stage of discussion is that it is not the outer or formal appearance that defines any construction. For example, Sanskrit or Latin verbs “regularly include a subject within their own morphological structure, we call Latin verbs sentence-words. A sentence-word is a word which contains within itself the nuclear construction of the favorite sentence-type of its language” (Hockett. p. 203). Similarly, an expression in Hindi-a: ‘come’ can be interpreted as a sentence, phrase (predicative constitute), morpheme, and even a phoneme, and includes a subject—non-honorific II person singular. As morpheme, phrase, clause, sentence—all are linguistic symbols in their own right, a question of level becomes inevitable in respect of their description and organization.

The lingua-aesthetic approach accepts the notion of hierarchical set up of interlocking levels which a linguistic theory offers with some reservations. But it neither posits the sentence as the largest natural unit nor finds the concept of linguistic competence based on idealized speaker-hearer real to the linguistic theorizing. The recent linguistic advances have shown that we have to describe these linguistic elements which link sentences and establish linguistic patterns which help in defining discourses, episodes, ‘texts’ etc. Accordingly, concepts in linguistic studies in form of inter-sentence grammar or text linguistics have been recently evolved. In all these attempts, linguists were persistently initiated to set a natural unit of language higher than a sentence.

The lingua-aesthetic approach posits Art Symbol—a verbal constitute which is not a constituent (because of self-sufficiency order) as the most natural maximal unit of literary discourse. It is an autonomous constitute constructed on a principle of depth by the units called symbols in art. Symbols in art are constituents of Art Symbols but when defined on its own level, turns out to be constitute constructed out of verbal symbols of discursive order. Thus, we get three distinct organically integrated and hierarchically set levels—level of Art Symbols, level of symbols in Art and level of sentence symbols. What
is being emphasized here is that all the levels and their corresponding units are inherently verbal (linguistic) in nature and the difference in them lies basically in their function.

The function of Art Symbol in its pure form is to express the ‘unlogical mental life’ or ‘to articulate the fabric of sensibility’. As it does not stand for something else, it need not refer us to an object beyond its own existence. It is autonomous because all the conditions or context for its interpretation are built in within itself and hence, it calls attention to its own self. This organic constitute is self-sufficient because it is not a constituent of any further higher level of constitute. Contrary to this a sentence symbol denotes a concept lying outside its domain. In its pure form, it is discursive in nature and stands for something else. For its interpretation, it always seeks information extraneous to its delineation. In between these two levels, is the level of symbols in art which serves dual function—at the lower level it refers to a concept which at the higher level is transformed into the elements of suggestive world of apparition.

One finds, thus, the following three distinct but integrated levels of description of an Art Symbol with their respective units and principles of construction.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Literary</th>
<th>Aesthetic</th>
<th>Expressive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>creation</td>
<td>competence</td>
<td>function</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L—3</td>
<td>Art Symbol</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Communicative</th>
<th>Suggestive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>discourse</td>
<td>competence</td>
<td>function</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L—2</td>
<td>Symbols in Art</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Grammatical</th>
<th>Linguistic</th>
<th>Discursive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sentence</td>
<td>competence</td>
<td>function</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L—I</td>
<td>Sentence Symbols</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

That levels should be defined by the criterion of functional relevance rather than form of the constitute is attested by the fact that like sentence-word one can creatively construe an Art Symbol within an apparent form of a sentence symbol. It is quite possible that a sentence includes a symbol in art which in turn assimilates the nuclear construction of the Art Symbol. The most obvious examples are the types of haiku poems. This
further supports our contention that symbols existing at the three distinct levels of representation may in function perform different roles—expressive, suggestive, or discursive, yet in nature remain invariably verbal in character.

A person's grammatical competence can be said to be a knowledge of set of rules (grammar) which pair semantic and phonetic interpretation. It is creative in a sense that a speaker can produce and a hearer can interpret new sentences beyond his grammatical habit. Communicative competence, apart from the tacit knowledge of set of rules, takes into account an ability for its use as well. As ability for use does not exclude from its domain the role of non-cognitive factors like motivation ‘in speaking competence, it is important not to separate cognitive factors from effective and volitive factors’ (Hymes: 283). The textual competence is concerned with the ability to create and interpret the text, it is an ability to structure the discourse by knowing the rules how to relate each part to the whole of a discourse and to the setting.

Linguists have tried to enlarge the scope of their field in the form of Inter-sentence Grammar or Text-linguistics. Inter-sentence Grammar deals with those linguistic features of a sentence which require reference across the sentence boundary. Text grammar, on the other hand, concentrates on those features which are characteristic of sentence or text cohesion. The area of interest in this respect got concentrated in the field of style study. Style was accepted as those elements of linguistic devices which contrast with ‘paraphrasable content’. It is the way of presenting something in opposition to what is presented. Thus, the function of style was defined as “an emphasis (expressive, affective or aesthetic) added to the information conveyed by the linguistic structure, without alteration of meaning.” (Riffaterre: 413). Operationally the concept of style was said to be selection from “all the choices of equivalent items which the language offers the user in each linguistic situation” (Hill: 1958).
Literary texts differ radically from the spoken discourse; they are differently motivated and highly organized structure in nature. Ordinary language can lead us to incorporeal things (like ideas); they can refer to inostensible facts of our perceptual world. But this language potential in conceiving discursive form fails to express that subjective aspect of our life which is formless and immediate. Literary text is stylized object, i.e. object structured and presented in a form which enables us to contemplate the dynamic nature of ‘felt life’. The point which is to be stressed here is that according to the linguo-aesthetic approach, the style elements which transform the discursive form into art form, or, better we say, which are carrier of subjective aspect of our felt life, are not only grounded in the matrix of discursive form of a language but are elements which never transcend the domain of language.

Even those who analyze literary texts by positing episodes, or events rather than linguistic units basic to the study of the literary content claim to establish the processes analogous to language, i.e. conjoining, transformation, embedding etc. (Chatman 1969, Barth 1966, Todorov 1966). Even if we accept these elements of literature, like motifs, images, plots, character which are entities beyond language and have their own code or system, one may also insist upon the fact that in no case are these beyond the scope of semiotics. It is for this reason that long back Prague Manifesto emphatically asserted—"Everything in the work of art and in its relation to the outside world can be discussed in terms of sign and meaning; in this sense aesthetics can be regarded as a part of the modern science of signs, semiology". As no semiotic entity can have its significance without being fused with language elements and as semiotics itself can be studied meaningfully only in linguistic studies, elements of style may be accepted as basically integrated parts of linguistics.

To analyze a literary text as Sentence Cohesion through stylistic markers is merely the study of textual elements inherent in a work of art and therefore, it does not reveal the
imminent form of art symbol which has been the focal point for literary studies. I contend that a study in form is in no way different from the study of its meant object of which it is a form. In fact the relevance of the study in form configuration becomes more vital when we find that the form is made apparent only in process of the articulation of the experiences which are formless, nameless and defy the range of discursive property of common language. This goes with the general principle of the lingua-aesthetics approach which accepts that a symbol—discursive or organic—is a unity between its form and content. Therefore, form in general, is the relational structure. It is an abstraction about schematized shape from the tangible and concrete instance. The difference between the logical (discursive) and artistic (organic) form lies in the way the 'form' is presented and actualized. The schematized structure (form) in art is presented in a way that it takes visible and tangible shape. It bears the potentiality of perceptual unity. Form in work of art is also an abstraction and it is this characteristic feature which enables the work to be actualized in artistic consciousness of different speakers in different tokens. At the same time as works of art are configuration of sentience and experience, as message to be symbolised and expressed, it is individualized in a way to bear the perceptual unity. More important is the fact that in spite of the abstraction phenomenon, an art symbol presents a form unique to its content. It is for this reason that the art-form is a form of unique specification; it is an abstraction in relational structure not of a 'type' of many-member tokens but of a specific class of one-member unit.

An art symbol is an abstraction in form from the unique and specific events of sentience and experience presentable with a texture with the potentiality of perceptual unity. However, as Ingarden has pointed out, "not all its determinants—components or qualities—are in a state of actuality, but some of them are potential only." An Art Symbol in form is, thus, a potential configuration. The concretion of the work of art is effected with the co-creative activity of a perceiver (or
reader) and an art object is completely actualized only when a perceiver effectively concretizes the potential elements present in the work of art. It is this concretized or actualized art symbol which is generally called an aesthetic object.

An art form is thus an abstract relation with all its potential elements inherently present. An aesthetic competence can be characterized as form realization of an art symbol as well as its concretion by co-creative activity. The lingua-aesthetic approach professes that the form of verbal art symbol is manifested in verbal analogue of apparition of the real objective world. The creation of form is an order which makes the material object unreal in a sense that it becomes unimportant as regards the appearance. It is this phenomenon which has been stressed by literary critics by terms ‘illusion’, ‘fiction’ etc. It is in this sense that Kant held the view that the object of beauty when felt as beautiful may or may not be objectively real. The self-sufficiency criterion of form devoid of its material linguistic substance demands for its aesthetic realization what Schopenhauer has called ‘suspension of the will’. This emphasizes the negation of the world in its material form for an art symbol, and further emphasizing that the appearance of form realization is the inherent phenomenon of the experience. Form in verbal art symbol is, thus, verbal analogue which becomes a reality in itself, negating the material objects of which it is a verbal analogue.

What has been said above about form in art symbol can be summed up in a process phenomenon of three stages (i) articulation of the formless, amorphous sentience and experience (as a function of verbal symbol creation); (ii) stylizing an art object for perceptual receptivity of the dynamic nature of felt life; and (iii) concretion of an art object as an aesthetic experience.

The lingua-aesthetic approach, in fact, provides not only theoretical perspective to the processes in which an aesthetic object is realized but even gives operational tools to analyze the art object inherent in the art symbol.
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THE LAW OF CONVERTIBILITY OF SURDS AND SONANTS OF CALDWELL—RE-EXAMINED

V. I. SUBRAMONIAM
UNIVERSITY OF KERALA

Caldwell formulates a law of convertibility of Surds and Sonants in his *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages*.

For the Sonants and aspirates Tamil/Malayalam use the Surd. The distribution is, that in the beginning of the words when single and in the middle of the words when double the surd (or voiceless stop) is used. In the middle of the words it is a sonant (voiced stop or voiceless fricative-like consonants).

A sonant cannot commence a word nor is a surd admissible in the middle except when doubled (p. 21).

The rule is applied even to compounds: When doubled a surd when single a sonant (p. 22).

Even to the borrowed words from Sanskrit and English the law is made applicable (p. 21).

An exception is c, in which s is found in the initial position also. Colloquial pronunciation sometimes retains this surd. A somewhat similar rule prevails with respect to the strong r of Tamil, which is pronounced as r when single and like ttr when doubled (p. 22).

A general Tamilian law of sound is that nasals will not combine with surds but coalesce with sonants alone. Tamil and other Dravidian languages differ in this respect especially in the borrowings (p. 26).

The law of convertibility can be rewritten with k as an illustration.
Single words

-\( k \) in Tamil/Malayalam fully and
-\( h \) in Telugu Distinct trace in

other Dravidian Dialects.

-\( k-k \) in Tamil

Compound words

-\( 7-g \) As above

-\( g \) in Tamil

-\( h \)

-\( n-g \)

When the law is restated in terms of features it amounts to

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) # { + voiceless } - { - voiceless } -</td>
<td>- { - stop }</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

or

- \{ + voiceless \} - |

or

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(2) # { + voiceless } - { - voiceless }</td>
<td>- { + stop }</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

or

- \{ + voiceless \} - |

For \( r \)

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(3) { + voiceless } { - voiceless } { + stop }</td>
<td>- { - stop }</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

or

\{ + voiceless \} \{ + voiceless \} |

In this initial position of words, + voiceless + stop is written with a single voiceless stop (for instance \( k \)) and in the medial position, + voiceless + stop is written with a
gemination (for instance kk). In the medial position, - voiceless + stop is written with a single voiceless stop (for instance k). This graphemic convention is followed most consistently in Tamil and Malayalam and by and large in Telugu.

To sum (1) Caldwell’s law of convertibility of surds and sonants is applicable only to Tamil and Malayalam and in a few restricted cases to Telugu. He has also stated that there are distinct traces of its existence in the Dravidian dialects. (2) The law is based on contemporary pronunciation of Tamil and Malayalam and in some instances of Telugu. The pronunciation is not restricted to native words but also to loan words borrowed from Sanskrit and English in those languages: and (3) the law is found in individual languages—in one or two fully and in others only traces. If individual Dravidian languages share a law, Caldwell implicitly assumes that it should be considered as a characteristic of the Dravidian family. In other words, what is internally reconstructed in Phonology on the basis of contemporary evidences in individual languages he assumes it to be valid for the whole of the family and therefore should find a place in a comparative grammar.

Of the three, the third one being methodologically important we will examine it in detail. Though cognation is implicitly assumed to be the basis of comparative work by Caldwell, internally reconstructed rules individual languages based on contemporary evidences if shared by other languages of the family are also valid in a comparative grammar. Even when two member languages do not have sufficient cognation, those internally reconstructed rules if shared by them will qualify them to be members of the same family. This stand which is inferred from Caldwell’s statement has some advantages and a few defects.

The sole dependance on Cognates for comparative work is not recognised by Caldwell. Cognition and shared rules are taken into consideration by him while tracing the pre-history of a language. This stand is a sound one because a
fool-proof method has not yet been evolved to sift Cognates from Quasi Cognates. In the languages of the Gypsies in which cognates are fewer, due to constant migration, the shared grammatical rules indicate the affiliation of their language to the Indo-Aryan family. Thus Caldwell's dependence on Cognition and internally inferred rules shared by other members is sound. Some of the internally inferred rules may be due to global rules or due to areal features. To isolate them from the pre-historic rules is not easy. Only knowledge of the global rules and the areal features will help in sifting the internally reconstructed pre-historic rules from others. Thus comparative grammars have to take note of the global and areal features before pin-pointing the rules of pre-history.

The internal reconstruction adopted by Caldwell is defective because it makes use of only contemporary evidences. The reconstruction of earlier pronunciation was not undertaken by him. What is found contemporarily need not be found in the past stage of a language. Hoenigswald indicates two similar phonemic systems shared by languages belonging to two different families. Convergence of languages at a later date is a possibility. It has to be guarded against.

For the phonetic reconstruction of the prephonemes, the Sandhi alternants, variation in readings if written texts are available, patterning of the phonemes, observations of grammarians, alliteration in metre and syllable formation, comparative evidence, absorption of loan words from other languages and vice-versa and simplification of statements are adopted. For reconstructing the sound values of ancient Greek it has been sucessfully accomplished. For other i.e. languages it has not been achieved with the same amount of certainty. In Tamil and Malayalam a sketchy attempt has already been made.

