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C O N T E N T S

LINGUISTIC IMPLICATIONS OF PURE TAMIL MOVEMENT

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The pure Tamil Movement in Tamilnadu as also in Pondicherry is not just a passing phenomenon. It has both sociological and linguistic implications. The two main factors which have been keeping this movement alive are sociologically Brahminism and linguistically Sanskrit. Although the impact of English is very much in evidence in Tamil, historically Tamil had an encounter with Sanskrit first. It is not a denying fact that despite Sanskrit was nobody's mother tongue it has substantially contributed to Indian thought. However its relation with Tamil even from time immemorial has not been taken for granted. Sanskrit apart from being a language of intellectual discourse, it is a language of rituals and religious ceremonies and Brahmins are the only community which has been performing them among various communities. Earlier Sanskrit was a language of learned, and again this learned community was by and large represented by Brahmins. Thus the relation between Sanskrit and Brahmins has been an inseparable one in South in general, and Tamilnadu and Pondicherry in particular.

2. In the south, Brahmins are primarily responsible for the impact of Sanskrit on Dravidian languages and they were instrumental for aryanizing the Dravidian south. This impact depending upon the attitude of non-Brahmin communities towards Brahmins varies in degrees. Furthermore the hold of Sanskrit among Dravidian languages in South has a direct bearing on the attitude of the speech communities towards their own mother-tongue. The attitude of different speech communities towards their mother-tongue cannot be assessed uniformly. Notice for instance, the attitude of Tamils towards their mother-tongue i.e., Tamil, is quite different from the attitude of the Keralites towards Malayalam despite both these languages belong to same linguistic family. For Keralites, Malayalam is just an instrument for social interaction and beyond that it has no relevance. For Tamils, not only their mother-tongue is an instrument for social interaction, but also it is their very flesh and blood. This attitudinal difference between Keralites and Tamils towards their mother-tongue is crucial in deciding the relation between Sanskrit and their languages. Since for Keralites language is only a tool promoting social

interaction, and beyond that it has no relevance to them, they do not mind the exposure of Malayalam to any extent to Sanskrit or for that matter any language which serves their purpose. Consequently, the influence of Sanskrit in Malayalam is such that the latter has not only almost lost its lexical productivity from native etymological source but also it has reached a stage that its effectiveness as a medium of communication would be totally lost if it is relieved from the impact of Sanskrit. To a very great extent, the situation obtained in Telugu and Kannada is not different from what is obtained in Malayalam. If one turns to Tamil, things are totally different. For Tamils, the relation between the language and the speaker is an emotional factor. For them Tamil is their very life. Hence the slogan *uṭal maṇṇukku, uyir tamiḻukku* 'body is for soil, life is for Tamil'. The very fact that for the past twenty centuries or even more the Tamil phonological system has been guarded meticulously against Sanskrit is an eloquent testimony of the Tamils' concern over their speech despite the orhthographic system obtained in Tamil has its roots in Brahmi writing system (Mahadevan 1987). The *grantha* characters referring to j, ṣ, s, h and kṣ have not succeeded in finding a place for them in the inventory of Tamil phonemic and orthographic systems. They are disallowed in Tamil for the simple reason that they are associated with Sanskrit lexicon.

3. It cannot however be maintained that Sanskrit lexicon was totally discarded from Tamil. As a matter of fact, Tolkappiyar the earliest Tamil grammarian recognized Sanskrit lexicon as one of the four lexical sources that could find place in poetic lexicon (Tol. Col. Nacc. 397). However, he did not approve of the borrowing of Sanskrit lexicon particularly *tadbava* lexicon in their original form. He ruled that the Sanskrit borrowings in Tamil should not violate the phonological system obtained in the latter, and to that extent they should be tamed to suit to the Tamil phonology (Tol. Col. Nacc. 401). It is to be noted that even this strategy of Tolkappiyar to accommodate Sanskrit lexicon in Tamil is not acceptable to such scholars as Maraimalai Adigal and Devaneyappavanar of this century. (Iḻaṅkumaran 1986: 32 & 123). Tamiḻkudimagan (1985: 122) observes that Tolkappiyar's ruling for inclusion of Sanskrit lexicon in Tamil was mainly due to the fact that in those days the awareness that non-Tamil lexicon should be admitted in Tamil as translated versions only was not there. Whatever may be the case, the roots of the Pure Tamil Movement are to be found in Tolkappiyar's ruling that lexical borrowing should not affect the Tamil phonological system.

4. As for Tamil scholars, the language attitude is explainable in terms of preserving the purity of the linguistic system obtained in Tamil. Whether it is out and out possible in lexical level is a different question. The awareness of maintaining the purity of Tamil has always been there. Tolkappiyar's ruling is

no doubt an effort in this direction, although he never maintained that Sanskrit was a negative force in the hands of its patrons who were none other than Brahmins in Tamil soil. During early Tamil period we have no reason to believe that there were efforts from the patrons of Sanskrit to destabilize the linguistic system obtained in Tamil particularly in the phonological and lexical levels. However this was not the case during middle Tamil period, when *bhakti* movement in Tamilnadu was a significant and powerful force to forestall the influence of Sanskrit on Tamil. The sacred hymns composed by Saivite and Vaishnative saints marking the bhakti movement were in "chaste Tamil". The language purity observed by these saints were not unfortunately adhered to and maintained by the commentators of Vaishnavite hymns. The earliest commentators namely Thirukkurukai Piran Pillan, Nañjiyar, Periyavaccan Pillai, Nampillai and Vadikesari are a case in point. The commentaries rendered by these commentators to *Nammāḻvār's* Tiruvāymoḻi was neither in Sanskrit nor in Tamil, but a mixture of both Sanskrit and Tamil. This linguistic mixture was popularly known as *Maṇipravāḷa.* The patrons of *Maṇipravāḷa* were none other than the patrons of Sanskrit although Jainism had played a marginal role in promoting this linguistic mixture on the Tamil fabric. *Maṇipravāḷa* was a deliberate attempt during middle Tamil period to destabilize the lexical and phonological system obtained in Tamil. Fortunately the *Maṇipravāḷa* trend did not succeed and survive for long in Tamil.

5. Brahmins constituting a minority intellectual community and by virtue of occupying highest position in the social hierarchy and administration, availed themselves the opportunity to impose Sanskrit on Tamil either deliberately or unintentionally. The non-Brahmin movement as a result was slowly emerging during British rule in India, and in due course this movement got branched into Dravidian Movement and Pure Tamil Movement. These movements are the two sides of the same coin opposing Brahminism and Sanskrit respectively. However one cannot arrive at the conclusion that who ever opposed the incursion of Sanskrit in Tamil belong to either Dravidian or Pure Tamil Movement. Purushothama Naidu who translated in Tamil *Nampiḷḷai's Maṇipravāḷa* commentary to *Tiruvāymoḻi,* and Gopalayyar who rendered in pure Tamil the *Maṇipravāḷa* Commentary of *Periyavāccān Piḷḷai* had nothing to do with the Dravidian and Pure Tamil Movements. Again Subramanya Siva, a veteran freedom fighter is a case in point. He was a Brahmin by caste. He started the Tamil periodical *ñānabānu* in the year 1894 and later he become its editor. It was in 1915 there was an announcement in ñānabānu to the effect that an award of Rs. 5/- would be given to a write-up rendered in *taṇi-t+tamiḻ*, i.e., pure Tamil. The announcement is reproduced below.

AINTU RŪPĀY

"Uṅkaḷāl taṉittamiḻil eḻuta muṭiyumā? muṭiyumāṉāl muntuṅkaḷ camaskirutam mutaliya anniya pāṣaic coṟkaḷil kalavātu taṉittamiḻil namatu 'ñāṉapāṉuvil' eṭṭup pakkattiṟkuk kuṟaiyātu varumpaṭiyāka tamiḻp pāṣaiyiṉ ciṟappai-p paṟṟiyāvatu tiruvaḷḷuva nāyaṉāriṉ carittirattaiyāvatu eḻutuvōrukku rūpā aintu iṉāmaḷippatākat tamiḻapimāṉiyoruvar muṉvantirukkiṟār."

Camaskirutac collākiya kajam tirintu tamiḻil kayam eṉṟāyiruppatu pōṉṟa tiripuc coṟkaḷum upayōkappaṭuttalākātu. curukkattil entap pāṣaiyiṉ coṟkaḷum campantamillāta taṉittamiḻc coṟkaḷē upayōkikkappaṭa vēṇṭum.

Viyācaṅkaḷ varukiṟa āvaṇi 15-ām tētikkuḷ namatu ñāṉapāṉu kāryastalattiṟku aṉuppik koṭukkappaṭa vēṇṭumeṉṟu terivikkappaṭukiṟatu. Vekumatippukkuriyatākiya viyācamāṉatu namatu pattirikaiyil piracurikkappaṭum. Ivviṣayattaip paṟṟi maṟṟa viṣayakaḷ vēṇṭuvōr kiḻkkaṇṭa vilācattiṟku eḻutit terintu koḷka.

Kāryastar
ñāṉabāṉu, mailāppūr, ceṉṉai.

Notice during the period when the foregoing announcement was made there was neither Dravidian nor Pure Tamil Movement as obtained now. This announcement is significant in several respects. First of all, it does not reflect either anti-Brahmin or anti-Sanskrit sentiments. Secondly, the urge to maintain and encourage pure Tamil was always there, and the pure Tamil Movement is just a continuation of it. Thirdly, during the early decades of this century even promoters of pure Tamil could not discard the Sanskrit lexicon in their Tamil writings. The trend was such then that pure Tamil need not discard Sanskrit expressions as long as their impact in the recipient linguistic system was just marginal. The very fact that the announcement itself in *ñāṉabāṉu* inviting pure Tamil write-ups contains as many as 12 Sanskrit lexical items testifies this trend. Consider the following slogans by Subramanya Siva quoted in lḷaṅkumaran (1986: 78)

uṅkaḷ nā tamiḻē pēcuka
nīṅkaḷ kaiyilēntum iṟaku tamiḻē eḻutuka
uṅkaḷuṭaiya hiṟutayam tamiḻaiyē nāṭuka
uṅkaḷaiyellām tamiḷ mātu tayaiyuṭaṉ raṭcittiṭuka.

The usage of the Sanskrit expression *hirudayam, dayai, mādu* and *raṭci* in these slogans cannot be considered as a deliberate attempt to impose Sanskrit on Tamil. Pure Tamil as understood then had no anti-Brahmin and anti-Sanskrit implications. However pure Tamil as understood now has these implications to

a great extent, and that is the reason why the present day Tamil is more productive than the Tamil of the early decades of this century.

6. The term *taṉti-t tamiḻ* refers to pure Tamil, and this was first used by Swaminatha Desikar (18th Century) (lḷaṅkumaran 1986: 21). Unfortunately Desikar out of love for Sanskrit used this term in a negative sense implying that there was no such thing as pure Tamil. This has evidently added fuel to Pure Tamil Movement despite the movement derives its strength from anti-Brahmin and anti-Sanskrit factors. The Pure Tamil Movement familiarly known as *taṉi-t tamiḻ iyakkam* in Tamil is generally associated with Maraimalai Adigal who is considered to be the father of this movement (Tamiḻamallan 1978: 60). The followers of this movement consider that it was Caldwell who discovered pure Tamil (ibid 1978: 57). This need not be taken literally. At a time when all the Indian languages including what are now known as Dravidian languages were believed to have their roots in Sanskrit, Caldwell declared that apart from Indo-Aryan there was a family of languages in India which has nothing to do with Sanskrit, and these languages were members of a distinct linguistic family known as Dravidian family. This is the reason why Caldwell is considered to have discovered pure Tamil.

7. It is not the case that the Pure Tamil Movement is a bolt from the blue. The awareness that Sanskrit borrowings should be compatible to the linguistic system obtained in Tamil was always there. The literary tradition having its roots in early Tamil was such that it never encouraged overlordship of Sanskrit in its explications. Both in early and middle Tamil, the Sanskrit expressions were either loan translated or loan-shifted or phonologically nativised. The following expressions reproduced from lḷaṅkumaran (1986: 24-25) are the early Tamil renderings of Sanskrit expressions figuring in brackets.

> *aḻaṟkuṭṭam (Kārttikai)*
> *āṭu (mēṣam)*
> *muṭappaṉai (Anuṣam)*
> *kuḷam (Punarpūcam)*
> *ceṅkaṭkāri (Vāsudēvan)*
> *karuṅkaṇ veḷḷai (Saṅkaruṭan)*
> *paiṅkaṇ māl (Aniruttan)*
> *vāymoḻi makaṉ (Brahma)*
> *vaḷi makaṉ (Bhima)*
> *koṭumiṭal nāñcilāṉ (Baladevan)*

The trend holding Sanskrit at bay continues even during middle Tamil period. Sanskrit names referring to persons and places were replaced by Tamil equivalents. Kamban translates *Riṣyasruṅgar* into *Kalaikkōṭṭu muṉivar, Yagñacatru* into *Vēḷvi-p pakaiñaṉ Makara-kṣaṉ* into *Makara-k kaṇṇaṉ,* and

Indirajittu into *Intiraṉ pakaiñaṉ*. Apart from this, ḷḷaṅkumaran (1986: 24-25) points out that Kamban replaces the Sanskrit names *Visvakarma* by *Kaṭavuḷ Taccaṉ, Hiraṇya* by *poṟkaṉāṉ, hēmakūt* by *poṟkūṭam* and *pīthambaram* by *poṟkalai.* Where translation of Sanskrit forms was not preferred or possible, the Tamil literary tradition admitted Sanskrit forms in a manner without violating the phonological system obtained in Tamil. Consider the examples from Kamban, cited in ḷḷaṅkumaran (ibid); *kōcikaṉ* (kausikaṉ) *kōcalai* (kausalā), *kōtamaṉ* (gaudama), *tayarataṉ* (dasaradha), *tayamukaṉ* (dasamukha), *caṭāyu* (jaḍāyu), *caṉakaṉ* (janaka), *cāṉaki* (jānaki*), vīṭaṉaṉ*   (vibhīṣaṉ), *vaciṭṭaṉ* (visishṭa) *iyamaṉ* (yamā) *arampai* (rampā), *aramiyam* (ramyam), *ilakkuvaṉ* (lakshmana), *ilaṅkai* (lankā), *ulōpam* (lōpam), etc. This provides ample testimony that early and middle Tamil scholarship did not allow Sanskrit to take Tamil for granted beyond a tolerable limit. The pure Tamil wave is thus a long story. However it should be noted that this wave had neither anti-Brahmin nor anti-Sanskrit implications in the early stages.

8. The trend changes from middle period onwards. Sociologically Brahmins continued to gain upper hand in Tamil society, and this led to the domination of Sanskrit on Tamil. During early Tamil period the names of the kings were almost in Tamil. During middle Tamil period, the kings assumed Sanskrit names. Even place names in pure Tamil were replaced by Sanskrit equivalents, Mutukuṉṟam was replaced by Vriddhachalam, Kuraṅkāṭutuṟai by Kapisthalam, Mayilāṭutuṟai by Māyuram and the like. This trend of Sanskritizing Tamil went on unchecked until the beginning of this century. The social inequalities on the one hand, and the domination of the minority brahmins both in society and administration, and growing influence of Sanskrit on the linguistic system obtained in Tamil on the other hand have all contributed, as already stated, to the emergence of Dravidian and pure Tamil Movements.

9. Even before the emergence of Pure Tamil Movement, there was an organization in Tirukkurralam established on 19.11.1908 with the efforts of Virudhai Sivagnana Yogi. This organization was known as *Tiruviṭar kaḻakam* in Tamil, and *The Thiruvidar Association* in English (ḷḷaṅkumaran 1986: 84-85). The objectives of this association were to promote research on various aspects of Tamil and Tamils. From the objectives of this organization it appears that it was only a research institution, and there was nothing to indicate of its connection with anti-Brahmin and anti-Sanskrit movements. However the usage of such pure Tamil expressions as *peruñcol* for 'pirasangam', *nōkkaṇaḷ* for 'objects' *poruḷāḷar* for 'treasurer', *pēreṇ karuttu* for 'majority', *kiḷamai-k kuṭavōlai* for 'casting vote', *potu-k kūṭṭam* for 'general body', *nikaḻttu-k kūṭṭam* for 'managing committee', *kuṟi-k kūṭṭal* for 'convening meeting', *āṇṭaṟikkai* for

'annual report', *kaḻakak kāvalar* for 'patron of the association', etc., testifies that the pure Tamil renderings were encouraged at a time when such expressions were widely referred to by Sanskrit expressions.

10. As for Pure Tamil Movement, the chief protagonist of this venture is said to be Maraimalai Adigal. He is said to have conceived this movement in the year 1916. His original name before the emergence of Pure Tamil Movement was Swami Vedachalam. After the inception of this movement, Swami Vedachalam became Maraimalai Adigal, and his *Samarasa Sanmārkka Sangam* and the periodical *ñāṉasākaram* were rendered in pure Tamil as *potunilai-k kaḻakam* and *aṟivu-kkaṭal* respectively (llaṅkumaran 1986: 90). Not only that when he brought out the third edition of *paṭṭiṉappālai ārāycci urai* (Studies on Mullai-p pāttu) and the second edition of *paṭṭiṉappālai ārāycci urai* (Studies on paṭṭiṉappālai) in 1919 (the first editions appeared in the first decade of 1900) he eliminated the Sanskrit expressions used by himself in the earlier editions (llaṅkumaran 1986: 84-93). Maraimalai Adigal was however aware that it would be impossible for Tamil to discard the non-Tamil influence completely. He was particularly convinced that English could contribute much to the enrichment of Tamil. He observed in his introduction to *mullaippāṭṭu ārāycci urai* (3rd edition) thus (llaṅkumaran 1986: 81-92):

> "Im mullaippāṭṭārāycciyuraiyiṉ kaṇṇum mutaṟpatippukaḷil irunta ayaṉmoḻic coṟkaḷai nīkki avaṟṟiṟkīṭāṉa centamiḻc coṟkaḷaiyē ippatippiṇkaṭ peytu vaittirukkiṉṟōm. eṉṟālum kāla nilaikkum nākarika vaḷarccikkum icaiyac cila ayaṉmoḻic coṟkaḷaiyum cila coṟṟoṭarkaḷaiyum kuṟiyīṭukaḷaiyum orōviṭaṅkaḷil mikac ciṟuka eṭuttāḻutal vaḷuvaṉṟeṉpatūum aṟiñarkku uṭaṉpāṭām eṉka. ittaṉmaiyavāṉa ārāycciyuraikaḷ eḻutuvataṟku nalvaḻi kāṭṭiṉa āṅkilamoḻi nallicaip pulavarkku yām eḻumaiyum naṉri pārāṭṭuṅ kaṭamai uṭaiyēm"

In his introduction to *paṭṭiṉappālai ārāycci urai* (2nd Edition) Maraimalai Adigal maintained that it was his intention not to use Sanskrit in his Tamil writings to the extent possible. He wrote thus (llaṅkumaran 1989: 92-93):

> "Perumpālum vaṭamoḻi pukuttāmal taṉittamiḻ naṭaiyil nūlkaḷ eḻutuvatē emakku iyaṟkai eṉṟālum, vaṭacoṟkaḷai aṟakkaḷaiya vēṇṭumeṉṉum iṭaippiṭi ematuḷḷattil muṉṉiruntatu illaī āṉāḷ... nam centamiḻ moḻi ataṟkēyuriya coṟkaḷāl vaḷaṅkāmal ayal moḻic coṟkaḷai iṭaiyiṭaiyē nuḻaittu ataṉ aḻakaiyum valimaiyaiyum citaittal periyatoru kuṟṟamām eṉa uṇaralāṉēm..."āṉālum ciṟappup peyarkaḷāyum kuṟiyīṭukaḷāyum vaḷaṅkum orucila vaṭacoṟkaḷai maṭṭum iṉriyamaiyātu vēṇṭiya iṭaṅkaḷil ēṟṟukkōṭal iḻukku ākāteṉpatum uṇaral vēṇṭum."

It is thus clear that although Maraimalai Adigal stood for pure Tamil, he admitted the inevitability of using Sanskrit and other language material in

Tamil wherever they were found to be indispensable. Fortunately or unfortunately this view point was ignored when the Pure Tamil Movement came to be led by Devaneyappavanar.

11. Devaneyappavanar was not as flexible as a Maraimalai Adigal in the usage of Tamil. He had extreme views on the origin of Tamil and its relation to Sanskrit. This led him to emotionalize his research findings which were not accepted by scholars trained in modern Linguistics. However his contribution to Pure Tamil Movement could not be underestimated. It was during his leadership of this movement, hundreds and thousands of Pure Tamil words and phrases were coined. He maintained that Tamil was such that he could not tolerate the usage of even widely accepted Sanskrit expressions. He replaced for instance *camutāyam* by *kumūkāyam, kāraṇam* by *karaṇiyam*. He did not explain how *karaṇiyam* was Tamil, and *kāraṇam* was Sanskrit. He maintained that the word *pustakam* 'book' is a derivative of *pottakam* which he argued was a pure Tamil expression. His followers have gone a step further. They do not hesitate to replace *nīti* 'justice' by *nayaṉmai, budaṉ* by *aṟivaṉ*, 'Wednesday', *saṉi* by *kāri* 'Saturday'. As for Tamil months, they replaced all of them by a different set which they consider as pure Tamil expressions. The replaced and replacing expressions referring to Tamil months are given below:

Replaced Expressions	Replacing Expressions
cittirai	mēḻam
vaikāci	viṭai
āṉi	āṭavai
āṭi	kaṭakam
āvaṇi	maṭaṅkal
puraṭṭāci	kaṉṉi
aippaci	tulām
kārttikai	naḷi
mārkaḻi	cilai
tai	cuṟavam
māci	kumpam
paṅkuṉi	mīṉam

What is significant is that the names of the 27 stars and 12 months which have come by tradition to us were in vogue even during the period of Tolkappiyar. In Tamil, names of the months end in *–i* and *–ai,* and the names of the twenty seven stars end in *–i* and *–am*. Taking these endings into consideration, Tolkappiyar formulated the following rules.

