CHAPTER-1

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

The scope of the study of language has varied at different stages in the development of linguistic theory. A stage has now evolved in the field of linguistics where the importance of an integrated approach to the study of language is being recognized by scholars. Sociolinguistics may be described as a mode of linguistic description which studies the use of language in its social context. This approach emphasizes the necessity of a social explanation in the description of linguistic phenomena. A sociolinguistic approach seeks to explain the organization of diversity in speech unlike a structural approach which brushes aside variation, in an attempt to find the invariance or homogeneity in language structure.

During the earliest phase of traditional grammars which dates back to fifth century Greece, language study came under the realm of 'philosophy'. Grammar later developed as an important component of the Graeco-Roman educational curriculum. During this period, however, linguistic scholarship was confined to the study of classical languages. It was during the Renaissance period that interest in vernacular languages developed enormously and grammars came to be written down in great numbers. These grammars, however, were based on the model of the existing Latin grammars, due to the importance attached to the classical languages. It is said that grammarians felt the need to 'fix the rules' for these vernacular languages on the
model of Latin.

The aim of traditional grammars was to prescribe the rules for the correct use of language and hence they came to be known as 'prescriptive' or 'normative' grammars. This aim stemmed from the belief that the main task of a literate was to preserve the language of the classics. The written language, and primarily the literary form of a language (that of the classics) was considered to be the standard or norm. These grammars did not conform to the usage of language although usage was current and well established. In order to evaluate the correctness of forms, attempts were usually made to establish links with the classical languages by tracing the etymology of words. Therefore, giving etymological descriptions was regarded as an important task of grammarians and the techniques of historical linguistics were developed during this phase.

A reaction against the historical approach to language study and the normative preoccupations of this period gathered momentum during the course of the 19th century. This gave way to the 'descriptive' approaches to language study which were concerned with analysing the current state of a language. In this approach it was believed that the grammar of a language, which was essentially a complex of phonological, morphological and syntactic patterns could be inferred from the evidence of attested usage. It was held that the grammar of any language could be empirically discovered from a body of language data without reliance on any assumed principles of general grammar. The steps involved in this method were observation of data.
classification of the data and its analysis based upon the formal properties and distribution of units.

The 20th century saw an increased interest in the study of the structure or form of a language. Foremost among the 'structuralists' was Ferdinand De Saussure whose 'cours de linguistique génerale' was published in 1916. An important concept introduced into linguistics by De Saussure was the distinction between the diachronic and synchronic study of language. By the diachronic study of a language is meant the description of its historical development through time. By the synchronic study of a language is meant the description of a particular 'state' of that language at some 'point' in time. Saussure held that historical considerations are irrelevant to the investigation of particular temporal states of a language. Several linguists argued that there cannot be an absolute separation between synchrony and diachrony, because, very often in a synchronic description of a language there are some features which require a diachronic explanation. For instance, a diachronic explanation is required for forms that, owing to regular diachronic phonological development, present a synchronic morphological irregularity. Diachrony appears as synchronic dynamism when some elements of a diachronic character are accounted for in terms of synchronic stylistic values, and earlier forms which are becoming obsolete, appear synchronically as archaisms.

Grammars up to this point dealt primarily with the morphological aspect of a language, only marginally describing its syntax. These grammars could not account for the generative
properties of a language. Noam Chomsky's (Syntactic Structures, 1957) Generative grammar gave a new dimension to the structural analysis of language. The aim of this grammar was not only to describe the language, but formally explicate through a set of rules, the innate ability of a native speaker to produce an infinite number of sentences in his language. This ability of the speaker was referred to as his 'linguistic competence'. Chomsky believed that the structure of language is determined by the structure of the human mind. He maintained that his grammar captures universal features by which the structure of human languages could be systematically explained.

It was argued against Chomsky that he held a rather restricted view of the notion of linguistic competence. The term 'competence' was restricted to knowledge, and within knowledge, to knowledge of grammar. Also, only those features that could be accounted for in terms of the existing research paradigms such as the widely shared features of phonology, morphology and syntax, were recognized as grammatical. The other aspects of a speaker's knowledge and ability were set aside as part of performance.

Formal linguistic analysis up to this phase has been criticized as being an exercise in abstraction divorced from the study of everyday verbal activities. Generative semanticists argued for the increased importance of the role of meaning in grammar than was assigned up to this point. Sociolinguists stressed the significance of socio-cultural dimensions in the analysis of language. They felt that it is important to study the 'use' to which language is put.
The aim of linguists in the present day is not only to describe the structure or form of a language but also explain its 'function' by studying the use of language in its social context or contexts of situation. An important difference between a structural and functional approach to the study of language is that the former treats language as a single homogeneous code whereas the latter seeks to explain the organization of diversity in speech. There is an increasing recognition of the fact that the form of a language must be studied in the context of function. Dell Hymes proposed the concept of 'communicative competence' in order to account for the communicative functions of language (Hymes 1974:75). In his view, a speaker in order to communicate effectively needs not only to know the rules of grammar, but also the cultural rules and rules for interaction in a speech community.