The convertibility of Surds into Sonants in the earlier texts and grammars of Tamil and Malayalam if historically reconstructed would have strengthened Caldwell's statement. The alternants of P ~ V intervocalically as in ceypa ~ ceyyuva
‘they will do’ in the Sangam classics of Tamil may serve as an evidence for the convertibility of Surds and Sonants of a different type because, v is not the sonant of p, in early Tamil. But in other stops like k, c, t it is not quite clear. With R the reconstruction of pronunciation will show that it was a stop intervocalically and not a trill. Unless the historical reconstruction is attempted the law of convertibility will have only contemporary validity with no significance for the history of the member languages or for the pre-history of the family.

The purpose of this short article is to point out the restricted potentiality of the law of the convertibility of Surds and Sonants in Dravidian and its methodological advantages and defects. The law of Caldwell is actually a statement of allophonic complementation. It is sub-phonemic and hence it is phonetic. Unless rigorous recovery of the Phonetic substance of the pre-phonemes of individual languages or the proto-language is attempted it will remain as an allophonic statement for one or two languages. Also in those Dravidian languages in which voiceless and a stop are constrastive, the law will not work as is evident from Toda, Kurukh, Brahu. Even in Modern Tamil and Malayalam the assignment of – voiceless + stop as an allophone of voiced stop phoneme or voiceless stop phoneme is disputed because of the overlap. Hence even in the modern Dravidian languages a reworking of Caldwell’s statement is urgently called for.

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VOWEL SPLITS IN JAFFNA TAMIL

S. SUSEENDIRARAJAH

UNIVERSITY OF SRI LANKA

Sri Lanka Tamil (ST) presents four major socio-regional varieties, namely Jaffna Tamil (JT), Batticaloa Tamil (BT), Sri Lanka Indian Tamil (SIT) and Sri Lanka Muslim Tamil (SMT). Of these BT, SIT and SMT can be grouped together on the basis of certain similarities and it is interesting to note that these three dialects share several features in common with the mainland Indian Tamil (IT) as against JT which stands out as a distinct dialect from all others in spite of its close location (geographically) to IT, the width of the intervening sea at the narrowest point in the northern province being only about 20 miles.

An attempt is made in this paper to present within a structural framework the vowel splits that have taken place in JT and to compare them wherever possible with those of IT. A study of this kind, it is hoped, will be helpful in tracing the nature of the early affinity among the various Tamil dialects.

The following are the vowel phonemes of JT.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short</th>
<th>Long</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>i:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>e:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>œ</td>
<td>œ:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

i, i:, œ and œ: are considered marginal phonemes and hence given within parentheses. The occurrence of [i], [i:], [œ] and [œ:] can be conditioned except in a couple of items where the conditioning factors have been lost due to subsequent phonological changes and thus bringing them into contrast. Similarly the occurrence of [œ] and [œ:] can also be
conditioned but when compared with [i], [iː], [ə] and [əː], the former set of contrasts occurs with a higher frequency. Here again the development of these contrasts are mostly due to the dropping of a following phoneme which otherwise would have been the conditioning factor.

IT as described by Shanmugam Pillai (henceforth Pillai 1971: 297-303) has the following vowel phonemes:

Oral

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short</th>
<th>Long</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>iː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ē</td>
<td>ēː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>eː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>uː</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Nasa l

~ co-occurring with I, Iː, ē, ēː, o, oː and aː.

As in the case of certain other dialects of Sri Lanka Tamil, in IT also there are dialects in which ē, ē, and o (both short and long) have not gained phonemic status. The underlying pattern however seems to be a five-vowel system/ɪ e u o a/ shared by all the dialects.

At the outset it is worth noting, an allophonic feature which occurs exclusively in IT: front vowels and back vowels other than a and aː occurring word-initially take [y] and [w] as on-glides respectively. This feature is significantly absent in all the dialects of ST except SIT.

The vowel splits may be now considered in JT and IT. The Proto-Dravidian (Burrow and Emeneau 1961: 11), old Tamil and modern literary Tamil agree in their phonemic entities—/i e u o/ short and long and these have been taken here as the basis for the explanation of the splits.

/ɪ before a retroflex consonant or the sequence —rV

iː elsewhere

e.g.,

iṭi  > ṭi  ‘pound’
iṉamku > ṭiṇamkī  ‘agree’
kiļi > ǩiļi 'parrot'
kiņni > ǩiņni 'vessel'
iɾa > iɾa 'die'
niram > n̄irAm 'colour'
ini > ini 'henceforth'

Examples of contrast:

paṭikkə 'study'
paṭikkə 'lie down'
tikkə 'direction'
ṭkkə 'difficulty'
makki 'gravel stone'
makki 'stupid'

Contrast between i and ɨ is observed here only in the non-initial position of words. This contrast is due to the split of u into ɨ.

The form ṭkkə usually occurs as a part of a compound, e.g., ṭkkə mukki 'great difficulty'.

\[ i : before \text{ a reflex consonant or the sequence } - r V \]
\[ i : elsewhere \]

\[ \text{e.g.,} \]

i : ṭu > ɨ : ṭɨ 'mortgage'
ṿi : ṇ > ṿi : ṇ 'vain'
ti : ṭṭu > ṭi : ṭṭi 'sharpen'
ki : ral > ǩi : ral 'piece'
ni : l̄am > n̄i : l̄Am 'length'
ni : lam > ni : l̄Am 'blue'

Examples of contrast:

ni : kkə 'to remove'
m̄l : kkə 'to redeem'
ci : kkə 'whistle'
ci : kkə 'immature palmyra fruit'

Contrast between i : and ɨ : is observed only in the initial syllable of words. ɨ : never occurs word-finally.
The corresponding literary form of mi: kkǝ ‘to redeem’ is 
mi: ūka, infinitive form of mi: ū ‘redeem’. i : > ū : would have 
occurred before the regressive assimilation of ū took place. 
Thus mi: ūka > mi: ūk > mi: kk. Historically a retroflex, 
namely ū is lost in ci : kkǝ < ci : kkay. The corresponding 
literary form of ci : kkǝ is ci : kkay.

\[ u \quad \text{u in the initial syllable} \]
\[ ū \quad \text{ū elsewhere} \]

e. g.,

\[ \text{uṭukku} \quad > \quad \text{uṭikk}\]  
\[ \text{ka : ūtu} \quad > \quad \text{ka : ūt} \]  
\[ \text{paṭukkay} \quad > \quad \text{paṭikkǝ} \]  
\[ \text{uṇṭu} \quad > \quad \text{uṇṭ} \]  

‘small drum’    
‘forest’    
‘bedding’    
‘exist’

Examples of contrast:

\[ ūt \quad \text{‘place’} \]
\[ uṭ \quad \text{‘dress’} \]
\[ kikk \quad \text{‘lying down’} \]
\[ kuṭe \quad \text{‘umbrella’} \]
\[ mıkAm \quad \text{‘finger-nail’} \]
\[ nukAm \quad \text{‘yoke’} \]

Historically ū is found to occur in Tolkaappiyam as 
kūṭiyalukaram ‘shorter u’ (see Tolkaappiyam Eluttatikaaram 
sutra 36, 407) but then it was not phonemic. It occurred finally 
after k, c, ū, t, p and ū in forms having more than two syllables. 
It also occurred in the initial syllable in the form ūṇṭay ‘your 
father’ (Ibid sutra 67).

The contrast between u and ū in JT is confined only to the 
non-final positions of words—mostly in the initial syllable of 
simple words. The contrast is mainly due to i > ū in certain 
environments.

VOWEL SPLITS IN JAFFNA TAMIL

B.U./S.K.C. Com. Vol./29-17
The splits of i and u have merged and this merger may be illustrated as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
  \text{i} \\
  \text{i} \\
  \text{I} \\
  \text{u} \\
  \text{u}
\end{array}
\]

The corresponding literary form of nǐkAm ‘finger-nail’ is nakam. This seems to be a solitary instance where a > I.

Based on Pillai’s data (1962) Bright (1972: 36) shows a final contrast between u and I in JT. Cited examples are udI ‘that one’ and nanrru ‘good’. Bright further observes that JT “shows enunciative I in some instances, but contrastive u is also recorded......we may suppose that the dialect has fairly numerous cases of basic u in final position, but that consonant-final stems add enunciative [ I ]’. It may be pointed out here that there is no contrast between u and I word-finally in JT. The example shown by Pillai, namely nanrru is a highly literary form* that never occurs in the spoken dialect. It may also be pointed out that even in reading literary Tamil word-final -u is invariably pronounced as [I] by JT speakers.

\[
e \begin{cases} 
  \text{a before a retroflex consonant, p k v m and the sequence-rV} \\
  \text{e elsewhere}
\end{cases}
\]

e.g.,

\[
\begin{array}{lcl}
etu & > & əṭI \\
\text{el} & > & əllI \\
\text{eppaṭi} & > & əppaṭi \\
\text{ekku} & > & əkkI \\
\text{evan} & > & əvan
\end{array}
\]

‘take’
‘gingely’
‘how’
‘draw the stomach in’
‘who’
emmatu > emmati ‘how much’
egi > ori ‘throw’
vekir > vækir ‘rash’
eli > eli ‘rat’

In eppen ‘little’, the change e > a has not taken place, eppen does not occur in literary Tamil. Its etymology also remains uncertain. It is likely that this form was introduced into this dialect after the change e > a / -p had taken place.

Examples of contrast:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>eppen</td>
<td>‘little’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>appa</td>
<td>‘when’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ave</td>
<td>‘they’ (human)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avə</td>
<td>‘she’ (honorific)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>veppAm</td>
<td>‘we will place’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vəppAm</td>
<td>‘heat’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The corresponding literary forms of veppAm and vəppAm are vayppoːm and veṭpam respectively. As a result of the split of e contrast between e and a is observed in non-final positions, mostly in the initial syllable of words. As a result of final a > a, contrast between e and a is observed in all the positions of words.

The split of e and a > a (in certain environments) have merged and this may be illustrated as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a} & \rightarrow \text{a} \\
\text{e} & \rightarrow \text{a} & \text{e} & \rightarrow \text{e} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[\hat{\text{e}} : \text{before a retroflex consonant, p k v m and the}
\text{sequence-rV}
\]

\[\text{e} : \text{elsewhere}\]
e. g.,

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{e : } \dot{tu} & \rightarrow & \text{ə : } \dot{t} \text{x} & \text{‘old-manuscript’} \\
&\text{ve : } \dot{v} \text{vi} & \rightarrow & \nuə \text{ : } \dot{v} \text{vi} & \text{‘animal-sacrifice’} \\
&\text{e : } \ddot{p} \text{am} & \rightarrow & \text{ə : } \ddot{p} \text{Am} & \text{‘belching’} \\
&\text{e : } \ddot{k} \text{am} & \rightarrow & \nuə \text{ : } \ddot{k} \text{Am} & \text{‘anxiety’} \\
&\text{e : } \text{val} & \rightarrow & \text{ə : } \text{val} & \text{‘errand’} \\
&\text{ve : } \ddot{m} \text{pu} & \rightarrow & \nuə \text{ : } \ddot{m} \ddot{f} \text{x} & \text{‘margarine’} \\
&\text{ce : } \ddot{r} \text{u} & \rightarrow & \text{cə : } \ddot{r} \ddot{f} \text{x} & \text{‘mud’} \\
&\text{te : } \text{n} & \rightarrow & \text{te : } \text{n} & \text{‘honey’}
\end{align*}
\]

Examples of contrast:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{e : } \ddot{p} \text{Am} & \rightarrow & \text{we will deceive’} \\
&\text{ə : } \ddot{p} \text{Am} & \rightarrow \text{‘belching’} \\
&\text{te : } \ddot{p} \text{pan} & \rightarrow \text{‘he will rub’} \\
&\text{tə : } \ddot{p} \text{pan} & \rightarrow \text{‘father’}
\end{align*}
\]

The corresponding literary form of e : \ddot{p}Am is e : yppo : m. ke : \ddot{p}e ‘a variety of cow’ is a recent innovation, the variety of cow itself being a recent import. Now ke : \ddot{p}e contrasts with kə : \ddot{p}e : ‘you will ask’ where historically a retroflex is lost. ke : \ddot{v} + p + a : y > kə : \ddot{v} + p + a : y > kə : \ddot{p}e : .

The corresponding modern literary forms of e : \ddot{p}Am, te : \ddot{p}pan and tə : \ddot{p}pan are e : yppo : m, te : yppa : n, te : yppa : n and takappan respectively.

---

\(~e~ \text{before an alveolars consonant or a palatal consonant}~

\text{a~} --- \text{A~ before a final bilabial nasal} ~

\text{e~word-finally} ~

\text{~a elsewhere}

\text{e. g.,}

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{pani} & \rightarrow & \text{peni} & \text{‘dew’} \\
&\text{pali} & \rightarrow & \text{peli} & \text{‘sacrifice’} \\
&\text{paci} & \rightarrow & \text{peci} & \text{‘hunger’} \\
&\text{payam} & \rightarrow & \text{peyAm} & \text{‘fear’} \\
&\text{payya} & \rightarrow & \text{peyyə} & \text{‘slowly’} \\
&\text{paccay} & \rightarrow & \text{pɛcɛɛ} & \text{‘green’} \\
&\text{tappa} & \rightarrow & \text{tappə} & \text{‘to escape’} \\
&\text{tati} & \rightarrow & \text{taṭi} & \text{‘stick’}
\end{align*}
\]

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Note that $a > \varepsilon$ does not take place if followed by the alveolar trill: $\text{kəɾi} > \text{kari}$ ‘curry’.

Examples of contrast:

- $\text{kəkkəm}$ ‘it will be bitter’
- $\text{kakkəm}$ ‘it will eject’
- $\text{vəkkəm}$ ‘it will be disappointed’
- $\text{vekkəm}$ ‘it will place’
- $\text{nəkkəm}$ ‘it will become mature’
- $\text{nikkəm}$ ‘it will stand’

$\varepsilon$ : before -r in monosyllabics, -rC and -y

$a$ :

- elsewhere

E.g.,

- $\text{ta : y} > [\text{tæ}]$ ‘mother’
- $\text{ma : rpu} > \text{me : rϕ}$ ‘chest’
- $\text{pa : r} > \text{pɛ : r}$ ‘look’
- $\text{ka : yam} > \text{kɛ : yAm}$ ‘wound’
- $\text{pa : kkəu} > \text{pa : kkə}$ ‘arecanut’

Examples of contrast:

- $\text{tɛ :}$ ‘mother’
- $\text{ta :}$ ‘give’
- $\text{kɛ : kkəm}$ ‘it will bear fruit’
- $\text{ka : kkəm}$ ‘it will protect’

Since there is no contrast between $[\text{æ : }]$ and $[\varepsilon : ]$, they are treated as allophones of $\varepsilon$ : $[\text{æ : }]$ occurs only before y in monosyllabics.

