systems themselves - and it is here of course that stability of the nature of human beings is relevant".[3]   Other type of linguistic change on the other hand, "may be relatively non natural in the sense that they take place mainly as a result of language contact. They are, that is not due to the inherent nature of language systems, but to processes that take place in particular sociolinguistic situations".

Language contact plays an important role as far as linguistic change is concerned. It may lead to reduction and simplification of the minority language. Muhlhausler gives us the discussions of simplification and reduction. "Reduction can be described as the actual loss of some part of the language - or more precisely a loss of some part of a component of the grammar

3. Peter Trudgil, 'On dialect', Social and geographical perspectives, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1983, pp.102.

without resulting complication of another component
to make up for this loss".[4] Muhlhausler further
states that the most obvious place where reduction
takes place is in the vocabulary, but that phenomena
such as the loss of permutation transformations and
of surface case might perhaps also constitute
reduction.

"Simplification, he refers as an increase
in regularity in a language and like reduction,
should be used only relatively with reference to
the source language".[5] He isolates two different
aspects of simplification, the first aspect is an
increase in morphophonemic regularity, including
loss of inflections and affixes and second, an
increase in invariable word loss.

Ronald Wardhaugh[6] states that "Language
change in their attractiveness to speakers; they
change the uses to which speakers put them; they
sometimes retrench, losing speakers either entirely
(and of course, die) or only for certain functions
and they sometimes spread or expand, gaining more
users and uses. Most of the factors bringing about
change, retrenchment or expansion are unconscious
ones. Generally, speakers are not aware of what is

4. Mu:lhausler in Peter Trudgill, 'On dialect social
   and geographical perspectives, Oxford, Basil
   Blackwell, 1983. pp.102.
5. Ibid.
6. Ronald Wardhaugh in Languages in Competition. pp.No.

going on. However some changes are conscious, when a government decrees that one language rather than another must be used in certain circumstances, then that is a conscious decision affecting both languages".

There are some factors which play a significant role in language change. Suzanne Romaine[7] had cited various external factors responsible for language change. They are as follows:

1. Numerical strength

2. Social Class.

3. Religious and educational background

4. Settlement patterns

5. ties with homeland

6. degree of similarity between the minority and majority language

7. extent of exogamous marriage

8. attitudes of majority and minority

9. Government policy towards language and education of minorities and

10. Patterns of language use.

All these factors 'invariably favours language change.

7. Suzanne Romaine, Bilingualism Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1989, pp. 39-40.

Chapter V

Conclusion

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

In a multi-lingual, multi-ethnic and multi-cultural society like India, continuous movement of people over a long period has resulted in diffusion of linguistic features across language families. One of the significant features of Indian society is the existence of stable bilingual and multilingual communities.

The immigrant communities in a multilingual country like India maintain their language for generations together despite its population size and minority status. Family is the domain where usually the language is free from any pressure. Unless mother tongue is not properly maintained, reinforced in children and transferred from one generation to another, there is a chance of adoption of dominant language of the host area as mother tongue which in turn results in language decline.

From the study it is clear that if there is a linguistic group which claims a minority status in other linguistically dominant language area, it always shows bilingual identity in the following conditions:

1. If that group has no separate religion.

2. If there is no facility for using their language in the formal domains like court, police, public meetings, etc.

3. If that group is numerically less significant and also not a significant group in social, economic and political conditions.

4. If that group is geographically isolated to a larger extent from their native land.

5. If that group does not want to reveal their identity in the host area.

All these factors are relevant to Konkani Population in Coimbatore. Apart from this, variables like Caste, Age, Education and Duration of domicile also plays an important role in various aspects of language.

The analysis of basic word list shows that the basic vocabulary which are least resistant to change has been changed in Coimbatore Konkani. It has borrowed items from Dravidian Languages like Kannada, Malayalam and Tamil. Some lexical items have converged and become an integral part of Konkani Vocabulary. The younger generation were not able to recollect many forms and

are using Dravidian equivalent terms. All these point out the fact that their language is expanding and it is moving towards Dravidian.

Analysis of sentences show that there is reduction in some Konkani forms and adoption of Dravidian structure and forms which clearly indicates that their langnuage is undergoing a change.