His 'Ethnography of communication' (1974) is an approach to the study of language which takes the 'communicative event' as its basis. Hymes is of the view that, in order to have a sound theory of language one must take into account all aspects of communication. One cannot simply take separate results from, say, linguistics, sociology, ethnology or psychology and attempt to correlate them. One needs to go beyond this, to study the use of language in various contexts and also to examine the characteristics of the persons involved in the speech activity. One needs also to understand the cultural values and beliefs, social institutions and forms, roles and personalities and also the history and ecology of the speech community, to ascertain their bearing on communicative events and patterns.
This approach emphasizes the "primacy of speech to code, function to structure, context to message, the appropriate to the arbitrary or simply possible" (Hymes, Dell., 1974 :9).

Changes in language structure are related to and are often dependent on social action and interaction in a speech community. Several studies have been conducted by linguists which serve to illustrate the necessity of a social perspective to the study of language. William Labov's (1966, 1970) studies on speech variation for instance show the close relation between speech patterns and social structure (ref. sec 1.8). Gumperz (1964) worked on verbal repertoire, Bernstein (1972) on codes, Fishman (1966) on domains of speech and Ervin-Tripp (1972) on sociolinguistic rules, to name a few such studies. What is important about these various works is the fact that an understanding of linguistic phenomena also requires a social description and explanation. For instance, the phenomena of speech variation may be accounted for in terms of socio-cultural dimensions such as age, sex, generation and status difference, education, urbanization and religious affiliation, apart from examining the context of language use. The analysis of variation in statistically significant samples of population has shown that these various factors affect language usage and that speakers selection among variables signals both social background and cultural values. A major objective of sociolinguistic research is to determine what complex of socio-cultural factors are present and activated in a given language situation. Since languages may have a particular function performed by more than
one form, or one form performing more than one function, a sociolinguistic description should also include the correlations between form and function.

According to Dell Hymes:

"'Sociolinguistics' could be taken to refer to use of linguistic data and analyses in other disciplines, concerned with social life, and, conversely, to use of social data and analyses in linguistics. The word could also be taken to refer to correlations between languages and societies, and between particular linguistic and social phenomena" (1974: vii).

1.2 Objectives and scope of the study

This study aims at a sociolinguistic description of the terms of address used for kinship relations in Telugu. By examining one aspect of language use, an attempt is being made to understand the nature of speech variation in the Indian context (For a discussion on 'kinship' ref. sec. 1.12). Several sociolinguistic studies have been conducted on speech variation in India (ref. sec. 1.8). However, there has been an over emphasis on the caste factor in accounting for speech variation. Often speech varieties have been described as 'caste dialects', ignoring the other characteristics of speakers such as his regional background, income level, or education. In order to explain speech differences based on social factors one needs to understand the nature of the traditional social order in India and its bearing on the present day social structure (ref. sec. 1.9, 1.10, 1.11). The prime objective of this study is to
analyse (from the statistical analysis of linguistic data) the various factors that are responsible for speech variation, in the present social context.

Variation in language could be studied along several dimensions. On the horizontal dimension we could study regional or geographical variation (discussed in sections 1.5, 1.6). On the vertical dimension we could study variation based on social factors such as class, caste, education, age or religion (ref. sec 1.7, 1.8). Most speakers also exhibit stylistic variation (discussed in 1.7.6).

In this study, the focus will be on the social dimension of variation in speech, as it is observed in the present day. This study is confined to the town of Nellore in Andhra Pradesh, where Telugu (discussed in section 1.3) is the language that is spoken by the majority of the people.

It has already been stated that recent approaches to language study recognize the importance of the social constitution of its subject matter. This study seeks to reemphasize the fact that an understanding of linguistic phenomena requires a knowledge of the society in which the language is used. The following sections of this chapter contain discussions on regional, social and stylistic variation in language and particularly in Telugu. This chapter also consists of a description of the traditional social order in India, significant social changes leading to the modern Indian society, and the patterns of social stratification in Andhra Pradesh. There is a discussion on kinship, the contribution of linguists to studies in this field, and the kinship system of the Telugu
The second chapter of this thesis deals with the methodology employed in this study. It contains an account of the sampling procedure, the size and nature of the sample, the methods of data collection and the method of analysis. The random sampling method has been used in this survey and the speakers in the sample have been categorized into different economic classes, caste groups, educational categories and age groups.

The third chapter consists of the statistical analysis of the data. The data has been tested by the statistical technique called the Chi-Square test. This is a technique for testing the significance of association between variables. It enables researchers to ascertain whether the frequencies of occurrence of different variants of a variable are a matter of chance or whether there is a significant relationship between the variables under consideration. In this study, the linguistic variables are the different forms of address and the sociological variables are the economic status, caste, education and age of speakers.

The fourth chapter contains an exhaustive description of the kinship terms used in this region. The terms of address used for various categories of kin by speakers of different income groups (classes), castes, ages and education levels have been analyzed.

The fifth chapter is the concluding chapter of this thesis.

1.3 Telugu

Telugu belongs to the Dravidian family of languages. It is one of the fifteen languages originally specified in the eighth schedule to the constitution. It is the official language of the
state of Andhra Pradesh and according to the 1981 census there are 54,226,227 speakers of this language in India. 45,265,854 speakers of Telugu live in Andhra Pradesh. It ranks only next to Hindi in population figures in India.