(a) nāḷ-muṉ tōṉṟum toḻilnilaik- kiḷavikku
        āṉ-iṭai varutal aiyam iṉṟē (Tol. Eḻuttu. Nacc. 247)

(b) tiṅkal muṉvariṉ ikkē cāriyai (Tol. Eḻuttu.. Nacc.248)

Note : These two sūtrās deal with expression ending in the vowel –i.
E.g. paraṇi-y + āṟ koṇṭāṉ āṭi-kkūk koṇṭāṉ

(c) tiṅkaḻum nāḻum muntukiḻaṉt aṉṉa (Tol.Eḻuttu. Nacc.286)

(d) nāṭpeyar-kiḷavi mēṟkiḻaṉt aṉṉa

attum ā ṉ-micai varainilaiy iṉṟē

orrumey keṭual eṉmaṉār pulavar (Tol.Eḻuttu. Nacc.331)

Note : (1) The sūtrā in (c) deals with expressions ending in –ai E.g. kēṭṭai-y
+ āṟ koṇṭāṉ, cittirai +kkuk koṇṭāṉ (2) The sūtrā in (d) deals with
expressions ending in –m. E.g. makatt + āṟ koṇṭāṉ.

It is evident from the foregoing sūtrās that the Tamil months used now
and during Tolkappiyar's period were not different. The protagonists of pure
Tamil do not hesitate to replace even such expressions for which Tolkappiyar
formulated rules simply because they happen to be Sanskrit in origin. However
attitudinal change of a speech community cannot be easily disregarded.

12. In the context of the fast expansion of knowledge in various fields,
modern languages are forced to get them modernized and standardized.
Language modernization requires enrichment of the linguistic system in all
possible ways. For languages like Tamil which are lacking voiced plosives in
the phonemic inventory modernization is going to be a challenge in the
phonological level. Not only that, when such proper nouns as Bagat, Pant, etc.,
are used in Tamil with case markers, new Sandhi ruls have to be formulated.
These are part of modernization process. Pure Tamil Movement has no clear
perspective on language modernization at the phonological level. Introducing
voiced plosives in the phonemic inventory of Tamil is not acceptable to this
movement. Lexical enrichment is part of modernization. The contributions of
Pure Tamil Movement in this area isb not only phenomenal but also highly
commendable and exemplary. Arima Makiḻko (1988) who belongs to Pure
Tamil Movement has brought out a publication containing as many as 3000
Tamil expressions coined for various English terms. A few of his coinages are
given below:

paḷiṅkam	'mica'
tuḷḷuntu	'scooter'
mitiyuntu	'motorcycle'
kāluntu	'moped'
nakar-untu	'town bus'
mukavai	'litre'
ēr-untu	'tractor'
eṟimam	'fuel'
tīvaḷi/eri vaḷi	'gas'

However in the same of standardization, the Pure Tamil Movement has been discarding widely accepted lexical expressions such as *camutāyam, butaṉ, caṉi, nīti,* names of the Tamil months, etc., just because they happen to be of Sanskrit origin. In this respect we are uncertain whether; Pure Tamil Movement is an asset or liability to modern Tamil.

13. Pure Tamil Movement is not an organized institution. The aim and objective of this movement is to liberate Tamil from the clutches of Sanskrit and English. The followers of this movement are not trained in modern linguistics, and what is sad and tragic is that they consider that modern linguistics is a hindrance in keeping the purity of Tamil. If they are trained in modern linguistics, they can certainly be a productive and significant force in standardizing and modernizing Tamil. Despite this handicap, their contribution to keep sustain the productivity of Tamil cannot be underestimated. This particular aspect has led to coin hundreds and thousands of lexical items from the native source thus contributing to language modernization. One could appreciate the relevance of Pure Tamil Movement to Tamil if only he considers the situation obtained in Telugu, Kannada, and Malayalam where language modernization is linked with the admittance of Sanskrit to a great extent, and English and other languages to the lesser extent possible.

14.   The trouble with the Pure Tamil Movement is that it does not recognize the diglossic situation in Tamil. The gap between spoken and literary standard dialects of Tamil is very much wider in Tamil than in other Indian languages. The Pure Tamil Movement insists that the standard dialect be used even in contexts where spoken dialect is ordinarily used. Jeyakanthan (1992: 246-249) observes that pure Tamil is not a reality in actual life; it is an effort and wishful thinking of a group. It seems Jeyakanthan is right in his observation since Pure Tamil Movement has been exceeding the limits dictating native speaker how he/she should and should use Tamil. This does not imply that the pure Tamil Movement is an irrelevant force. The standard dialect of Tamil has not only to be enriched and standardized, but also modernized to meet the challenges of the phenomenal advancement of knowledge, and if the Pure Tamil Movement directs its efforts in this direction it would really be an asset to Tamil. Spoken Tamil is meant for informal discourse, and Pure Tamil Movement should not interfere with one's informal speech. It has a lot to do with formal speech which is nobody's mother tongue and yet is understood by all. It is this formal speech which is known as *centamiḻ* that requires both standardization and modernization. The contribution of Pure Tamil Movement in this direction is no doubt praiseworthy despite its outlook is reactionary in certain respects. What this movement is badly in need of is the exposure to

modern linguistics, and without training in which its contribution to Tamil has every possibility of being overlooked and marginalized.

ABBREVIATIONS

Col	=	Collatikāram
Eḻuttu	=	Eḻuttuatikāram
Nacc	=	Naccinārkkiniyar
Tol	=	Tolkappiyam

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MISSIONARIES' STRATEGY IN ADOPTING TAMIL PROSE STYLE

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The earlier Romanic trade relation was rejuvenated by a Portuguese Vasco da Gama who arrived on 20 May 1498 at Calicut, Kerala in search of spices, rice, clothes for which India is well known to the west. The Portuguese traders were the pioneers to reach Tamil coast since 1507 (Stephen 2017: 27). Later the Dutch, the Danish, the English & the French followed the earlier sea route of the pioneers in search of trade establishment in Indian sub continent. They purchased or rented from the local chiefs acres of land for their trade activities and for storage of their goods. In due course they needed guards to protect their goods from local lootings. The safe establishment of their own trade territory with small group of soldiers led to further extension of lands surrounding their area. The trading western community who were in good relation with the rulers slowly started to help them in their administration and later in their war activities for which they were gifted or given on demand administrative right over few neighbouring villages depending on the quantum of their role in administration and war. In due course Tranquebar (known as the Denmark of India) for the Danish, Goa for the Portuguese. Pondicherry (nick named as petite Paris) for the French and Chennai for the English became their respective citadels. The constant and continuous contact of the foreign immigrants with the local rulers encouraged their own countrymen to come here looking for new avenues and for an adventurous life in this exotic country. The religious missionaries mostly the catholic and protestant denominations adventured to propagate their religious faith in the newly settled country. So the missionaries sent their priests to their respective places where their country men had settlements in India.

Mission Entrangeres de Paris (MEP) sent their priests to Pondicherry for religious propagation and Danish clergy men came to Tranquebar through the Dutch East India Company. Earlier Francis Xavier has come here for religious propagation and converted few Hindus to Christian faith. He became a martyr in Chennai for his religious services. Francis Xavier wrote three manuals or Christian instruction materials in Tamil. This is the first ever work of translating Christian doctrines from Spanish into Tamil (Stephen 2017: 29) for

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evangelical works. His Tamil manuscripts remained as model to others for future works.

Earlier trade settlements of the Europeans were mostly along the coastal areas of the south, particularly in Tamil Nadu. The foreign priests slowly gained entrance into the Indian society with the help of few local interpreters and earlier converts. The priests were perplexed at the complex heterogeneity of the   Indian society which is intertwined with numerous caste divisions, different religious sects and further with few social hierarchies such as rich and poor, touchable and untouchables, affluent and non-affluent members of the society. The preachers were more interested in identifying their target group for conversion. The Tamil society lived in unity with lots of diversities of caste system. The Brahmins were the upper caste people associated with religious activities and were the affluent group in the society. The non-Brahmin group with different sub castes was engaged in various professions such as business, agriculture, handicrafts, etc. The uneducated group of poor people who remained as untouchables among the Hindu society worked mostly as labourers and they are found living as outcastes in unhygienic conditions uncared by the rest of the society. Another group of people involved in fishing lived close to the sea shore with less contact with the main stream. Only their women folk moved into the mainland only for selling fish. These two groups of people seem to be more conducive to approach for conversion since they were living in isolated situation, uneducated and less cared by the remaining main stream of the society. The approach of the foreigners towards them were welcomed first in order to boost themselves to the rest of the society showing that these left outs were accepted by foreigners whom the society respects in turn. The target group felt very happy when allowed inside Fathers' lodge without any caste barrier. They felt highly honoured when they were taken inside the Church. At that time entrance into the temple was strictly prohibited for the untouchables in Tamil society.

The foreign preachers without any knowledge of the local language found it very difficult to converse with them through their semi bilingual informers. They understood that it is not that easy to convert the locals unless they gain their confidence and acquire comprehensive skill in the local language (Otherwise the natives must   learn the foreign language). It must be noted here that Robert   De Nobili changed his attire like a Hindu ascetic (Sanyasi), ate vegetarian food and stayed in a simple house and learned the Brahmin dialect of Tamil when he was engaged   in converting Brahmins into Christianity.

Thus learning the local language became their primary motive and an essential tool for their apostolic works. The missionaries started also

formal schools to educate the locals. The primary reason for imparting literacy to the locals is for the locals to read Christian prayer books and memorize the prayers. So far education was denied to low caste men and women in general. The opportunity for learning made the downtrodden people to have a novel experience and to feel on par with the other locals if not an air of supremacy over others. However, caste hierarchy disturbed the early learners in sharing seats with others in the class room. In some places the schools and the dining halls maintained different classes and spaces respectively to accommodate peacefully different caste groups. Though it is assumed that all are equal before God in the church, later history (17th century) had recorded that a wall was constructed inside the church separating the higher and lower castes under one bay (Ananda Ranga Pillai's Dairy Vol.1: 214-215).

The foreigners were baffled to know that Tamil language had two different varieties each in complimentary use such as one variety to be used in formal situations and in writing and another one in informal situations such as conversing with peer group. The two distinct varieties with their exclusive use of domains appeared to the missionaries in the beginning as two different languages. Tamil diglossia confused the foreigners in learning the language. Any exercise of learning the spoken variety with local scholars ended in the learning of the High variety of Tamil which is not much used in ordinary conversation. The low variety considered to be non prestigious was never taught formally anywhere and in any manner. Those preachers who were interested in the intricacies of language started learning the High variety with Tamil scholars and along with it, they practised spoken variety through the interpreters. In the beginning the foreign missionaries took the local literate persons for their assistance in learning the language. For example, Ignatius Loyola took assistance of Pero Luis a native Brahmin boy for studying Tamil. Philippus Baldaeus sought the help of a Jaffna Tamilian Francis de Fonseca who also knows Portuguese, for learning Tamil since 1664. Ziegenbalg had Ganapathy Vaathiyar, a Tamil poet for his learning. Beschi learned Tamil under Subramaniya Dikshitar. Some foreign missionaries after their learning wrote grammar books and dictionaries for other colleagues involved in missionary works. It must be noted that few locals have learned the foreigners' language to find a job with the missionaries. However, there is no record available of how the locals learned the foreign language.

The missionaries were the first to put in writing a pedagogical grammar for spoken Tamil. They wrote a similar grammar for sen-Tamil,

the High variety and prepared dictionaries in written Tamil where head words are listed in alphabetic manner which is quite different from the available *NikanTus*. Tholkappiam, the earliest available grammar is in poetic form and one cannot learn very easily Tamil grammar from it. Beschi wrote in the preface of his book mentioning clearly that these may be very useful to 'the religious candidates of this language' (Beschi 1848: 1). Knowledge of the High variety was also expected from the gospel preachers to gain prestigious status with the locals as 'the natives themselves very few can be found who are masters of the high dialect' and he who 'is acquainted even with its rudiments is regarded with respect' (Beschi 1730: 8). G.U. Pope, in his preface of his work on Thirukkural translations, mentions that Beschi, the Italian Jesuit assumed the local dress code and conformed the habits of a Hindu Guru Pope 1886:8). He also mentions that if one quotes few poems from didactic literature which agrees with Christian doctrines, it will ease their preaching to reach the locals and accept their faith. Beschi also mentions that "they (locals) will readily attend to the teaching of one whose learning (of the High Variety) is the object of their ambition" (Beschi 1730: 3). Therefore, it has become mandatory for the preachers to be well versed in (the spoken variety of the) local language for successful conversion and some knowledge of written Tamil to refer to the Tamil dictionaries for acquisition of religious lexicons to improve their level of comprehension.

The evangelical work of the missionaries does not conclude in their mere conversion but it includes in explaining to them in simple language the religious faith and teach them the prayers and provide prayer books for their interaction with the priest during mass and in confession. The pre requirement for successful translation of Bible, Catechism books, etc. depends on the proper selection of a suitable variety in the target language. It is true that many Sanskrit words such as /tiipam/(தீபம்) 'light' /puujai/(பூஜை) 'religious ceremony'. aaraatanai/ (ஆராதனை) 'adoration', /jepam/ (ஜெபம்) 'prayer'; /pitaa/ (பிதா) 'father'; etc., are used in Tamil in religious domain both in written and spoken styles. The missionaries accepted the existing Sanskrit words in the religious domain and used them as such in their Tamil translation. In the very beginning, the Portuguese words were Tamilized for few words of Christian doctrines like /Kurusu/ (குருசு) 'cross'; /vavutisumu/ (வவுத்திசுமு) 'Baptism' /isupnrittu/ (இஸ்பிரித்து) '(Holy Spirit', /mattirimooniyu/ (மத்திரிமோனியு) 'matrimony'; /ktraasai/ (கிராசை) 'grace'; /kornpanisert/ (கொம்பஞ்சரி) 'confess'. Since the target group for conversion were mostly the illiterate Harijans and Paravas the missionaries decided to use the spoken variety of Tamil and that too the variety spoken in the sea

shore area (also due to the influence of native interpreters). Hitherto the prose style in Tamil never gained literary status on its own.

During Sangam period the prose style which was considered as an offshoot of written variety was used as prelude for poems as found in the Tamil epic Silappathikaram. Selvanayakam believes that Tamil prose style is a branch of Poetry and it came into existence during the period of Silappathikaram (Selvanayakam 1957:6-7). Some scholars claim that few poems of ParipaaTal, one of the Sangam literatures are in dialogue form closely resembling the prose style of sangam period. Though Spoken Tamil of those days was used in dramas, inscriptions, etc., they did not attain the status of literary level. Learning Tamil means acquiring the skill of written Tamil. Literature was in poetry alone. Tamil scholarship was measured by the skill of writing poems. Thus the acquisition of High variety was prestigious. The foreign missionaries had acquired to some extent the spoken skill for their interaction with the locals. The written variety was mastered by few among them. In their homeland the prose style of their languages had literary status and literary genres such as dramas, short stories and novels were known to them in prose writings. Therefore, the use of spoken style in writing Christian literature was not forbidden to them since their main aim was only to carry across the doctrines and prayers of Christian religion to the uneducated converts in their vernacular.

During the third century, Jain scholars wrote texts such as Sri Puranam and Satthiya CintaamaNi, in Tamil language for the spread of Jainism. The above texts were written in Tamil Prose style with the excess admixture of Prakrit and Sanskrit. The above prose style of the Jains was never recognized by Tamil scholars. However, the free allowance of mixing Sanskrit words in Tamil prose writings lead to the evolution of MaNipravaala style in Tamil. The missionaries do not want to use the maNipravaala prose style which was found in Vishnava religious literatures. During that period, there was strong opposition from Tamil scholars and other religious groups. The inscriptional prose style was generally accepted by everyone, though, it did not gain any literary style at that time. Therefore, the preference for the spoken Tamil for its written representation as the modern prose style of Tamil language was initiated by the missionaries, through, hand written materials which are later improvised and printed as materials of Christian religious literature. The missionaries adopted different marks of punctuations and separation of texts in paragraphs based on their experience in writing the prose style of their own native language. The use of dots to indicate pure consonants and the diacritic markers for long and short differences among consonants are later additions to the prose writing of Tamil language. The writing of

short stories and novel later came in prose style and it had larger acceptance among Tamil society as literary genres.

Words   such   as /manusharunkal/(மனுஷருங்கள்) (p.50)   'people'; /kaaymakaaram/(காய்மகாரம்) (p.45) 'jealousy', /taviccavar/(தவிச்சவர்) (p.46) 'perturbed person' are examples of the spoken style used in the first printed Tamil book. '*Thampian Vanakkam*' written 1577(printed in 20 Oct 1578) by Rev. Fr. Anriquez with the assistance of local (Tamil) priest named as Manoel De Sao Pedro. Words such as, /minavu/ (மினவு) (p.46), 'ask'; /vaathinai/(வாதினை) (p.47) 'smell' which are now considered as illiterate dialect forms are also found in the same text. The ablative case marker /-iruntu/or /-iTam/ occurs as /ninRu/ in Southern dialects and it is found in the text as /வயிற்றில் நின்று பிறந்தான்/ '(He was) born from the womb'.

As the spoken variety is represented in written form for printing, few Sanskrit words are Tamilised to some extent. e.g: /latcikka/ (லட்சிக்க) (p.40) 'to redeem'; /mookkisham/(மோக்கிஷம்) (p.43) 'heaven. One could   also find spoken phrase as /kuuRai kotu/ 'to provide shelter' in a sentence (அஞ்சாவது கூறையில்லாதவற்கு கூறை கொடுக்கிறது) (p.46). Many lexical items of written variety also appear due to the written representation of the spoken variety. e.g: /vayiRRil/ (வயிற்றில்) (p.37) in the stomach, (womb), /karpitta naal/ (கற்பித்த நாள்) 'told day': /noonpu nooRkRatu/ நோன்பு நோற்கிறது (p.40) 'observing penance': /aakaiyinaal/(ஆகையினால்) (p.41) 'therefore'.   The influence of English syntax in the phrase /puusai keetkiRatu/ 'listen to the mass' is found in a sentence (பெரு நாள்களிலேயும் முழுமீசை கேட்கிறது) (p.39) which occurs normally in Tamil as /puusai paarkkiRatu or puusai kaankiRatu/.

Therefore, it is evident   that the missionaries due to their western influence ventured to bring Christian literature based on spoken variety of Tamil due to their committed motive of converting the illiterate group of Tamil. This spoken variety was abandoned up to now by the rest of the society in all literary activities. The spread of Christian religion among Tamil society was counter acted by Saiva mutts. The Saiva scholars who contributed very much for the growth of Tamil literature from the early days wrote against the conversion and also made strong effort in spreading the Saiva faith in every nook and corner of the Tamil society. Later they printed Hindu religious materials for free public distribution. Their prose style adopted in these materials contained lexicons of day to day use in simple syntax. The missionaries improvised later their Christian literature more with written Tamil lexicons in simple syntax closer to spoken style. Thus, the modern prose style was

evolved as simple one with non complex structure and with no alliteration and rhyme which are the elements of poetic style. Robert De Nobili is called the 'Father of Tamil Prose style' and this rightly justifies the major role played by the missionaries in the evolution of a new modern prose style based on spoken variety which is quite far from lexicons and syntax of the Sangam prose style which was an offshoot of poetry.

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SAUDI EFL STUDENTS' PRESENT AND FUTURE NEEDS OF LEARNING ENGLISH: A CASE STUDY OF KING KHALID UNIVERSITY

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Introduction

Any language used by a speaker in addition to the first language is called a second language. Second language learning thus refers to the process of learning another language in addition to one's native language. While behaviorists believe that language is learnt, mentalists argue that it is acquired. According to Krashen (1979) acquisition is a subconscious process, which requires meaningful interaction in the target language and the speakers concentrate not on the form but on the communicative act, whereas learning is the product of formal instruction and it comprises of a conscious process, which results in conscious knowledge about the language. Ellis (1997) pointed out that whether language is learnt naturally as a result of living in a country where it is spoken or learning it in a classroom through instruction, it is customary to speak generically of second language acquisition. Thus, second language acquisition, according to Ellis, can be defined as the way people learn a language other than their native language. However, in the present study the term 'language learning' would be used; irrespective of whether conscious and subconscious processes are involved.

Learning Needs are considered to be one of the most important factors that influence language learning and have received considerable attention from second language researchers. The present research is an attempt to study the needs of Saudi students learning English as a foreign language. The sample for this study has been taken from King Khalid University, Abha, Saudi Arabia.

1.1.   Research Questions

This study focuses on the following research questions:
1.   What are the present and future needs of studying English?
2.   What should be the focus of teaching English as a foreign language?

1.2.   Significance of the Study

Looking at the language teaching and learning scenario of Saudi Arabia, this study is attempted with a view of serving as a guideline for the curriculum designers and teachers. The purpose of this study is to help the language teaching/ learning program in Saudi Arabia to make the teachers and

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students aware of the objectives of language teaching thereby making it more effective, so it yields better output from the learners. The findings of this study will be helpful in bringing about the necessary modifications and amendments in the course syllabus designed for undergraduate students in accordance with the needs of the learners for learning English.