A close look into the language proficiency showed that among the three communities all had the knowledge of Konkani and Tamil at the spoken level. Most of the informants had all four basic skills like understanding, speaking, reading and writing in atleast two languages. It was also found that Christians had high proficiency rate than Gowda Saraswath Brahmins and Deivagna Brahmins. All the three communities have adopted Tamil and acquired it because it is the dominant language of the area and knowledge of Tamil was necessary for employment opportunities.

The high proficiency by Konkanis in Dravidian, languages show that they adopt the language of the host area wherever they migrate and master it as it is very essential for their employment and existence.

Language use in various domains show that Konkani is only used at home and with relatives and close friends. The majority language of the area, Tamil is used extensively in all domains other than home. Other Dravidian languages like Kannada and Malayalam are sparingly used with people who speak these languages. English is also used by some but its use is restricted to some domains.

Generally patterns of language use in domains other than home indicates structural incorporation of languages due to functional and situational needs. This is not the case of Konkani in Coimbatore.

Attitudes towards language, language speakers etc. have been verified through various questions. Their analysis show that Konkanis in Coimbatore are very proud of their language. They are friendly towards Tamil language and Tamil speakers. Eventhough they found Tamil difficult at beginning, they accepted it and adopted it as their 'lingua franca'. They prefer English medium schools to Tamil medium schools and prefer Hindi as their second language to Tamil. Konkanis

very much care for their identity and are not ready to integrate with the 'host society' by marriage alliance.

The language of the migrant community settled in Coimbatore in due course of time has changed. The processes like lexical interference borrowing and convergence that had taken place in the Coimbatore Konkani shows that their language is expanding by gaining vocabularies, from Dravidian and at the same time with the loss of native vocabularies, language structure it is heading towards contraction.

Anvita Abbi[1] points out that "The languages spoken in the contact situation exerts linguistic areal pressures that force the migrant language to change, not necessarily towards simplistic structures but more and more towards complex structures". Thus the language may contract within while it adopts areal homogenous typology.

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1. 'Anvita Abbi' Language Contration, Language shrink and Language Conflation: A case study of Kharia, Paper presented in the conference on continuity and Change in Tribal Society. IIAS, Simla, January 1991.

It is the retention of mother tongue at home domain and some of the language structure at all levels of grammar, ie. phonology, morphology, syntax that signal the continuity of language and identity of its speech community.

In total, we can say that mother tongue cannot be maintained for a long period only by way of speaking it in home domain. Mother tongue is maintained when the speakers use it for a wide variety of purposes. They should speak it, write it, work in it, govern themselves in it, publish materials in it, use it in mass media and they should maintain contact with those who use the samme language elsewhere.

But as far as Coimbatore Konkani is concerned, the domain of language use is restricted to home and the language speakers are decreasing. The younger generation is becoming more bilingual and gratuitous borrowing lexical interference and convergence had led to language contraction.

Appendices

A P P E N D I X - I

QUESTIONNAIRE

Informant No._____

Date _____

1. Name   :
2. Male ( ) Female ( )   :
3. Address   :
4. Religion   :
   If Christian, whether   : Protestant ( ) Catholic ( )
5. Community   :
   Veg ( ) Non-veg ( )   :
6. Age   :
7. Occupation   :
8. Educational Qualifications:

- -
                        No formal (I-IV Std.) (V-X Std.) College
                        education
- -

Self

Father

Mother
- -

9. Language at School   :
- -
                        School   Medium   Other language
- -
a) I - IV Std.
b) V - X Std.
c) +2
d) College
- -

10. Please mention the languages known to you in order of
    proficiency:
- -
     Language (S)   Understand   Speak   Read   Write
- -

- -

11. Mention the language(s)used :

		Konkani	Tamil	Malayalam	Eng.	Hin.	Any other

(i) At home with -

a) Grandfather Oral
_____
Written

b) Grandmother Oral
_____
Written

c) Mother Oral
_____
Written

d) Father Oral
_____
Written

e) Spouse Oral
_____
Written

f) Children Oral
_____
Written

g) Sisters/ Oral
Brothers _____
Cousins Written

h) In laws Oral
_____
Written

i) Servants Oral
_____
Written

(ii) With Friends

a) Male Oral
_____
Written

b) Female Oral
_____
Written

(iii) At Office

a) Superiors Oral
_____
Written

b) Colleagues   <u>Oral</u>   <u>Written</u>

c) Subordinates

d) Menials

e) Outsiders

(iv) At School/College with

    a) Teachers/Superiors

    b) Classmates/Colleagues

    c) Students/Juniors

    d) Office Staff

    e) Others

(v) At the Market : Konkani/Tamil/Hindi/English/Any other

(vi) At the Hospital with:

    a) The Doctor

    b) The Nurse

    c) The compounder

(vii) a) When the priest talks to you

      b) When you talk with the priest

      c) When the priest performs worship

      d) When you perform worship

(viii) While travelling with the

    a) Taxi driver

    b) Auto driver

    c) Bus driver

    d) Bus conductor

12. Place of duration of stay in Tamilnadu :

No.	Name(s) of the place/places	Year of arrival	Age when you arrived	Total No. of years of stay

13. Did you migrate to Combatore Yes/No

If yes, from where? Name the place --------------------

14. Do you visit your native place? Yes ( ) No ( )

    a) If yes, please mention a) District
       b) Place   Tice ( ) the appropriate
       response

       1. To look after the ancestral property ( )

       2. To vist relatives, friends   ( )

       3. For holidays, festivals, weddings   ( )

       4. For business   ( )

       5. I feel at home in my native place   ( )

       6. Selection of spouse   ( )

15. Have you any relations in other states Yes/No

16. In which language you correspond with them? -----------

17. Do you have any cultural association? If yes, which language is used in the meetings.

                   ----

18. Do you send your children to Tamil medium schools? If yes, give reason.

    a) Better prospects in the state ( ) b) Better
                                  education( )
    c) Better scope for higher education ( )
    d) Identity with the host culture group ( )
    e) No Hindi medium school in the neighbourhood ( )
    f) Any other.

19. Do you send your children to English/Hindi medium Schools? If yes, give reasons.

    a) Job opportunity ( ) b) Prestige ( )
    c) Tamil medium school not in neighbourhood( )
    d) Tamil medium is difficult
    e) Better scope for further education
    f) Any other.

20. How many years have :

    a) You lived in Tamilnadu ( ) Coimbatore ( )

    b) Your parents lived in Tamilnadu ( ) Coimbatore( )

    c) Your grandparents lived in Tamilnadu ( ) Coimbatore ( )

21. I read newspapers/magazines/books

                 Frequently   Occassionally   Never
   Konkani
   Tamil
   Malayalam
   Hindi
   English
   Any other(Specify)

22. I see movies in

	Frequently	Occassionally	Never
Tamil			
Malayalam			
Hindi			
English			
Any other (Specify)			

23. Whether any marriage outside the community has

Taken place:　　　　　Inter caste ( )　Inter state( )

LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL ATTITUDE
Please tick (✓) the appropriate response

1. Do you like to speak Konkani? Yes ( ) No ( )
2. Do you think Konkani is a good language to speak? Yes ( ) No ( )
3. Have you had any problems as a result of being a Konkani speaker? Yes ( ) No ( ) Sometimes ( )
4. Does your children like you talking Konkani? Yes ( ) No ( )
5. Does your children talk to you in Konkani? Yes ( ) No ( ) Sometimes ( )
6. Do you want your children to speak Konkani? Yes ( ) No ( )
7. Do you feel embarassed to talk in Konkani in the presence of Tamil speakers? Yes ( ) No ( ) Sometimes( )
8. Are you proud to be a Konkani speaker Yes ( ) No ( )
9. Is it necessary to speak Konkani language to be a Konkani Yes ( ) No ( )
10. Do Tamil speakers discourage you in talking Konkani Yes ( ) No ( ) Sometimes ( )
11. Maintenance of Konkani is necessary for Konkani identity and solidarity agree/disagree/neutral.
12. Do you use Tamil with people of your own language? Yes/No Rarely/Very often.
13. Do you like to read newspapers and magazines in Tamil Yes/No.
14. Do you enjoy watching Television programmes? Yes ( ) No ( )
15. Which programme you would prefer? Tamil/Hindi/English.
16. Do you enjoy Tamil songs? Yes ( ) No ( )
17. Do you enjoy Hindi songs more than Tamil? Yes ( ) No( )
18. Do you accept Hindi as National language? Yes ( ) No( )
19. Do you think Tamil is difficult than your language Yes ( ) No ( )
20. Which language you prefer as second language at school Tamil/Hindi