Before the formation of states along linguistic lines, the speakers of Telugu were widely distributed throughout Peninsular India. A large section of the speakers lived in the erstwhile Madras State (now known as Tamil Nadu). A sizeable number of them settled in several districts of the former Hyderabad State which comprised portions of the Kannada and Marathi speaking areas. Grierson has described Telugu as the "principal language of the Eastern part of the Indian Peninsula from Madras to Bengal" (Grierson, G.A., 1967: 576). The 1981 census reveals that 16.5 percent of the speakers of Telugu live outside Andhra Pradesh.

The speakers of Telugu are not only widespread in the Deccan region, and the rest of India but have also settled in the neighbouring countries. During the Bahmani and Qutabshahi rule (Muslim rulers) the people of this region maintained links directly with Persia and the Arab world. This region (Hyderabad) has also been the meeting place of the cultures of the North and the South. It is said that Urdu originated in the Deccan. The coast of Andhra being studded with ports, its people maintained links in ancient and medieval times with Europe, the Middle East, South East Asia and the Far East. From the coast of Andhra, (the eastern coast of the Indian Peninsula) many scholars of repute, Buddhist and Brahmanical priests, preachers and traders and artisans sailed across the Bay of Bengal to the foreign shores. Nagarjuna, the propounder of Mahayana Buddhism, and Buddhagosh
hailed from this region. Their religion and culture spread in the countries from Cambodia to Java, China, Korea, Japan and Mongolia, Burma, Sri Lanka and Malaysia. The eastern coast of the Indian Peninsula was not only used for dispatching men and material to the above countries but also received the same as part of a cultural exchange. The Satavahanas or Andhra kings who described themselves as the lords of the three oceans, also actively promoted overseas colonization and trade. Thus we can see that the people who inhabited the area now known as Andhra Pradesh have had close contacts with several countries, for several centuries. This has served to enrich their language and culture. Telugu has existed as an independent language as early as the second century A.D. Native place names and personal names occur in the Prakrit inscriptions of this period. The first datable Telugu inscription belongs to A.D 575. Two styles of writing have been reflected in these ancient inscriptions—a literary variety used in verse (padya) and ornate prose (gadya), and the colloquial variety used in simple localized prose. The first available work of Telugu literature is a translation of the first three chapters of the Mahabharata by Nannaya Bhatta in the middle of the 11th century.

Andhra Pradesh was the first State that was formed as a result of agitation for the political reorganization of Indian states along linguistic lines. With the introduction of school education by foreign rulers in India, language as a medium of education and as an instrument for the development of a state assumed great importance. The speakers of Telugu living in
coastal India, were among the earliest to realize the potential latent in language development and the first to raise a demand for the formation of a region on the basis of their language. The promotion of vernacular education also resulted in the subsequent development of modern standard Telugu.

The State of Andhra Pradesh came into being in the year 1956. Prior to this, the coastal districts and the south western interior of Andhra comprising Nellore and Rayalaseema (Cuddapah, Kurnool, Anantapur and Chittoor) were administratively part of the Madras Presidency. The northern interior districts (Telangana region) formed the bulk of the domain of the Nizam of Hyderabad. In 1953, the coastal and south western districts were separated from Madras, and the region was named Andhra, with its capital located at Kurnool.

In 1956, the Telugu speaking areas of the former Hyderabad state were incorporated with Andhra and the capital was moved to Hyderabad city. The state was called Andhra Pradesh. When the state of Andhra Pradesh was formed the Marathi and Kannada speaking areas in this region were transferred to Bombay and Mysore, respectively.

As a result of the close association of Andhra Pradesh with its neighbouring linguistic states, Telugu has been influenced by the languages spoken here. The speech of the Telangana region clearly shows the influence of Urdu. Here are some examples (Swarajya Lakshmi, V., 1979: 335-340).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Urdu</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. to turn</td>
<td>/phiraanaa/</td>
<td>/piraayincu/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ledger</td>
<td>/khaataa/</td>
<td>/kaataa/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. chalan /caalaan/ /caalaanu/
4. fight /jhagDaal/ /jagaDaam/

Hindi kinship terms are also found in use in this region.
e.g. 1. /baapu/ - 'father'
    2. /kaaka3/ - 'father's younger brother'.

The influence of Tamil can be seen in the regions of Andhra Pradesh bordering on Tamil Nadu. The word for potato is
/urlaDaLangu/ in Tamil and /urla gaDDa/ in Telugu. The word
/urla/ is from Tamil and /gaDDa/ (which is used to refer to root
vegetables) is from Telugu. This item is called /aalu gaDDa/ in
the Telangana region, the word /aalu/ being of Hindi origin. It
is called /bangaLa dumpa/ in the central coastal districts.

Telugu also has a few loan words from Kannada spoken on the
southwest, e.g., /hattu/, /heccu/, /honnu/ (Ramarao, Chekuri.,
1979: 359).

The Indo-Aryan languages such as Hindi, Marathi and Oriya
spoken on the north of Andhra Pradesh have also contributed to
Telugu. The following consonant phonemes have been borrowed from
Indo-Aryan (Ranganadhacharyulu, K.K., 1979: 183).