1.3. Methodology

The present research attempts to analyze the needs of bachelor's Level EFL students at King Khalid University, Abha, Saudi Arabia. 160 students (80 males and 80 females) have been selected randomly as a sample for this study. The tools used in this study were designed in the form of a well-developed questionnaire, which was based on Munby's Communicative Syllabus Design Model for needs analysis. This model covers all the needs of students for learning a target language. The questionnaire was divided into two parts: Part 1 elicited information about the needs of the students for learning English and Part 2 elicited linguistic data. The list of variables has been given in annexure 1. The linguistic data was based on the evaluation of four major language skills (Listening, Speaking, Reading and Writing) and sub skills (Vocabulary, Fluency, Grammar). The questionnaire was set after consulting the tests prepared at Oxford University in Techniques of Testing (Harold H. Madsen,1983) and the test battery including Modern Language Aptitude Test (Carroll, 1958). Other standardized tests like TOEIC (Test of English for International Communication), ELSA (English Language Skills Assessment), CAEL (Canadian Academic English Language Assessment) and IELTS (International English Language Testing System), were also consulted before preparing the tests for eliciting linguistic data for this study. Statistical analysis was done in the following two steps:

1. First, the data was collected, codified, tabulated and quantified for every informant.
2. After codification, tabulation, and quantification, the data was fed into an Excel worksheet. SPSS package version 20 was used to obtain the mean scores, standard deviation and Pearson's correlation coefficients.

1.4. Literature Review

Needs are the requirements of the language users which develop in concrete situations within the society or a group. According to Ellis (1994) needs analysis is a method of obtaining a detailed description of learner's needs (or a group of learner's needs). It will take into account the specific purposes for which the learner will use the language, the kind of language to be used, the starting level, and the target level, which is to be achieved. Munby (1978) stated that the design of syllabi for language courses could only take place after a preliminary work on the learners' needs, and proposed his Communicative

Syllabus Design model, which gives a thorough account of the learners' requirements. Needs analysis, according to Hutchinson and Waters(1987) is a complex process which must take into account the target needs (language use) and learning needs (language learning) of the learner. According to them, the information about the learners' needs can be collected though different media such as surveys, interviews, questionnaires, attitude scales, language tests, job analyses, content analyses, statistical analyses, etc. They argue that needs analysis originated from the field of ESP. However, they do not believe that in general English needs cannot be specified, and argue that there should not be any difference between ESP and general English (GE) as far as needs analysis is concerned

Nunan (1988) in a more modern view said that we should focus not only on the objective needs (learning needs) but also on the subjective needs (wishes, interests, expectations, etc.). Brown (1996) defined need analysis as the systematic collection and analysis of all relevant information that is necessary to satisfy the language learning needs of the students within the contexts of particular institution(s).

Brown (1995) proposed the systematic curriculum development model in which needs analysis is considered as the first element of curriculum design. Pointing out that 'needs are not absolute, that is, once they are identified, they continually need to be examined for validity to ensure that they remain real needs for the students involved' Brown, regards Needs Analysis as a continuous and permanent feature of curriculum revision.

In this study, Munby's Communicative Syllabus Design Model will be used to analyze the needs of the learners. This model is divided into seven important components which give a detailed picture of the learners' needs. These components are:

1. Participant
2. Communicative Needs Processor (CNP)
3. Profile of Needs
4. Language Skill Selector
5. Meaning Processor
6. Linguistic Encoder
7. Communicative Competence Specification

In this model, the communicative needs processor is the most important part. It acts like CPU in a computer. It has its sub-components in which the information about the learner or participant is fed. The sub-components work upon the information and finish up with a profile that is the profile of needs of the participant. This profile is the description of what the learner will be expected to do with the target language at the end of the course.

According to Munby (1978), the first component of Communicative Syllabus Design is a person (language participant or a group of participants), whose learning needs are to be assessed. The CNP begins with this language participant and examines the particular communication needs keeping in view the social, cultural, and stylistic variables, which interact to determine the profile of learners' needs. The different parameters of CNP are as follows:

1. Purposive Domain
2. Setting
3. Interaction
4. Instrumentality
5. Dialect
6. Target Level
7. Communicative Event C
8. Communicative Key

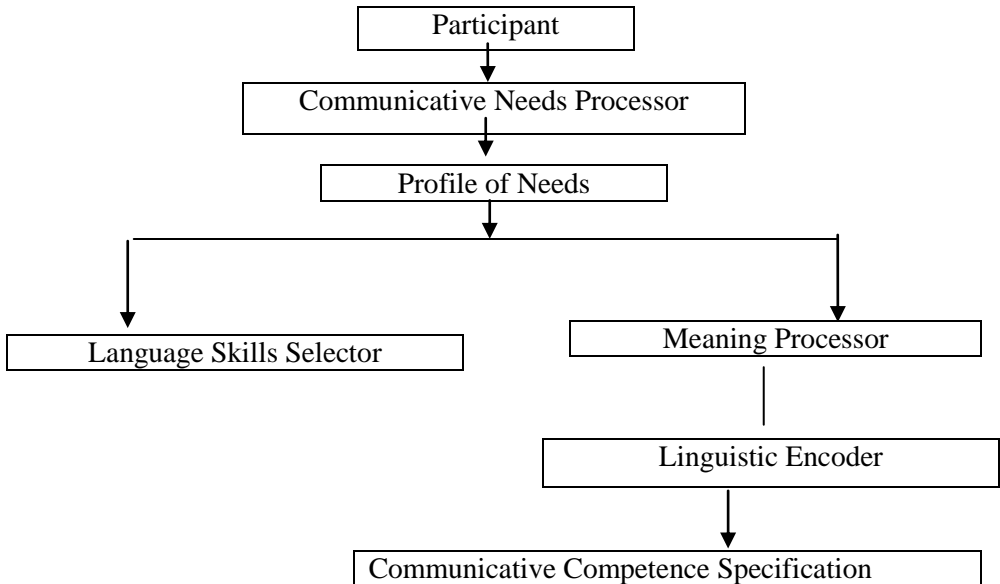A simplified view of this model is given below:

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                    ┌─────────────────────┐
                    │     Participant     │
                    └──────────┬──────────┘
                               ↓
          ┌────────────────────────────────────┐
          │   Communicative Needs Processor     │
          └──────────────────┬─────────────────┘
                             ↓
               ┌──────────────────────────┐
               │     Profile of Needs     │
               └────────────┬─────────────┘
                            ↓
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        ↓                                         ↓
┌─────────────────────────┐         ┌──────────────────────────┐
│ Language Skills Selector │         │    Meaning Processor      │
└─────────────────────────┘         └────────────┬─────────────┘
                                                 │
                                    ┌──────────────────────────┐
                                    │    Linguistic Encoder     │
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                                                 ↓
                        ┌────────────────────────────────────────┐
                        │ Communicative Competence Specification  │
                        └────────────────────────────────────────┘
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Fig. 1. Munby's Communicative Syllabus Design Model

In Communicative Needs Processor, these parameters are organized in a dynamic relation to each other, as depicted in the figure below.
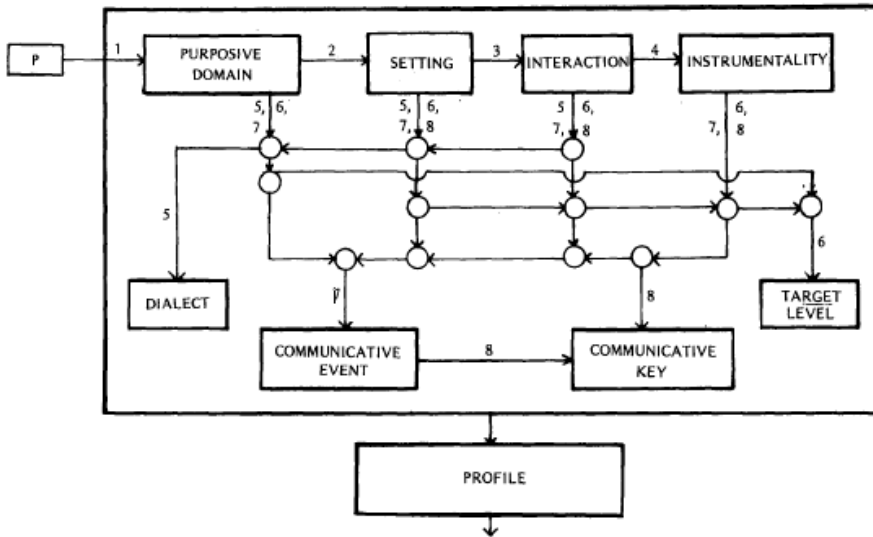
Fig. 2. Communicative Needs Processor

2.   Analysis
2.1.   Needs in Education
Six component variables were used to elicit information about learners' needs in education. Out of these the following showed significant correlations:
2.1.1.   Need to Pass Examination (V.1)
V.1 i.e., *Need to Pass Examination* shows a positively significant correlation with V.39 i.e., *Total Score in Writing Skill* (r = 0.221**), V.41 i.e., *Tested Fluency in Speaking* (r = 0.265**), V.43 i.e., *Tested Spoken Choice of Vocabulary* (r = 0.198**), and V.44 i.e., *Total Score in Speaking Skill* (r = 0.240**). This indicates that respondents who felt the need of learning English to pass examinations scored higher in the above-mentioned skills of language. It was observed that the majority of students treated English as a subject more than a language and focused on passing it with good grades, so they gave preference to the writing skill and vocabulary. Some others aspired to appear in examinations like TOEIC, IELTS, CELTA, TOEFL, etc. and they understood the importance of communicative skills in these tests. These tests include group discussions, interviews, role plays etc due to which the students focus on their fluency in English, vocabulary and speaking skill.
2.1.2.   Need to Understand Lectures (V.2)
V.2 i.e., *Need to Understand Lectures* shows a positively significant correlation with V.38 i.e., *Total Score in Reading Skill* (r=0.244**), V.40 i.e.,

Total Score in Listening Skill (r = 0.213**), and V.43 i.e., *Tested Spoken Choice of Vocabulary* (r = 0.190**). The matrix indicates that respondents who felt the need of learning English to understand lectures showed higher scores in reading skill, listening skill and choice of vocabulary.

That is because majority of Saudi students, getting admitted in the colleges, have come from Government/Public schools and do not have a good command over English. They claimed to have to put more efforts to comprehend the lectures and excel in the language. It had, thereby, led to a need among them to focus on their listening skill, reading skill and vocabulary. Some respondents claimed to have groomed their listening skill and vocabulary by watching English movies/drama series, attending webinars, and even using Google Translate. Different problems encountered by the respondents give rise to their needs of learning English, and in this case the issue was to enhance the listening, understanding and speaking skill of English.

2.1.3.   Need to Read Books of One's own Curriculum (V.3)

V.3 i.e., *Need to Read Books of One's own Curriculum* shows a positively significant correlation with V.37 i.e., *Score of C-test in Writing* (r = 0.132*), V.38 i.e., *Total Score in Reading Skill* (r = 0.202**),V.39 i.e., *Total Score in Writing Skill*(r= 0.166**),V.40 i.e., *Total Score in Listening Skill* (r = 0.229**), V.41 i.e., *Tested Fluency in Speaking* (r = 0.185**),V.42 i.e., *Tested Spoken Usage of Tenses*(r = 0.149**),V.43 i.e. *Tested Spoken Choice of Vocabulary* (r = 0.174**) and V.44 i.e., *Total Score in Speaking Skill* (r = 0.175**).The matrix indicates that respondents who think that the need to read books of their curriculum is the main driving force for learning English, scored higher in all the skills of language. The need to read books prescribed in the curriculum is thus a very important factor that contributes to proficiency in all skills of language.

Due to a shift in the medium of instruction and communication from Arabic to English in the colleges the students tend to focus more on the skills of language. Reading and comprehending their textbooks successfully makes it easier for the students to pass their levels with good grades. Mastering these skills of language would also help the respondents to perform well in the other skills.

2.1.4.   Total Needs in Education (V.6)

V.6 i.e., *Total Needs in Education* shows a positively significant correlation with V.38 i.e., *Total Score in Reading Skill* (r = 0.165**), V.40 i.e., *Total Score in Listening Skill* (r = 0.240**),V.41 i.e., *Tested Fluency in Speaking* (r = 0.181**),V.42 i.e., *Tested Spoken Usage of Tenses* (r = 0.174**), V.43 i.e., *Tested Spoken Choice of Vocabulary* (r= 0.188**) and V.44 i.e., *Total Score in Speaking Skill* (r = 0.192**). The correlations indicate that the

respondents who prioritize learning English for the sake of education show higher scores in reading, listening and speaking skills of language.

For analyzing the Educational Needs more comprehensively, the mean scores of all the variables of needs in education were calculated and graphically depicted in Fig. 5.1.
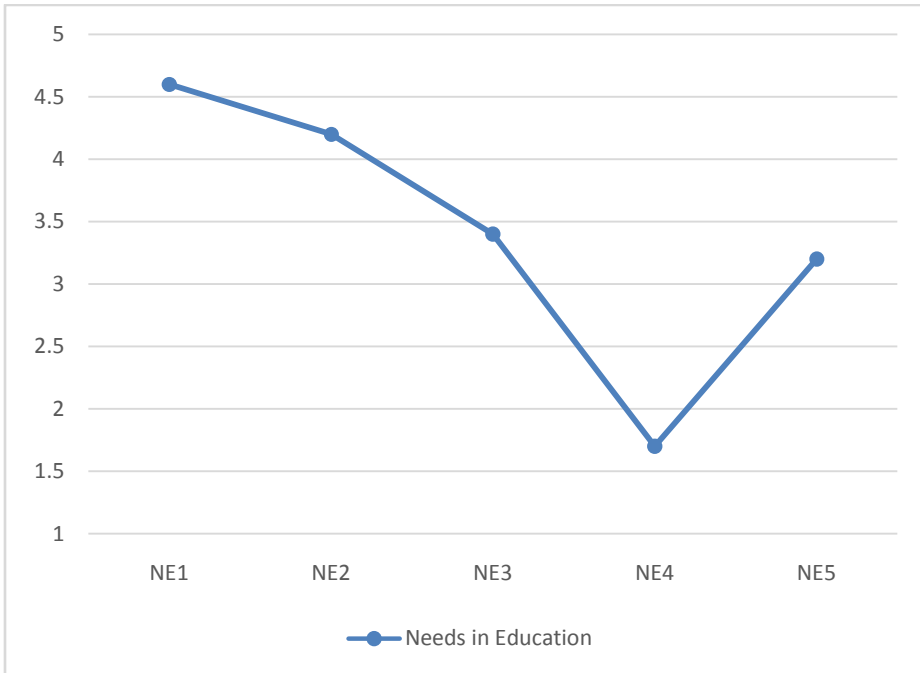

Fig. 5.1. Mean Scores of Needs in Education

NE1-need to pass examination, **NE2**-need to understand lectures, **NE3**-need to read books of one's own curriculum, **NE4**-need to read books on other subjects, **NE5**-need to use modern gadgets (Maximum Score = 5; Minimum Score = 1)

From the graph, it is clear that V.1 i.e., *Need to Appear in Examination* is rated as the highest preferred need by the respondents. The second preference is given to V.2 i.e., *Need to Understand Lectures*, followed by V.3 i.e., *Need to Read Books of One's own* Curriculum. V.5 i.e., *Need to Use Modern Gadgets (devices, tools, etc.,)* is rated afterwards while V.4 i.e., *Need to Read Books on other Subjects* shows lowest mean score. The total mean score of educational needs is 3.65 (in a maximum score of 5). This is a clear implication of the feeling that the respondents have regarding importance of English in education. Since Arabic is the medium of instruction in Saudi Government/Public Schools, English does not occupy a position of importance in the curriculum at the

school level. However, at the undergraduate level things change to a considerable extent, as already mentioned. English is an essential component of the college curriculum. The prescribed text books for majority of courses are written in English at the undergraduate level. For the courses, that have prescribed textbooks written in Arabic (Management, Accounting, etc.,), Intensive English is a separate subject and the students are required to study it for one year. A lot of Saudi students aspire to pursue their higher education abroad for which they need to have a good command over the skills of English language. Similar results were confirmed by Aquyaneer and Zamir (2016) in their attempt to analyze needs of female students studying at Qassim University, KSA. They observed that the female EFL learners study this course because they either want to go abroad to pursue higher studies or they want to improve their communication skills as they think that these skills are necessary to get good jobs after graduating from the university.

2.2.   Needs in Communication

Needs in communication were analyzed using nine component variables. The variables that show significant correlations are as follows.

2.2.1.   Need to Communicate with People from the Same City (V.10)

V.10 i.e., *Need to Communicate with People from the Same City* shows a negatively significant correlation with V.37 i.e., *Score of C-Test in Writing* (r = -0.131*),V.38 i.e., *Total Score in Reading Skill* (r = -0.201**), V.39 i.e., *Total Score in Writing Skill* (r = -0.212**),V.40 i.e., *Total Score in Listening Skill* (r = -0.200**), V.44 i.e*., Total Score in Speaking Skill* (r = -0.113*), which implies that the respondents who claimed that English was needed to communicate with the people from their city showed lower mean scores in these skills of language.

2.2.2.   Need to Communicate with People from Other Cities of the Same Country (V.11)

V.11 i.e., *Need to Communicate with People from Different Cities of the Same Country* shows a negatively significant correlation with V.37 i.e., *Score of C-Test in Writing* (r = -0.205**), V.38 i.e., *Total Score in Reading Skill* (r = -0.113*),V.39 i.e., *Total Score in Writing Skill* (r = -0.219**),V.40 i.e., *Total Score in Listening Skill* (r = -0.221**),V.44 i.e*., Total Score in Speaking Skill* (r = -0.228**).The pattern of correlations for this variable is similar to that of V.10 i.e., *Need to Communicate with People from the Same City*. The matrix implies that the respondents who claimed that English was needed to communicate with the people from other cities of Saudi Arabia also showed lower mean scores in these skills of language.

The respondents who felt need of English to communicate with people from their own city and other cities of their county also showed low mean scores in

the all the skills of language. The most obvious reason is for the low score in this case was again the dominance of Arabic over English in all the informal domains in the Saudi society. The usage of English as a medium of communication in most of the contexts in the Saudi society was observed to be a compulsion and not a choice. English in informal domains was exclusive to either highly qualified people or those who were proficient in it. But in the Saudi context not many respondents were observed to be very proficient in English. The need to communicate with people from the same city or other cities of the same country are subjective or impractical needs and hence, the negative correlations with linguistic variables.

2.2.3. Need to Communicate with Educated People from other Nationalities (Doctors, Nurses, Teachers, Engineers, etc.) (V.12)

V.12 i.e., *Need to Communicate with Educated People from other Nationalities (Doctors, Nurses, Teachers, Engineers, etc.,)* shows positively significant correlation with V.41 i.e., *Tested Fluency in Speaking* (r = 0.198**), and V.44 i.e., *Total Score in Speaking Skill* (r = 0.210**). It indicates that the respondents who thought that English was needed to communicate with educated people belonging to other nationalities score higher in speaking skill.

During investigation for the present study, it was observed that the presence of Non-Saudis/Expatriates in places of work lead to a shift from Arabic to English. Many doctors, engineers, bankers, private school teachers, etc. working in Saudi Arabia are from other countries and do not know Arabic. Similarly, a considerable number of teachers working in colleges of the Kingdom is that of Non-Saudis/Expatriates. English, being a global language, is more or less understood and spoken by a majority of people all over the world. Even if it is not a preferred choice for Saudis, they are compelled to use it because it is the only language spoken in Saudi Arabia in addition to Arabic and its dialects.

Apart from this, the use of English as a medium of instruction in language classes at the undergraduate level also leads to the language shift (Arabic to English). These factors sum up to cause an enhancement in the communicative skills of the respondents, in general.

2.2.4. Need to Communicate with Uneducated People from other Nationalities (Helpers, Cleaners, Assistants at shops, etc.) (V.13)

V.13 i.e., *Need to Communicate with Uneducated People from Other Nationalities (Helpers, Cleaners, Assistants at Shops, etc.)* shows a negatively significant correlation with V.37 i.e., *Score of C-Test in Writing* (r = -0.131*),V.38 i.e., *Total Score in Reading Skill* (r = -0.201**), V.40 i.e., *Total Score in Listening Skill* (r = -0.212**), V.41 i.e., *Tested Fluency in*

Speaking (r = -0.188**), V.44 i.e*., Total Score in Speaking Skill* (r = -0.203**). The matrix implies that the respondents who felt the need to learn English in order to communicate with uneducated people from other nationalities showed lower scores in the above mentioned skills of language.

Uneducated people from other nationalities do low wage jobs in Saudi Arabia. They usually work as cleaners in schools, colleges, shopping malls, and hospitals, domestic helpers, assistants at shops, drivers, waiters in hotels, etc., They are normally instructed in Arabic and are supposed to use it for all their dealings. With the result, they end up learning the language so they can understand their employers and be understood by them. Using English with such people is an exceptional situation which arises only when the concerned person if from an English speaking country. Thus, the need for learning English to deal with uneducated people from other nationalities is an impractical need, and hence the negative correlations.

In the Arab society, English is used in some formal contexts and the people who know English are considered to be more intelligent. Thus, the claim that English is needed for communication in informal contexts by the respondents could just be considered as an attempt to attach themselves to the prestige norms of the society.