The corresponding colloquial form of $\text{pa : rkka}$ ‘to see’ in current usage is $\text{pa : kkə}$. It is probable that rCC>CC would have taken place prior to the change $a : > \varepsilon : / -r$. Otherwise the expected form in current usage would be $*\text{pɛ : kkə}$.

As for splits in IT: According to Pillai (1971) the position of vowel splits in IT is as follows: non-initial $u > ɨ$. This development is identical with that of JT. Pillai shows that in IT $i > ɨ$ and $i : > ɨ$: when followed by $u$ in the following syllable unless $i$ and $i :$ occur in the second syllable. He says,
in other words, that i and i: occur only when they are not followed by i in the next syllable⁵. One wonders as to what change i will have in forms like vikkō ‘hiccup’, minnu ‘lighten, flash’ etc. Will the change be vikkō > vikkō > vikkō; minnu > minnu > minnu?  

Pillai’s example to illustrate the contrast between i: and u: are cu: tīi ‘crown’ and ci: tīi ‘card’; tu: nī ‘pillar’ and vi: nī ‘waste’. Note that both these examples have a retroflex consonant and in JT (as in some other dialects too) a retroflex consonant is a conditioning factor for i (short and long) > i or i: as the case may be. In all these instances, more descriptive data would be welcome.

A very significant split in the vowel system of JT that has to be taken into consideration is i > e or e before Ca and u > o before Ca. This feature though not attested adequately in early Tamil literature⁶ is explained by Krishnamurti (1958) as a PSDr feature. This feature of lowering of vowels is significantly absent in JT perhaps except in a handful of items but is prevalent in SMT and SIT. BT too has several examples of it.

Examples have been shown from JT for i > e and u > o by other scholars (for instance Bright 1966). ḍavu > ḍavī > ḍavī ‘death’; ḍaya > ḍaya > ḍaya ‘younger’. Similarly for u > o muruṭan > moruṭan ‘rude person’, kuṭṭay > kuṭṭē ‘snore’, mu: tan > mo: tan ‘fool’, unakkō > onakkō ‘for you’, tuvakkam > tovakkam ‘beginning’. But note that ḍavu > ḍavī, ḍaya > ḍaya are more dominant in JT. As for u > o unlike in other dialects the change even in the cited examples is not absolute in JT. All the examples shown in JT are found to occur with free alternations between u~o. Thus, muruṭan ~ moruṭan, kuṭṭē ~ kuṭṭē, mu: tan ~ mo: tan, onakkō is unknown to speakers of JT; it occurs in SMT and SIT.

Thus as against other dialects of Tamil where lowering of vowels seems to be a distinct feature, one could speak of centralization and fronting of vowels in JT. This is one of the marked peculiarities of JT. In i > i, e > e (short as well as
long) retroflex consonants and -rV are involved. In addition to these, p k v m are also involved in e and e becoming a and a respectively. Another marked feature in JT is the absence of nasal vowel phonemes. Other dialects of ST too except SIT do not have nasal vowel phonemes.

In IT e > e before a or u in the next syllable which feature is absent in JT. In IT word-final a > e, but in JT it is a > a, e.g., ceyya > ceyye in IT, but it is ceyya in JT.

FOOTNOTES

1. Jaffna Tamils and Batticaloa Tamils had been in Sri Lanka from the very early times. They along with other Tamils who have their citizenship by descent are usually referred to as 'Ceylon Tamils'.

Indian Tamils in Sri Lanka are those who emigrated from South India to Sri Lanka from the early part of the 19th century in order to supply the demand for labour in coffee, tea and rubber plantations. Later also Indians had come to the island as specialized craftsmen or tradesmen. In course of time a vast majority of them had lost contact with their motherland.

Today Tamil as spoken by them slightly differs from the Tamil spoken in South India. Hence a distinction is made herein between Sri Lanka Indian Tamil and mainland Indian Tamil.

It is noteworthy here that the social and cultural organization of Jaffna Tamils also varies in several respects from that of the Indian Tamils.

Sri Lanka Muslims, usually known as Coonakar, speaking Tamil as their first language, are scattered all over the island.

2. Transliteration of literary forms are given as per the Tamil Lexicon of the Madras University.

3. The Symbol A represents the variation a~a.

4. It may be said here that Pillai has mixed up the literary and colloquial usages. Even his example sen\d\a:n 'he went' does not occur in JT. It appears to be an analogical creation. Literary word-medial -n\j- has -n\j- in several corresponding items in the spoken variety of JT. But we do not have corresponding forms with this change for all the literary forms having -n\j- medially. For instance, the literary form c\d\j\d\a:n 'he went' does not have a corresponding form with -n\j- or -n\d- (* c\d\j\d\a:n) in JT. The verb cel 'go' (inflected or otherwise) never occurs in the predicate position with a human noun as subject. The form in current usage in this
type of construction is poː. However, note that cel occurs in the predicate position with time-nouns as subject. Thus literary neːram ceṅatu ‘time passed’ is expressed in colloquial usage as neːram ceṅṭiṭi.

5. Final i in JT closely agrees in its phonetic quality with that of the final i in JT. But the non-final i in the dialects of JT as noted by various scholars (Pillai 1962, 1971, Zvelebil 1963) slightly differs in its phonetic quality from that of its counterpart in JT it being not so centralized as that of JT. With regard to this point the present author relies on his own observations made during his long stay in Tamilnadu. However, [I] in both these dialects is basically non-front, non-low and unrounded.

6. There is only one solitary instance where i > e before Ca in early literature. The noun viyar ‘sweat’ occurs in Sangam literature. But during post Sangam period it occurs as veyar (see Puṟapporul Veṅpaa Maalai).

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1. INTRODUCTION

The history of the scientific study of sound changes begins with the Neogrammarians, who declared that the phonetic law had no exceptions (Osthoef 1878). The subsequent development of historical linguistics has in fact been based on this axiom.

This axiom was challenged by the language geographists who maintained that each word had its own history. However, their findings have never been taken seriously by historical linguists who attribute the irregularities found in their material to dialect mixture. Even in the sixties we find as fanatical a statement as this (Haas 1966):

"... The key to success in this demonstration can be summed up in two simple statements:

1) Phonetic ‘laws’ are regular provided it is recognised that

2) certain seemingly aberrant forms can be shown to be the results of analogy.

"The discovery of these truths was crucial in establishing linguistics as a scientific discipline” [italics mine]

The great achievements of historical linguistics, like reconstruction of the proto-IE language and research in minor linguistic changes like analogy, assimilation, dissimilation, haplology, metathesis, etc., are based on the axiom that the
phonetic law has no exceptions whether the linguist be a fanatical Neogrammarians or a moderate one. This approach may be termed “classical” historical linguistics.

The breakthroughs in linguistic studies by structuralists and transformationists have added nothing to historical linguistics. The former were solely interested in the synchronical features of the language and the latter were not successful because they were simply occupied in restating the traditional theory of sound change in terms of their generative theory, exclusively relying on material furnished by the traditional historical linguists. In most cases they could not achieve the depth attained by the classical historical linguists.¹

The reasons historical linguists have not seriously doubted the validity of their axiom would be the following:

1. They believed that the sound changes take place so slowly that the difference in phonetic features between successive generations cannot be measured. Therefore they did not base their linguistic theory on observation of linguistic changes occurring in contemporary languages.

2. The observation of speech variations as between individuals or in the pronunciations of one individual in a speech community was neglected before the sociolinguistics became fashionable in the early sixties.

The second breakthrough following that of the Neogrammarians in historical linguistics was the work of Willian Labov in his article, “The social Motivation of a Sound Change?” (Labov 1963). He studied the historical changes in the pronunciation of /ai/ and /au/ on the island of Martha’s Vineyard, Massachusetts, in successive generations along with their

¹. See e.g.: Morris Halle (1962). In the last pages he claims to have solved a riddle of a sound change in English through his generative theory of sound change. In doing so, he simply assumed that the successive attested stages in English represented the same dialect. A traditional historical linguist would have discussed this problem before coming to a conclusion.
variants in individuals. This is the first successful research in micro-historical linguistics, investigating linguistic changes within a period of a few decades in a living language.

Further, Matthew Chen published his observation of sound changes that had occurred in Chinese (Chen 1972). In his article, he made it clear that the sound change in question was phonetically abrupt and lexically gradual.

Here I put forward a hypothesis on the theory of sound change, in which speech variation plays an active part in the mechanism of sound change. The material for this study is mainly from the Saurashtra language, an Indo-Aryan language spoken by a weaver community in Tamil Nadu, South India. This language serves us an optimal material for micro-linguistic studies because of the following reasons:

1. The tempo of sound change is so fast that we can observe visible difference in speech habit between generations (Učida 1977).

2. The problem of mutual interference among the dialects is not so complicated as in other languages because:
   (a) the Saurashtra language has no marked sociolects;
   (b) the Saurashtras\(^1\) live only in cities.

2. SITUATION OF THE SOUND CHANGES IN THE SAURASHTRA LANGUAGE

According to the classical theory of sound change, phonetically it proceeds gradually and in the same environment the same phoneme, without exception, is affected by the sound change.

When we observe the speech variations in the Saurashtra language we notice that the classical theory is hardly applicable.

1. They call themselves “Saurashtras” in English.
The range of speech variations—even in an individual—is so wide that it is not possible to speak of “one” sound, “changing” slowing into another in a subsequent stage, as in the following model:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The real situation would be:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>E</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For instance *moko* “to/me” is pronounced by Madurai Saurashtra speakers of 50 years as [moko], [moko], [mo’o] or [mogo]. The earlier [k] has not “changed” into [k] [g’] or [g], but [k] remains side by side with the newly developed sounds [k], [g’] and [g].

1. Same as [g], but pronounced with incomplete occlusion.
Retention of an earlier feature, along with the newly developed features in a language, is in no way peculiar to the Saurashtra language. In colloquial Japanese the following three stages of development occur side by side:

*itte shimatta*

*icchinatta*  
"[one] has gone".

*icchatta*

In the Saurashtra community in Madurai we observe the voicing of the unvoiced intervocalic stops and of the unvoiced stops following a homorganic nasal:

\[
\begin{align*}
/k/ \ [k] & \rightarrow /g/ \ [k^\circ \sim g^\circ \sim g] \\
/c/ \ [c] & \rightarrow /j/ \ [c^\circ \sim j^\circ \sim j] \\
/t/ \ [t] & \rightarrow /d/ \ [t^\circ \sim d^\circ \sim d]  \quad //V-V or N-. \\
/t/ \ [t] & \rightarrow /d/ \ [t^\circ \sim d^\circ \sim d] \\
/p/ \ [p] & \rightarrow /b/ \ [p^\circ \sim b^\circ \sim b]
\end{align*}
\]

I have published two articles on the above mentioned sound changes (Učida 1977, 1978). My findings relevant to this article can be summarized as follows:

1. In some commonly occurring words the voicing of these sounds is already found sporadically in the oldest Saurashtra documents dating from about 100 years ago.

2. The sound change \([t] \rightarrow [t^\circ]\) is not observed in the pronunciation of Saurashtras in the 50-59 age-group, while in the pronunciation of the children under 10 years, it is almost complete (Učida 1977, p. 145). Between these age groups the sound change occurred as a slow diffusion of \([t^\circ]\).

3. The voicing tendency is the strongest with the sound \(k\) and is the weakest with \(t\).

From the above facts it can be concluded that in the first stage the sound change took place sporadically, word to word and individual to individual. Then this sound change gained in impact, probably because of the establishment of Tamil as the literary language among the Saurashtra community,
completely displacing Telugu. In the first stage, the theory of Matthew Chen that the sound change is phonetically abrupt and lexically gradual proves correct. But in the second stage, if only the speech of the ten-year and fifty-year-old speakers is compared, then the theory that the sound change is phonetically gradual and lexically abrupt seems to be correct. This article is concerned with the first type of sound change, i.e. sound change with less force than that which served as the basis of the Neogrammariam theory.

In the Saurashtra language the following sporadic sound change is observed:

\[
a \quad > \quad \begin{cases} 
  e \\ 
  o 
\end{cases}
\]

In some words the sound change is complete and therefore the variant with \( a \) does not occur:

Sk. nadi- → Saur. *naddi > Saur. neddi “river”
Tam. paṭṭam → Saur. paṭṭam > Saur. poṭṭam “paper-kite”
Tel. baṭṭa → Saur. baṭṭa > Saur. boṭṭo “cloth”.

In some words the variant with \( a \) as well as that with \( e/o \) occurs in the Madurai dialect:

Tam. pāyasam → Saur. pasam > Saur. pasam/pasem.

In some words no variant with \( e/o \) occurs:

10286 OIA mṛṭikā- > MIA mattiā- > Saur. matti “clay”
4972 OIA chattrikā- > MIA echatṭiā > Saur. sati “umbrella”.

In the Saurashtra language sporadic aspiration occurs initially:

In some words \( h- \) occurs in the pronunciation of all of the Madurai Saurashtras:

2218 OIA upārī > MIA uvari (Pk.) > OG vari > Saur. hōg “on, upon”
2095 OIA *undura- > MIA *undura- (Pk.) > Saur. hundir “mouse”

1963 OIA *ujjvāla- > MIA *ujjvāla- > Saur. hujāl “bright”.
In some words variants with h and without h are found in
the Madurai dialect:

1315 OIA ārātrika- > MIA ārātiya- (Pk.) > Saur. hārati
(←Tel. ?)-ārati “the ceremony of waving a lamp in
front of an image”.
Tam. uṇḍi → Saur.—hundī uṇḍi (←Tel. ?) “alms-box”.
In most words h does not occur at all:

1111 OIA anḍaka- > MIA amḍaya- (Pk.) > Saur. anḍo
“egg”
Sk. vaidya- → Saur. oyidu “physician”

941 OIA aṣṭāu > MIA aṭṭha- (Pk.) > Saur. āṭ(u) “eight”.

Here we have observed in the Saurashtra language the
sound changes which spread gradually from one speaker to
another and from one word to another — phonetically it may
be either abrupt or gradual. This sort of sound change is not
exceptional but rather normal. We can add any number of
instances, e.g.:

1. In the Tokyo dialect of Japanese, intervocalic /g/ tends
to be pronounced as [g] by young people rather than
[ŋ] favoured by elder people (Kīndaiichi 1960, p. 17).

2. In many instances shift of the tonal pattern is reported
between generations in Japanese. No intermediate
stage between new and old patterns is found.

That the regular sound change is initiated by sporadic sound
changes has been already reported by R. L. Turner (1937).