    Ph   th   Th   ch   kh
    bh   dh   Dh   jh   gh
    s    s   h

Let us look at some Telugu words which have their origin in
Sanskrit and Prakrit (Donappa, T., 1979: 300-325).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Prakrit</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. sister-in-law /vadhuunii/ /vahuuNii/ /vadina/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. wheat /goodhuuma/ /goohuma/ /gooduma/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. finger ring /anguliiya/ /anguriiya/ /ungaramu/
4. doll /brahman/ /bambha/ /bomma/

Besides these languages Persian and Portuguese have also

Persian       Telugu
1. foundation /ustuvaar/ /hastibhaaramu/
2. paper      /kaagaj/       /kaakitam/

Words of Portuguese origin (ibid.: 341-42)

Telugu
1. iron       /istrii/
2. soap       /sabbu/
3. barrel     /piipaa/

1.4 Language, dialect

Before we talk of dialects or varieties of a language, it
becomes relevant here to define the term 'language' and examine
it's status vis-a-vis a 'dialect'. Neither the term language nor
dialect presents a clear cut concept.

In Haugen's words, the terms language-dialect "represent a
simple dichotomy in a situation that is almost infinitely
complex" (Haugen, 1966: 922).

According to V.I. Subramoniam:

"Language is realized in its dialects. The dialect is
realized in its idiolects. The relationship between
idiolect-dialect, dialect-language is one of the type-
token relationship... Any token will have universal,
type and token features. The universal features will
include type features. Thus, from tokens, type features

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are abstracted. From type features, universal features are abstracted" (1977:245).

In other words, language is not used uniformly by every individual in a group or society. When the society accepts the individual features, they become type features or part of the dialect. Thus, individual speech will have idiosyncratic as well as socially acceptable or 'type' features. There are some features which belong to the speech of several groups in several areas and points of time. These are called universal features.

Sociolinguists prefer to use the term 'variety' while describing speech variation, as it symbolizes a non-judgmental designation. No variety of a language, however, is a discrete entity. One variety, gradually merges into another variety, so that the varieties at the two ends of the continuum are the most differentiated.

William Downes describes a speech variety in these words:

"If there is a tendency for variable features to occur together in a cluster and if the speakers utter given variants for a similar percentage of the time, and if this also correlates with some common social feature of the group of speakers, then this joint characteristic of speech and speaker is a variety" (1984:27).

In this study the term variety is used in this sense of the word.

1.4.1 Causes for variation in speech

Several factors are stated as being responsible for variation in speech.

Bloomfield (1933) ascribes the most important differences of speech within a community to differences in the density of
communication. This factor explains regional variation, because the presence of geographical distance between speech communities weakens the density of communication between them and hence regional differences in speech may persist. Social variation in language may similarly be explained by the presence of social distance or social barriers. It is more likely that people of the same occupation, social class or social environment communicate more frequently. They may share the same set of values and opinions which find expression in the variety of language they speak.

Ferguson and Gumperz (Ferguson and Gumperz, 1960), have also opined that speech diversity in a community is a function of the density of intergroup communication.

The urge to preserve one's identity has been put forward as one reason for the presence of variation in speech. In Pandit's (1969) opinion, speech variation is functional and is the result of verbal interaction rather than its absence. He says that "language is not merely a habit, it is a conscious act of distinctive behavior" (Pandit, P.B., 1969: 207-8).

A.K.Ramanujan (1966) has also observed that dialect differences appear to be used as expressions of social identity.

1.5 **Regional Variation**

Regional dialects in languages are said to arise as a result of geographical distance between regions and due to physical barriers such as mountains, swamps or rivers. Very often dialect boundaries coincide with political boundaries. For example, Maithali which is spoken in Bihar, shows more similarities to
Bengali than to Hindi, which is the regional language of Bihar. However, when we say that Maithali is a dialect of Hindi, our definition is based on political and social facts, rather than linguistic reality.

Any innovation in a language is generally born in a political or cultural centre which is called the focal area, from where it radiates into the surrounding regions. As we have already said, no dialect is a discrete entity. One dialect gradually merges into another and the region between two dialect areas represents what is known as the transition zone.

Regional dialects may be identified, by demarcating the areas where certain linguistic features are found. A linguistic feature is a particular kind of pronunciation, lexical item or grammatical feature. An isogloss may be drawn on a map to mark the boundary of an area in which a certain linguistic feature is used. A number of isoglosses falling together suggests the existence of a dialect boundary.

1.5.1 **Regional dialects of Telugu**

In Andhra Pradesh Bh. Krishnamurthy (1979a) has identified four regional dialects of Telugu. He studied the variation in lexical items used in different occupations, on the basis of which he plotted isoglosses and listed four dialect areas. The first region is referred to as 'Purva Mandalam', which when translated into English means 'ancient dialect area'. It comprises the districts of Srikakulam and Vishakapatnam which are referred to as the 'kalinga Desam'. The southern region called the 'Dakshina Mandalam' comprises the districts of Rayalaseema, Nellore and Prakasam. The area under study, Nellore, belongs to
this dialect area. The boundary of this region corresponds roughly both with the natural boundary of the Krishna and Tungabhadra rivers, and with the northern limits of the old Coda and Vijayanagar kingdoms. The third region is the northern region called the 'Uttara Mandalam' which includes the districts of Telangana, Mahboob Nagar, Khammam and parts of the Rayalaseema district. The boundaries reflect the fluctuating political boundaries of the area ruled by the Kakatiya dynasty and the Deccan Sultans in the period from the 12th to the 19th century. Then we have the 'Madhya Mandalam' comprising the districts of Godavari, Guntur and Krishna. This region appears to be the transition area joining the Rayalaseema-Nellore area in some usages and the north-eastern area in a few others.