A graphical representation of the needs in communication is given in Fig. 5.2.
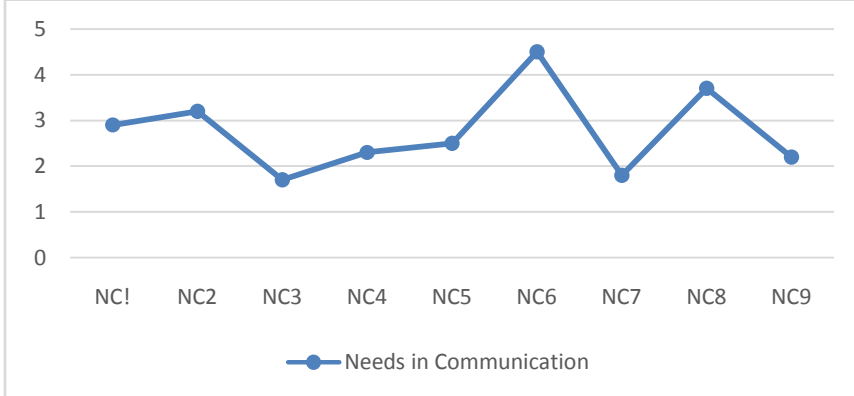

Fig.5.2. Mean Scores of Needs in Communication

NC1-need to communicate with people in general, **NC2**-need to speak to fellow students, **NC3**-need to communicate with family members, **NC4**-need to communicate with people from one's own city, **NC5**-need to communicate with people from other cities of the one's country, **NC6-** need to communicate with educated people from other nationalities, **NC7-** need to communicate with uneducated people from other nationalities, **NC8-** need to communicate with

non-local shopkeepers, **NC9**- need to converse in social gatherings, (Maximum Score = 5; Minimum Score = 1)

The need to communicate with educated people from other nationalities is rated as the topmost priority in needs in communication, while the need to communicate with family members is the least preferred need in communication. The use of English with educated non-locals is more or less a compulsion because in this case the communicators are left with no choice but to use English. These situations normally arise in formal settings like colleges, hospitals, meetings, etc. and the basic consideration here is communication. As far as the people of the same city or different cities of Saudi Arabia are concerned, the communicators use only Arabic. In this case English may be used to some extent if the conversation is too formal. Otherwise, Arabic is the first choice of the communicators. Thus, the respondents were observed to be moving from practical to impractical needs.

The observations reveal that need to communicate with educated outsiders/expatriates/non-locals is a realistic need, since here the communication occurs between people of different speech communities, and the use of English is required. On the contrary, it was observed that the informal domains are mostly dominated by Arabic and English is not used too frequently in these domains.

2.3.   Needs in Acquiring Knowledge

Knowledge based needs for learning English have been analyzed using five component variables out of which the following show significant correlations:

2.3.1.   Need to Go Through Professional Literature (V.18)

V.18 i.e., *Need to Go Through Professional Literature* shows a positively significant correlation with V.37 i.e., *Score of C-test in Writing* (r = 0.116*), V.38 i.e., *Total Score in Reading Skill* (r = 0.221**), V.39 i.e., *Total Score in Writing Skill* (r = 0.130*), V.40 i.e., *Total Score in Listening Skill* (r = 0.243**), V.41 i.e., *Tested Fluency in Speaking* (r= 0.185**),V.42 i.e., *Tested Spoken Usage of Tenses* (r = 0.196**), V.43 i.e., *Tested Spoken Choice of Vocabulary* (r = 0.179**), and V.44 i.e., *Total Score in Speaking Skill* (r = 0.203**). The matrix indicates that respondents who thought that English is needed to read professional literature scored higher in all the skills of language.

During the study, it was observed that many respondents confused professional literature with their textbooks (prescribed in syllabus). Though, some of them were aware that professional literature indicated books, papers, journals, articles etc. related to their field of study. In both cases it was observed that reading the professional literature was an important factor in grooming the language proficiency of the respondents. The only difference was that in the

first case the respondents were focused on securing good grades in the upcoming examinations, while in the second case the respondents had plans of higher studies in future. They wanted to be well-read and well-informed so they could get better opportunities in future.

2.3.2.   Need to Stay Updated with Worldwide Affairs (V.20)

V.20 i.e., *Need to Stay Updated with Worldwide Affairs* shows a positively significant correlation with V.37 i.e., *Score of C-test in Writing* (r = 0.184**), V.38 i.e., *Total Score in Reading Skill* (r = 0.265**), V.39 i.e., *Total Score in Writing Skill* (r = 0.149**),V.40 i.e., *Total Score in Listening Skill* (r = 0.189**), and V.44 i.e., *Total Score in Speaking Skill* (r = 0.195**). The matrix indicates that respondents who thought that English is needed to stay updated with worldwide affairs scored higher in the above mentioned skills of language.

The usage of television and internet to stay updated with the worldwide affairs is at its peak in every country and Saudi Arabia is no exception to it. The respondents claimed that they liked watching BBC, CNN and other English news channels and documentaries that give them information about what is going on in the world. This not only helped them to stay updated but also gave them an idea about the situation in the western world as many of them aspired to pursue higher studies in foreign countries.

2.3.3.   Total Needs in Acquiring Knowledge (V.21)

V.21 i.e., *Total Needs in acquiring Knowledge* shows a positively significant correlation with V.163 i.e., *Score of C-test in Writing* (r = 0.144**), V.38 i.e., *Total Score in Reading Skill* (r = 0.168**), V.39 i.e., *Total Score in Writing Skill* (r = 0.150**), V.40 i.e., *Total Score in Listening Skill* (r = 0.228**), V.41 i.e., *Tested Fluency in Speaking* (r = 0.166**),V.42 i.e., *Tested Spoken Usage of Tenses* (r = 0.132*), V.43 i.e., *Tested Spoken Choice of Vocabulary*(r = 0.179**), and V.44 i.e., *Total Score in Speaking Skill* (r = 0.181**). The matrix indicates that respondents who thought that English is needed for overall development of knowledge, scored higher in all the skills of language. It shows a pattern similar to that of V.18 i.e., *Need to Go Through Professional Literature*.

Fig. 5.3. presents a graphical representation of the needs in acquiring knowledge.
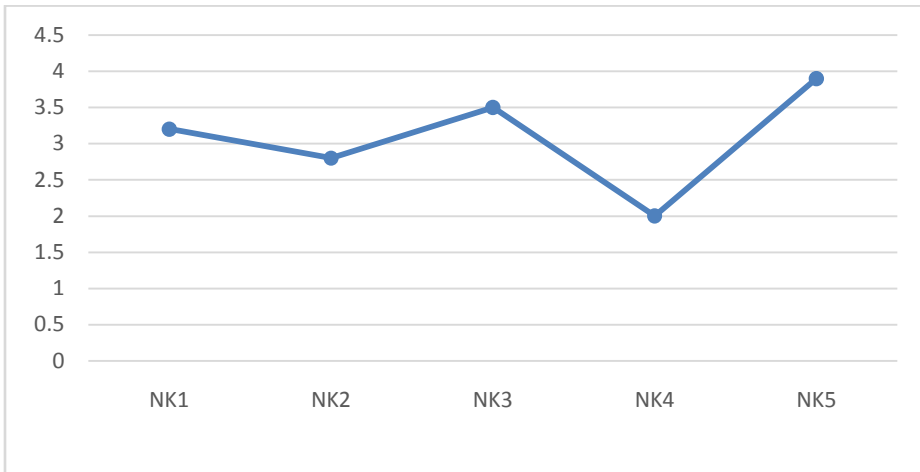
Fig.5.3. Mean Scores of Needs in Acquiring Knowledge

NK1-need to read newspapers, **NK2**-need to read magazines, **NK3**-need to go through professional literature, **NK4**-need to write emails to be understood by friends in a better way, **NK5**-need to stay updated with worldwide affairs (Maximum Score = 5; Minimum Score = 1)

The graph clearly shows that the respondents prioritized the need to stay updated with worldwide affairs as the most important knowledge based need. The news broadcasted on English news channels was considered as the most authentic source of information of the world affairs by the respondents. Moreover, with the use of internet they get the first hand information of whatever is going on in the world. After this the respondents rated the need to read newspapers. This was followed by the need to read professional literature. This opened different opportunities for them in the outside world as well as in the Kingdom. The need to read magazines was opted after this, as these also are reliable sources of information on the global affairs. Females were more interested in reading English fashion magazines. The need to write emails to friends in English was the last preferred need. The respondents claimed that emails to family and friends are mostly written in Arabic.

In Arab society, the languages that are spoken are Arabic (different dialects of Arabic) and English. It is customary for Arabs to learn to speak, read, and write Arabic. Most formal and all informal domains are dominated by Arabic. English is used mainly with non-locals. Though, in a few instances it can be used to convey information among Arabs. However, Arabs do not deny the high prestige value attached to English. The younger generation showed more inclination towards reading English text or watching English news, movies and serials, in order to attain the prestige among their peers. They also

understand that English is important as far as acquiring knowledge for different purposes is concerned. In addition to the language classes in the college, the respondents claimed to learn English from different sources like English news, movies and webinars on different subjects. Due to their inclination towards the English society, they tend to focus more on English and try to excel in it. Thus, it was observed that the respondents have a propensity towards the objective needs and this was revealed by the correlations.

2.4. Needs for Development of Personality

Need of English for personality development has been evaluated using seven component variables. The following show significant correlations.

2.4.1. Need to Speak Impressively (V.22)

V.22 i.e., *Need to Speak Impressively* shows a positively significant correlation with V.38 i.e., *Total Score in Reading Skill* (r = 0.223**), V.40 i.e., *Total Score in Listening Skill* (r = 0.216**), V.41 i.e., *Tested Fluency in* Speaking (r = 0.164**), V.42 i.e. *Tested Spoken Usage of Tenses* (r = 0.166**), V.43 i.e., *Tested Spoken Choice of Vocabulary*(r = 0.173**) and V.44 i.e., *Total Score in Speaking Skill* (r = 0.190**). The matrix showed that the respondents, who thought that learning English to speak fluently is a must for the personality development, showed higher scores in the above mentioned test of language skills.

These correlations suggested that fluency in English was regarded as a personality development factor by the respondents. The respondents completely understood the importance of being good in English in this time and age. Although, they were in support of Arabic as being the language of primary importance but they openly declared that in this age of globalization, the whole world is connected by a common language i.e. English and it is important for them to learn it well.

2.4.2. Need to Watch English TV Channels (V.24)

V.24 i.e., *Need to Watch English TV Channels* shows a negatively significant correlation with V.38 i.e., *Total Score in Reading Skill* (r = -0.160**), V.40 i.e., *Total Score in Listening Skill* (r = -0.141**), V.41 i.e., *Tested Fluency in Speaking* (r = -0.173**),V.42 i.e., *Tested Spoken Usage of Tenses* (r= -0.197**), V.43 i.e., *Tested Spoken Choice of Vocabulary* (r= -0.178**), and V.44 i.e., *Total Score in Speaking Skill* (r = -0.189**). The matrix indicated that the respondents, who thought that learning English is needed to watch English TV channels, scored lower in these skills language.

This was a case of impractical needs. The desire to watch English channels was associated to prestige, since watch English movies, and web-series is a growing trend in today's younger generation. The respondents who were less proficient in the English tried to attach themselves to the prestige

norms. On the other hand, more proficient respondents did not think that there is a need for learning English to watch English TV channels.

2.4.3.   Need to Follow the Trend (V.28)

V.28 i.e., *Need to Follow the Trend* shows a negatively significant correlation with V.38 i.e., *Total Score in Reading Skill* (r = -0.173**),V.40 i.e., *Total Score in Listening Skill* (r = -0.198**), V.41 i.e., *Tested Fluency in Speaking*(r = -0.201**), and V.44 i.e., *Total Score in Speaking Skill* (r = - 0.197**).This indicated that the respondents who felt the need to learn English just to follow the ongoing trend focused more on the spoken skills of language and showed lower mean scores in tests of speaking and listening skill.

The average age group of the respondents was 19-22 years, and in this age the inclination towards the on-going trends is at its peak. By speaking good English, watching English channels and following the trend the respondents actually thought that they will be able to impress their peers. However, it was observed that watching English channels was not only meant to impress others but also to improve the viewer's English skills. Once again the impractical or subjective needs came into play and the respondents who were less proficient in English felt that it needs to be learned to follow the ongoing trend.

2.4.4.   Total Needs in Development of Personality (V.29)

V.29 i.e., *Total Needs in Development of Personality* shows a positively significant correlation with V.37 i.e., *Score of C-Test in Writing* (r = 0.139*), V.38 i.e., *Total Score in Reading Skill* (r = 0.226**), V.39 i.e., *Total Score in Writing Skill* (r = 0.157**), V.40 i.e., *Total Score in Listening Skill* (r = 0.293**), V.41 i.e., *Tested Fluency in Speaking* (r = 0.215**), V.42 i.e., *Tested Spoken Usage of Tenses* (r = 0.188**), V.43 i.e., *Tested Spoken Choice of Vocabulary* (r = 0.136*), and V.44 i.e., *Total Score in Speaking Skill* (r = 0.198**), indicating that the respondents who believed that learning English is a must for overall personality development showed higher mean scores in all the skills of language.

The graphical representation of the Needs for Development of Personality has been given in Fig. 5.4.
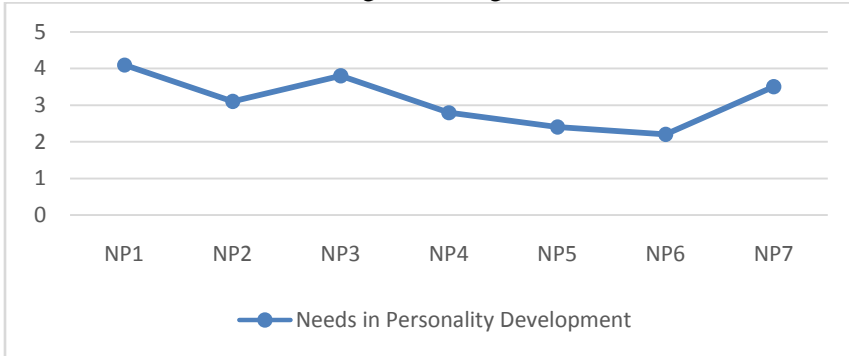

Fig. 5.4. Mean Scores of Needs in Personality Development
NP1-need to speak impressively, **NP2**-need to develop one's personality, **NP3**-need to watch English TV channels, **NP4**-need to use social media/surf net, **NP5**-need to chat with friends from other countries, **NP6-** need to participate in seminar/ debates and other co-curricular activities in college, **NP7-** need to follow the trend, (Maximum Score = 5; Minimum Score = 1)

The graph clearly shows that the need to speak English fluently is the highest rated need for personality development. The respondents rate this need as the most important need as speaking good English is a mark of respect and intelligence in the Arab society. This is followed by the need of English to watch English channels. After this, the respondents rated the need to follow the trend of knowing English. The need of English to develop personality is rated fourth by the respondents, which is followed by the need of English to chat with friends from other countries. The need to use social media/surf net and the need to host seminars/ debates or other co-curricular activities in college is rated the least by the respondents, since Arabic is mostly used in these domains. Thus the respondents were observed to be quite practical about the reasons to learn English. They rated their needs of learning English in a purpose-oriented manner, focusing on the requirements of English in their lives.

2.5.   Future Orientation Based Needs
These needs have been analyzed using six component variables. Out of these the following show significant correlations.

2.5.1.   Need of English to Pass Job Interviews (V.30)

V.30 i.e., *Need of English to Pass Job Interviews* shows a positively significant correlation with V.37 i.e.*, Score of C-Test in Writing* (r = 0.127*), V.38 i.e., *Total Score in Reading Skill* (r = 0.239**), V.39 i.e., *Total Score in Writing Skill* (r = 0.165**), V.40 i.e., *Total Score in Listening Skill* (r = 0.196**), V.41 i.e., *Tested Fluency in* Speaking (r = 0.191**), V.42 i.e., *Tested Spoken Usage of Tenses* (r = 0.163**), V.43 i.e., *Tested Spoken Choice of Vocabulary* (r = 0.159**), and V.44 i.e., *Total Score in Speaking Skill* (r = 0.199**), indicating that the respondents who felt that learning English is important for passing job interviews showed higher mean scores in all the skills of language.

2.5.2.   Need of English to get better Job Opportunities (V.31)

V.31 i.e., *Need of English to get better Job Opportunities* shows a positively significant correlation with V.37 i.e., *Score of C-Test in Writing* (r = 0.123*), V.38 i.e., *Total Score in Reading Skill* (r = 0.199**), V.39 i.e., *Total Score in Writing Skill* (r = 0.114*), V.40 i.e., *Total Score in Listening Skill* (r = 0.219**), V.41 i.e., *Tested Fluency in* Speaking (r = 0.182**), V.42 i.e., *Tested Spoken Usage of Tenses* (r = 0.138*), V.43 i.e., *Tested Spoken Choice of Vocabulary* (r = 0.195**), and V.44 i.e., *Total Score in Speaking Skill* (r = 0.198**). This implied that the respondents who felt the need to learn English for getting better job opportunities also showed higher mean scores in all the skills of language.

As far as job opportunities are concerned, Saudi government has brought a lot of changes in their system of jobs and employment of people. In the past, most of the job opportunities in Saudi Arabia, apart from administration, were grabbed by expatriates, but now Saudi locals are being preferred in almost all the fields (teaching, medical, engineering, accountancy, etc). Even the outsourcing of call centers for various telecom companies has stopped and they have opened vacancies for Saudis in these call centers. So, the competition between Saudis and non-Saudis is increasing in the Kingdom. During the study, it was observed that most of the respondents understood that they needed to be prepared for job interviews and examinations. The respondents were aware of the growing competition in finding job opportunities and the requirement of being updated with the information for grabbing those opportunities. Since, most of these opportunities were available to them only if they were able to understand, speak, read and write English, they tended to show more interest in grooming their language skills. In general, the respondents knew that it wasn't easy for them to find jobs or opportunities to study abroad if they were lagging behind in English.

2.5.3.   Need of English to Pursue Higher Studies Abroad (V.32)

V.32 i.e., *Need to Pursue Higher Studies Abroad* shows a positively significant correlation with V.37 i.e., *Score of C-Test in Writing* (r = 0.182**), V.38 i.e., *Total Score in Reading Skill* (r = 0.247**), V.39 i.e., *Total Score in Writing Skill* (r = 0.129*), V.40 i.e., *Total Score in Listening Skill* (r = 0.221**), V.41 i.e., *Tested Fluency in Speaking* (r = 0.136*),V.42 i.e. *Tested Spoken Usage of Tenses* (r = 0.142*), V.43 i.e., *Tested Spoken Choice of Vocabulary* (r = 0.169**), and V.44 i.e., *Total Score in Speaking Skill* (r = 0.196**). The matrix followed the same pattern as previously discussed variables (V.30 and V.31) and implied that the respondents who felt the need to learn English for pursuing higher studies abroad showed higher mean scores in all the skills of language.

According to the policy of Ministry of Education in Saudi Arabia, the higher education of students is funded by the government. Every year a number of students choose to move abroad for pursuing higher studies, so that they can get better jobs. So, the students prepare for exams held at the international level like IELTS, TOEFL, TOEIC etc. for which expertise in English is a must. It is obvious that getting through an examination requires a lot of practice in writing. For interviews, which are a part of these exams, the candidates must be quick in listening, comprehending and responding to what is being asked. They should be confident enough to put their point which is possible only when they are fluent in speech.

2.5.4.   Need of English to Work with People from Other Nationalities (V.35)

V.35 i.e., *Need of English to Work with People from Other Nationalities* shows a positively significant correlation with V.38 i.e. *Total Score in Reading Skill* (r = 0.220**), V.39 i.e. *Total Score in Writing Skill* (r = 0.183**), V.40 i.e., *Total Score in Listening Skill* (r = 0.224**), V.41 i.e., *Tested Fluency in Speaking* (r = 0.187**), and V.44 i.e., *Total Score in Speaking Skill*(r = 0.240*). This implied that the respondents who felt the need to learn English for working with people from other nationalities also showed higher mean scores in the above mentioned skills of language.

Working with expatriates was another factor that was marked by the respondents as being a driving force for learning English. Outside the kingdom it was an obvious fact for them, but they also needed to deal with expatriates within the Kingdom as a considerable number of people working in different fields are non-locals/expatriates. So, the respondents were actually trying to groom their English language skills as much as possible.