21. Which medium you prefer for education of your Children? Tamil/Hindi

22. Do you think that by knowing Hindi your job opportunities will become wider? Yes ( ) No ( )

23. Do you prefer to go to shops owned by your people? Yes ( ) No ( )

24. Would you like to invite your Tamil speaking friends to celebrate your festivals? Yes ( ) No ( )

25. Would you like to join them in their festivals? Yes ( ) No ( )

26. Would you like to settle in Coimbatore? Yes ( ) No ( )

27. Would you like to have alliance(Marriage) with Tamil Speakers? Yes ( ) No ( )

28. If you have a job to offer/recommend would you prefer a konkani speaker? Yes ( ) No ( )

29. In case you let out your house would you prefer
    a) Konkani speaker b) Tamil speaker
    c) any other as tenant?

30. Which language speaking person you prefer as a servant in your house?
    Konkani ( ) Tamil ( ) Others ( )

31. Do you think your community is changing Yes ( ) No ( )

    If yes, do you think it is adopting the ways of other community? Yes ( ) No ( )

32. Do you think other groups consider your community as distinct. Yes ( ) No ( ) Sometimes ( )

APPENDIX - II

WORD LIST

GLOSS	GOWDA SARASWATH BRAHMIN (COCHIN)	DEIVAGNA BRAHMIN (MANGALORE)	CHRISTIANS (CATHOLIC) MANGALORE	GOAN KONKANI
ash	gobbo:r	gobbo:r	gobbo:r	gobbo:r
animal	mRig	pRa:ni	manja:t	jana:var
bird	paksi	paksi	šabne	šabne·
clothing	luggət	ankulə	ostu:r	lugga:t
day	di:su	divas	di:s	di:s
dog	su:ṇe	su:ṇe	su:ṇe	su:ṇe
earth	bʰu:yi	bʰu:yi	daran	bʰu:yi
egg	moṭṭo	moṭṭe	tatẽ	ta:nṭi
fat	dətsa:ni	pase	sara:j	dᶻarɔ
flower	fu:l	fu:l	fu:l	fu:l
fruit	fal	feł	fɔl	fal
garbage	kuppa	koyiru	koyiru	bɛs
grass	tʰən	tʰən	tʰən	tʰən
horn	se:nk	se:nk	se:nk	se:nk
ice	dova katta	dɛv	ais	barf
lake	təḷe	gummi	təḷe	təḷe
leaf	pa:n	pa:n	pa:n	pa:n
louse	u:v	tonno	u:v	uo
man	manisu	mani:š	manis	manis
moon	candrəmu	candra	sandr	candrima
mountain	mo:l	parbat	parvat	donga:r
night	ra:ti	ra:ti	ra:t	ra:t
river	nadi	nɛy	nɛy	nɛy
road	va:t	ro:d	marok	ma:rg
root	mu:l	pa:l	pa:l	mu:l
rope	dɔ:r	dhɔ:r	dhe:ri	dori
salt	mi:t	mi:t	mi:t	mi:t
sand	ræ̃:v	ræ̃:v	ræ̃:v	ræ̃:v
sea	samidru	samudra	dharyo	dharyo
seed	bi:	bi:	bi:	bi:
sky	a:ka:š	a:ks:š	mɔḷab	mɔḷab
snake	divodu	sora:p	ju:da:	soṙo:p
snow	dɔvu	dɔvɔ	n.a.	barf

spear	kuntam	n.a.	n.a.	bhalo
star	naksatram	naksatr	naksatr	naksatr
stick	baḍi	baḍḍi	bodi	badi
stone	pattor	pattor	pattɔr	fattɔr
sun	su:rya	su:rya	su:rya	su:rya
tail	va:l	ba:l	simti	sɔmti
tree	ru:k	ru:k	ru:k	ru:k
water	udda:k	udda:k	udda:k	udda:k
woman	ba:yl	ba:yl	ba:ylmanis	ba:yl
woods	ra:n	ra:n	ra:n	ra:n
worm	ki:ḍ	ki:ḍ	ki:ḍ	ki:ḍ
wind	va:re	va:re	va:re	va:re
wing	pa:k	pa:nk	pakḍə	bãkh
black	ka:la	ka:la	ka:la	ka:la
blue	ni:l	ni:l	ni:l	ni:l
green	paccve	paccve	paccve	paccve
red	tambiḍe	tambḍe	tambḍe	tambḍe
white	deve	deve	deve	dev
yellow	halḍuve	halḍuve	halḍuve	halḍuve
bark	bɔngta	bɔngta	gɔng	bɔnkap
bite	cabb	cabb	sa:b	tsablɔ
blow	fu:ŋta	fuŋ	fuŋ	fuŋ
breathe	swa:s	swa:sge	uswa:s	uswa:s
burn	dzeḷta	dze:ḷi	ulpa:y	la:sap
come	yo	yo	to	yevp
cook	rendəb	rəndəb	rənd	rənp
count	miggetta:y	kudɨsic	mɛs	mɛsp
cut	kuttikartay	kudkakari	knattar	kapp
dance	na:cc	na:cc	na:s	na:cc
die	mellɔ	mellɔ	mɔr	marap
dig	phond	pɔond	konḍ	khanap
drink	pi:vp	pɪ:	pi:	piyevp