3. ANALOGICAL DIFFUSION OF SOUND CHANGE

As to the reasons sound changes are diffused from one word
to another and from one speaker to another, several theories
have been proposed. However, as far as I know no theory has
been proposed in which the speech variations play an active
part in the mechanism of the diffusion of the sound change. It
was out of the question for the traditional historical linguistic to incorporate the speech variation into their theory, because they had been treating it like a step-child. In the theory given below, the speech variation is part of the mechanism of the diffusion of the sound change.

If, in a particular position in word A, the phoneme X comes to be pronounced as either P or Q, e.g., moko - mogo “to/for me”, the same phoneme in the same position in another word, which was earlier pronounced only as P, may begin to be pronounced either as P or Q, e.g., soko - sogo “like”. Just as in morphology a morph is diffused from one word to another by analogy, there is no reason that a sound change should not be diffused from one word to another through the following analogical formula:

\[
X = P \sim Q \quad // A^1 \\
X = P \sim ? \quad // B.
\]

The process of diffusion can be stated in the following model:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>(1)</th>
<th>(2)</th>
<th>(3)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>(P \sim Q)</td>
<td>(P \sim Q)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>(P)</td>
<td>(P \sim Q)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C</td>
<td>(P)</td>
<td>(P)</td>
<td>(P)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>(P)</td>
<td>(P)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Read: “In the word A”.

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The analogical diffusion of the sound change is expected to take place even between two languages in contact, as in the following model:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>P~Q</td>
<td>P~Q</td>
<td>P~Q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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Saurashtras had spent a few centuries in the empire of Vijayanagar (a Telugu speaking area) before they settled in the cities of Tamil Nadu. As expected, we find the sporadic sound change $\dot{\eta} > \eta$ in the Saurashtra language which has probably taken place under the influence of Telugu through the mechanism given above: e. g.,

5853.3. OIA *tōṇḍa- > MIA tonḍa- (Pk.) > Saur. *tōḍu > Saur. iōḍu (RY 84.2.9.) > Saur. tōṇ “mouth”

3997.1. OIA ganḍā - > MIA ganḍa- (Pk.) > Saur. *gāḍu > Saur. gāṇ “anus”.

In the Telugu language we find many variants with $\dot{\eta} - \eta$ some of which are given below:

- adaguṭa ~ anaguṭa “to be suppressed”
- pōḍimi ~ pōṇimi “splendour”
- paṇati ~ paṇati “woman”
- maḍac’uṭa ~ maṇac’uṭa “to bend”.