2.5.1. Total Needs in Future Prospects (V.36)

V.36 i.e., *Total Needs in Future Prospects* shows a positively significant correlation with V.37 i.e., *Score of C-Test in Writing* ($r = 0.182**$), V.38 i.e., *Total Score in Reading Skill* ($r = 0.242**$), V.39 i.e., *Total Score in Writing Skill* ($r = 0.155**$), V.40 i.e., *Total Score in Listening Skill* ($r = 0.179**$), V.41 i.e., *Tested Fluency in Speaking* ($r = 0.172**$), V.42 i.e., *Tested Spoken Usage of Tenses* ($r = 0.143*$), V.43 i.e., *Tested Spoken Choice of Vocabulary* ($r = 0.165**$), and V.44 i.e., *Total Score in Speaking Skill* ($r = 0.188**$). These correlation simply that the respondents who considered English to be useful for the needs related to future prospects showed higher mean scores in tested proficiency for all the skills of language

Thus, regarding the future prospects of the respondents, it can be said that English has become the need of the hour to face the growing competition and challenges in the present time. The respondents seemed to hold this view quite clearly, and this is observed in Fig. 5.5.
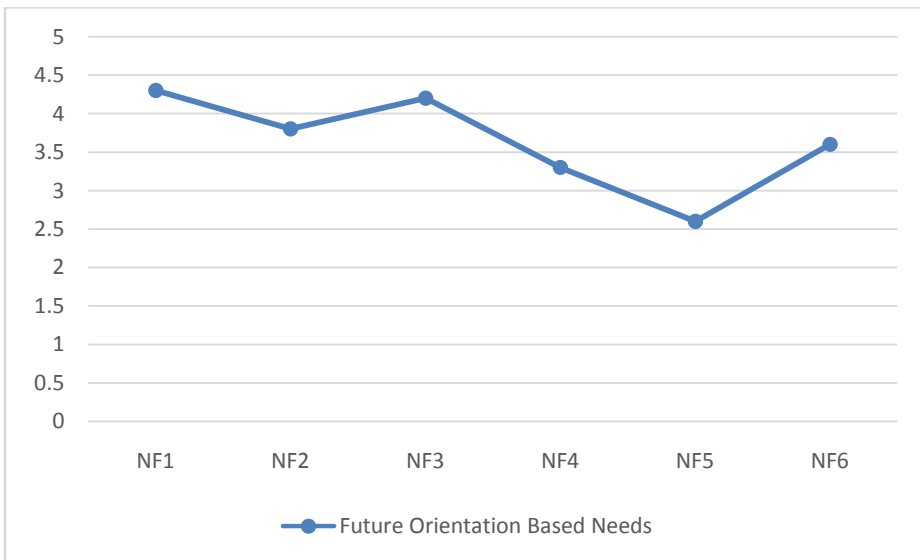

Fig. 5.5. Mean Scores of Future Orientation Based Needs

NF1-need to pass job interviews, **NF2**-need to get better job opportunities, **NF3**-need to pursue higher studies abroad, **NF4**-need to use during travelling, **NF5**-need to settle in a foreign country, **NF6-** need to work with people from other nationalities, (Maximum Score = 5; Minimum Score = 1)

The graphical representation given above clearly shows that the highest preference is given to the need of English to get through job interviews and to

pursue higher studies abroad (V.94), followed by the need of English to get better job opportunities. After this, the respondents rate the need of English to work with people from other nationalities. The need of English for travelling is preferred afterwards. Finally, the respondents rate the need of English to settle in a foreign country. This is because almost all respondents claimed that they do not wish to settle in a foreign country. They claimed that would prefer to go for studies or vacations, but they would like to find a job and settle down in Saudi Arabia. Thus, here again the respondents are showing inclination towards learning English for fulfilling the objective or extrinsic needs.

Conclusion

In Saudi Arabian education system, English does not replace Arabic completely, but it takes over Arabic in academics to a considerable extent in higher education. The college curriculum more or less revolves around English. Thus, it becomes mandatory for the students to focus more on the language in order to excel in academics. Moreover, the presence of expatriate/ Non-Saudi teachers in colleges also increases the need for knowing English among the students. While analyzing the situation of teaching and learning of English as a foreign language in Saudi Arabia, it was observed that the desired outcomes of the teaching/learning process are not achieved. The most obvious reason is that students do not get enough exposure to the language in the primary stages of education. English is taught from Grade 4 (age 9-11), due to which the students have to face a lot of difficulties while dealing with English in the later stages. At this stage, English is taught using the outdated grammar translation method, which is a vague and teacher-centered approach for learning, and the respondents were in favor of discarding this method.

Similarly, the use of other traditional practices like the extensive use of textbooks and black/white board were found unproductive and unsuccessful by the respondents. They wanted to replace these traditional methods of teaching by the use of new technology. They wanted that emphasis should be put on technology-based teaching like the use of internet in academics, and audio-visual teaching material, to make the learning effective. One more fact that has been brought forth in this study is that a lot of respondents claimed that they watched English movies and attended webinars to groom their listening, understanding and speaking skills. This implied that the respondents wanted to learn independently and wanted the teacher to become a mentor or a moderator who could keep a check on in-class activities of the students. This pointed out towards the need of a learner-centered approach in this context.

Thus, the observations suggest that respondents are best motivated to learn a foreign language when they realize the practical use of it. The ability to communicate or verbalize one's thoughts is undoubtedly the basic function of

language. The learners learning a second language understand that communication in the target language is a practical purpose to learn it.

The respondents give preference to practical needs of language learning. They appear to learn English for the purpose of passing exams, get jobs, communicate with people from other nationalities at different workplaces, etc. The respondents who scored low in language proficiency tests showed inclination towards impractical or subjective needs, whereas those who were more proficient preferred to learn the language for objective purposes.

An important observation that needs to be mentioned is that while the needs for learning the language differ from learner to learner but some of the needs are equally important for all of them. These include the need to pass examinations, face interviews, communicate with educated people from other nationalities, and future orientation based needs like getting jobs, and pursuing higher studies in foreign countries.

In general, the respondents are inclined towards the objective needs for learning the target language. Therefore, these needs should be taken into consideration for making the learning process effective.

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Annexure 1: List of Variables

S.No.	Variable	Range	Mean	Std. Deviation
V.1	Need of English to pass examination	5-point scale	4.00	0.8165
V.2	Need of English to understand lectures	5-point scale	3.6122	0.6395
V.3	Need of English to read books of one's own curriculum	5-point scale	3.6122	0.6713
V.4	Need of English to read books on other subjects	5-point scale	3.2245	1.2790
V.5	Need of English to use,modern gadgets (devices, tools, etc)	5-point scale	3.4083	1.1350
V.6	Total Needs in Education	5-point scale	3.5714	0.9082
V.7	Need of English to communicate with people in general	5-point scale	3.0204	1.1812
V.8	Need of English to speak to fellow students	5-point scale	2.7551	0.9471
V.9	Need of English to communicate with family members	5-point scale	2.9796	1.6006
V.10	Need of English to communicate with people from the same city	5-point scale	3.9184	0.8375
V.11	Need of English to communicate with people from other cities of the same country	5-point scale	3.7143	0.8660
V.12	Need of English to communicate with educated people from other nationalities	5-point scale	3.0816	1.2047
V.13	Need of English to communicate with uneducated people from other nationalities	5-point scale	3.2449	1.0710
V.14	Need of English to converse with others in social gatherings	5-point scale	2.7347	1.4255
V.15	Total Needs in communication	5-point scale	3.1811	1.1417
V.16	Need of English to read newspapers	5-point scale	2.5918	1.1350
V.17	Need of English to read magazines	5-point scale	3.1020	1.2457
V.18	Need of English to go through professional literature	5-point scale	2.7959	1.0602
V.19	Need of English to be better understood by friends	5-point scale	2.8571	1.3844
V.20	Need of English to keep updated with worldwide affairs	5-point scale	3.1429	1.2747
V.21	Total Needs in Acquiring Knowledge	5-point scale	2.8979	1.22
V.22	Need of English to speak impressively	5-point scale	3.6735	0.9658
V.23	Need of English for development of personality	5-point scale	3.6735	0.7742
V.24	Need of English to watch English TV channels	5-point scale	3.5918	0.9335
V.25	Need of English to use social media/surf net	5-point scale	2.9592	1.0984

V.26	Need of English to chat with friends from other countries	5-point scale	3.1224	1.4667
V.27	Need of English to participate actively in seminars debated and other co-curricular activities ion college	5-point scale	2.9184	1.2556
V.28	Need of English to follow the ongoing trend	5-point scale	3.3265	1.0285
V.29	Total needs in personality development	5-point scale	3.3236	1.0746
V.30	Need of English to pass job interviews	5-point scale	3.5102	1.1747
V.31	Need of English to get better job opportunities	5-point scale	3.4286	0.9789
V.32	Need of English to pursue higher studies abroad	5-point scale	3.8163	0.9281
V.33	Need of English to help during travelling	5-point scale	3.6531	1.1465
V.34	Need of English to settle in a foreign country	5-point scale	3.3673	1.2195
V.35	Need of English to work with people from other nationalities	5-point scale	3.3061	1.4606
V.36	Total needs in future prospects	5-point scale	3.5136	1.1513
V.37	Score of C-Test in writing	5-point Scale	2.4362	0.7932
V.38	Total score in reading skill	5-point Scale	3.6732	1.3792
V.39	Total score in writing skill	5-point Scale	3.2367	1.1967
V.40	Total score in listening skill	5-point Scale	3.7682	1.4514
V.41	Tested fluency in speaking	5point Scale	3.1872	1.6716
V.42	Tested spoken usage of tenses	5point Scale	2.8753	1.1938
V.43	Tested spoken choice of vocabulary	5-point Scale	2.7437	1.1641
V.44	Total score in speaking skill	5-point Scale	3.0832	1.7453

EVALUATION OF PASHTO CONSONANT CLUSTER PHONOTACTICS IN AN OPTIMALITY THEORETIC FRAMEWORK

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Introduction

Pashto/Pakhto, the official language of Afghanistan belongs to the Indo-Iranian group of Indo-European languages. It is the majority language of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) province of Pakistan. According to Ethnologue, there is an estimated 60 million Pashto speakers scattered across Pashtun diaspora throughout the world. A minority group of Pashto speaking people reside in Jammu and Kashmir who migrated from 'KPK' province of Pakistan during the reign of British rule in India. These people settled permanently after the partition and still maintain their language and identity. Pashto is written in a modified Perso-Arabic script to represent different vowels and consonants of the language. Pashto has SOV word order and is a highly inflected language with a complex system of noun declensions and verb conjugations. Pashto nouns, adjectives and pronouns are marked for number, gender and case. Verbs show agreement with subjects in number, person and gender.

1.1 Phonotactics

The origin of Phonotactics is from a Greek word, Phono means sound and tactics means arrangements (Stockwell, 1954). Therefore, it is the arrangement of sounds next to each other and these arrangements are specific to the language. In the option of combinations of meaningful segments, languages give different choices. In a language, the arrangement of sounds is governed by various constraints that limit the unusual combinations of sounds. Phonotactics are predictable in a language as they occur systematically and follow a mechanism in which only those sounds that are convenient to pronounce allow a linear combination. This implies that it limits the combinations that are difficult to pronounce in the Pashto language, such as bilabial stop plus alveolar stop at the initial position. Zsiga states that in a language, the combination of sounds is not random, but allows a predictable and systematic sound sequence in a phonotactic structure. Phonotactics helps to identify both the syllable and the word boundaries in a language. Karmiloff, Smith, (2001), says that not only is Phonotactics essential for showing the combination of sounds, but also helps to discover boundaries of the word. In order to avoid unnecessary and

ambiguous structures within languages, languages allow a limited combination of phonemes in syllable breaks. Languages place restrictions on the candidates and allow only those candidates at the surface level that restrict any other possible candidate optimally.

1.2 Consonant Clustering

The language art of arranging two or more consonants in a way that fluently and efficiently helps to pronounce words. Consonant clustering distribution is highly language specific based on the ranking of constraints. The concept of Optimolity Theory (OT) is that languages have the ability to generate any possible number of candidates from the infinite universal input provided. The 'Gen' in the OT model generates the prospective number of these candidates. The 'Gen' gives an infinite number of candidates limited by the constraints, allowing only optimal candidates at the level of the surface. Keeping in mind the OT presumption that says languages are the result of two conflicting forces that are constraints of faithfulness and markedness. The language with no constraint conflict will lead to large strings of linguistic units, giving priority to unmarkedness or faithfulness, and thus the speech will become time-consuming and unrecognizable.

1.3 Optimality theory (OT)

OT is a constraint based model which evaluates the optimal surface candidates out of infinite number of candidate possibilities. The surface forms arise after the different factorial typological ranking of the constraints in a language. These constraints interact with each other in such a manner that higher ranked constraints must dominate lower ranked constraints in order to choose an optimal form. The optimal candidate is the one which is a least violated form in the process of constraint interaction, and such that the violation of higher ranked constraints by the candidates is fatal.

Constraint interaction in the OT model was developed in 1990's by Alan Prince and Paul Smolensky and elaborated in the book 'Optimality Theory' (2003). This book defines the structure of Optimality-theoretic grammar, which defines a pairing of underlying and surface forms of the language. This grammar was the development of generative grammar which evaluates grammars on the basis of constraints rather than the early model of generative grammar which is a rule based framework. OT model was embraced by many prominent linguists as this theory provides important insights in defining the phenomenon in a language. According to OT, Markedness properties are the actual substance of the grammar which regulates well formedness in languages unlike earlier models which treat markedness properties as some outside entities which appear only at surface forms. Kager (1999), in his book 'Optimality Theory' provided a comprehensive description

of OT and defined different processes and grammatical structures of languages. Kager's work is based on the factorial typology of ranking the universal constraints in different languages. Kager successfully sketched the overall idea of OT in his work and explained conflicts in grammars of different languages. Kager also explained the important phenomena of variation among languages by re-ranking the constraints.

McCarthy, wrote a book 'Doing Optimality Theory' (2011) which is based on the analysis 'Applying theory to the Data' is one of the basic books which provides a model of analysis for the researchers in OT. McCarthy argues that the constraints should be violable and he illustrated the essence of violability in OT. He had shown the constraint interaction among Yawalmani syllable structure while applying the theory to the data.

The theory of constraint interaction (OT) is widely adopted as the new approach in the field of phonology. OT shows divergence from rule based generative theory which disallows the violation of strict rules. This theory evaluates grammar by the interaction of markedness and faithfulness family of universal constraints which rank constraints language particularly. Languages choose different constraints out of these universal constraint inventories and rank them according to grammar preferences of that particular language.

2. Methodology

This paper seeks to apply the OT model based on the concept of interaction in Pashto language between differently ranked constraints. The data used for this purpose was collected from Pashto native speakers residing in the Kashmir Valley districts of Ganderbal, Anantnag and Baramulla. With the help of highly sophisticated recorders, the data was recorded from naturalistic settings as well as systematically. For the analysis, this paper uses '50 hours' of recorded speech. On the basis of the assumption given by Prince and Smolensky (1993) that the constraints in languages are universal, ranked and violable. Various Pashto word structures were assessed by adopting the constraint ranking methodology provided by Rene Kager (1999). The data was syllabified and the consonant clusters were identified by observation in the syllables of Pashto language. The conflicts of markedness and faithfulness are illustrated with the help of tableaux to sum up the generalizations found in the analysis. In these tableaux the '*' mark shows violation marks of the candidates generated, while '*!' shows fatal violation and the '☞' (pointing finger) shows the optimality of the output candidates. In order to better understand the constraint conflicts in this paper, a simplified nomenclature is used for different constraints in addition with already specified constraints of the OT theory.

3. Analysis

Languages do not allow random sound sequences, but the sound sequences of a language are a systematic and predictable part of its framework (Zsiga). The language of Pashto allows consonant clusters, subject to a number of phonotactic limitations. Within these limitations, Pashto language phonotactic analysis demonstrates certain sequences of consonant clusters within the syllables at the beginning and coda positions. A thorough analysis of Pashto syllables was carried out and subsequent generalisations of consonant clusters were expressed on the basis of this analysis.

Phonotactic Generalizations of Pashto for the wellformedess structures

The sequence of two plosives at the beginning as well as at the coda position are not allowed in the Pashto language.

i.*PL-cc (Avoid two plosive segment clusters)

In the initial and coda position of the Pashto language, the above markedness limitation actively occurs as a dominant constraint. This constraint faces the constraint of faithfulness in the conflict that is PL-ccc (Allow plosive cluster combinations). It is possible to show the ranking of this conflict between markedness and faithfulness as:

a.*PL-cc >> PL-cc

The following table shows this dominance of markedness constraints.

Input = plosives	*PL-cc	PL-cc
a. pl+pl	*!	
b. pl+nonpl	☞	*

The above table shows that candidate 'a' allows any two plosive combination that violates higher restrictions on ranked markedness. Candidate 'b' disallows plosive combinations and violates the lower ranked constraint minimally. Candidate 'b' is therefore an optimal candidate as it shows no violation marks in the tableau for higher ranked constraints and meets higher ranked constraints, i.e. allowing plosive combination. In this case, the Optimality theory suggests that 'GEN' produces any number of elements from the universal input. The 'GEN' here provides an infinite number of combinations of plosive segments that are limited by the markedness constraint (*PL-cc). This problem is solved by the epenthesis process in the language of Pashto Phonotactics. It is essential to note that the syllables of Pashto are highly epenthesized. The Dep-IO faithfulness constraint (do not epenthesize input segments) dominates the *PL-cc markedness constraint.

b.*PL-cc >> Dep-IO

In order to provide an optimal output, Pashto Phonotactics allow vowel epenthesis between two plosive segments. To optimise the surface forms, the Dep-IO faithfulness constraint is dominated by the *PL-cc markedness constraint.

In the table below, the constraint hierarchy 'b' is shown with the help of an example from Pashto:

Input: /pt̪/		*PL-cc	Dep-IO
a.	[pt̪]	*!	
b.	[pət̪] ☞		*

In the table above, candidate 'a' fatally violates higher ranked constraints, while candidate 'b' meets higher ranked constraints and minimally violates lower ranked constraints. Candidate 'b' [pət̪] (hidden) emerges as the winner in this conflict, which in this situation is an optimal candidate.

The issue of plosive clusters is solved in the syllables of the Pashto language by vowel epenthesis. In ranking (a), that is, PL-cc, the lower ranked constraint is replaced by the lower ranked constraint in ranking (b), that is, Dep-IO, to solve this problem.

2. If the first consonant is a plosive in the sequence of two consonants in the syllable of the language of Pashto, then the fricatives are always limited to their clusters. In other words, plosive plus fricative clusters are not allowed in Pashto consonant clusters.

ii.*PL+FR-cc (Avoid plosive plus fricative clusters)
At the beginning and coda positions of the Pashto syllables, this markedness constraint disallows plosive plus fricative clusters. Thus, it is the dominant constraint in the conflict with the constraint of faithfulness i.e., PL+FR-cc (Allow plosive plus fricative clusters). As below, this hierarchy can be shown:

c.*PL+FR-cc >> PL+FR-cc
With the help of the tableau below, this hierarchy of dominance by constraint of markedness is shown:

Input: pl and fr		*PL+FR-cc	PL+FR-cc
a.	Pl + fr	*!	
b.	Pl + non-fr☞		*

In the table, candidate 'a' allows the combination of plosive and fricatives that violates higher ranked markedness constraints fatally and thus emerges as the optimal winning candidate in the conflict. Since Pashto consonant clusters do not allow plosive and fricative clusters, the epenthesis in the Pashto language shown below compensates for this issue:

d.*PL+FR >>Dep-IO

Pashto consonant clusters allow the problem to be overcome by epenthesis, where plosive and fricative clusters are not allowed. Markedness *PL+FR-cc dominates faith Dep-IO to give an optimal output in this above hierarchy'd' markedness.

With the help of the table below, the constraint hierarchy d 'can be shown:

Input: /tʃ/		*ObsFR-cc	Dep-IO
a.	[tʃ]	*!	
b.	[təʃ] ☞		*

The candidate 'a' fatally violates the *ObsFR-cc (no obstructive plus fricative cluster) higher ranked constraint while as cand. 'b'[təʃ] (blank) satisfies higher ranked constraints and Dep-IO as a lower ranked constraints is minimally violated. The candidate 'b' therefore qualifies in the conflict as the optimal candidate. The lower ranked constraint of PL+FR-cc is replaced by Dep-IO in the ranking hierarchy to give the optimal output.

3. Plosive and affricate clusters are not allowed in the Pashto consonant cluster Phonotactics.

iii.*PL+AFR-cc
In the Pashto language syllables, this markedness constraint restricts plosive and affricative clusters. The faithfulness constraint that allows sequences of plosives and affricates (PL+AFR-cc) is dominated by this constraint. The following ranking shows this dominance of markedness over faithfulness:

e)   *PL+AFR-cc >> PL+AFR-cc

The higher ranked constraint 'Do not allow plosive and affricative clusters' dominates the lower ranked constraint that allows plosive and affricative clusters in the Pashto language syllables. This conflict between markedness and belief is shown in the following table:

Input: pl+ afr		*PL+AFR-cc	PL+AFR-cc
a.	PL+afr	*!	
b.	PL+nonafr		*

By allowing the plosive and affricative sequence in the syllables, candidate 'a' in the tableau fatally violates the higher ranked constraint. Therefore, candidate 'a' is excluded from the dispute and candidate 'b' qualifies as the ideal candidate by minimally violating the lower ranked constraint of faithfulness.

In the Pashto Phonotactics, this mixture of plosive and affricatives is always mediated by vowel sound epenthesization. In this case, the 'Dep-IO' faithfulness constraint is violated, which is a lower ranked constraint against the '*PL+AFR-cc' markedness constraint. We therefore get the ranking as follows by replacing faith 'Dep-IO' with faith 'PL+AFR-cc':

f.*PL+FR-cc >> Dep-IO

Higher ranked constraint 'don't allow plosive plus affricative cluster dominates' Don't epenthesize input to output' constraint. It enables epenthesis to provide the optimal forms and to avoid plosive and affricative sequences. The 'f' hierarchy is evaluated with the help of Pashto language examples in the table below.

Input: /pts/	*PL+AFR-cc	Dep-IO
a. pts	*!	
b. pəts		*

The above table shows that candidate 'a' violates higher ranked constraints fatally, while candidate 'b' satisfies higher ranked constraints and breaches lower ranked constraints minimally. Candidate 'b' [pəts] (blunt), thus emerges as an optimal candidate with an epenthesized plosive and affricate cluster.