dry	sukke	sukke	sukhi	sukkɔvp
eat	dzeːvthay	jəv	jə v	kharp
fall	pad	podi	pod	padːp
fight	dzakade	ladaːy	ladaːy	dzagada
float	ʋtkaːntu	uːn	upyata	uffeːvp
freeze	dzarkadeup	gattijelle	n.a.	gɔtevp
give	diː	diː	diː	diː
hear	aːykh	aːyak	aːyak	aːyak
hit	marttay	maːr	maːr	maːr
hold	dəri	dəːri	dəri	dəri
hunt	mṛigaya	shikaːr	shikaːr	shikaːr
kill	dimsimaːri	marnəkhaḍi	juːsi	jiːvanisimaːr
know	veləkkatta	gottutale	gottu	jaːnajaːvp
laugh	hasta	has	has	has
lie	paduttaːy	niːti	nidd	kʰɔte
play	kheḷtaːy	khel	khel	khɛlp
pull	oḍḍittaːy	taːnti	hoːt	oḍḍp
push	dhingulta	dhung e	lɔːt	dhukaḷp
rub	dzerətta	ghansi	pʋːs	dhansp
say	saːngta	saːngi	maːne	saːngəp
scratch	khorju	kharpani	korpi	kharpuːvp
see	coːyi	pale	pole	pal vp
sew	simtai	siːvey	siːvnk	siːvp
sing	mɛn	mɛṇi	kʌntaːr	gaːvp
sit	bɛṣta	bɛṣ	bɔṣ	bɔsp
sleep	nidd	niːti haːdi	nidde	nidde
smoke	dukhraːp	thandi	dubbɔːr	dubbɔːr
spit	tuːkɛri	uste ute	simpi	uːkkap
split	piriccʋ	donik ri	chiːr	chirp
stab	kuṭṭkartaːi	toṣppi	toːp	suːritoːp
stand	rabh	rab	rabu	rabh
suck	urinc	taṇḍɔnpi	chuːmb	chogp
swell	niːr	sujji	sujj	sujj
swim	nint	paunc	upəy	povvap

think	a:loci	a:locena	chinta	chintap
throw	vindittai	ude	udey	somduvb
tie	ba:nd	ba:nd	bha:nd	bha:nd
turn	guʋundai	gu:n	gu:n	gu:vp
vomit	o:nkitta:y	vo:nki	bo:nk	o:nkp
wash	umbalttay	umblə	du:	dũʋp
wipe	pu:sittay	pu:s	pu:s	pu:sp
work	jo:li	ka:m	ka:m	ka:m
back	phaṭṭi	pa:tti	phaṭṭi	fa:ṭṭ
beard	kha:ḍ	ka:ḍ	ka:ḍ	kha:ḍ
belly	po:ṭ	po:ṭ	po:ṭ	po:ṭ
blood	rəggə:t	rəggə:t	rəgga:t	rəga:t
bone	ha:d	ha:d	ha:d	ha:d
breast	momme	hadde	hard	hadde
cheek	ga:	pollo	n.a	ga:l
claw	nanku:t	nanku:t	dalip	dabghul
ear	ka:n	ka:n	ka:n	ka:n
eye	dolə	dolə	dolə	dolə
face	sark	to:nd	to:nd	to:nd
finger	bo:t	bo:t	bo:t	bo:t
fore-head	niddal	niddal	kappal	kappal
hair	kæ:su	kæ:su	kæ:s	kæ:s
hand	ha:t	ha:t	ha:t	ha:t
head	matte	matte	takl	takli
heart	hRiday	redɛy	ka:lis	ka:lij
hip	ku:rtt	ku:tt	penka:d	ku:lo
knee	payyamutti	payyaga:nti	dopa:r	dopa:r
lap	homṭi	jange	uske	maṇḍi
leg	pa:yu	pa:yu	pa:yu	pa:y
liver	kalli:ru	livər	pint^h	fint^h
mouth	tɔ:nd	tɔ:nd	tɔ:nd	tɔnd
moustache	mi:se	mi:se	mi:se	mi:se
neck	gɔmti	galɔ	gɔmti	galɔ
nose	na:k	na:k	na:k	na:k
palm	patti	hatta ta:li	ha.a	ha:t
skin	sa:l	ca:m	ka:t	ka:t
teeth	da:nt	da:nt	da:nt	da:nt