Below are some examples of linguistic forms used in the four dialect areas of Andhra Pradesh (Krishnamurthi, Bh., 1979a: 398-99).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Purva</th>
<th>Dakshina</th>
<th>Uttara</th>
<th>Madhya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mandalam</td>
<td>Mandalam</td>
<td>Mandalam</td>
<td>Telangana</td>
<td>Coastal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(kalinga)</td>
<td>(Rayalaseema)</td>
<td>Telangana</td>
<td>districts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. outlet for water</th>
<th>/madum/</th>
<th>/tuumu/</th>
<th>/tuumu/</th>
<th>/tuumu/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. cow dung</td>
<td>/peeDa/</td>
<td>/peeDa/</td>
<td>/penDa/</td>
<td>/peeDa/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. wheel</td>
<td>/unDa/</td>
<td>/gaanu/</td>
<td>/gaare//girra/</td>
<td>/cakram/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/gaalu/</td>
<td>/poyya/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. a leafy vegetable</td>
<td>/goonguura/</td>
<td>/googaaku/</td>
<td>/vunDikuura/</td>
<td>/goonguura/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. latch</td>
<td>/golusu/</td>
<td>/ciluku/</td>
<td>/gonDlem/</td>
<td>/gonDlem/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1.6 Standard language

The concept of standardization is not of recent origin in Indian society. It was already in existence during the Vedic age, when the Rg-Veda was written down for the first time (earlier it was committed to memory). During this period efforts were made to preserve its purity and its originality. According to Mohan Singh Diwana, this language was "pure, purified Sanskrit and was to be treated as the norm, the standard and the measure of purity, and by extension, of corruption and vulgarization. Such standardization was a conserving mechanism to prevent change" (1967: 71-75). Thus, standardization aims at bringing about uniformity in language.

Bloomfield in his discussion of speech differences in a community, emphasizes the association of social class with speech varieties. He says:

"The most striking line of cleavage in our speech is one of social class. Children who are born into homes of privilege, in the way of wealth, tradition, or education, become native speakers of what is popularly known as 'good' English; the linguist prefers to give it the non-committal name of standard English. Less fortunate children become native speakers of 'bad' or 'vulgar' or, as the linguist prefers to call it, non-standard English (1933: 48).

Bloomfield also states that a speaker of the non-standard variety who acquires prestige in the way of wealth or political eminence, is almost certain to learn the standard forms.

Most Indian languages recognize one variety of the language
as the standard variety. What is accepted as the standard, is normally one of the dialects or varieties that is superposed to the other varieties of the language. It is usually spoken by the socio-culturally or politically dominant groups in a society. Also, since most literature is written in this variety, people regard it as 'nice' and 'beautiful' and speakers of the non-standard varieties make conscious efforts to acquire and use it. Linguistic changes that permeate a language affect a standard variety far less than they affect non-standard varieties.

In Modern Telugu, the speech of the educated classes of the central coastal districts of Andhra (East and west Godavari, Krishna and Guntur) has come to be regarded as the prestige-bearing variety. Says Bh.Krishnamurthy while describing the regional dialects of Telugu: "... the Central dialect was the home of modern standard Telugu which is based on sistavyavaharika—the speech of the educated middle class. It is also used extensively in modern poetry" (1979 b:16). The above region being naturally affluent, became a centre of intellectual and cultural activity. Most writers of fiction and plays, and newspaper editors hailed from this area in the formative period of the standard language. Over the years this variety has attained a high degree of uniformity and is promoted by the government for use in educational institutions, proceedings of the legislature and for use in newspapers and on radio. As a result of its propagation by the mass media (particularly the cinema), the speech of this area has spread to other regions of Andhra like Telangana and Rayalaseema.
According to Krishnamurthy:

"Standard Telugu links up within a single network of communication all regional varieties through the spread of mass media, education and urbanization. Speakers of non-standard Telugu make conscious efforts to imitate and acquire it because it is prestigious to use it in speech and writing. As a frame of reference, speakers are aware of the distinction between what is standard usage and what is not, mainly in pronunciation, verbal and nominal inflection, and choice of certain lexical items" (ibid.:17).

1.7 Social dimension of speech variation

We have already discussed the presence of regional variation in speech. Speech is also found to vary with the social characteristics of speakers such as his class or caste, education, race, etc.

David Abercrombie (1956) observes that language does not merely communicate thoughts, but also gives clues about the identity of the speaker. He says that when a person speaks, a listener interprets what he says as, simultaneously, two quite different and separate systems of signs: "An utterance consists of symbols referring to whatever is being talked about; but it is also at the same time an index to various things about the speaker, particularly his personality. These two systems of signs are quite independent of each other" (1956: 4).

Hudson comments on the social significance of language. In his view: "Speech has a social function, both as a means of communication and also as a way of identifying social groups, and
to study speech without reference to the society which uses it is
to exclude the possibility of finding social explanations for the
structures that are used" (Hudson, R.A., 1980 :4).