4) The Pashto language Phonotactics allow sequences of fricatives plus plosive sounds.

iv.FR+PL-cc

The reverse of this sequence, discussed in the above ranking (*PL+FR-cc), is restricted. Here, the 'Dep-IO' faithfulness constraint is highly ranked as the cluster sequence of fricative and plosive is allowed in Pashto language than the markedness constraint '*FR+PL-cc'. It is therefore possible to rank the constraints as:

g.Dep-IO >> *FR+PL-cc

Here, the 'Dep-IO' and FR+PL-cc faithfulness constraints dominate the markedness constraint that does not allow fricatives and plosive clusters. This gives us the faithfulness and markedness ranking as:

h.FR+PL-cc, Dep-IO, >> *FR+PL-cc

The hierarchy above shows that fricatives and plosive clusters in the syllables are permitted by the Pashto language. The *FR+PL-cc markedness constraint is dominated by faith constraints that do not allow for changes between input and output. With the help of the table below, this hierarchy of conflict can be shown:

Input: /ʃp/	FR+PL-cc	Dep-IO	*FR+PL-cc
a. ʃəpa	*!	*	
b. ʃpa			*

Candidate 'a' is a fatal violation of the tableau's higher ranked constraints (FR+PL-cc, Dep-IO) as it changed input-output correspondence by epenthesizing the fricative and plosive cluster and satisfies only lower hierarchical ranked constraints. Candidate 'b' satisfies higher ranked faith constraints and violates lower ranked constraints minimally. Thus, candidate 'b'

emerges as the optimal structure of the Pashto language in this confrontation between constraints.

5) In order to provide well-formed structures such as [pla:r], [klak], [tlǝl] etc, Pashto language allows voiceless alveolar stops plus lateral sound /l/ and limits voiced alveolar plus lateral /l/ clusters The following constraint is therefore obtained from this generalization.

v.*vdPL+Lapp-cc

If the plosive is voiced, do not allow Plosive plus lateral approximants.

This limitation of markedness is dominant over the limitation of faithfulness that allows the sequence of voiced plosive and lateral approximants, i.e. vdPL+Lapp-cc, in Pashto.

i.*vdPL+Lapp-cc >> vdPL+Lapp-cc

With the aid of the following table, this hierarchy of dominance by markedness over faithfulness can be shown:

Input: PL. + L	*vdPL+Lapp-cc	vdPL+Lapp-cc
a. vdPL+l	*!	
b. vlPL+l		*

In the table above, candidate 'a' permits voiced plosive plus lateral approximant cluster that violates the hierarchy's ranked constraint. Candidate 'b' i.e., the voiceless plosive and lateral cluster meets higher ranked constraints while breaching lower ranked constraints and emerging as the conflict's winning candidate. The candidate 'a' is therefore excluded from the Pashto language surface forms.

Voicing harmony is the principal entity of this constraint. Voicing of plosives in these sequences does not allow the lateral approximants to create clusters. We therefore get the hierarchy of constraint ranking from this generalization given below:

j.*+VoicePL+L-cc >> +VoicePL+L-cc

Voiced plosives avoid lateral approximant clusters while permitting voiceless plosives and lateral approximant clusters. The lateral approximant voice neutralizes the plosive voice to give us an optimal output.

With the help of examples from the Pashto language in the table below, this hierarchy of constraint dominance can be shown:

Input: voiced plosive+L	*+VoicePL+L-cc	+VoicePL+L-cc
a. p, t, k+ l ☞		*
b. b, d, g+ l	*!	

The Gen generates various candidates for the evaluation process using the input voiced plosive plus lateral approximant. In the tableau above, candidate 'a' satisfies higher ranked constraints and violates minimal ranked constraints. Candidate 'b' violates higher ranked constraint fatally and is the looser candidate

in this dispute. This dispute excludes Pashto language cluster voiced plosives plus lateral approximants from the Pashto Phonotactics.

Now, to evaluate the optimal form in the table below, take the input voiceless plosive plus lateral approximant:

Input: voiceless plosive +L	*+VoicePL+L-cc	+VoicePL+L-cc
a. p, t, k +L ☞		*
b. b, d, g +L	*!	

The candidate 'b' with a higher ranked restriction violation mark is excluded from the contest while the candidate 'a' demonstrates correspondence with the input and qualifies as the optimal candidate of the Pashto language with no violation mark of the higher ranked restriction. Therefore, whatever input has been received, the constraint evaluation process will always provide the optimal surface forms of the language.

In the Pashto language, the clusters of voiced plosive and lateral approximants are avoided by epenthesizing these clusters with the vowels as in[bəl] (other),[dal](cracked corn), [gual] (flower), etc. This gives us the ranking of limitations given below for the generation of optimal candidates:

k.*vdpl+L-cc >> Dep-IO >> Ident-IO

Both faithfulness constraints Dep-IO (do not epenthesize input to output) and Ident-IO (identical input- output) dominate in the hierarchy above the markedness constraint *vdpl+L-cc (do not allow voiced plosive plus lateral approximant clusters) to give an optimal output and exclude all other consonant cluster possibilities. This hierarchy is shown with the help of the following table:

Input: p,t,k+L	*vdpl+L-cc	Dep-IO	Ident-IO
a. b,d,g+ L	*!		*
b. bəl, dal. guəl☞		*	*

The Dep-IO and Ident-IO faithfulness constraints are both lower ranked constraints and are dominated in the conflict by the *vdpl+L-cc markedness constraint. Candidate 'a' violates higher ranked constraints fatally and violates both lower ranked competitive constraints. Candidate 'b' has two marks of violation that are negligible compared to candidate 'a' because it is essential to satisfy higher ranked constraints in the conflict to get the optimal candidates.

6) In stops and fricative clusters, Pashto Phonotactics demonstrate harmony of voicing, that is, voiced fricatives plus voiced plosives and voiceless fricatives plus voiceless plosives.

The Pashto language Phonotactics allow voiceless fricative combinations plus voiceless plosives and disallow voiceless plus voiced plosives. Contrary to it, in a sequence of fricative plus plosive, if the first

consonant is voiced fricative the following plosive must be voiced. In the theory of OT, this constraint can be represented as below:

vi.HvoiceFr+Pl-cc

This constraint states that in the clusters of fricatives and plosives of the Pashto language, there is voice synchrony. The lack or presence of voice in fricatives results in the presence or lack of voice in the following plosives in such sequences. This highly ranked constraint does not allow for identical input-output correspondence, but only voiced consonant combinations in the Pashto language. You can show this hierarchy of constraints as below:

l.HvoiceFr+Pl-cc >> IDENT-IO >> Dep-IO

In the Pashto language, this constraint is highly ranked, which allows voice harmony in the sequence of consonant clusters. With the help of the following table, this dominance of markedness over faithfulness is illustrated. We have the constraint ranking, taking the input as voiceless fricative plus voiced plosive for voiceless fricative plus voiceless plosive output, HvoicelessFr+Pl-cc >> IDENT-IO >> Dep-IO.

/sb/		HvoicelessFr+Pl-cc	IDENT-IO	Dep-IO
a.	sb	*!		
b.	sp☞		*	
c.	zb	*!	*	
d.	səb	*!		*
e.	səp	*!	*	*

By satisfying higher ranked constraints and showing minimal violation marks of lower ranked constraints, i.e. IDENT-IO, candidate 'b' in the tableau emerges as the optimal winning candidate in the conflict. Therefore, in the Pashto language, the [sp] cluster is the optimal surface form which is found in the words such as [spei] (dog) [spin] (white). In the table above, all candidates except candidate 'b' violate the higher ranked constraint that is 'harmony of voice' and are therefore excluded from the conflict.

Now we have the restriction ranking given as HvoicedFr+Pl-cc >> IDENT-IO >> Dep-IO. Taking the input voiced fricative plus voiceless plosive for the output that demonstrates harmony for the voiced clusters.

Input: /zp/		HvoicedFr+Pl-cc	IDENT-IO	Dep-IO
a.	zp	*!		
b.	zb		*	
c.	sp	*!	*	
d.	sb	*!	*	
e.	zəp	*!		*
f.	səp	*!	*	*

Candidates' a, c, d, e, f 'violate HvoicedFr+Pl-cc (voice harmony for voiced clusters) higher ranked constraints and are therefore excluded from the conflict. Candidate 'b' satisfies higher ranked constraints and violates lower ranked IDENT-IO constraints minimally, so candidate 'b' emerges in this dispute as the optimal candidate.

The above table shows that the HvoiceFr+Pl-cc markedness constraint always dominates the IDENT-IO and Dep-IO faithfulness constraints in the evaluation process regardless of the input provided. Markedness >> Faithfulness to [zb] and [sp] structures in the Pashto language.

7) The Pashto Phonotactic does not allow two strident consonants to cluster. Stridents include fricatives and affricatives, and sequences do not occur with these consonants. It is not allowed to have both fricative plus fricative and affricative plus affricative clusters.

vii.*Strident-cc (Avoid strident clusters).

The markedness limitation*Strident-cc resists any two strident consonant cluster structure in the language of Pashto. The sequence of two strident consonants that are faithful to the input is dominated by this limitation.

m) *Strident-cc >> Strident-cc

Markedness constraint '*Strident-cc' dominates the faith constraint of strident consonant clusters in the above ranking. The constraint of faithfulness can be described as 'IDENT-IO' because it allows without any confrontation the input to the surface forms. This dominance can therefore be displayed in the hierarchy of constraints given below:

l.*Strident-cc >> IDENT-IO >> Dep-IO

Under the Stridents, the sibilants are sub-categorized and thus sibilant consonant clusters in the Pashto language are also avoided. In the typology of phonotactic ranking in the Pashto language, the sibilant limit can be shown as *Sibilant-cc >> IDENT-IO where the identical input-output forms are restricted. With the help of the table below, the ranking hierarchy in 'm' can be illustrated.

For input strident clusters from the Pashto language, the table below represents the optimal candidate evaluation.

/ɣx/		*Strident-cc	IDENT-IO	Dep-IO
a.	ɣx	*!		
b.	ɣaːx			*

In the table above, candidate 'a' violates higher ranked constraints compared to candidate 'b' which violates only a lower ranked restriction in the conflict. Candidate 'b' therefore emerges with the epenthesized vowel as the optimal candidate that breaks the strident cluster in the syllable. Candidate a[ɣx] is not a valid Pashto language structure because it violates the higher ranked constraint

of Pashto language, while candidate b is the meaningful Pashto language structure[ɣaːx](tooth) by meeting the higher ranked conflict constraint.

Stridents are composed both of fricatives and affricates in languages. So, in the Pashto language, both fricatives and affricate clusters are not allowed under this constraint. The constraints of the fricative and affricate cluster can be represented as:

*Fr-cc
*Afr-cc
*Fr+Afr-cc

All of these limitations, by restricting the sequences of strident consonant clusters, restrict faithful output to the input in Pashto Phonotactics. By epenthesizing the strident clusters, these sequences in the Pashto language are optimized. With the aid of tableau, this argument of constraint conflict can be illustrated for the evaluation of optimal candidates for stridents or sibilants. Taking the universal Pashto language input for fricatives.

Input: /s, ʃ, z,/	*Strident-cc	IDENT-IO	Dep-IO
a. sʃ	!*		
b. sz	!*		
c. ʃz	!*		
d. saːʃ			*
e. saːz			*
f. ʃɪz			*

The above table shows that by providing the input segments in the output forms and also satisfying Dep-IO by not epenthesizing the clusters, candidates' a, b, c 'breaches higher ranked constraints and satisfies the lower ranked constraint IDENT-IO. All these three candidates are therefore excluded from the language of Pashto Phonotactics. In contrast, candidates 'd, e, f 'showing no marks of violation of higher ranked constraints and having only a minimal marks of violation of the lower ranked constraint emerges as the Pashto language's optimal surface forms as in hypothetical words [ʃaːz], [saːz], [ʃɪz] etc., The above discussion for the restriction*Strident-cc made it clear that fricatives as well as affricates are not clustered by the Pashto Phonotactics. In the typology of constraint ranking in the Pashto language, this markedness restriction plays a dominant role in:**Markedness >> Faithfulness**

The fricatives /ʃ/ and /x/, however, confront and dominate the *Fr-cc markedness. This implies that the /ʃx/ cluster as in word [ʃxuan] is found in Pashto Phonotactics. Therefore, in comparison to the 'm' ranking, which is Markedness>>Faithfulness, the typology will show reverse ranking of constraints. The faith dominates markedness for this structure Faithfulness>>Markedness, which was otherwise restricted as a markedness

feature 'not allowing the strident clusters' shows dominance for fricatives as well as affricates in Pashto language. The limitations of this conflict can be structured hierarchically as Sibilant-cc >> * Sibilant-cc. As sibilants belong to the strident category, they can therefore be substituted for stridents. The same input-output correspondence is shown by Strident-cc and can therefore be replaced by IDENT-IO. From this, we get the strident cluster constraint ranking as below:

n.IDENT-IO >> *Strident-cc >> Dep-IO

With the help of the tableau, this ranking of dominance by faith over markedness can be shown. To get the optimal output, take the input fricatives:

Input: /ʃ, x/	IDENT-IO	*Strident-cc	Dep-IO
a. ʃx		!*	
b. ʃax	!*		*

In the above table, candidate 'a' emerges as the optimal candidate showing minimal violation marks by meeting higher ranked conflict constraints. By violating the higher ranked faithfulness limit in the tableau, candidate 'b' is excluded.

It is evident from the above ranking arguments between 'm' and 'n' that the ranking of constraints in languages is not rigid as they are always in conflict and dominate each other in various contexts. Inherently, markedness and faithfulness are in conflict and in race in order to dominate each other to provide the language with well-formed structures.

4. Conclusion

This paper elaborated different Phonotactic constraint generalizations found in Pashto language which allows well-formed optimal surface structures and restrict the output which is not comprehendible. These generalizations illustrates the permissible and restricted consonant combinations of the Pashto language. Previous studies in the Pashto language suggest that up to three consonant clusters are allowed by the phonotactic structures of Pashto. During this analysis, no such cluster was found which allows three consonant sequences at the initial and final position of the syllable. Therefore, the optimal maximal sequence of consonants in Pashto language Phonotactics is up to two consonants. These structures are the result of conflicts between distinct markedness and faithfulness limitations that only allow the Pashto language grammar to be comprehensible or acceptable surface structures. The fact that languages typically obtain obstructive plus approximate clusters is an established fact (Steve Parker). Pashto speakers can therefore pronounce the stop plus approximate clusters that are non-native and only found in borrowed words such as [ʈrak] (truck), [ɖrəm] (drum). This research study also finds that the Pashto language Phonotactics highly epenthesize the consonant clusters in

order to get optimal output. Furthermore, this paper illustrated only wellformedess properties of constraint interactions between markedness and faithfulness and doesn't take the overall account of consonant clusters, which left the scope to further explore the available number of consonant clusters in Pashto language.

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HISTORIES:
THE CONCORD(S) OF TRIBAL WRITINGS AND LITERATURES

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The writing of local and culture-specific histories of tribal literatures is one of the ways in which alternative discourses on indigenous literature and cultural theory can develop. Most of the literary historiography indicates two common approaches to indigenous cultural production. Firstly, tribal literature is often seen as a particular kind of minority literature within the national literature. Secondly, a pan-indigenous the matic reading is seen to be a convenient strategy for these texts. Evidently, such readings that look at themes of "Sex and Violence in the native Novel" or "Resistance" can avoid the issues of culture-specific readings of tribal/indigenous literatures where the researchers would have to engage with the diverse and complex cultural contexts of the many first nation people of some indigenous lands/countries.

This primary survey of existing literary-histories written during or after the last quarter of the twentieth century indicates that much; ground work still needs to be done to develop an in-depth analysis of literary histories of specific indigenous communities. The issue at hand is not so much of a choice between a generalist and a specialist approach to native literary studies; it is a question of an "ethics of reading" in which the scholastic reader engages deeply enough with the text to try and understand more about the cultural context in which it is produced. The paper here seeks to reflect on the politics and ethics of writing literary histories of indigenous literatures, and the ways in which this process of historiography can be "indigenized" to incorporate tribal approaches.

The pan-tribal/indigenous perspective mentioned earlier is sometimes useful as a tool for examining inter-textuality phenomenon between the texts from different tribal communities; however, to use the word "tribal" to simplistically describe their literatures is to perpetuate the homogenizing approach of colonial discourses of the "Native Other". Likewise, relating contemporary indigenous literatures to other "major" literatures within India can be useful as far the

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study of influences and hybridity is concerned; but, from my own experience a more decolonized reading can merge if we examine the politics of why these literatures are represented in a certain way. The larger perception of the relationship between the State's policies, universities and the theoretical trends that hold sway in them, mean that collective identities as the basis for cultural assertion are dismissed as 'essentialism' or 'nativism' and the distinct cultural formations of diverse indigenous communities are fitted into existing templates of literary "developments/advancements".

As a non-tribal academic, I am interested in the possibility of generating an increasing number of people-centric history of indigenous literatures in English. A number of scholars have provided intellectual trajectories to this kind of work. The idea of people-centric studies is rooted in the notion of people-hood and place-hood.

It must be remembered that a pan-tribal identity is strategically employed by First Nations peoples as a strategic tool against colonial divide policies, and also for the political mobilization of their communities.

The four elements; land, sacred history, religion and language - have been suggested by the Lumbee nation scholar Ben Chavis as a possible "primary theoretical underpinning of Indigenous peoples studies". The idea of peoplehood also avoids the pitfalls of the term 'nation' as representing the collective identity for First Peoples. Daniel Justice's Our Fire Survives the Storm: A Cherokee Literary History, based on his idea of aboriginal intellectual sovereignty, illustrates a people-centric methodology in aboriginal literary historiography. Before him, the Cree scholar Craig Womack wrote the pioneering people-centric work Red on Red: Native American Literary Separatism where he demonstrated how a Cree history of literature could be constructed, based on the notion of a Cree canon parallel to that of mainstream American literature. However, Womack's work creates insider-outsider boundaries that leave the non-aboriginal scholar or critic wondering whether to step into the "epistemological no-go zone" of aboriginal cultural studies.

From the point of view of a non-tribal academic such as myself, dissemination remains a function that can be fulfilled in an international cross-cultural context. Dissemination through the writing of literary histories for non-tribal readers may be a valuable task as such histories are often the initial reference works used by teachers when beginning to teach new and culturally different literatures. Thus, the literary historiographer has the opportunity to sensitize the reader at the first opportunity to what Renate Eigen rod has called an "ethics of reading". However, the politics of literary histories

need to be carefully considered: Who is writing, from what location, and for whom?

Literary histories are forms that develop alongside the idea of the nation in Europe. As nations in Europe developed strident nationalisms during the Enlightenment, there arose the need to develop narratives of their cultural production. For example, as the discipline of English literature in India evolved out of colonial experiments in education, certain kinds of text included in the syllabus for their "universal values" bolstered the "idea of England" that was disseminated among the people of the colonies. Thus, most literary histories of England demonstrated dominant monolithic English national history.

Literary histories often project a certain notion of the "location" of the literature relative to other literatures, apart from a sense of established canons, genres, forms, influences and critical stances that guide the interpretation of the texts, most students initially use the literary history as a reference book, a sort of methodical introduction to the literature, thereby internalizing many of the biases therein. Thus, the perception of the literary history as a "factual overview" renders it problematic, for it can no more claim objectivity than any other kind of history can. Besides there is the politics of exclusion-texts that are not mentioned in histories of literature that are often "forgotten" as far as university education is concerned. There is a great danger of dominant mainstream approaches colouring such literary histories. The literary history contains within it a notion of literary modernity, and the kind of cultural production that suitably represents that modernity. Unless the existence of alternative modernities is acknowledged, the literary history as a way of narrativizing indigenous production indeed runs the risk of enacting discursive and epistemological imperialism.

Can indigenous epistemology be a basis for rethinking this genre?

The first is an author-centric approach involving an extensive study of the influences, styles, experiences etc. of the authors. Secondly, a culture- specific study of native traditions and movements, such as any tribal culture for reading 'their' texts, taking into considerations new traditions that may be arising. The third aspect is the study of the languages of the writers and how they affect those texts, since even when native writers do not know their native languages, they are often informed politically and aesthetically by their ancestral links. Finally, understanding the reader's reception as a key aspect of research; the differences in response between the literary critic and the general

reader. These become useful not only to those who wish to seriously engage with tribal texts but also to the literary historians' wishing to document the literary production of a particular community.

An encyclopedic coverage of every work is not possible for a single literary history. One possible way of narrativizing without setting up a hierarchy of genres could be the thematic approach. For example; the theme of "land" as a primary spiritual and political concern of indigenous communities can be the central thread running through the literary history. This approach enables one to draw upon a number of texts that would not have been covered, had the notion of the "literary-grandness" been adhered to. Otherwise, works such as the indigenous-authored texts that are usually studied in history, linguistics or anthropology departments can easily be forgotten by the literary historiographer.

The pitfalls that exist for the literary historian are many. The politics of textual mediation can blind the literary historiographer to certain texts that have been rendered less visible or wrongly classified by eminent authors, publishers and editors. One has to bear in mind that the manner in which the books have been published and marketed may be completely different from the way in which tribal writers/ indigenous authors intended them to be. Thus, the book-who the publisher is, what is the nature of the editing and collaboration, for what the book is being marketed for needs clarity.

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RITUAL POSSESSION AND HEALING PRACTICES:
A PERFORMANCE PROCESS

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Ever since Barthalomaeus Zeigenbalg (1869) had opened up avenues in the Ethnographic accounts and study of the south Indian cultural traditions, many other missionaries and scholars started showing great interest in studying the Indian culture at large. It was Zeigenbalg who first mentioned about *devil dancers* in his "Geneology of the Malabar Gods". Then followed anthropological, sociological and other cultural studies on spirit possession and mediumship. Earlier studies especially the western social science reduced this socio cultural phenomenon into problems of psychological pathology and sociological (esp. as a male chauvinistic) hegemony; however, these approaches might be hasty preempting the indigenous expositions, cultural cognitions induced by past traditions, memories and collective archetypal frames.