	I	II	III	IV
thigh	ja:nk	ja:nk	dza:nke	ja:nk
thumb	untyabo:t	hebbe:t	mandebo:t	ango:t
throat	ta:ḷɔ	ta:ḷɔ	ta:ḷo	ta:ḷo
tongue	ji:b	ji:b	ji:b	ji:b
father	bappa	a:nu	bappɔy	bappɔy
mother	a:usu	hausi	avvɔy	avvay
brother	ba:vu	ba:vu	ba:vu	ba:vu
sister	ba:yni	bɔyni	bɔyn	bɔyn
husband	bammunu	gɔub	gɔub	gɔub
wife	ba:y	bɔyl	bɔyl	bɔyl
child	cerḍu	cerḍu	bhurg	bhurgɔ
because	tajja:n	tejje bɔ:skar	kitma	kitya:k
he	to	to	to	to
here	anga	hanga	ango	hango
how	kassi	kassi	kassi	kase
person	a:lu	jɔn	padri	manis
she	tikka	tikka	tikka	tikka
that	te	te	te	te
this	ye	he	ye	he
who	ko:n	ko:n	ko:n	ko:n
what	itte	ka:le	ka:le	ka:le
where	kai	kai	kel	kay
when	kattey	kenna	kedava:g	ketta
with	ḷaggi	oṭṭu	sanga:ta	sanga:ta
you I,II,III	tu,tukka, tummi	tu,tukka tummi	tu,tukka, tummi	tu,tukka tummi
I	a:v	a:v	a:v	a:v
big	olle	holle	bade	bade
cold	sɛḷɨ vɔ:ttu	taṇḍ	taṇḍ	taṇḍ
dirty	cikla:ce	gali:j	burse	melo
dull	mɔd	mand	mɔndu	mand
fear	bhay	bhɔy	bhey	bhey
few	sokade	thode	dhoda	dhoda
heavy	dzada:ni	dzed	dza:d	dzad
leftside	da:ve kadnu	da:vedikka:ne	da:veku:s	da:v ku:s

long	di:k	di:k	ləmb	ləmb
many	dʒayte	mɔstu	mɔstu	dayte
new	nevve	navve	navve	navvɔ
old	pɔrn	pɔrnə	pɔrnə	pɔrnɔ
rightside	ujjekadnu	ujjedikkane	da:veku:s	da:v ku:s
short	san	sa:n	mɔtve	moţko
some	sokkadesagg	ke o	yonde	ka:y
straight	savki:ci	ni:t	ni:t	ni:t
thick	add	dha:t	dha:t	dha:t
thin	sukkunu	sappur	bhari:k	bhari:k
warm	a:vi	hu:n	a:bh	ubeco
wide	visa:]	ru:nd	ru:nd	ru:nd
one	ɛ:k	ɛ:k	ɛ:k	ɛ:k
two	do:n	do:n	do:n	do
three	ti:n	ti:n	ti:n	ti:n
four	ca:r	ca:r	ca:r	ca:r
five	panc	panc	pa ns	pa:nc
six	sa	sa	so	sa
seven	sa:t	sa:t	sa:t	sa:t
eight	a:t	a:t	a:t	a:t
nine	nɔv	nɔv	nɔv	nɔv
ten	das	das	da	das
twenty	bi:s	bis	vi:s	b.ι:s
hundred	sembɔ:r	səmbɔ:r	sembɔ:r	səmbɔ:r

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