SOUND CHANGE AND SPEECH VARIATION

4. COUNTER CURRENT IN SOUND CHANGE

If a sound change is diffused by an analogical mechanism in the direction P > Q it is theoretically expected that the variants PQ will cause the sound change Q > P by the same mechanism.

```
\begin{tabular}{|c|ccccc|}
\hline
\multicolumn{1}{|c|}{\textbf{Word}} & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 \\
\hline
C & P~Q & P~Q & P~Q & P~Q & P~Q \\
D & P~Q & P~Q & P~Q & P~Q & P~Q \\
L & Q & P~Q & P~Q & P~Q & P~Q \\
M & Q & Q & P~Q & P~Q & P~Q \\
N & Q & Q & Q & P~Q & P~Q \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
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Actually, many sound changes are found that are accompanied by sporadic sound changes in the opposite direction:

A. Against the sound change:
   \[ k > g > v \] \quad \text{// V~V}
   \[ k > g \] \quad \text{// N~}

the following counter-current sound changes are observed:

1. Sk. saṅga~ → Saur. seṅgo >Saur. seṅko "with"

2. (H. luṅgi ? → ) Tam. luṅgi → Saur. luṅgi > Saur. luṅki "sarong"

3. Vol. baśavanna → Saur. *bośvanna > Saur. bośkanna "bull image used for a festival".

In 2 and 3, the minority uses g instead of k. bośkanna has no variant with v.

In the following words the above sound change was found in the pronunciation of an immigrant from Palayamkottai:

4. 10895 OIA lagyati > MIA laggai (Pk.) + > Saur. lagas > Saur. lakas "seems".

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5. 10074 OIA margati > MIA maggai (Pk.) + > Saur. magas > Saur. makas “asks for”.

6. Pókannavis “nineteen (lit. 20 – 1 = 19)”, where k is etymologically expected, must have contributed to establishment of the form with k in the following word: Saur. divunnavis > Saur. dikannavis “eighteen (lit. 20 – 2 = 18)”.

7. Because the following word appears both in Dravidic and Indo-Aryan languages, the stages of development cannot be exactly reconstructed. However, the following derivation could be proposed:

Tam. koḍu → Saur. koḍu—koḍuv > Saur. koḍuk “bitterness”.

B. Against the sound change: # V- > # hV-, the following counter-current sound changes are found:

1. Sk. hasti’n- → Saur. haistu (CV 29) > Saur. aistu “elephant”

2. 14068 OLA hásā- > MIA hāśa- (Pk.) + > Saur. hāso > Saur. aso “laughter”.

C. Against the sound change: m > v //V—V ; the following counter-current sound changes are found:

1. 4460 OIA ghāta- > MIA ghāya- (Pk.) > Saur. gʰāvu > Saur. gʰ āmu “blow”

2. In the Saurashstra language, bhik(u) “alms” has the variant bhim(u). This can be explained as below:

9485 OIA bhikṣā- > MIA bhikkhā- (Pk.) > Saur. bhiku > Saur. bʰiṣu (see A above) > Saur. bhim(u) “alms”.

In this word the sound m, as a result of the counter-current sound change, is further strengthened by the presence of a word beginning with m, i.e., the verb magatte “to ask”, which very often follows bhik(u).

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1. -v is a secondary development because of an accent on -u.
D. Against the sound change: \( t > d // V-V \); the following counter-current sound changes are found:

1. Tam. \( sēdāram \) → Saur. \( *sedaram > Saur. \) \( setaram \) "waste of gold, silver etc. by filing or fusion".

2. Tam. \( paḍam \) → Saur. \( paḍam > Saur. \) \( paṭam (←Tel. ?) \) "picture".

I have observed the pronunciation \( paṭam \) only in one informant.

3. H. \( indirā gāndhī \) → Tam. \( indirāgāndi \) → Saur. \( indirāgānti \) "Indira Gandhi".

E. The loss of \(-k(u)\) in the words given below, wherein morphology is involved, also supports the theory of the counter-current sound change by analogy:

In the Saurashtra language there are many cases where \(-k(u)\) is more or less optional:

a. In the accusative case, the accusative marker \(-k(u)\) is sometimes used and sometimes not.

b. In many of the postpositions and adverbs, the dative marker \(-k(u)\) is optional.

This situation causes \(-k(u)\) to be dropped even when \(-k(u)\) is not an accusative/dative marker, but part of the stem, as in the following examples:

1. Sk. \( adhika- \) → Saur. \( addik(u) > Saur. \) \( addi \) "much, more"

2. Sk. \( pratyēka- \) → Saur. \( pettek(u) > Saur. \) \( pette \) "separate"

3. Sk. \( varttaka → Saur. \) \( vartuk/orduk > Saur. \) \( vartu/ortu \) "merchant".

The majority of the Saurashtras use the forms \( addik(u) \) and \( pette \). I have come across the form \( vartu/ortu \) in the pronunciation of an immigrant from Palayamkottai.

Many sound changes have been observed in the languages of the world in which sound A becomes sound C and after
some time sound C is replaced by sound A again, as in the
following model:

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Sound changes of this type occur so often\(^1\) that they cannot
be ascribed to accident. Their high frequency can be explained
by the speech variations and the mechanism of analogical
diffusion of sound changes, which sometimes causes counter-
currents. The following examples of revertive sound changes
are found in the Saurashtra language:

1. 1200 āpayati > MIA āvēi, āvaī (Pk.) > Saur. avayi >
   Saur. avōyi (NG 191.4)\(^a\) > Saur. avayi “comes”

2. 1031 āksēti > MIA acchaī (Pk.) > OG chaī > Saur.
   *čē > Saur. šē > Saur. šē (RY 88. Ap.)\(^a\) > Saur. šē
   “is”.

These revertive sound changes must have taken place under
the following model:

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1. E.g.: The contrast of r and l had been given up in the eastern
   Aṣoka inscriptions, but has been restored in Bihari dialects. Another
   reason for re-establishment of contrasts that have been neutralized will be
   multiphonemoidism (Ućida 1978). Sounds that have merged into one
   phoneme still retain their identities as different phonemoids, but they split
   again into two phonemes in favourite circumstances.

2. avōyi and šē never occur in the contemporary Madurai dialect.
Most of the counter-current sound changes given above have been understood in classical historical linguistics as hyper-correction. This is a variety of counter-current sound change in which the sound change is caused by an individual more or less intentionally.

5. CONCLUSION

The historical linguists have been discussing the problem why sound changes take place. As for the sporadic sound changes discussed in this article, this problem must be restated as follows:

In a speech community a sound is realized in many variants. The sporadic sound change widens the range of variations. In this situation the following question arises: “Why does shifting of the medial value of a sound realized in many variants take place?”

D.N.S. Bhat (1970) has presented a hypothesis postulating a clear distinction between regular and sporadic sound changes, the former originating only in language transmission to a new generation of children, the latter originating typically in language contact affecting adult behaviour. If the existence of “regular sound change” is proved through micro-historical linguistics the voicing of inter-vocalic stops and stops following a momo-organic nasal—if we follow Bhat’s theory—can be interpreted as follows:

At the first stage only the adult Saurashtras had frequent contact with Tamilians. The sound change voiceless stop > voiced stop took place sporadically among adults. After the creation of Tamil Nadu State the Saurashtra children began to go to Tamil medium schools and came into closer contact with Tamil children, which resulted in the regular sound change voiceless stop > voiced stop, among the Saurashtra children.

The theory of D.N.S. Bhat, however, cannot be applied to the sporadic sound change of \( a \rightarrow e/o \) (see B. above). The sound change cannot be solely ascribed to the adult’s contact with the Tamil or the Telugu, because this tendency is stronger
in the Saurashtra language than any other language with which it was/is in contact. It may be through the influence of Dravidian language that this sound change was introduced into the Saurashtra language. However, since it became more prominent in the Saurashtra language, it must have continued as an internal sound change. Then why is it not regular as anticipated by Bhat’s theory?

Moreover, as my study (Uçida 1977) reveals, the “regular” sound change is nothing but an intensive “sporadic” sound change, which, in course of time, affects a sound, whereever it occurs, in the same environment. Unless the existence of “regular sound changes” is proved by micro-historical linguistic studies, the theory of D.N.S. Bhat has no object of application.

The vast field of micro-historical linguistic is left almost unexploited. A theory of sound change not based on such field studies would be only speculation.

In abbreviations and signs the system of R.L. Turner: A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages is followed. In addition to this, the following abbreviations have been used:

CV caturbhäṣā vallari by T.M. Rämaräy [1852-1913], pbul. by K. V. Padmanabhayyar, Madurai 1945, 62, 2 pp. [Dictionary].


RY yuddhakāṇḍu of saṅgītā-rāmāyaṇu by Veṅkaṭa Śūri [1818-1890], Saurashtra Sabha, Madurai 1905, 308, 283 pp. [Epic].

Saur. Saurashtra language spoken in Tamil Nadu.
REFERENCES


SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THEMATIZATION
IN HINDI

SHIVENDRA K. VERMA

CENTRAL INSTITUTE OF ENGLISH AND FOREIGN LANGUAGES, HYDERABAD

In his paper "Language Structure and Language Function" Halliday (1970: 140-165) distinguishes three grammatically relevant 'language functions', and illustrates them from English: (i) the 'ideational', that is, the speaker's experience of the real world, including the inner world of his own consciousness, (ii) the 'interpersonal'—through which social groups are delimited, and the individual is identified and reinforced, since by enabling him to interact with others language also serves in the expression and development of his own personality, and (iii) the 'textual'—this is what enables the speaker or writer to construct 'texts', or connected passages of discourse that is situationally relevant and enables the listener or reader to distinguish a text from a random set of sentences. The first function, it may be said, refers to what is commonly called the 'cognitive meaning', or 'prepositional content' of sentences: the second to distinctions such as those of 'mood', or 'modality' (e.g. the differences between declaratives, interrogatives and imperatives), and the third to the way in which the grammatical and intonational structure of sentences relates them to one another in continuous texts and to the situations in which they are used. All these functions are reflected in the structure of the clause—expressed through various configurations of structural 'roles'. The linguistic expression of processes (of actions, events, states, and relations) and of the participants (the persons, objects and abstractions that are associated with them together with the circumstances) is known by the general term transitivity. He points to the transitivity system of the grammar as being the area which reflects the
ideational function of language. The basic speech functions of statement, question, response, command and exclamation are expressed grammatically by the system of mood. The 'textual' function of language is expressed by the system of theme. Any one clause is built up of a combination of structures deriving from these three functions. Diagrammatically this trimodal organization of language may be shown as follows:

Conventional monosystemic and unidimensional descriptions using a taxonomy of categories and a simple two-tier system of deep and surface relations are inherently incapable of capturing the trimodal and interlocking functions of language. Much of the confusion in linguistic analysis may be attributed to the
attempt to describe constituent structure in terms of single set of functions or classes (such as Subject, Predicator, Complement, Adjunct or NP, VP, Prep-P...) instead of assigning to each component or constituent type a complex of functions. In order to understand how language works as a network of personal and interpersonal bonds and obligations and how these relations are realized in the organization of linguistic constituents, it is essential to postulate multidimensional constituent structures (Verma, 1976). This was one of the main reasons which prompted Firth to stress the importance of multidimensionality and polysystemicness in linguistic analysis (Firth, 1957: 30).

An attempt is made in this paper to examine the thematic organization of the clause/sentence in Hindi and to reinforce the point that any one sentence has just not one structure (expressed in terms of NP, VP or Subject, Object, Verb...) but many simultaneous structures all of which are superimposed on one another, as it were. The elements of structure, looked at from this point of view, represent a conflation of functions from different sources (Verma, 1971: 137-145). The thematic structure of the English clause, according to Halliday, consists of a 'theme' and a 'rHEME'. "The theme is another component in the complex notion of subject, namely the 'psychological subject'; it is as it were the peg on which the message is hung, the theme being the body of the message. The theme of a clause is the element which in English, is put in the first position (Halliday, 1970: 161). Here 'theme' and 'rHEME' are not participants in extralinguistic processes but are special devices for representing those options whereby the speaker organizes his act of communication as a component of a discourse. 'Theme' and 'rHEME', 'topic' and 'comment', 'given' and 'new' are discoursal roles deriving their value from the information structure of sentence. 'Theme', for example, is the speaker's stepping-off-point. It means "the topic under discussion"—"here is the heading to what I am saying"—"this is what is uppermost in my mind." It is a message-
signaller defined positionally—when marked, it represents the function of a constituent class in the non-normal initial position. This concept of theme-rheme structure cannot be simply interpreted as features of surface grammar but must be explained as realizations of deep discoursal relations (Verma, 1976). Halliday makes a distinction between theme-rheme structure and given-new structure. According to him given-new is a structure not of the clause but of the information unit, and is realized not by sequence but by intonation; theme-rheme, on the other hand, is a structure of the clause, and is realized by the sequence of elements: the theme comes first. The meaning of theme is not the same as that of given, although the two functions may be realized by the same element. "First position (and note that this does mean first position in the clause, and not in the information unit) expresses the function of 'theme'. What the speaker puts first is the theme of the clause, the remainder being the 'rheme'" (Halliday 1970a: 356). Halliday emphasizes the point that the given is hearer-oriented and context-bound, whereas the theme is speaker-oriented and context-free. "The difference can perhaps be best summarized by the observation that, while 'given' means 'what you were talking about' (or 'what I was talking about before'), 'theme' means 'what I am talking about' (or 'what I am talking about now'); and, as any student of rhetoric knows, the two do not necessarily coincide" (Halliday, 1967: 212). Jackendoff refers to the notions of 'focus' and 'presupposition'. He uses 'focus of a sentence' to denote the information in the sentence that is assumed by the speaker not to be shared by him and the hearer, and 'presupposition of a sentence' to denote the information in the sentence that is assumed by the speaker to be shared by him and the hearer (Jackendoff, 1972: 230).

Language seeks to externalize human experiences ranging from simple culture-bound phatic communion to supra-cultural metaphysical speculations in terms of a network of phonological, syntactic, and lexical relations. All human languages use a
variety of mechanisms—graphological, phonological, syntactic, and lexical—to organize constituents of experience in terms of 'topic' and 'comment', 'given' and 'new', 'prominent' and 'non-prominent'. All languages use mechanisms to focus attention on one or more elements. Word-order or the order in which the constituents of a sentence are organized may be said to be one of the external manifestations of the organization of constituents of experience. It must, however, be noted that there is no one-to-one correspondence between the organization of experience and its externalization in terms of word-order. No two arrangements of the same set of constituents in any human language mean exactly the same thing. Languages have their own language-specific rules to permit non-normal scrambling of constituents. Languages like Latin and Sanskrit in which grammatical functions are marked inflectionally permit greater freedom in the positioning of elements, whereas languages like English where grammatical functions are defined positionally impose constraints on the shuffling of word-order. The communicative function of word-order and the different formal means available in different languages of achieving a distribution of content in keeping with the communicative intention have been investigated in a number of studies by Prague linguists. Mathesius defines the theme as 'that which is known or at least obvious in the given situation, and from which the speaker proceeds in his discourse. Trávníček does not agree with Mathesius. According to him the theme is the sentence element that links up directly with the object of thought, proceeds from it and opens the sentence thereby. Firbas refers to communicative dynamism (CD) carried by sentence elements. By the degree of communicative dynamism carried by a sentence element, he understands, the extent to which the sentence element contributes to the development of the communication to which it 'pushes the communication forward, as it were'. (For a discussion of the views of Mathesius, Trávníček, and Firbas, refer to Firbas, 1966 : 267-276). We have found it useful to operate with different sets of categories related to
the different functions of language—theme and rheme, given
and new, subject and predicate, actor and process and goal.
The point to be underlined here is that thematization is only
one of the mechanisms for making a constituent 'prominent'.
In addition to the thematic constituent, there may be 'emphatic'
and 'new' constituents.

In every language (and in every registral variety of a
language) one can identify the normal or unmarked order of
words. This may be said to be that order which is statistically
the most frequent and matches the native speaker's intuitive
'feel' for normal word-order. Once the normal patterns are
established, the non-normal arrangements can be easily high-
lighted for purposes of analysis (Verma, 1970: 29). In regist-
trally unmarked declarative sentences in Hindi the subject is
also the theme—this may be called 'unmarked theme'. It is
generally thought that 'subject' and 'theme' are identical, but
in fact, this is not always true. A linguistic subject may not be
the topic/theme of a sentence, nor the topic be expressed by
the linguistic subject. All non-normal thematic shiftings are
syntactically and semantically motivated. For example in Fish
I like, the NP (Fish) is the marked 'theme' and NP (I) is the
grammatical subject of the sentence. In Hindi one can talk
about morphologically and syntactically unmarked and marked
subjects. The unmarked subject is also the concord subject,
for it enters into concordial relation with the verb, for example
the NP laRkaa in laRkaa roTii khaa rahaa hai. The other
type of subjects are morphologically marked by the presence
of ne, ko, and se. Each marked type enters into a colligational
relation with the verb. Diagrammatically:

|—Unmarked

Subject types—
|—ne-marked

-Marked-
|—ko-marked
|—se-marked

All these four types of subjects derive their value from the
systems of mood and transitivity. Theme, on the other hand, is an external manifestation of the choice(s) made in the organization of language as a message-carrier. According to Chomsky, Topic-Comment is the basic grammatical relation of surface structure corresponding (roughly) to the fundamental Subject-Predicate relation of deep structure. He defines the 'Topic-of' the sentence as the leftmost NP immediately dominated by S in the surface structure, and the 'Comment-of' the sentence as the rest of the string (Chomsky, 1965: 221). Chomsky's categorization and definition do not help us in making any distinctions between normal (i.e. unmarked) and non-normal (i.e. marked) topic Further, there is no direct correspondence between Topic-Comment relations and deep structure Subject-Predicate relations. The Prague linguists too have not succeeded in defining the notion of communicative dynamism (CD) explicitly. Firbas' characterizing of theme-rheme is based on his concept of communicative dynamism. According to him "the theme is constituted by an element (elements) carrying the highest degree(s) of CD within the distributional field. Elements ranking between theme and rheme constitute a kind of transition" (Firbas, 1971: 141). The concepts of theme and rheme used in this paper are derived from Halliday.