1.7.1 Social Stratification

Several sociolinguistic studies have shown that the
structure of a society is reflected in its speech (ref. sec.
1.9). A society may be stratified on the basis of different
factors such as socio-economic class, caste, race or occupation.
Peter Trudgill, while discussing the various forms of social
differentiation , states that "social stratification is a term
used to refer to any hierarchical ordering of groups within a
society. In the industrialized societies of the west this takes
the form of stratification into social classes, and gives rise
linguistically to social-class dialects. ... Social-class
stratification is not universal, however. In India, for example,
society is stratified into different castes" (1974:35-36). This
is however, a rather simple way of depicting a complex social
situation, as Trudgill himself admits, further on. He tries to
emphasize the difference between caste and class societies. In
order to understand the nature of social stratification in India,
it is important to know about the wider implications of the term
'caste' (ref. sec. 1.9).

1.7.2 Social Class

The term 'social class' has been used in different ways by
different writers.

Max Weber held that classes are aggregates of individuals
"who have the same opportunities of acquiring goods, the same
exhibited standards of living" (Kachroo, 1982: 180).

Trudgill describes social classes as, "aggregates of individuals with similar social and/or economic characteristics" (Trudgill, Peter., 1974: 35).

One of the means of determining a person's socio-economic class is by combining his rank on the scales of income, education and occupation. Using these criteria a single continuum of class stratification can be established, and the cuts along this continuum may be taken to represent different socio-economic classes.

In India, caste affiliations play an important role in determining the place of an individual in the social structure (ref. sec. 1.9). Gumperz states that a characteristic feature of Indian society is "the segmentation of population into ethnically distinct, endogamous groups or castes" (Gumperz, J.J., 1969: 598).

1.7.3 Language and socialization

Language reflects the culture, the values and experiences, and also a mode of life of the community of speakers. Differences in speech forms (or codes) may be related to differences in the levels of socialization or differential access to knowledge. In Bernstein's view (1970), the class system acts upon the deep structure of communication in the process of socialization, and thus gives rise to speech differences. His 'restricted' code and 'elaborated' code which are associated with the working class and middle class families respectively, are a result of the different socializing experiences received at home. He states that, "one of the effects of the class system is to limit access to elaborated
Children of middle class families are exposed to an elaborate system of socializing agents and social relationships and hence their speech is explicit and capable of expressing universalistic meanings. Children of working class families on the other hand are oriented to a restricted use of language due to family and social constraints. A restricted code is one of implicit meaning and is relatively context bound. It is unable to accommodate the diversity of content permitted by an elaborated code.

Bernstein goes on to add that the language of the restricted code as such is not defective:

"Certain ways of organizing experience through language and of participating and interacting with people and things are necessary to succeed in school. The child who is not predisposed to this type of verbal exploration in this type of experiential and interpersonal context is not at home in the educational world. Whether the child is so predisposed or not, turns out not to be any innate property of the child as an individual, an inherent limitation of his mental powers but the result of a mismatch between his own symbolic order of meaning and those of the school, a mismatch that results from the different pattern of socialization that characterize different sections of society and which are in turn a function of the underlying social relation" (Bernstein, 1971 in Maleck, Hajra., 1982: 261).
1.7.4 **Education and speech**

Linguists have observed that the factor education plays an important role in the analysis of speech variation (Pattanayak, D.P., 1975; Pandit, P.B., 1969; Krishnamurthy, Bh., 1979a). In most languages there is a difference between the speech of the educated and the uneducated, irrespective of their regional or social background. Educated people everywhere are acquainted with the standard variety of a language which is used for instruction in educational institutions. As educational institutions are important socializing agents, educated speakers have a wider exposure to social relationships and to elaborate conceptual and verbal experiences. Hence, their speech tends to be 'elaborated' in the Bernsteinian sense. Some scholars find that education is a leveller of differences, as it brings about a certain degree of uniformity in speech, despite the variations in caste. To quote Bright:

"It should be made clear that caste dialects are independent of the dichotomy between formal and informal styles. It may be true that the higher castes have the opportunity to receive an education more often and thereby to become proficient in the formal style. But formal usage is quite a separate system from high caste informal usage; it is used in a substantially uniform way by all educated people, whatever their caste background may be" (Bright, W., 1973: 187 in Radhakrishna, B., 1977: 19).

Education affects the values and beliefs of people which find expression in the language they use. It also influences a
speaker's attitude towards his speech and his perception of the standard. People usually attempt to use linguistic forms which are regarded as prestige-bearing. This claim is supported by Damle's study of college youth elite in the making (1966). He observed that students of the disprivileged castes were very conscious of their linguistic usages and behavior. They were embarrassed about the linguistic behavior of their parents and family members and reported that they were making deliberate efforts to improve their vocabulary so as to conform to the values and norms of the higher socio-economic and cultural strata. Damle (1973) was led to conclude that higher education makes people sensitive to their linguistic inadequacy and particularly their language being regarded as sub-standard. He says: "It is because of such consciousness that students deliberately resorted to reference group behavior in respect of their linguistic usages" (Damle, Y.B., 1973).

It should be mentioned here that the social groups whose speech is regarded as the norm or standard to be emulated, varies according to the region and the social context. For instance in our society, the Brahmins occupy a high place in the caste hierarchy (ref. Sec. 1.9,1.11). However, they may not necessarily be looked upon as the reference group for comparison and normative orientation. Ramanujan (1966) observes that non-Brahmin speech, forms the basis of standardization of present day Tamil. In Telugu, the speech of the educated classes of the central coastal districts of Andhra Pradesh, has come to be regarded as the prestige-bearing variety (ref. sec.1.6).
D.P. Pattanayak (1975) holds that, "...standard is a shifting phenomenon and that the matrix of sanskritization changes with the change in social acceptability of linguistic forms" (1975: 102). Thus, the prestige accorded to a speech variety is not based on any objective linguistic reality, but is associated with the social groups who use it.