By contrast, this part is intended to centre on the performative aspects of possession, since performance theory attempts to understand the whole of the event (Claus 1979). The study on ritual possession and healing practices a "process of performance" has been approached in four kinds of research streams (Csordas, 1996:93). While the interpretive anthropology focuses on the theory of performance(Singer1958; Geertz 1973; Kapferer 1979a, 1983), the sociolinguistics focuses on the performance-centred approach(Hymes 1975; Bauman 1975; Ben Amos 1975), the performative utterance approach (Tambiah 1981, Austin1975(1962) and the rhetorical persuasive approach by therapeuticians. All these approaches highlight on the importance of the hermeneutic sense of the context, genre, act and rhetoric. Singer emphasizes that a performance act by creating a specific mood, constantly and intensely (Geertz formulates that "religion acts to establish powerful, pervasive, long lasting moods and motivations…." (1973:30 as quoted in Csordas 1996:92).

Bauman(1975) and Abraham(1968) remark that the performative aspect, "resides in the interplay between communicative resources, individual competence and the goals of the participants within the context of the particular situations". The third stream of research reinforces the blurring lines between 'word' and 'deed' which also includes non-linguistic ritual acts in the analyses.

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The rhetoric aspect of performance theory comes from the results obtained in therapeutic processes of healing. This emphasizes that there exists an analogy between psychotherapy and healing.

However, a synthetic approach to performance would offer analytic criteria to what manner the participants of a ritual healing gets existentially engaged in the healing process; what are the cultural sequences that bind the healer and the participant in the healing process and how does it function in a culture?

Since this part is more concerned about looking at the ritual phenomena from the theatrical and performative aspects, this is enumerated in two parts. The first part would deal with the empirical data available in the Pondicherry region, and the latter part with a theoretical disposition to critically analyse the ritual phenomena.

The ritual healing centres are busy on Tuesdays, Fridays and Sundays, wherein people with their problems of minor illnesses, domestic turmoils, marriage grievances, economic reverses, portentous dream, spirit afflictions and so on. Some healers are available throughout the week days. However, Tuesdays and Fridays are generally prefered by the ritual healers. On these days, the healers will be available in their respective and usual healing centres for their shamanistic and exorcistic performances. Even those ritual healers who live far away from the ritual healing centres, visit the centres on these days. Specifically, even on these days, the midnoon time is scheduled to be the time (usually the prescriptive norm for this specific purpose) of their possession trances, divination and exorcistic performances.

People with their problems gather on these days in the ritual healing centres. They gather from the morning till noon on the days. People from faraway places come to the centre early in the morning or even a day earlier and in such cases they stay in the precincts of the healing centers' vicinity.

From the morning, the healer's assistants start performing some initial preparatory arrangements in the centres. The Assistants are of various types:

1. it may be usually a person who has benefited or intended to benefit from the ritual healer of the deity of that centre who volunteer to do the service of assistance in the centre;

2. the healer himself/herself may appoint a person to mind the preliminary duties in the healing centre on wage basis;

3. the healer may assign one or two persons who had been benefitted or healed by the healer or one who is related to the healer to do some minor services in the centre for a stipulated time. This assignment is considered to be the ritual obeyance to the divine order i.e. the divinity who is sought solace in the healing centre has assigned the duty. This is because, he healer does it when

the initially treats, exorcists or divines a sick person. The patient himself/ herself or some one other than the patient but related to him/her may take the responsibility of offering service in the centre.

However, it cannot categorically be concluded that each healer may have one or more assistants upholding the ritual services. There are also some healers who do not engage such assistants. In one shrine, the daughter of the healer herself engages in doing such auxiliary service of ritual specialist. In another case, the husband is doing it. It is also very important to note that these service assistants are in no way, the novices of healing performance profession. For in not a single case such preparatory course for becoming or initiating youngsters or others at this healing profession. But in so many other cultures vocational processes by which either an individual not in any way related to the healer or the descendant heir of the healer is initiated into this shamanistic profession through this methods. (I.M. Lewis 1960; Ruthe Inge Heinze 1988; and others).

Healing rituals are constituted by chores of rituals. These rituals range from cleansing the shrine, idols of the deities, pouring oil to lamps, lighting camphor balls, decorating the idols with flowers, neem leaves and the ritual entry into trance and possession, divining and exorcising. In this chorus of rituals, it is not only the healer is important, but partly the part of auxiliary ritual assistants, clients or the public is having their lot. The initial preparation for the shamanistic performance is done by the ritual assistants along with the help of some others.

On the stipulated days, from the morning, people begin to assemble in the centre. The healing centre, when it has a pucca building structure with doors will be opened. An initial burning of camphor and waving the fire for the idol is done. Surrogate sacrifice with a pumpkin filled in with vermilion or lemons dipped in vermilion are cut into pieces, squeezed and thrown in four directions. The whole are cut into pieces, squeezed and thrown in four directions. The whole shrine premises is cleaned. All the things that are used in the previous ritual sessions are removed. The flowers, the lemons in front of the idols, on the *cu:lams* are removed. The *pa:va:ṭai* (the ritually yellow/ saffron colour dress)worn on the idols are removed. The idols, icons, stones (representing the deity), the trees (standing as a representation of one of other deity), the metal *cu:lams* are all given a bath. In some places the idols, *cu:lams* are given baths in oil, curd, fruit juices, milk, tender coconut juice, ghee and so on one after the other. Usually the neem tree, representing a deity will be given a wash. Simultaneously, the left out offered food, dried flowers are also removed. The main and presiding deitys' idol which is generally called the *mu:la teyvam* receives a special attention. This *mu:la teyvam* or *mu:lavar* gets prime care and attention in the preparatory ritual chorus. The *mu:lavar* may be stone statue

with roughly or clearly hewn images, a wooden statue or a metallic statue. In the cases where the *mu:lavar* is a mere stone without any anthropomorphic figurine engraved on it, the special making of the deitys' face is done. This is usually done with the sandal paste. Over this sandal paste, small metallic plates with the shape of face, ears, mouth, nose and eyes are fixed parts which are donated ones by the public. Thus a clear face of the deity is made. This will form the *mu:lavar*.

Following this cleaning, a ritual bath, the oil lamps in the temple are poured with oil and lighted. One shrine may have more than one oil lamps. Among the oil lamps, the oil lamp in the form of *kuttu viḷakku* is kept in front of the *mu:lavar*. This light is lighted first. The lighting of lamps, receives special significance. This lamp is lighted with fire. i.e., the camphor fire by which the *mu:lavar* is given the prime and initial obeisance. Fresh flowers are kept for the idols. This flower may be bought for the shrine at the cost of the ritual healer. The flowers brought by the people also are made use of for the purpose. Surrogate sacrifice in lemons or pumpkins is offered.

By this time, many clients would have assembled in the centre. They will be generously contributing flowers, oils, lemons to offer the divinities. They will be used for that. The assistant will also receive money from the clients and distribute chits of token to them. This money is collected as the ritual consulting fee. The amount collected as consultation fee varies from Rs. 5/- per head to Rs. 10/- The clients are attended to in priority on the first come first served basis. The assistants also procure some bunches of fresh neem leaves for the ritual performance.

Once these initial preparations are over, the core ritual is expected for. The ritual healer arrives at the centre. If the healer resides within the vicinity of centre, he/she takes a bath. The dress of the healer who leads the ritual performance is significantly remarked with special type. The colour of the dress will usually be: yellow, red, saffron, green or blue coloured dresses. Male healers usually wear dhoti on their warts and remain bare in chest on wear a shirt. Women healers wear a sari and blouse. They flung the hair on the shoulders, back and front.

If the men healers do not wear a shirt he is seen with sacred ash paintings on the chest, forearms, neck, forehead and on the bindams One healer, who is employed in a private industry, comes to the centre for ritual performances after his routine duty. So he is seen to be wearing a pant and a shirt. He serves in the centre with the pants and shirts. And whereas when he is on rest without his routine duty he changes to a dhoti and shirt. However, it was striking to note one particular healer, who was wearing a sari and blouse. His transvestite behaviour is interesting.

As the healer makes his entrance into the centre he/she makes camphor fire offering with a bell ringing and *kaṉikka:vu* (surrogate blood sacrifice) one healer was particular in lighting a camphor and offering fire wave to the idol, holding the fire on his palm, while this marks a difference, all other fire offering by others are done having the camphor fire on a special plate meant for it.

These initial ritual preparations are a prelude for the whole ritual performance. The ritual healer is ritually and psychologically ready for getting into trance and to uphold ritual divining and exorcist performances. In some centres, the healers hold bunch of neem leaves in one hand and metalilc *cu:lam* on the other hand or a bamboo stick (pirampu) instead of *cu:lam*. The neem leaves are intended to beat or to pat the sick persons. The stick or the *cu:lam* are also used to touch or beat the sick patients. In one centre, the healer bears the whip on his shoulders.

Simultaneously, the assembly gathered in the centre is eagerly awaiting the descent of the deity on the healer, i.e. the possession trance of the healer. The healer's physical and contextual exegesis is the next step in the dramatic sequence that elevates the healer to the theatrical domain. This sequence of actions makes his enter into an imaginary plane. But this imaginary plane is not treated in the common parlance as an imaginary one but a real state in which the divinity descends into the being of the healer and communicates through him/her. As a prelude to this divine drama, the real realm of the centre and the psychological realm of the public are slowly shifted to comprehend the divine drama as a real one. The descent of the divinity into the being of the healer and interacting with the assembly is treated as performance, i.e., as a 'purposive, contextually situated interaction'. In this framed enactment, the present circumstances and mundane problems get fused with the past traditions and memories. The following paragraphs will enumerate this dramatic enactment.

Every individual healer differs in the way of getting into the dramatic enactment of embodying the divinity. At the outset the common features are described. The idiosyncratic and special features are described later.

As the initial preparation of cleaning the centre, lighting the lamps, offering food to the deities are over, the healer in the ritual costume, lights camphor, offers a '*ti:pa:ra:taṇai*' to the *mu:lavar* and the other divinities in the centre. The whole assembly is silent, the incense sticks emitting smoke, and the musical sound of the traditional percussion instruments of *pampai* and *uṭukkai* (not in all incidents) is vigorously played. The healer closing his eyes in front of the *mu:lavar*, stands or sits squatting. The healer shows signs of yawning, a few deep yawning with noise. It may continue for a minute or a few, some healers, together with the deep yawning, gnash their teeth violently, throw staring looks; they twist the body, keeping the heads straight upwards through the head. They

slowly begin to tremble with teeth gnashing, shout aloud or make loud yelling. They wave the hands here and there and make loud noise; suddenly the assistant or someone from the assembly forcibly inserts a bunch of neem leaves in the hands of healer. Also the healer begins to make dancing steps and literally starts dancing. The women healers dance vigorously with their unhavelled hair disorderly flunging downwards. The women dancers sometimes rotate their upper body alone together with the head violently.

This episode is followed by clear words and utterances. The earlier unmarked signs of yawning, gnashing the teeth, yelling gets changed to a marked oral utterances. The utterance generally is concerned about how the people are? How do they offend the deity and other? It shows disappointments about the worldly treacherous and maliciousness of the people. Immediately the assistant would respond to her questions. From the gathering one or two would slowly pour down their sorrows and miscries. It is the clear sign when the healer utters some oral statements that the deity has descended on the healer and uttering divine oracles. Then the whole ritual enactment begins.

The ritual healer is given a bunch of neem leaves on the right hand and *cu:lam* or a whip or a *pirampu* is given in the left hand. The healer with these things on its hands is taken or goes to the *kuṟime:ṭai*. The kuri me:tai is either the floor space in front of the *mu:lavar* or a special space of room or a wooden plank or raised platform which is just near the *mu:lavar*. One or two healers have separate rooms as *kuṟi me:ṭai*.

In the sequential process of getting into trance for the healer, in some healing centres there are seen, other minor ritual forms. They are prayer offering in the form of a litany. One main person recites a phrase and all the assembly responds with a fixed phrase. The lead reciter, praises the deity in the lead to which the assembly responds. "Om! Sakthi! Om!" This prayer may be recited for 108 or 1008 times. While reciting the prayer, the assembly is given a small amount of vermilion. Each member of the assembly, throws the vermilion while responding over the *mu:lavar* or throws in a separate paper dish. This vermilion is believed to possess special powers and this vermilion is taken back home by the assembly as the *piraca:tam*.

In some other centres, for special occasions a fire pit is made. An opening fire with camphor is grown by ghee and some sticks (the sticks are usually of neem tree, banyan tree, pipal tree and so on). The opening fire is brought from the opening light obescience offered to the deity by the healer. This light is transferred to the oil lamp that is burning before the *mu:lavar*. The fire pit constantly is fed by sticks, ghee, fruits, betel nuts, lemons, oranges, pongal, jaggery and other items that are usually offered to deity. This fire is called '*agni kuṇṭam*' or '*ya:kam*'. While the agnikuntam fire is being fed, a prayer session of

recitation of a litany, or singing songs or bhajans is going on simultaneously. At one point, the healer enters into ec-static flight.

One particular healer, who is known for his extraordinary fetes, transvestite features already mentioned, pierces his thick muscles beside the knee or in the muscle of the fore arms with needles or *cu:lam*s or a spear (*ve:l*, - the weapon of Lord Muruga). These needles, *cu:lam*s or spears are already pierced with lemons. There is seen sometimes blood oozing out from the penetrated points on the muscle which is blocked by smearing the sacred ash. This piercing the muscles is called '*ceṭal po:ṭutal*' sometimes he pierces his tongue with a *cu:lam* or a spear.

After these extra-ordinary physical mortifications, the healer shows signs of possession. Once he enters into possession trance, he leaves to this chamber of *kuṟime:ṭai* to give divinations. Two male healers are noted for standing on a nailed bed in trance. The nailed bed is wooden blank on which hundred and thousands of nails are fixed. The pointed edges of the nails are facing upward. The healers stand on the pointed edges of the nails on barefoot and sometimes jump over the nails. There is also kind of wooden sandal with pointed nails. This pointed nail bed is called '*a:ṇip paṭukkai*'

The whole episode of divination, healing rituals, and exorcism takes place, while the healer tramps the *kuri me:tai* the nailed bed usually denotes the other form of *kuri me:ṭai*.

The possession drama, enacted in the ritual contexts need not be always successful. Most probably, all the possessions session would be successful in embodying the deity and divination processes. But in some cases the possession enactment fails or delayed. With all the ritual preparations and creating a conducive climate, the healers do not get possessions at the stipulated time. Sometimes, the whole ritual time goes without any possession drama. Likewise, the deity characterizes that performance acts by creating a specific mood, constantly and intensely. Geertz defines that these acts induce establishing powerful, pervasive and long lasting moods and motivations (1973:30), Bauman (1975) and Abrahams (1968) remark that the performative aspect "resides in the interplay between communicative resources, individual competence and the goals of participants within the context of particular situation. The third steam of research enforces the blurring lines between 'word' and 'deed'! This also included non-linguistic ritual acts in the analyses. This aspect of performance theory comes from the results obtained in therapeutic process of healing. This emphasizes the analogy between psychotherapy and healing.

However, a synthetic approach would offer analytic criteria as to what manner the participants of a ritual healing get existentially engaged in the healing proves and what are the cultural sequences that bind the healer and the

participants in the healing process and how does it function in a culture? This part aims to draw an analogy between the ritual possession healing practices and a theatrical performance. The ritual healing practice is an indigenous health care systems, that needs to be comprehended within the context of cultural traditions. This health care system can be seen as a sequence of ritual performance, in analogous with a theatrical performance. The ritual performance involves the sick people, who are culturally conceived to be the possessor of an evil spirit or somehow affected by the ill effects of a body of evil spirit, the participation of a ritual healer and the body of cultural cosmology of the people.

The ritual role and function of a shaman or the medium needs to be understood from the cultural cognitive frameworks and worldviews of the people. As reflected by the possessed mediums and the people in general, mediums are the so called 'god persons' or the intermediaries who are wished by the supernatural divinities to save people and the world. Spirit medium ship is provided social sanctions and legitimacy to perform ritual activities for individuals and the society. Hence, these mediums are treated to be the ritual intermediaries between the human domain and the divine domain or to put it the other way, this physical world and the metaphysical world.

Mediums claim social legitimacy and approval by exhibiting certain extra-ordinary fetes specifically meant to symbolize them as intermediaries between the physical world and the metaphysical world. The mediums' prime exhibition lies in entering into an abnormal state of consciousness. This is called trance, i.e., an altered state of consciousness in which the medium symbolically or ritually possesses or stands in possession of a supernatural divinity. The medium in such altered form of consciousness performs divination which is indigenously called kuri. The physical changes the medium incurs upon him/ her add a symbolic note on their ritual role. The dress pattern, costumes (matted hair/ beard/ clean shaven assorted coloured dress) are looked upon by the people as if it is something non-humans and something that is associated with superhuman beings, certain physical mortifications like lacerating with swords. Piercing the spears through the tongue, thighs, arms and shoulder backs, sitting, walking or standing on nailed/thorny beds and walking or standing over fire and burning themselves, whipping themselves and observing celibacy/ abstaining from sex, fasting add to believe in the extra-ordinar powers of the mediums. Some such activities called "tricks of the trade' (Kleinmann 1980) are manifestations of frenzied performances of self mortifications.

Culturally, the social domain in which the individuals and the society live is construed to be a harmonious whole either socially or psychologically. Any breach in the peacefulness of individuals or families or society is cognized to be caused by the intervention of somebody or some supernatural entities into the

individual or social self. Any disharmony noticed in peace, love, domesticity in the social domain is to be warded off so as to keep the human domain culturally harmonious individuals. This disharmony or unhealthy situation gets expressed when an individual or a group of people irrespective of age show palpable hazarduous manifestations in physical health, social behaviours and interpersonal relationships.

The social space i.e., the settlement area of human beings is culturally conceived to be an area well guarded by the body of village pantheon. The *u:rteyvam-s* located inside the settlement and the tutlary or guardian dcities, indigenously called *ellait-teyvam-s* lay a strong protection over the social domain from the evil and malicious spirits and other unfortunate events and diseases. It is the overall cultural comprehension that the settlement area of human beings i.e., the social domain is construed to be a domain of peacefulness, harmony, love, life and domesticity. In contrast, the exterior domain is construed to be the domain of war, violence, death and disharmony. And disharmonious, chaotic situation arising in the social domain due to natural calamities, epidemics and human violence are summoned to the u:r teyvam-s in the form of festivals and other rituals. However, individuals and some families, who show behavioural disorders of physical ailments and so on are considered to be a social and abnormal incidents. Possession traumas and the physical illness, economic crises are thought to be manifestations of some supernatural inflictions. These supernatural inflictions are caused to the individuals either by their violations of social norms knowingly or unknowingly or by some others. Such individuals afflicted in one way or the other are no more treated as normal social members. They are allocated to be social beings and hence are taken to the traditional and ritual practitioners for exorcism and other ritual warding off rituals.

The cultural perspectives on the cosmology of the universe are manifested in the social and the religious institutions. The universe is culturally partitioned into two: (1) This mundane world and (2) the other world or the metaphysical world. The mundane world i.e., the physical world is where the human beings live and the metaphysical world is inhabited by a variety of super natural powers. The whole pantheon of supernatural powers are grouped into one divine pantheon whole which play a vital role in maintaining harmony in the world and protecting the human kind and the other living creatures of the world from disaster and chaos. There are also some other supernatural powers, who are innately and characteristically destructive and malicious in nature. These powers are the spirits of the dead humans, who are variously called *pe:y, muni. pica:cu, mo:kini,* and so on. These two kinds of entities are functionally and characteristically two opposing categories. Both the supernatural categories

descend upon the human beings and act either positively and constructively or negatively and destructively, depending upon the nature of the category of entity that has descended on human beings/ agents. Ritual persons and the mediums are believed to be possessed by the first category of the supernatural entities. Such possessions are legitimate, solicited for the purpose of alleviating human problems. On the contrary, the possession by the unwanted and the malicious spirits i.e., the second category are considered to be unexpected and unsolicited intrusion of the spirits into the lives of the humans. Such unwanted and illegitimate possession on individuals causes disturbances in the harmony of a social being and is regarded negatively with concern and apprehension. It is often reported to be a special form of illness.

However, possession by a divinity or a spirit whether ritual and legitimate or illness and illegitimate is a state of altered consciousness, which defines, the possessed to belong to a nonhuman category. Hence these non-human categories are taken away from the human domain. The mediums adopting an extra-ordinary life style, do live in secluded places. The spirit possessed individuals are removed from the social domain to non-social domain, i,e., usually a village shrine or a ritual healing centre. The mediums usually inhabit in huts, caves or in the shrines or dilapidated structures which are exclusively at the exteriety of the village landscape or characterise the features of exteriety.

The temporal and spatial imageries as manifested in the social economic, religious arenas of the human society reflect the cognitive pattern of the folk of the phenomenon. The spatial and temporal aspects do share a logical co herance with the social life and the cultural behavioural pattern of the people. The physical landscape, and its varied distinct spatial units in the way it had been given significances and prominence in the social cultural behaviours of the people do reflect the long historical, emotional and cultural experiences of the people with them. The spatial consciousness one way or the other gets reflected in all the domains of human behaviours from the macro-level physical distributions of a village landscape to the micro-level distribution in the human dwelling structures and the structures of the divinities, i.e., the shrine or the temple. However, spatial dimensions is not an unilateral one, but it operates in the horizontal and vertical planes (Helms 1988:4 and Nicole Bourque 1994: 230)

The temporal aspects of the phenomenon characterize another significance in the ritual phenomenon. All the sprit possession cases manifest that spirits attack occur at some specific times i.e., the moon and the midnight. When the victims are one way or the other occupy the liminal territories at the liminal periods are affected by the sprits. This particular and specific temporality marks, in the cultural life of the people of malevolent spirits, pe:y,

ghosts are actively bowering over with hunger and thirst. The temporal and spatial aspects get reflected in the organization of healing centres and exorcistic rituals. The physical location of the healing centres is always seem either at the periphery of the village, settlement area. When such rituals are done ivethin the inhabited area i.e., the individual dwelling house, a specific area of chamber or hall is specifically demarcated for the purpose. Also the specific spatial realm is symbolically enmarked with a cow-dung cleansing and other symbolic acts.