The sequence of elements in a Hindi clause/sentence tends to represent thematic ordering rather than ordering in transitivity of the 'actor-goal-action' type, and this is particularly true of the function of clause/sentence-initial position which reflects a division of the clause/sentence into 'theme' and 'rheme' with the theme always preceding the rheme. The thematic constituent is concerned with the relation of what is being said to what has gone before in the discourse. Marked theme represents a foregrounding of the speaker's point of departure. Consider the following:

(1) maine roTii khaaII hai. 'I have eaten bread.'
    I bread eaten have

(2) roTii maine khaaII hai. 'Bread I have eaten.'
    bread I eaten have
In terms of constituent classes (1) and (2) are alike. In (2) the object NP (roTii) has been moved from its normal medial position to the non-normal pre-subject position. This may be called marked theme or thematic object. Non-normal fronting is a contextually and/or contextually motivated cohesive device. It has an anaphoric reference and a contrastive value. Thematization may be defined as a syntactic mechanism which isolates one of the sentence constituents, or ‘participants’ as ‘theme’ and brings it into some kind of ‘focus’ or ‘prominence’ by shifting it to the initial position. Thematic does not necessarily mean ‘emphatic’: ‘theme’ and ‘emphasis’ can co-occur—the thematic constituent in the initial position and the constituent carrying emphasis marked phonologically and/or placed in extraposition. In (2) the object is ‘thematic’ and context can make either the subject NP (māine) or the V (khāaī hai) emphatic by placing the primary tonic on it. ‘Theme’ and ‘emphasis’, though contextual labels, are used here as formal categories—‘theme’ marked by non-normal initial position and ‘emphasis’ by the placement of the tonic. ‘Theme’ and ‘emphasis’ are independently variable but the two may be conflated into one yielding an ‘emphatic theme’: this will be realized by the ‘thematic’ unit carrying the primary tonic. As already said these devices are used by speakers to draw the attention of listeners to the topic of the sentence and to its message-wise significant constituent. One can go to the extent of saying that all extrapositional shiftings in all human languages are significant—words, phrases, clauses, and even sentences become conspicuous, when they are placed in non-normal, unexpected positions. Traditional grammarians were aware of this problem and they explained all these shifts in terms of ‘emphasis’. To them all extrapositions were emphatic. “The most general way of making a word prominent is by putting it before the others—if possible, at the beginning of the sentence. But there is another more general principle of position-emphasis—that of making a word conspicuous by putting it in any abnormal—that is, unexpected position. Thus a word whose normal position is front or mid may be made
emphatic by end position... Emphatic end-position is suspensive" (Sweet, 1955: 3). According to Poutsma (1928: 387) the best way of throwing any element of the sentence into particular relief is to give it end-position... Another way of giving prominence to whatever is uppermost in our minds is to mention it the first thing in the sentence. Sweet and Jespersen have not said anything about the difference between the two extrapositional shiftings—front-shifting and back-shifting. Are they both equally 'emphatic'? Is there any difference between front-position (i.e. thematic) prominence and end-position (i.e. non-thematic) prominence? These questions have not been fully answered. Hindi grammarians too have grappled with this problem but have not produced any definite solution (Kellogg, 1893: 537-539; Harley, 1955: 10-11). We are making an attempt here to produce a possible solution to this troublesome problem. In a simple non-transformed Hindi-sentence the subject appears in the first position and the verb in the end-position. In between the two we have 'objects', 'complements', and 'adjuncts'. When we find something non-normal contrary to our expectations, we at once realise that the speaker/writer has pulled a particular item into the foreground or relegated it to a non-normal, non-initial position to produce certain effects. These extrapositions involve non-normal fronting (which we are going to call 'thematic') and non-normal, non-initial positioning (which we are going to call 'emphatic'). 'Theme' thus is marked by non-normal initial position and 'emphasis' or 'focus' by non-initial extraposition carrying graphological and/or phonological prominence. As has already been said the same item may expound both 'theme' and 'emphasis'. In such cases 'fronting' and 'extraposition' are conflated into one constituent. In (2) 'roTii' is a realization of the thematic component and either māine or khaaii hai can be made to carry the tonic and hence made emphatic. Both the systems (thematization and emphasis) may be seen as assigning prominence to certain constituents. The point to note here is that the prominence is of a different kind in the two systems.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THEMATIZATION IN HINDI

Consider the following combinations of S(subject), O(object), and P(redicator):

(1) māine roTii khaii hai  
SOP S-Theme (Unmarked), O-Emphasis

(2) roTii māine khaaii hai  
OSP O-Theme (Marked), S-Emphasis

(3) khaaii hai māine roTii  
PSO P-Theme (Marked), S-Emphasis

(4) khaaii hai roTii māine  
POS P-Theme (Marked), O-Emphasis

(5) māine khaaii hai roTii  
SPO S-Theme (Unmarked), P-Emphasis

(6) roTii khaaii hai māine  
OPS O-Theme (Marked), P-Emphasis

[Note: The phrases italicized above carry the tonic, and have a contrastive meaning. In (1) and (4) the emphasis is on roTii as opposed to, say, paraThe or caaval. In (2) and (3) the emphasis is on māine as opposed to, say, tumne or usne. In (5) and (6) the emphasis is on khaaii hai as opposed to other processes such as banaii hai, rakhii hai...we can therefore say:

(1) (a) māine roTii khaii hai, paraThe nahīi  
I bread eaten have, paraThe not  
"I have eaten bread, and not parathe."

(2) (a) roTii māine khai hai, usne nahīi  
bread I eaten have, he not  
"Bread I have eaten, not he."

(5) (a) māine khaii hai roTii, banaii nahīi  
I eaten have bread, baked not  
"I have eaten bread, but not cooked it."

In (1) and (5) the subject NP (māine) is also the thematic component. Since the initial position is the natural slot for Subject, 'Subject theme' is considered as a case of unmarked theme. The point to note here is that an item occurring obligatorily in initial position will not, in this sense, be
thematic (i.e. will not be considered as a case of ‘marked theme’). In (2) and (6) the Object NP (roTii) has been fronted to function as the marked theme. In (3) and (4) the Predicator VP (khaaıı hai) has been front-shifted to make it function as the marked theme of the sentences. It is clear then that the verb or verb phrase does receive thematic prominence in Hindi. But Halliday (1968 : 214) holds that the verb is not readily associated with any form of prominence in the discourse; it is very rarely thematic.

Thematization is a device by which the speaker surfaces ‘who or what he is going to talk about’. In addition to this simple fronting, languages use a number of other syntactic devices to achieve thematic variation. In English these devices are passivization, clefting, pseudo clefting, and extrapositioning. In Arabic and Hebrew topicalization is performed by placing the noun at the end of the sentence. In Polish the topicalized noun phrase is shifted to the end of the sentence... The Malayo-Polynesian languages usually permit a sentence order in which the subject (sometimes referred to as the topic) is in sentence-final position (Georgette Ioup, 1975 : 53-55). The point to note here is that languages have their own way of ‘positioning’ the ‘thematic’ and ‘emphatic’ constituents of discourse. Fillmore makes a distinction between ‘primary topicalization’ and ‘secondary topicalization’. “Primary topicalization for English involves position and number concord; stylistic changes involving stress assignment, late word-order changes, and possibly the ‘cleft-sentence construction’ fall into what might be called ‘secondary topicalization’ ” (Fillmore, 1970 : 57). All languages possess some means of carrying out stylistic changes, but it may be the case that some lack the grammatical process of primary topicalization. In Hindi the initial NP in the following sentence types represent the unmarked theme.

(7) māi roTii khaataa huu. ‘I eat bread.’

I bread eat

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(8) māine √roTii khaaii hai 'I have eaten bread.'
               I     bread eaten have
(9) mujhe √roTii khaanii hai 'I have to eat bread.'
                To me bread to eat have
(10) mujhse √roTii khaaii nahīi jaati/hai 'Bread can't be eaten
                 By me bread eaten not can is by me.'

All initial shiftings in these sentence types will lead on to
thematization. Now consider the following sentences:

(11) mohan kal aayegaa—
        Mohan tomorrow will come 'That Mohan is coming
        yah sabōko maaluum hai tomorrow is well known.'
            it to all known is
(12) yah sabōko maaluum hai 'It is well known that
        It to all well known Mohan will come
        ki Mohan kal aayegaa tomorrow.'
            that Mohan tomorrow will come

In (11) the thematic component is realized by the whole of the
sentence: mohan kal aayegaa, for the sentence is the topic of
discourse. In (12) the real theme has been extrapoled and its
place has been filled with the dummy 'yah'. In fact, in such
cases of delayed theme yah acts like a signal and keeps the
readers/listeners anxiously waiting for the main theme. In (13)
the speaker is not interested in the agent but in the object.
Hence the object has been subjectivized and given the status of
'theme'. This is clear from the contrast between (13) and
(14):

(13) duudh ubal rahaa hai 'Milk is boiling.'
            milk boiling is
(14) māa duudh ubaal rahii hai 'Mother is boiling
            mother milk boiling is milk.'

Consider the following sentences:

(15) Māi jo caahtaa hūu vah aapke paas nahīi hai
(16) jo māi caahtaa hūu vah aapke paas nahīi hai

In (16) the unmarked Subject theme (māi) of (15) has been
shifted from the initial position to a non-initial position and the relative pronoun jo has been fronted and marked ‘thematic’, but the marked theme is the whole of the clause: jo māi caahtaa hū. The mechanism of cleft construction can be used to predicate and bring into focus any of the grammatical constituents. It may be further reinforced by fronting the real theme:

(17) vah (laRkaa) mohan hii thaa jisne darvaazaa kholaa.
That boy Mohan was who door opened

(18) mohan hii vah (laRkaa) thaa jisne darvaazaa kholaa.
Mohan that boy was who door opened

In (17) Mohan is the identifier and is a constituent of the predicated theme: vah (luRkaa) mohan hii thaa. This ‘identifier’ role becomes much more prominent in (17 a). (17 a) vah (laRkaa) thaa mohan hii jisne darvaazaa kholaa. In (18) too mohan is a part of the predicated theme—mohan hii vah laRkaa thaa, but its placement in the non-normal initial position reinforces its thematic prominence. The question underlying (18) is: vah laRkaa koon thaa jisne darvaazaa kholaa? And this question is related to another question: kis laRkene darvaazaa kholaa? (18) is more specific than (18 a) and (18 b):

(18 a) vah laRkaa jisne darvaazaa kholaa mohan hii thaa.
(18 b) jis laRkene darvaazaa kholaa vah mohan hii thaa.

In terms of ‘identified’-‘identifier’ structure (17) and (17 a) may be shown as

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Identified} & \text{Identifier} \\
(19) \text{vah (laRkaa)...thaa (jisne darvaazaa kholaa)} & \text{Mohan}
\end{array}
\]

This organization is used to highlight a particular component of the sentence. The highlighted element has a contrastive value. Discussing cleft sentences Jespersen says that this construction may be considered one of the means by which the disadvantages of having a comparatively rigid grammatical word order (SVO) can be obviated. This explains why it is that similar constructions are not found, or are not used exten-
sively, in languages in which the word-order is considerably less rigid than in English. (Jespersen, 1969: 76) Hindi, which is a relatively free word-order language, assigns such values as ‘topic’ and ‘prominence’ to constituents by exploiting the possibilities of word-order and hence does not offer us a network of ‘cleft’ and ‘pseudo-cleft’ choices as we have in English. Consider the following sentences:

(20) sab log dhan caahte hai.
    All people wealth want
    “All people want wealth.”

(21) dhan sab log caahte hai.
    wealth all people want
    “Wealth, all people want.”

(22) vah (ciiz) dhan hii hai jo sab log caahte hai
    That thing wealth is which all people want
    “That thing is wealth which everybody wants.”

(23) dhanhii vah (ciiz) hai jo sob log caahte hai.
    wealth that thing is which all people want
    “Wealth is that thing which everybody wants.”

In (20) the Subject NP (Sab’log) is also the unmarked theme, but in (21) the Object NP (dhan) has been frontshifted and made thematic. (22) makes use of the mechanism of predication to pinpoint: ‘vah (ciiz) jo sab log caahte hai’. (23) shifts dhan hii to the marked, thematic position within the identified-identifier structure. Sentences (20), (21), (22), and (23) are stylistically and thematically organized variant forms of the same set of basic constituents: they are allo-sentences. (Verma 1970a: 4)

Nominalization is a syntactic mechanism by which a sentence is subordinated to function as a constituent of another sentence. Once a sentence is reduced to a constituent, it can participate in the theme-rheme relational network like any other constituent. In the following sentences we have thematically marked nominalizations:

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(24) uskaa vahāa jaanaa mujhe pasand nahīi hai. His going to me like not is “I don’t like his going there.”

(25) meraa vahāa jaanaa sambhav nahīi hai. My going possible not is “My going there is not possible.”

Another syntactic mechanism which is used for thematic purposes is ‘raising’—which ‘raises’ the subject of an embedded sentence to the position of the thematic subject of the main sentence. For example: māi sanyog se vahāa thaa. Here māi may be said to have been brought into thematic prominence from its position in the embedded sentence: yah sanyog thaa ki māi vahāa thaa. It may be useful to talk of different degrees of thematization—ranging from simple frontings to complex thematic identification, predication and nominalization. The concept of theme-rheme helps us appreciate the organization of language as a text or as a series of texts and gives us a deeper insight into the meaning of ‘structure’ and ‘constituents’. There is yet another mechanism by which languages thematize elements—this is by selecting the ‘goal’ or ‘instrumental’ or ‘locational’ to fill in the subject slot as in the following:

(26) patra likhai jaa rahaa hai letter written being is “The letter is being written.”

(27) bhillī shuuh paalish in juutō ko camkaa detīi hai billi shoe polish to these shoes make shining is “Billi shoe polish shines these shoes.”

(28) jeTh kaa mahiinaa taptaa hai. Jeth month hot is “The month of Jeth is hot.”

Subject selection may be considered a special case of thematisation (Fillmore, 1968 : 52). Let’s go back to our sentence (2):

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THEMATIZATION IN HINDI
(2) roTii māine khaaii hai

This sentence is an external manifestation of a network of choices made from a number of system as of transitivity, mood, and theme. Each constituent, therefore, represents a configuration of values derived from these systems. roTii, for example, is a realization of grammatical function ‘Object’, participant role—‘goal’ / ‘objective’, and discourse or text feature—‘marked theme’. All these may be shown as:

\[
\text{NP} : \quad \text{Object} : \text{goal} : \text{marked theme}
\]

roTii

Structural constituents, looked at from this point of view, are realizations of ‘networks of interrelated options’. They represent a complex of structural roles. Grammar, it may be said, is ‘the weaving together of strands from the various components of meaning into single a fabric that we call linguistic structure’. (Halliday, 1970 a : 336).

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19 (a)
ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST AND THE BEGINNINGS OF COMPARATIVE KOLARIAN (MUNDA) STUDIES

NORMAN H. ZIDE
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Summary

This paper has three sections: The first on Cust's contributions to comparative Munda (Kolarian) studies; the second—much less factual and more sketchy than the first—on some ideas on language and on 'tribals' suggested by a reading of Cust: on the background of the study of tribal languages in India in the nineteenth century, i.e. some of the views on the nature of language and society and of the involvement of linguistic investigation with evangelical and educational enterprises ('Orientalism'), and also some notes on some of the images of the 'tribal' in Indian literature. Thirdly, a brief biographical sketch of Cust.

It seems appropriate in the context of this smrtismaran grantha for Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji—who had himself contributed to the study of the Munda (or Kolarian) languages—to describe the accomplishments of a forgotten predecessor of his and mine in this field.

Cust's work on Munda was done at second-hand, i.e., there is no evidence that he knew any of the Munda languages directly\(^1\), but he was an active polyglot and student of Indian languages in his years in India, and on his return to England the first of several volumes on the languages of various regions of the world was devoted to (what we now call) South and South-east Asia. This book, *A Sketch of the Modern Languages of the East Indies*\(^2\), has a short chapter on the 'Kolarian Family', which is the first survey ever published (that I know
of) of what was known about Kolarian. The brief (eight page) chapter is largely concerned with the Khervarian languages, but also reports on what little was known of the Korku, Juang, Kharia, Sora and Gadaba peoples and languages at that time, and gives a useful bibliography. There are remarks elsewhere in the book on possible relationships between Munda and other languages, and also some interesting information on early Bible translations (Cust had strong and active evangelical interests which intersected with his more disinterested interests in languages and religions).

Cust’s book has gone unnoticed in the standard surveys of comparative Munda: Grierson’s fourth volume of the Linguistic Survey of India⁶ (done by Sten Konow) which includes the large section on Munda makes no mention of Cust’s work, nor does Pinnow’s Versuch,⁴ or my own survey articles (done for Current Trends in Linguistics, V)⁵ on Munda. One attractive feature of Cust’s book is its vigorous prose style, and his—to me unexpected—enthusiasm about the resources—richness—of the linguistic machinery (‘machinery’ is his word) of the Santali (Sonthál in Cust) language. Cust says (echoing, perhaps, in feeling something of Jones’ apostrophe on Sanskrit) that “the most interesting languages are those which, like the Sonthál, have no literature, and yet have developed a machinery of expression of time and mood, which a Greek might have envied”. I am curious as to why and how Santali interests Cust, and where such interests lead him.

Further, Cust contemplated and actually launched a scheme to prepare a comparative grammar of Munda. In his introduction to A Sketch of the Modern Languages of the East Indies he writes (presumably in c. 1877), “The Government of Bengal has now, at my earnest request, commissioned the Rev Mr. Skrefsrud [the author of a good grammar of Santali and other works on these Santals] to prepare a “Comparative Grammar of the Kolarian Family.” Cust’s earnest request, apparently, carried weight, and he was one to prosecute his
requests energetically. However, the scheme\textsuperscript{6} and the grammar foundered somewhere, and I have no idea if materials for such a grammar are still to be found in the archives of the Bengal Government, the India Office, or the Scandinavian mission Skreisruud represented. It may be premature to celebrate one hundred years of accomplishment in comparative Munda studies; but this is the centenary of the first published notice of a plan to prepare a comparative grammar of Munda. However, nothing approximating a comparative grammar of Munda\textsuperscript{7} (note that Beames' comparative grammar of Indo-Aryan was published in 1872-79, and the first edition of Caldwell's comparative Dravidian grammar in 1856) appeared in print until the publication of Pinnow's \textit{Versuch} in 1959.