The differences between the speech of the educated and uneducated should not be understood as differences between the formal and informal styles of a language (stylistic variation discussed in sec i.7.6). Speakers of both categories, educated and uneducated, exhibit stylistic variation in their speech. However, the formal variety of the educated is said to be closer to Modern Standard Telugu. In his paper on the formal and informal variations in Telugu, Mohan Rao (1977) brings out the relationship between these dichotomies -- educated/uneducated and formal/informal:

"Formal and informal varieties of speech are recognized not only among the educated speakers, but also among the uneducated. It is the context that determines the variety to be used by a speaker, but not the education" (Rao, Mohan., 1977: 117).

He also states that the formal variety is more uniform than the informal one, and that the formal variety of the uneducated will be nearer the informal variety of the educated, and the formal variety of the educated will be closer to modern standard Telugu.

Differences in speech may be found at all levels of the language—phonological, lexical, syntactic and stylistic levels.
Here are some examples illustrating the differences between educated and uneducated speech (Krishnamurthy, Bh., 1962 in Pannala, Usha 1977 :64).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>educated</th>
<th>uneducated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. water</td>
<td>/niillu/</td>
<td>/niillu/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. embankment</td>
<td>/gaTTu/</td>
<td>/geTTu/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. saline soil</td>
<td>/cavuDu/</td>
<td>/savuDu/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. boundary</td>
<td>/haddu/</td>
<td>/addu/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. name of an asterism</td>
<td>/roohiNi/</td>
<td>/rooyiNi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. name of an asterism</td>
<td>/hasta/</td>
<td>/atta/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. soil</td>
<td>/bhuumi/</td>
<td>/buumi/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here are some examples given by V.Swarajyalakshmi (1977:56-57).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>educated</th>
<th>uneducated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. I was</td>
<td>/unnaanu/</td>
<td>/unDaanu/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. upon</td>
<td>/miida/</td>
<td>/minda/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. from</td>
<td>/nunDi/</td>
<td>/nunTi/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The author also gives some examples of variation in present and past tense markers between the Cuddapah dialect and Modern standard Telugu (M.S.T).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cuddapah</th>
<th>M.S.T</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present tense</td>
<td>/vastaan Daanu/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I am coming'</td>
<td>/maaTlaaDtaanna/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I am talking'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present continuous</td>
<td>/naDustaa/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'(while) walking'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Past tense. 'vaccinaanu' 'vacc nu'.
'I came'.

1.7.5 **Variation in Pronoun usage**

The usage of pronouns clearly demonstrates the fact that speech varies according to the identity of the speaker and that of the person being addressed. This feature is not unique to the Indian society but is also found in the countries of the West. Brown and Gilman observed the speech of French, German, Italian, and Spanish speakers and found that the usage of pronouns of address reflected the relationship between the addressor and addressee. They claim that pronoun usage is associated with "... two dimensions fundamental to the analysis of all social life—the dimensions of power and solidarity" (Brown, R, and Gilman, A, 1960:252). According to the authors, "power is a relationship between at least two persons, and it is non-reciprocal in the sense that both cannot have power in the same area of behavior." Power could be based on, "physical strength, wealth, age, sex, institutionalized role in the church, the state, the army or within the family". The relationship of 'solidarity' on the other hand, is one of symmetrical or reciprocal relations. The speakers may have "attended the same school or have the same parents or practice the same profession" (ibid., 255-58).

The usage of pronouns in Telugu (to address and to refer to people) is determined by the social distance between the addressor and addressee. Let us look at the third person pronouns (pronouns of reference) used in this language. Implicit in the
use of these pronouns is a politeness hierarchy.

**Pronouns used for a female**

1. /adi/ – disrespectful (also used for inferiors and intimates).
2. /aame/ ~ /aave/ – respectful.
3. /aaviDa/ – more respectful
4. /vaaru/ – most respectful form.

**Pronouns used for a male**

1. /vaaDu/ – disrespectful (also used for inferiors and intimates).
2. /ataDu / ~ /atanu/ – respectful (used for acquaintances and equals).
3. /aayana/ – respectful (used for superiors).
4. /vaaru / – most respectful form.

Following are the second person pronouns (pronouns of address) used in Telugu:

- singular – /niivu/ ~ /nuvvu/
- plural – /miiru/

Among the singular forms, /nuvvu/ is the one that is normally used in speech. /niivu/ is usually employed in literary language. Telugu also has the singular honorific pronoun /tamaru/. This form is not used as frequently as the other forms. It is generally used in formal situations. It may also be used sarcastically or jokingly when addressing a person. When the plural form of address is used for a single person, it either denotes respect for the addressee or indicates social distance between the speakers. This form is referred to as the honorific pronoun and the singular form, as the non-honorific pronoun. The reciprocal usage of the singular form of address implies that the
relationship between the addressor and addressee is one of intimacy or solidarity. However, if one person uses the singular form of address and is in turn addressed by the plural form, it implies that one person has more power than the other (it is an asymmetrical relation).