The whole sequence of ritual possession and ritual healing practices takes place in the exterior domains of the village landscape. The ritual healing practices take place in a ritual healing centre which are seen outside the settlement are or at the cremation grounds. Following an initial ritual preparations, the healer in an extraordinary state gets into a possession trance. He, in such trance states and during the ritual activities occupies a specific space, a demarcated space of bare ground, a wooden platform, a fire bed or a nailed bed. This space denotes a symbolic space, where in the divinity descends on the healer. The healer performs his oracle utterances, ritual gestures from this specific space. The sick also, is expected to occupy another demarcated space while attending the healing session wherein only the evil, malicious powers are encountered (exorcised) by the healer. The ritual objects like sacred ash, water, neem leaves, incense sticks, sticks (*Pirampu*), sword, spears are used by the ritual healer. The healer in the trance state, encounters the malicious powers possession the sick through oral interrogations. She/he makes the malicious spirits speak out, express its origin/identity, characters, grievances and purpose of possessing the individual. And finally the healer orders the vacation of the spirit from the individual. In such an encounter with the possessed spirit, the healer may happen to use violence and harsh oral abuses and statements against the spirit. The physical violence with a whip, fire stick spears inevitably will do harm the possessed individual, though it is intentionally, in the initial exorcism, directed towards the possessed entity. The physical violence and oral harshness depends upon the nature and vigour of reaction exhibited by the possessing spirit through the possessed individual. As a token of expelling out the unwanted spirit from the sick, the healer cuts a piece of hair from the cortex of the sick and nails it down on a tree especially a tamarind tree which is present at the exterior part of a village landscape.

Ritual performance is a complex whole of verbal utterances, ritual acts, physical gestures, ritual objects, manipulating them, physical and temporal aspects and so on. This ritual core in the healing practices has a theatrical or dramatic quality.

"The theatrical strategy refers to the way in which means are used within a performance to accomplish theatrical intentions. Theatrical strategies may be

to some degree programmed into the "Script" or "scenario" of a performance. This phenomenon has been analyzed by many symbolic anthropologists who sought to explain the transformative power of rituals mainly by following the strategic transformative power of rituals mainly by following the strategic transformations outlined in their symbolic structures, scripts o tests" (e.g., Gell 1975, Block 1992, Munn 1986, Bathaglia 1990). But in the ritual performances, the most subtle theatrical strategies lie outside the script, the activity of participants, creation of a series of domains and constantly manipulating these domains by destroying one, creating another in the sequence and juxtaposing one another in the performance. Thus the performance is kept intact and progressive. From moment to moment the healer strategically modulates the quality of interactions by constantly cutting across a series of domains (theatrical).

Thus the performance of ritual possession and ritual healing within the context of society seems to be a constant and continuous juxtaposition of domains and ultimately the performance places actor, the one acted on in his/her right domain. The healer from his ritual status travels through the right domain. The healer from his ritual status travels through the "hyper-ritual domain", through the possession trauma and the whole gestures, his manipulating acts of gestures, objects things, spaces and the lay humans are the a sequence of theatrical strategy provides a cultural dramatic event. This dramatic event placed at the particular cultural and ritual mood, transforms the ritually or symbolically misplaced identity (or a schizophrenic individual) and re-instates the initial and original social being through, throwing him or her into a pair of shifts from the real domain to the "ritual" and "hyper ritual domains". The spirit afflicted person who was deranged from the social domain is restored his/her original social status.

The whole series of ritual performance involving human beings, objects, temporal and spatial moods, are juxtaposed in a cultural setting. This juxtaposing of various aspects sets the core of rituals an actively moving theatrical performance.

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CO-ORDINATION IN HINDI

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1.0 Introduction

For a variety of reasons, the "co-ordination construction" is of special importance for general linguistic theory and studies. It is universal feature of all natural languages too. Grant Goodall[1] defines co-ordination as an union of two phrase markers. On the other hand Simon C. Dik (1968) defines co-ordination construction by stating that—"Co-ordination is a construction consisting of two or more members which are equivalent as grammatical Function, and bound together at the same level of structural hierarchy by means of a linking device. "One of the earliest approaches to Co-ordination was what is often called-derived conjunction'. (Glitman 1965)

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is a good example of this)[2]. Under this view, the grammar contains a rule
which conjoins sentences and a rule or set of rules which deletes identical
elements of the conjoined sentences and regroups what is left. There is
another kind of co-ordination i.e phrasal co-ordination is that co-ordination
which is conjoined at the phrase level. Hindi phrasal co-ordination and its
constituents can be exemplified like this:

    1. (s(vp(ram aur mohan) ja-te) hɛn)

           np coj. Np   go-hab.   aux
    (ram and mohan go.)

    Derived co-ordination is that co-ordination which is derived by phrasal
co-ordination. Hindi derived co-ordination can also be exemplified as
follows.—

    1(a) ((((ram) ja-ta) hɛ)) aur (((mohan)ja-ta) hɛn.)

          s np   vp   co s np   vp
      ram go-hab aux and mohan go aux
      (Ram goes and mohan goes.)

    In the sentence above the verb is showing agreement with third
person masculine singular form whereas sentence (1), after co-ordination
has taken place at two subject levels. The verb shows agreement
according to conjoined phrasal subject. Hindi has three variable word for
and (aur), In common use, 'aur' is more accepted than other two 'taθa'
and 'euam'. For the above sentence (1), If we use 'taθa' (and) co-ordinator,
it will be least accepted whereas 'euam' is less accepted in spoken form
because it has been directly taken from Sanskrit terms. Moreover, there is
another Hindi conjunct 'ua' that is directly derived from Persian Language
as quoted by K.P. Guru (1925) in Hindi Vyakaran.

    (a). ram taθa mohan jate hɛn. .... (least accepted)

    (b). ram euam mohan jate hɛn. .... (less accepted)

    (c). ram aur mohan jate hɛn. .... (fully accepted)

    (d). ram ua mohan jate hɛn. .... (very less accepted)

    When feminine noun word conjoins, the subject-verb agreement in
the sentence remains the same whereas conjoined masculine phrase
changes into plurals. Examples in this regard can be seen here. ....

    2. (a) sɪta ja-tɪ hɛ.

        Sita go-hab aux.
        (sita goes.)

(b) raðʰa ja-tɪ hɛ.

Radha go-hab aux.

(radha goes.)

Conjoined sentence will become--

raðʰa aʊr ʃɪta ja-tɪ hɛn

Radha and sita go-hab aux.

(radha and sita go.)

An example from masculine subject-verb agreement can also be seen here. For instance-

4. (a) ram ja-ta hɛ

ram go-hab aux

(Ram goes)

(b) ʃʏam ja-ta hɛ

shyam go-hab aux

(shyam goes.)

The co-ordinate sentence will become.........

ram aʊr ʃʏam ja-te hɛn.

Ram and shyam go-hab aux

(ram and shyam go.)

When two noun phrases are of different grammatical gender, agreement problem becomes ambiguous among users (Men and women) of the language. Male and Female gender use their respective mentality when they conjoin two different grammatical gender in the sentence.

5.   (a)   mæne   ðal   kʰa-ʏɪ (feminine)

I   pulse   eat-past

(I ate pulse)

(b)   mæne çaʊal kʰa-ʏe. (Masculine)

I   rice   eat-past

(I ate rice)

The conjoin sentence will be---

mæne ðal   aʊr çaʊal kʰa-ʏe

I   pulse and rice eat-past

(I ate rice and pulse.)

1.1 Theoretical Issues of Semantic Classification

Let us now discuss about theoretical issues. Noam chomsky had taken some English conjoined sentences and laid a condition that such constituents should be of 'same-type'. Many of us are agree with

this view. Same type here connotes about semantic sameness. Having gone through Ross' and chomsky's thesis in detail and refuting that of former totally schater[3] claims that—

"... in addition to identify of syntactic category, identity of semantic function is also pre-requisite for co-ordinate constructions-"

This observations has forces him to develop the co-ordinate constituent constraint as follows—

The constituents of a co-ordinate construction must belong to the same syntactic category and hence the same semantic function. For instance, following sentence shows acceptance and non-acceptance of this type of co-ordinate construction—

6.   (a)   mujʰe raʃte me (satɪʃ aʊr rakeʃ) mɪ-le.

            I   way   in satish and rakesh met-past
            ((satish and Rakesh) met me in the way)
            (*satish and thirty rupees)

Functional structural restriction in co-ordinate is also seen. Therefore, two conjoin phrase must belong to the same semantic function. An example of this type of construction can be seen here.

7.   mæ (ek kɪtab aʊr ek pensɪl) çah-ta hʊn.

   I   one book and one pencil want-hab aux.
            (*ek kitab aur letna)
            (I want a book and pencil)

In transformational generative grammar, conjoined noun phrases have been represented in Tree diagrams and its constituents have also been studied distinctly part by part.

C-command relation may also be understood here. For example

7.   ram aʊr ʃyyam ek-ðʊsre ko çah-te hæn.

            Ram and Shyam each other (anaphor) acc. Like-hab. Aux.
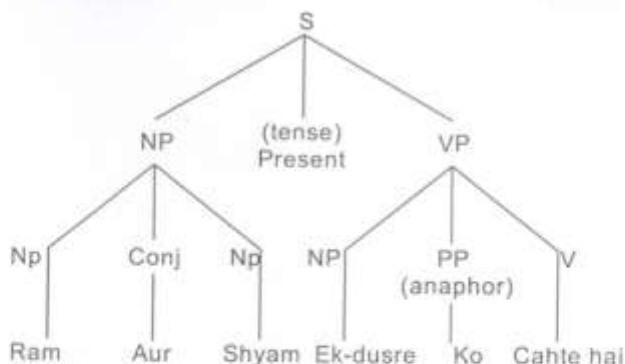
Here, Ram aur Shyam (ram and shyam) c-command its antecedent
(ek dusre ko) as there is rule of c-condition on anaphors—
"an anaphor must have an appropriate c-commanding antecedent"
General definition of c-command is as follows....

X c-command Y if (if and only if) the first branching node dominating
X dominates Y, and X doesn't dominate Y, nor Y dominate X (a branching
node is a node which branches into two or more immediate constituents).

Now, We are looking some different grammatical category and its
conjoined form at the level of syntax and agreement. It will give new
direction to Hindi concord relation.

8.   ram ne bʰɑɪ aur pɪtɑ ko patra lɪkʰ-ɑ (NP and NP)

     ram erg brother and father to letter wrote-past
     (Ram wrote a letter to brother and father)

9.   ram ek dɑɑlu aur açʰɑ vʸaktɪ hæ. (AP and AP)

     ram one kind and good person is (aux,prs)
     (Ram is a kind and good man)

10.   ɪske kʰɪlɑø aur samarθan me tark hæ. (P and P)

     This against and for   in   logic is (aux,prs)
     (There is a for and against logic for this)

11.   mohan paðʰatɑ aur lɪkʰ-tɑ hæ. (V and V)

     mohan read   and write-hab is(aux,prs)
     (Mohan read and write)

12.   ɑp ye   aur ʋo   pustak lɑ   sak-te hæn. (Det and Det)

     you these and those book bring-hab can-cop.
     (You can bring these and those books)

13.ram bahut ðʰɪre aur sauðʰanɪ se kar çala-ta hæ. (Adv arʹd Adv)

   ram very slowly and carefully car drive-hab (aux-prs.)

     (Ram drives very slowly and carefully the car)

1.2 Processes of Co-ordination

Various Processes involved in co-ordination construction can also be seen here-

1. Linearization

Co-ordination in hindi language takes place at the linear phrase level too. Here, the use of co-ordinator is not necessary. User predicts the occurrence in the linear sentence form. For instance-

ram,sɪta, laksʰman uan ko ga-ye.

Ram, sita, lakshman forest to went (Past)

(Ram, sita, lakshman went to forest)

These type of sentential schemata can be represented in linear tree diagram too.
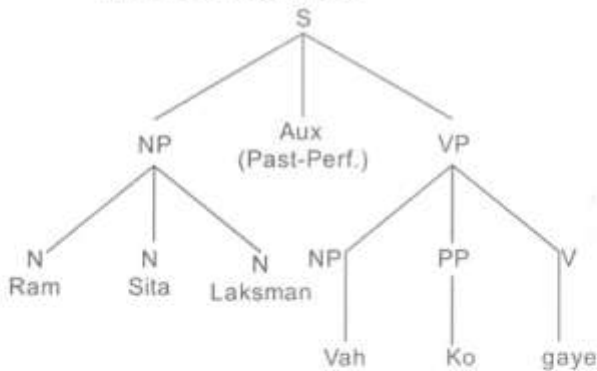
H. (ram, sita, lakshman, van, ko gaye)

E. (ram, sita, lakshman went to forest)

2.   **Juxtaposition**

If the members of co-ordinator are combined by juxtaposition, there is, of course, no explicit indication of the relation holding between them. Juxtaposition may, however, also result in alternative,. adversative, causal or consecutive relations. For the further possibilities, some examples are---

2.1 Alternative

pɑnç,çʰah mɪnat baõ bam   fat   ga-ya.

Five six minute later bomb explode (past)

(five, six minute later the bomb exploded)

2.2 Adversative

yah sasta nahɪ, yah mahaŋa hæ.

this cheap not,   this costly aux. (prs)

(It's not cheap, It's expensive.)

2.3 Causal

ham yahɪ rʋkeŋe : bahʋt garmɪ hæ.

We   here stay-fut. very   costly aux. (prs)

(we shall stay here: It's too warm.)

2.4 Consecutive

tʋm ja-o; ðer ho ja-egɪ

You go-hab; late happen. (fut)

(you go, it be a late)

3.   **Conjoin question words**
       When two question words are conjoined, they make special meaning in the sentence. Such question words in the form of co-ordination can be seen here—
       (a)kab aʋr kanha se   ɑp   a-ye

       when and where from you came (past)
          (when and from where you came)
       (b)kɪsne glas tora aʋr kɪs-se. (inst.)

          who glass broke and what
4.   **Conjunction of reflexives:**
       It has been claimed by lees and klima (1963)[4] that absolute reflexive verbs (marked special) may not be separated from their reflexive objects under conjunction. For example—
       (a) ram ne apane ɑp ka-ta aʋr kʰaronça.

          Ram erg. Himself cut-past and scratched. (past)
          (Ram cut and scratched himself)

(b) ram ne apne apko ma-ra aur pɪ-ta,

    ram   erg. Himself   kick-past and beat (past)
    (ram kicked and beat himself.)

5.   **Gapping**

In this process, one part of the sentence says full sense and structure of the language while other part remain incomplete. For instance---

    (a) ram ne mohan ko bul-uaya aur ʃyam ne raju ko.

        Ram erg mohan acc. Called-caus. and shyam erg. Raju acc.
        (Ram called mohan and shyam , Raju.)

    (b)ram ne pahla kam kɪ-ya aur ʃyam ne ðusra.

Ram erg first work did-past and shyam erg second
    (Ram did first work and shyam econd.)

6.   **Deletion**

In this category of sentences only one process of conjunction works, deleted part does not. If two same type of phrases are are conjoined at the level of function, other part deleted. As—

    ma   so   rahɪ hæ   aur baççɪ bhɪ

Mother sleep cont. aux-prs and child too.
    (Mother is sleeping and child too.)

7.   **Transfer**

Un-identical part of the second sentence transferred into first part when they are conjoined with the same part. For instance—

(a) loha ðhatu hæ.

    Iron   metal   is Aux. (prs)
    (Iron is metal.)

(b)sona ð^{h}atu hæ.

    Gold   metal   Is Aux. (prs)
    (Gold is metal)

when structural part is reduced, it becomes-

(c) loha aur sona ð^{h}atu hæn.

    Iron and gold metal are aux.(prs.pl.)
    (Iron and gold are metal.)

1.3 Types of co-ordination

Four types of co-ordination construction, so far has been discussed in traditional grammar. Hindi follows all four types

of co-rdination construction in its structure.They are being given here in a serial order----

1. Conjunctive co-ordination

When two construction of equal importance can function independently, they can be conjunctively co-ordinated by conjuncts like aʊr (and), aʊr-bʰɪ (and-also), fɪr (then) etc.

An example of this kind of co-ordination can be given here—

                mæne bʰɪkʰarɪ ko rotɪ   aʊr kaprɑ dɪ-yɑ.

                | beggar to bread and cloth give. (past)
            (I gave the beggar bread and cloth.)

2. Disjunctive co-ordination

When two independent constructions are co-ordinated by disjuncts like yɑ 'or' athava 'or' kɪ 'that' nahɪ to 'otherwise' etc. semantically, the two constructions using disjunctive should be contextually related through. They might not have same or identical semantic units, consider the following—

                yɑ tʊm gɑnɑ gɑ-o   yɑ nɑç   dɪkkʰɑ-o

            either you song-imp. sing or dance show. Imp.
                (Either you sing a song or show a dance.)

3. Adversative/ contrastive co-ordination

Adversative constructios as well as contradictory constructions can be co-ordinated by par, lekɪn, or balkɪ etc. consider the following—

        ye   ɑm   mɪtʰe hæn   par vo   ɑm kʰatte hæn.

These mangoes sweet aux prs.pl. but those mangoes are sour aux. prs.pl.

   (These mangoes are sweet but those mangoes are sour.)

4. Causal co-odination

The two independent constructions co-ordinated by causal constructions are semantically related and show cause and effect---

kyonkɪ vo merɑ bhaɪ hæ, mʊjʰe ʊse dɑntane kɑ hak hæ

Because he my brother aux (prs) I him scold gen. right aux (prs)
(Because he is my brother, I have right to scold him)

1.4 X-Bar Syntax and Co-ordination

Jackendoff[6] (1991) says that two exceptionŝ to the theory of phrase structure presented so far is co-ordination. It is generally agreed that the node dominating conjoined NPs is an NP, and so fourth--
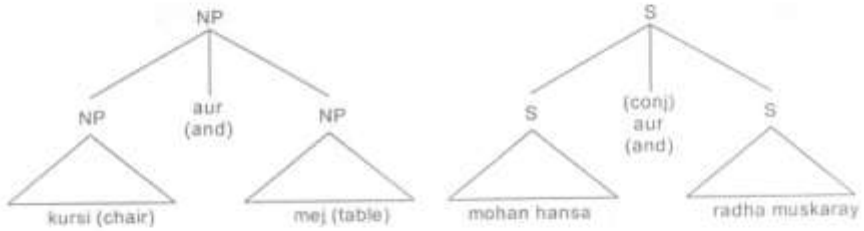

H. Kursi aur mej.
E. Chair and Table

H. Mohan hasa aur Radha muskarayi.
E. Mohan laughed and Radha Smiled.

According to jackendoff, no constituent of a co-ordination construction can be identified as its head. Clearly, a separate phrase structure rule schema is necessary. Following is the possible form...

$$X' \longrightarrow x' \text{—— (conj-x)}^*$$

In x-bar syntax, one more sentence is given for representation.
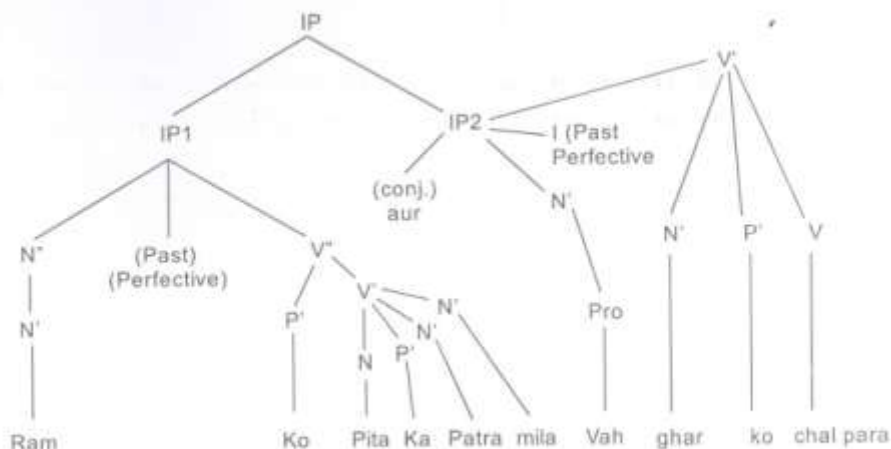
H. Ram ko Pita Ka patra mila aur vah ghar ko chal para.
E. (Ram received the letter of fathar and he moved to home.)

1.5 Conclusion

In this paper I have tried to attempt structural aspect of Hindi co-ordinate sentences. We discussed variety of co-ordinate constructions which may be found in other Indian languages too. It is the inquiry and thrust of this paper. Coordinate constructions are found mostly in all human languages. Examples are taken from English language and have been compared with Hindi. Therefore, contrast of English and Hindi are are also observable in the above instances. We have also tried to construct these sentences in tree diagram from where no difficulty faced to organise these constructions. X-bar syntax is useful approach to set these sentences in formulating such diagrams. Therefore, I come to conclusion that Hindi has possibility to set in new paradigms of inquiry and study.

Foot Notes:

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Karunakaran. K. 1980. "A Study of Social Dialects in Tamil". In Agesthialingom and K.Karunakaran(Eds.) *Sociolinguistics and Dialectology*, 154-68. Annamalainagar: Annamalai University.

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