Whatever official—governmental—difficulties there may have been, hindrances or other obligations the Reverend Mr Skreisruud may have had, there were good reasons why such a comparative grammar would have been difficult to produce in the eighteen eighties. These have less to do with the substantive difficulties of reconstructing Munda phonology and morphology—enough had been done on Dravidian, on Semitic, and on Finno-Ugric—with languages no 'odd' than Munda—than with the availability and adequacy of data on many of the languages then known. And there were at least two languages, Remo (Boñda) and Gta ? (Di̱dayi) that were completely unknown. After the \textit{LSI}'s fourth volume was published in 1906 there was little coordinated effort to promote comparative Munda studies. There were some closer examinations of existing data (by Przyluski, and later—and more importantly—by H. Maspéro), but the languages that still had received no linguistic attention remained unknown. There were certainly no native Munda scholars (or scholarly traditions) to take over the job, as there were for Dravidian and Indo-Aryan. Nor was there any academic interest in the subject\textsuperscript{8}. Missionary scholarship did flourish but was localized and concentrated on particular languages spoken by large groups of people, mostly in Bihar and some adjacent districts of Bengal and
Orissa. (I am writing with reference to the present boundaries of these states, which of course did not exist then.) There was the unique case of G. V. Ramamurti, an Andhra man of letters and social reformer, who did a great deal of work on Sora. There was some interest in learning the languages on the part of ICS administrators, and tea garden owners (for their foremen and supervisors of tribal labor), but again the attention was on the same languages: Santali, Mundari, Ho, Kharia and Sora. (Gandhian uplift workers in the tribal areas did not encourage the cultivation of tribal languages although a number of the Christian missionaries did.) It remained for the Anthropological Survey of India (and Sudhibhusan Bhattacharya) and to foreign scholars, Pinnow and myself, to unwittingly resuscitate Cust’s comparative aims and vistas, and to do the necessary field work on the more obscure languages to make it possible to prepare truly comparative studies of the Munda languages.

Included are the sections on the best known Munda language, Santali (Sonthál), the section on a lesser known language, Juang, and the introductory ‘General section’ of the chapter which summarizes what was known at the time Cust wrote, and exemplifying Cust’s interests and approaches to these languages.

Sonthál.
The beautiful and vigorous language of Sontháls comes first. The tribe is found at intervals much scattered in a strip of the Province of Bengal extending about 350 miles from the River Ganges to the River Baitarni, in the Districts of Bhagalpur, Sonthál Perganas, Birbhum, Bankooruh, Hazaribagh, Manbhum, Midnapur, Singhbhum, and Balasore. The Sonthál Perganas are the nucleus of the tribe, but only lately occupied by a move forward. They are Pagans, and peaceful agriculturists, in number about one million. Several Protestant Missionaries have settled down among them, and find them very docile. One of these, Skrefsrud, has published in 1873 a Grammar,
superseding the one published in 1852 by Phillips. It is asserted that the Sonthál is as superior to its sister-Languages, as Sanskrit is to its cognate Languages, and that it is not even second to the Osmanli-Turki in grammatical structure. Its verb-system is artificial and complex, yet logical and transparent, for it possesses voice, mood, tense, gender, number, person, case, conjugations, including five voices, five moods, twenty-three tenses, three numbers and four cases. The Language is unwritten, and is now rendered in Roman and Bengali Characters. There exist common roots for very primitive ideas in Sanskrit and Sonthál. Portions of the Bible have been translated into this Language in the Roman Character, and many educational works published. Four Dialects are recorded, which is not improbable, considering that there has been no settled standard till now; that the Language-Field surrounded and intermixed with other Kolarian, as well as Dravidian and Aryan Languages.

Juang.

The Juangs, Malhars, or Puttooahs, are grouped in the Kolarian Family on account of linguistic affinity. Their Language approaches nearest to that of the Kharia, Dalton considers it by no means certain, that the Juangs may not at one time have spoken a different Language. The words for common and familiar objects are identical with Mundari and Sonthál; but they have lived so long in the Tributary Muhals of Cuttack, among an Uriya population, that they have adopted Uriya words, and there are words also, which are neither Aryan, Kolarian, nor Dravidian. It is possible, that they are the remnant of one of the great Forest-races, which occupied the whole mountainous region before the immigration of the Kolarians. They are found in Dhekánah and Keonjhir of Cuttack, in the Province of Bengal. They cultivate the steep sides of hills in settlements of their own, of about twenty houses, but intermixed with other tribes. They repudiate all connections
with any other tribe, and maintain, that their Language is separate from all others, and that they are the earliest human beings of the locality. They are a most primitive people in habits and customs. They had till lately no knowledge of iron. They neither spin nor weave, nor have the least knowledge of pottery. They practise the Jhum system of agriculture. The women used not to wear a particle of clothing, but bunches of leaves before and behind, hanging to a girdle of beads. They were deterred by superstition from wearing clothes, and believed that, if they did, they would be devoured by tigers. Hunter mentions that within the last few years a large supply of cloth has been distributed by the State, and engagements taken from the men, that the women should henceforth wear clothing. There is nothing but Vocabularies of their Language. They are Pagans, and have no Character. Neither tribe nor Language are likely to survive.

General.

To George Campbell we are indebted for the word "Kolarian", as the name of a class of Non-Aryans in Central India, who are not Dravidians. Hodgson had first drawn attention to the affinity betwixt the aborigines of Central India and Southern India with the aborigines of the Himalayas. Max Muller, in his celebrated letter on the Turanian Languages to Baron Bunsen, pointed out, there were clearly two distinct Families of Languages. Caldwell made up the Dravidian Family by the inclusion of some of the tribes of Central India and the exclusion of others. Campbell collected roughly those excluded tribes into a Family of their own, and in 1866 called them Kolarian, and that name is now accepted. Like the Dravidian, it is morphologically Agglutinative, but with distinct characteristics. Like the Tibeto-Burman, it probably found its way to its present habitat from the plateau of Tibet, but it has so long been cut off from all connection with that Family by the storm-
wave of the Aryan immigration down the valley of the Ganges, that nothing but faint analogies survive. It must decidedly be treated, as an independent Family, occupying ground in the Provinces of Bengal and Madras and the Central Provinces, chiefly in the hills, and intermixed with the more energetic Families, the Aryan and Dravidian. Nearly two millions have kept their Language. Ethnologically the number is greater, but whole tribes, like the Bhils in Khandesh, Malwa, and Rajpootana, the Bhars, Bhuyas, c. have adopted an Aryan Language in debased Dialects. While, on the one hand, Trumpp is of opinion that Brahui, which I have provisionally classed as Aryan, is Kolarian; on the other hand, from the necessity of the case, I am constrained to class the Mal-Paharia, or Naia Dumka, as Kolarian, or leave them out altogether, or form a separate Family for them, which would be hardly justified by the scanty material.

It is worthy of remark, that the Kolarian Family has a higher degree of inflection, and more complete indigenous Vocabularies, than the Dravidian. Everything for the present is provisional, and the following Languages are entered.—

I. Sonthál. VI. Kur.
II. Mundári, Bhumij, VII. Savára.
    Ho, or Kole. VIII. Mehto.
III. Khária. IX. Gadaba.
IV. Juang. X. Mal-Pahária.
V. Korwa.

I can only allude to the hypothesis, based upon alleged linguistic affinities and resemblance of names, betwixt the Language of the Mundas and of the Monds of Pegu in the Mon-Anam Family, which will be described further on. There are names of weight on both sides. A much more intimate knowledge of the structure of Mundári is required, before any opinion can be formed.
The following characteristics of this Family may be noted: In its genders it makes a distinction betwixt animate and inanimate objects. It has no oblique forms for its nouns. It has a dual number, while the Dravidian Family has not. It has no negative voice. It has two forms for each tense, which in most of the Languages gives the verb a transitive and intransitive meaning. It varies the meaning of a root by infixing syllables, but never changes, like the Dravidian, any of the letters of the root itself.

In this section I would first like to suggest that on the basis of the list of his writings in the Memoir (without having examined most of the books and essays), Cust's work seems to be of particular interest to a student of language and evangelical religion: language and translation, language and worship, and all various other connections of language with religion. (Cust has a book on the language and religions of India—which I have not seen. How and why the two are conjoined in this work is something I would like to know more about.) Cust (and perhaps many Christian evangelical students of languages) has little of the contempt of many administrators for 'tribal'-backward-languages as very imperfect linguistic instruments—of primitive and intellectually—if not racially—inferior peoples. Nor does he suggest (this too was—is a common attitude among Indian provincial administrators in Indian states with many tribals and tribal languages) that the sooner these languages are dead, the better for everyone. Nor does he seem to have such ideas as Rousseau's: that "Oriental tongues lose their life and warmth when they are written" whereas European "tongues are better suited to writing than speaking" (of course Rousseau knew no Oriental languages himself). As Cust grows older his interests in language become increasingly practical, and are directed toward the problems of translating the Bible—in Asia, in Africa, in the Americas, and Oceania. But what is particularly interesting about Cust's Bible-translating commitments (again, I am going by the titles of books that are not accessible to me, and that I

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have not read) is that they are tied in with wide reading of classical texts and modern ethnographies, and with his own treatises on comparative religion. Cust wrote a book of *Essays on the Common Features which Appear in All Forms of Religious Belief* (1895). This was followed in 1904 by (the third edition of) *Clouds on the Horizon. An essay of the various forms of belief which stand in the way of the acceptance of real Christian faith by the educated (sic) natives of Asia, Africa, America and Oceania*. Thus, a general, preliminary treatise, on religious beliefs is followed up by a practical study of how these beliefs block the acceptance of true Christianity by those holding them—and presumably he offers suggestions as to what to do about these obstacles. Cust is also the author of *Languages of the Bible*, and the more practically oriented *Normal Addresses on Bible-diffusion for the use of the younger clergy*, of *Africa Rediviva, Or, The occupation of Africa by Christian Missionaries* etc. etc.

Perhaps Professor Penner or someone else interested in evangelical religion and linguistic investigation, who has access to Cust’s voluminous works, will go into these subjects seriously.

Given Cust’s encomium on the linguistic resources of the Santali language, I wondered what sort of correlates he sought or assumed in the culture of the Santals, and what prospects in modern India he envisioned for them. In what I have read of Cust, there are no answers to such questions. He had no direct contact with the Santals, and it was easy to dissociate the language and its machinery from its speakers and their communities. The richer the linguistic machinery, the more fit it was as a vessel for a translation of the Holy Bible. The Bible was, of course, to be translated into all the languages of the world. A written translation of the Bible and the use of it presumes literacy, and some education on the part of some of the community. But education through—or in order to read—the Bible was clearly something different from the sorts of education advocated for other, literate, and regionally dominant
and politically important speech communities. I don’t know what the British “Orientalists”\textsuperscript{10} had to say about less important non-standard languages, e.g., the tribal languages we have been talking about if anything. They had enough of a fight on their hands in supporting, e.g., Bengali, and it was as the proper medium of administration and education for Bengal that Bengali was promoted.\textsuperscript{11}

The possibilities of education in such “minimal” languages and, horribile dictum, the possibilities of their utilization in administration (the administration of what? What kind of administration?) had probably not been conceived of, although the situation for such ‘tribal’ communities and languages as Khasi were different from the situations in which the North Munda-speaking Santals, etc. found themselves.

The promotion of tribal languages such as Santali by the English had to come from and through evangelical interests, which often went along with a real interest in the languages themselves. The very different situations to which this led can be examined. We have such extremes as the case of the Car-Nicobarese who enthusiastically adopted Anglican Christianity, and who have replaced all foreign persons in their ministry by native Nicobarese. And at the other extreme are certain Korku groups upon whom Christian missions and their Bible-translations have had little or no effect.

Two sample passages by general historians on India on the ‘tribals’ or ‘Darks’ by way of introduction to some observations of mine on tribals in Indian literature. First, a fragment from D. K. Kosambi, \textit{The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India}, London 1965:

“Linguistic research is even less fruitful for this stage. The languages... of India ... are often grouped into three classes ... (3) the ‘Austro-Asiatic’ group into which most primitive languages of India are quite arbitrarily thrust: Mundāri, Orāon, Santāli, etc. The theory was that these primitive people were pushed off into corners of the jungle by Dravidians, whom the Aryans in turn drove southwards.
Kosambi is right in rejecting simple-minded notions of language and culture correlations, and of the role of migration in culture historical interpretations. But one of the 'Austro-Asiatic' languages he mentions, Orāon, is not Austro-Asiatic, and the other two are very closely related, and hardly very primitive (linguistically or culturally) groups. Nor do the likeliest reconstructions of Munda culture history (and the speculation about means of production of Munda groups before supposed Indo-Aryan—and Dravidian—influence) show them to be as primitive as Kosambi (and his, rightly derogated, sources) think they are. (Page 41.)

A very different sort of historian, Nirad Chaudhuri, writes more passionately of the 'Darks' as follows: (The Continent of Circe, London 1965.)

"Sylvanus ... He of the forest... was an adjective and epithet, ... there were none which could suit the dark aboriginals better from the point of view of the Aryans. They had a streak of dread mingled with their dislike of the Darks, ... One Sanskrit verse refers to them as 'wanderers in the woods and friend to their womenfolk.'

He goes on:
"To no set of men could life set a harder problem of survival... Without seeing them and their life nobody would have found it easy to believe that man could combine, of all things, hunting, love, and wisdom so harmoniously. (However)... that terrible blight of all primitive peoples—nearness to a high civilization has hung over them. Besides they had to face the implacable enmity of the Aryans.... etc. etc.

A little further on:
"Whenever (Westernized Hindus) show any solicitude for the welfare of the primitive tribes, or even any intellectual interest in them, they are even more affected," (i.e., affecting 'a British attitude as the legatee(s) of British imperialism.... The pose is transparent."
Chaudhuri himself, is a well-known Anglophile, and he shifts here into a high Elwin-esque style, but a style unconstrained by the realistic problems of living in tribal villages and administering tribal areas that Elwin had sometimes to keep in mind. I leave to the reader to judge Chaudhuri's own poses (and their transparency).

There are at least two main Indian literary attitudes toward 'tribals' (again I make use of the lumping together of all 'tribals', without making ethnic, cultural, regional, or chronological discriminations). The various traditional Sanskritic uses of 'tribals' (Kirātas, Bhillas, Śabarasa and Śabarīs, Vānaras etc.) include roles as unexpectedly devoted devotees, and faithful helpers (of e.g., Rama for the Vānaras)—sometimes faithful antagonists (true antagonists are another kind of devotee), sometimes merely as a part of the natural fauna of the woods where various epic characters came and lived, or passed through. They also figure as in the Ekalavya story as more presumptuous outsiders, who are unexpectedly talented, but who must be kept in their places. Again, the lumping, together of texts, contexts and motifs, is indiscriminate. Some of these stories, e.g., that of Ekalavya, have been retold and elaborated in the modern literatures from a more progressive, and anti-Brahmanical standpoint.

This style of traditional description of jungle-dwellers, and celebration of their pictorial lives in an ornate 'classical' style apparently persists—or persisted—until early in this century, and there were descriptions (in verse) in more or less classical style of the idealised lives of adivasi groups. I was once given a short Marathi epic on the Korku in this style (I no longer have it, and can give no reference except for the title, Korku).

The Old Tamil poems are very different from the classical Sanskrit ones. A. K. Ramanujan (in The Interior Landscape, 1967) describes and translates Old Tamil akam love poetry. A poem of one of the five chief phases or types of akam has as its characteristic human feeling uri, lovers' union. (The types each have are an associated landscape, time of day, season, bird,
beast, tree, kind of body of water and occupation-and-people). The lovers' union type has night as its time of day, early frost as its season, the waterfall as the kind of body of water, and gazing the millet harvest and gathering honey as the occupation of the (characteristic of uri) hill tribes people. Thus the hill tribesmen here are tribals in a more moralised and highly organised landscape, and going along with the elephants and peacocks and waterfalls. This is not the place to show or to explain (see Ramanujan's book for this) the remarkable subtlety and modulation these poetic structures of Old Tamil are capable of. For our purposes, this is one more kind of old literary form in which tribals figure.

Another way of looking at tribals (not very closely) makes use of the (European-introduced, presumably) notion of the noble savage. This sort of attitude is seen, for instance, in some modern Bengali short fiction. Here—and this sort of conceptualization is widely represented not only in Europe, but, e.g. in Chinese stories (written in English as well as Chinese) written by Chinese living in Malaysia—the tribals (e.g., Santals in a Bengali story)—the parallels with a Chinese story are close—are seen as more direct uncomplicated, honest and emotionally responsive, less devious and intellectualising than their more cultured—and literary—observers.

The more or less realistic observation of tribal life in India—to my knowledge—is much newer. Perhaps the novels in Oriya of Gopi Nath Mohanty—who was himself a civil servant in the tribal areas of Orissa for many years—notably Poraja, represent the fullest version of an attempt to describe the lives of the tribals realistically in detail, not without a good deal of attention to their non-tribal neighbors, officials, etc.

These miscellaneous and simplistic observations are meant to lead to the suggestion that the various notions of the 'forest' (and/or the 'jungle') as opposed to the town and the city, and to the village (in increasingly deforested lowland and upland regions) is important over the centuries in the study of the various ancient and modern literatures. (I am aware of the great
complexities of social structure in India but, nevertheless, I think these rough distinctions are valid.) I think that books, such as Roy Harvey Pearce's *Savagism and Civilization, A Study of the [American] Indian and the American Mind*. Raymond Williams' *The Country and the City*, and various studies of blacks in American literature (white and black) might usefully serve as preliminary models for studies of the role of tribals in Indian literatures and lives. Obviously, the parallels with the American situations are not close. There is nothing in the United States like the long-inter-involvement of communities—tribal and non-tribal—in India, nothing, for instance, like Jagannath ritual and worship in India, with its certain—but not very clear—'tribal' origins and its continuing 'tribal' connections.

Bengal and Bengali writers have, perhaps, been more interested than most in the various alien and 'tribal' populations bordering Bengal, from the Santals in the region where Tagore built his Viśwa-Bhārati University, to the Tibetans (and Nepalis) of Satyajit Ray's *Kanchenjunga*. More translations from tribal songs and folktales into Hindi, Bengali, Oriya have been made lately than ever before, and the tribals of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa are probably more visible in the literatures of India than they have ever been. Historians too, notably two from Bihar, K. Suresh Singh and J. C. Jha are studying the not insignificant historical materials on some of the North Munda peoples.

Professor Chatterji's own wide knowledge and interests in ancient and modern India made him someone whose thoughts on tribal themes in ancient and modern Indian literature would be particularly welcome.

A brief biographical note on Cust (drawn entirely from his own *Memoir*, and from the obituary notice in the *JRAS*) will conclude this paper. Apart from the intrinsic interest of Cust’s career as he describes it, his biography has some features in common—the major differences are obvious—with that of Professor Chatterji. Both led—and Professor Chatterji happily continues to lead—remarkably energetic and productive lives,
both exhibited broad scholarly and practical interests, and made long and widespread contacts in the course of much travelling and corresponding. Cust calls his memoir, "A Narrative on the way in which Men Worked in the Reign of Queen Victoria"; the accomplishments of Professor Chatterji and some of his contemporaries also show an amplitude and abundance that one might characterize as Victorian.

Cust was born in England into an aristocratic English family in 1821, and he died there in 1909. Most of the years between 1843 and 1867 were spent in India. Cust was educated at Eton, leaving in 1840 to go to the East India College, Haileybury. He left Haileybury in 1842 and arrived in India in 1843, attending Fort William College in 1843-44; from there he went on to various positions of increasing rank and responsibility in the Indian Civil Service. Before going to India he received training in Sanskrit, Urdu (Hindustani), Persian and Arabic as well as the usual modern and classical European languages. He increased his proficiency in Urdu and Sanskrit at Fort William College, and studied Bengali there. He won a gold medal for proficiency in Bengali, and one for Urdu. The other Indian languages he learned well in his years in India were Hindi and Panjabi. I will not go into his adventurous and vigorously described earlier years in the Punjab, nor the later years when he held more senior—and sedentary—posts (Member of Council of Viceroy of India for making Laws, Home Secretary to the Government of India, and finally, Member of Board of Revenue, Northwest Provinces). I am told that a biography is being prepared by Professor Peter Penner, Mount Allison University, Sackville, New Brunswick, Canada and that this will be devoted largely to Cust's official career in India.

After a number of personal tragedies in India—the death of his first wife, and years later that of his second wife, and of several of his children, and the deaths there of a number of his friends and contemporaries, he decided he could not remain there any longer. Not without protracted feelings of
guilt and disappointment in not filling his obligations and duties to the Indian Civil Service and to his respected superiors in the Service, he decided that he must retire from his ICS to supervise the care and education of his children in England. He then, gradually, discovered that he wanted to devote his remaining years to a variety of endeavors in reading and writing on various topics of scholarly interest, and to the "one great subject of the evangelization of the non-Christian world." On his return to England in 1868, at the request of his superiors he wrote the code for revenue law for Northern India. He was judged to be the best qualified man to do this. Then, after pulling himself together (something he speaks of several times in the Memoir), he resumed and reorganized his life and that of his family in England, and began the reading and writing on linguistic subjects that were to engage him for at least the next ten years. He writes that he spent the years 1866 to 1875 on his language interests. In 1872 he drew up a scheme for the general study of all the languages of the world, a scheme which was to result in publication (in book form) on the languages of South and Southeast Asia, of Africa, of Oceania, and in numerous articles in learned journals (most of these collected in the eight privately printed volumes of his linguistic and oriental essays) on languages in several parts of the world (Central Asia, in particular). From the late seventies on his scholarly interests were more and more drawn to studies of the religions of the world, and the practical problems of evangelism.

Cust expressed his thoughts on many subjects, among them characteristically, the subject of what a retired ICS man in England ought to do with himself. He writes,

... If Life be spared, is its residue to be given to hunting, fishing, card-playing, loafing about town? Has the retired Anglo-Indian official no duty? It seems to me that, grateful for having got home with a competence, when so many have remained behind, he ought in his own way to give England the benefit of his Indian experience, and to
do all the good he could before his course be run, whether he be appreciated or not.

Obviously Cust thinks he has a duty, and while recognizing, "no doubt, great disadvantages, his years out of England have left him with..." he sees that the retired official has other much needed advantages" (about which more below). He recommends—and obviously has followed and would follow these recommendations himself—that the retired official engage in scholarly studies, in particular in the study of languages and religions, presumably starting with those of the regions of the world in which he spent his professional years. Archeology (of the classical regions, of the Middle East, of Central Asia, of India) was rapidly developing, new ancient civilizations were turning up, and these greatly interested Cust. He also recommended and engaged in regular—several months every summer—travel abroad. He writes,

A good temper, a civil tongue, a pleasant smile, a working knowledge of the great Vernaculars of Europe, and of Arabic, will always secure to him a welcome and information, and leave a friend in every place which he traverses. He will thus shake off all chauvinism: to him there will be neither Jew nor Gentile: he will find, that a Turk is not a bad companion, a Romish Priest, an accomplished fellow traveller, an Arab a good fellow, and a Russian one of the most obliging of men. Life and reality will be given to his books of Travel: Athens, Rome, Jerusalem, Constantinople, Carthage, the Pyramids, Mt. Caucasus, Kief, Moscow, the fiords of Norway, will ever rise up before him in grateful memories.

He also recommended that his retired official engage in local politics, in literature, and that he assist the great Christian evangelical enterprise. One advantage he notes,¹⁴ that the ICS man has acquired in his professional career is "the ability to bring things to an issue and to record a decision." This skill in Cust's view seems to have been in short supply among members of the very numerous committees on which he
served, and one imagines the mixed bag of squires, clerics, academics, and "female faddists" dithering, ineffectually waiting for the clear-thinking and even-handed ex-ICS man to pull things together and get something decided. In line with his love of travel, and with his active involvement in learned societies, Cust was a regular participant in the international orientalist congresses, beginning with the second one held in London in 1874. When he was too old to attend (the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth congresses) he delivered papers in absentia. (These orientalists' congresses were much more leisurely and aristocratic affairs than they have since become.) Cust was not only continuously active and productive but his activities and productions were all remarkably organized and systematized, and in the Memoir he is continually presenting his reader with lists, outlines and schemata. He not only lists all his official posts in the Indian Civil Service, and all his numerous publications, but he also lists addresses he has given, sermons preached in London, missionary societies of which he was a member (more than thirty of these) scientific societies of which he was a member (sixteen), poems written, "remarkable places I have stood at different times on," and long lists of people met or corresponded with. The latter include such very different people as the Empress Marie-Louise, Talleyrand, Moody and Sankey, Ismail Khedive of Egypt, a Shah of Iran, and U. S. Grant; numerous English and European royal personages; Dickens, Thackeray, Tennyson, Matthew Arnold; whole slew of ecclesiastics, battalions of civil servants, shoals of scholars; Dwarkanath Tagore, Ishwara Chandra Vidyasagar and a great number of Indian royal figures from the Emperor Bahadur Shah to a host of nawabs and rajahs. Among the Indological scholars mentioned are, H. H. Wilson, Tawney, Cowell, Eggeling, Grierson, Beames, Vinson, Oppert, Senart, Darmesteter, Whitney, Weber, Benfey, Roth, Böhtling, Max Müller, Trumpp, Bühler, and many others.

I have had comparatively little to say in this section and the earlier ones about Cust's linguistic views; in part this is because
I have only been able to read a small fraction of Cust's linguistic publication. But it is also the case that I don't think that his linguistic views are of special interest. Certainly he has read—and in some cases reviewed—important new treatises (in journals accessible to me) of the time such as Muller's Grundriss der Sprachwissenschift and von Humboldt's linguistic study of Kawi, and he has interesting comments on language change and the development of writing systems, but his chief concern was to organize and systematize certain basic information about all the language of the world. This he did because of the considerable intrinsic interest of the linguistic materials, but always with an eye to evangelical possibilities, and he wanted to present his material in a standard and accessible form. In the book on the languages of the East Indies, at any rate, he has not much to say nor do his studies exemplify anything worth discussion from a theoretical linguistic point of view.

His linguistic judgments—some of them based on scrappy evidence—are usually shrewd. He is careful to disclaim knowledge where he lacks it and it might seem that he is claiming to know more than he does know. His sociolinguistic prognoses—usually predictions of the rapid obsolescence of some tribal languages—are frequently premature. Most of these languages survived—and some still are very much alive—longer than Cust expected. Occasionally his gusto and his need to bring things to a prompter decision lead him to make what seem rather cavalier decisions. For instance, the genetic affiliation (as genetic affiliation was then understood by some) of Brahui, Cust implies, depends on which German scholar you like: the choices offered then were Iranian or Kollarian! The data do not preclude a better decision.

Cust's work on Kollarian was not important enough in his own eyes to call for any mention in the Memoir outside the listing of his publications. After Cust, Grierson's associate Konow did some work (with an eye to comparison) in the field on Munda, but no more than the Linguistic Survey of India
required; his interests lay elsewhere. Such missionaries as Skreisrud, Hoffman and Bodding—all with some philological training and interests, and all with long experience of the particular language (Mundari for Hoffman, Santali for the other two) they wrote grammars and other linguistic studies of—had not the time, the data or the knowledge of comparative method to pursue comparative Munda studies further, although the dictionaries of Hoffman and Bodding do give cognate forms in other Munda languages where they could find them. Thus, no one with the requisite combination of interests and professional training, and resources and connections took Munda studies in the field much further until the forties of this century. It was then, when Sudhibhushan Bhattacharyya began his work, and in the fifties, when Pinnnow and the present writer entered the Munda scene, that comparative Munda studies once more emerged, and, in a small way, begin to flourish.

FOOTNOTES

1. The paper on Korku published under Cust’s name which is mentioned in the LSI and in Pinnnow, Cust attributes to A. Norton, who mysteriously left it behind at a scholarly meeting, presumably intending that it be published.


6. Perhaps Cust was the sole promoter of the comparative grammar, and with his absence from the Indian scene and the redirection of his interests the project lapsed, with no regrets anywhere. Cust knew Grierson, and one wonders what influence Cust may have had in supporting and launching the great Linguistic Survey of India project.
7. One might consider the LSI treatment (1906) and Konow's as a minimal and heavily North India (Bengal, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh)-biased comparative grammar.

8. A good indication of the total lack of interest in Munda publications can be seen in the collections of (what was formerly) the Royal Asiatic Society (Calcutta); their library which is good for standard Indological matters has almost nothing whatever on the Munda languages, even though much of this material was published in or near Calcutta.

9. There is a curious passage in a speech of the great enemy of "Orientalism", T. B. Macaulay ("The East-India Company's Charter Bill", July 10, 1833), who seems to be speaking in favor of a primitive language, Cherokee. Macaulay writes: "...Whatever be the languages—whatever be the sciences, which it is, in any age or country, the fashion to teach, those who become the greatest proficient in those languages and those sciences, will generally be the flower of the youth—the most ambitious of honourable distinctions. ...If, instead of learning Greek, we learned the Cherokee, the man who understood the Cherokee best, who made the most correct and melodious Cherokee verses—who comprehended most accurately the effect of the Cherokee particles—would generally be a superior man to him who was destitute of these accomplishments." But the Cherokee language that Macaulay is hypothetically promoting has a cultural role in English education suspiciously parallel to that of Greek. Conceiving what would have had to have happened before it could be taught at, say, Eton (Cust's old school) makes it clear that this "Cherokee" is denatured of all but the most abstract linguistic properties of that language.

10. I am not well read in the history of the Orientalist movement. I have relied on David Kopf's book (British Orientalism and The Bengal Renaissance, Calcutta 1969), and also on Clive's chapters on Macaulay. Anyone interested in pursuing these matters would undoubtedly find much more material. One man mentioned by Kopf who was an Orientalist, and did a great deal of work in the Himalayan area (on a variety of Tibeto-Burman languages) is Brian Hodgson. A closer examination of his views would be valuable.

11. William Carey (1822) quoted in D. Kopf, British Orientalism and The Bengal Renaissance, (1969); "Convinced as I am that the Bengalee language is superior in point of intrinsic merit to every language spoken in India, and in point of real utility yields to none, I can never persuade myself to advise a step which would place it in a degraded point of view in the College. While therefore as a first and second pundit are retained in the Persian and Hindoostanee Departments I must consider them as equally necessary in this."

12. I am grateful to Barney Cohn of the University of Chicago for
information on Cust and Cust materials, and for the loan of his copy of Cust's Memoir.

13. One should have Cust on his job—as he saw it—in India, (a sample: his dedication to one of his books is TO ALL THOSE WHO HAVE AN INTEREST IN THE ART OF GOVERNING SUBJECT-RACES, WHO HAVE HEARTS TO LOVE THEM, AND SYMPATHIES WIDE ENOUGH TO CARE FOR THEIR BEST INTERESTS, MORAL, MATERIAL, AND SPIRITUAL...) but it is impossible in a footnote to give any sort of representative quotation. I recommend the pages in the Memoir beginning on page 86 with "General Remarks at Close of My Indian Career." Two quotations from pages 86-95 to give the flavor of Cust's opinions: "A residence in Great Britain of thirty years after India [this section of the Memoir is titled "Exile in India"] clears the intellect, and enfranchises the judgment. We think with pity on the philosophy or train of thought, engendered in the prolonged silence of the Indian Civil Station, and the absence of all exterior intercourse in the solitary Indian Camp; the blank years of hateful routine, with no breath of intellectual air from the outside, no germ of new ideas, the result of contact with enlightened contemporaries." Although Cust elsewhere talks of preparing lives of eminent Indians, reading more in the Indian classics, etc. these contemporaries are of course English or European. A final quotation to give some idea of Cust on religion; this is from a Resolution on page 90. "Spiritually, I must constantly read, mark, and learn: watch the great course of events, the customs, and modes of thought, of Nations, the maxims inculcated in the Religious Books of all Nations, ponder on the opinions of all, avoid all dogmatic assertions, get out of the prison of the stupid conservatism of this Century, sweep away all fogs of European medieval and patriotic tradition, try to grasp the whole of the Almighty Plan, the story of His dealings with the whole of His poor Children for all of whom His Son died on the Cross, not for the poor unit alone, the mere cypher, the tiny church, to which we happen by the mere change of our parentage to belong, a mere fraction of divided Christianity."

14. Cust writes, "He has had time to make up his mind and even to record practical opinion, in a given space of time, and this is just what his contemporary at the public school, the parson, the squire, the gentleman at large cannot do: they argue incoherently and at great length, when down comes the Anglo-Indian, who has learned to economize time: he may be right or wrong, but he brings matters to an issue, and a decision is recorded."

15. I don't know how many of the various 'faddists' he complains about in several places (e.g., page 86 'crude fads of ignorant philanthropists in Europe... Anti-Opium, Anti-Liquor Traffic, Anti-Cantonment Arrangements, Anti-Early Marriages of Natives) were women, i.e., the extent to
which women were in the forefront of e.g., anti-child marriage agitation. Cust's own activities with regard to women (again, I speak only from a perusal of his long list of publications) were extensive, although precisely what he advocated is not clear from such titles as *The Indian Women, Polygamy in Christian Church, On the Punishment of Women for Certain Offenses, The Female Evangelist, Case of Rukma Bai, Women's Work and Church of Rome*, etc. Perhaps his activities on behalf of women were an extension of his very active work in the anti-slavery movement.

16. The "muddle" which is so pervasive an element of decision-making in India as seen by its English Victorian administrators is of course a common topic of complaint among them... ("Muddle", it seems, was not lacking in committee rooms back in England either.) Thus, for instance, the very 'pro-Indian' Edward Thompson's remarks quoted in Benita Parry's *Delusions and Discoveries* (1972, p. 170). She writes, "The way he (Edward Thompson) contrasts Indian muddle with British efficiency is just as conventional: (she goes on to quote Thompson) 'There is much to say for autocracy in India. It is exasperating to work with committees or boards. The one vigorous Englishman can get the job done; served with Indian colleagues, he is held up and blocked. It is almost impossible to exaggerate the casualness, the lack of interest, the miscellaneous futility, that many Indians bring as their sole contribution to any business in which they assist.'" (From Edward Thompson's *The Reconstruction of India*, 1930.)

17. Cust lists among the sources for the Memoir six Manuscript Notebooks "from 1874 to 1898, in six volumes" *Videnda, Agenda, Notanda, Quaerenda, Legenda and Visenda.*