A change in pronoun usage can indicate a change in relationship. For instance, two acquaintances may initially use the honorific form, and as the familiarity between them increases, switch over to the non-honorific form. The deliberate use of the honorific form in place of the non-honorific form could convey sarcasm, or a sudden switch from the honorific to the non-honorific form in the course of a conversation, could convey a change in mood.

1.7.6 Stylistic Variation

The term 'style' has been used with several meanings. Joos (1960;1962), and Ervin-Tripp (1973: 323-329) equate the word to a degree of formality. Labov has used it with almost the same meaning. Wolfram and Fasold (1974: 83-88) however, consider style as one among many factors which operate as social variables, along with region, social status and age.

The presence of stylistic variation in Indian languages has been attested by Sociolinguists. According to Bright and Ramanujan:

"In the Dravidian languages of South India, we find sociolinguistic factors organized into at least two contrasting patterns... The formal or literary style is used by educated persons in writing and in public
address; it varies only slightly with the social class or place of origin of the person using it. Contrasting with this is an informal or colloquial style, showing much greater internal diversity. Differences correlated with the regional and caste background come to the fore in this informal style, although the speech of the educated may be somewhat more uniform than that of the uneducated" (Bright, 1976: 48).

Andree Sjoberg (1962) argues that a distinction between formal and informal styles exists among educated speakers of Telugu. She observes that Telugu has a large number of unassimilated loans from Sanskrit and that the attempt to pronounce them the way they are pronounced in Sanskrit, signals the presence of the formal style. She defines the formal style as that "employed by high-status, educated persons (chiefly males) in certain social situations: in public lectures, over the radio, in worship, occasionally by professors in the classroom. It conforms rather closely to the traditional written form." The informal, "the more relaxed speech style, is the norm at home and in conversation with friends, relatives, and inferiors. It must be emphasized that the informal style of educated persons is not to be equated with the speech of the uneducated." (Sjoberg, 1962 in Kelly, Gerald., 1969: 382-393).

Sjoberg also feels that the existence of the formal style is due to the fact that, the 'upper status elements' assimilated Sanskrit in their speech in order to keep their identity distinct. The shift from formal to informal style also frequently
involves a lexical shift from Sanskrit to Telugu. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Formal</th>
<th>Informal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Wealth</td>
<td>/dhanamu/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Son</td>
<td>/putruDu/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Old</td>
<td>/praaciina/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.8 **Studies on speech variation related to social stratification**

Speech differences based on social factors have been observed for a very long time. As early as 1960 Grierson carried out an exhaustive survey on the languages of India. He attested the presence of caste dialects of Telugu. This survey, however, is not adequate for our understanding of social dialect differences, as it presents a vastly different picture from what modern dialect studies depict.

Much work in the field of sociolinguistic studies in the west is dominated by the influence of William Labov. Labov applied statistical methods to identify the direction of linguistic variation and its correlation with extra-linguistic independent variables like social class, age, sex, ethnic group or contextual style. His studies carried out in Martha’s Vineyard (1963) and New York city (1966), emphatically demonstrated that linguistic variation is not free, but is socially conditioned. His work aims at the direct observation of linguistic change in the community, identifying its (social) mechanism and isolating those social groups who are most directly responsible for introducing and spreading linguistic innovations. Labov (1966) observed the usage of (th) the phonetic form of the voiceless
interdental fricative /θ/ in thing, thick, etc., in New York city. The fricative form is held to be the prestige bearing form while affricates and stops are stigmatized. Numerical index scores were given to the different kinds of pronunciation, the higher scores indicating use of the non-prestige form. At the same time the stylistic stratification was also observed, for which four stylistic levels were included. Speakers would use the prestige form when they were most conscious of their speech, for instance when reading word lists (denoting the most formal style), and the stop form in their casual speech (denoting the lower end of the stylistic range). The results showed that the lower classes (the other classes being working class, lower middle classes and upper middle class) had the highest index scores while the upper middle class had the lowest. However, since the dimension of style was also included in the study, it is also possible that a speaker from the lower class would use the prestige form when he is very conscious about his speech and hence the score would be low. This would make it difficult to distinguish a sales man speaking in an informal or casual style, from a pipe fitter speaking in a formal style, although they belong to different income groups. In other words, it is difficult to distinguish between the informal speech style of the upper class speaker from the formal style of the lower class speaker. However, Labov observed that the speech of all the classes showed similar patterns of contextual style shifting. Therefore, in spite of the style shifting, it was possible to distinguish between the speech of different classes.

Labov developed the concept of sociolinguistic variable and
defined it as "a linguistic element (phonological usually, in practice) which co-varies not only with other linguistic elements, but also with a number of extra-linguistic independent variables such as social class, age, sex, ethnic group or contextual style" (Milroy, Leslie., 1987: 10).

Labov’s basic methods allow language use to be seen as 'probabilistic' rather than 'categorical', any given group being 'more' or 'less' likely to use a high proportion of a given variable.

Peter Trudgill (1974) carried out two separate surveys in Detroit, USA and in Norwich, England on the usage of the grammatical feature — third person present tense singular marker, in verbs. It is represented as '-s' in orthography, for example, in the verbs 'knows', 'likes' etc. The standard English has the '-s' form in verbs, and the standard variety is generally most closely associated with higher social groups. The results showed that the higher the social class, the more infrequent the usage of the non-standard form and hence the lower the index scores.

The following table shows the frequencies of usage of verbs without 's' (non-standard) in Norwich and Detroit, by people of different classes. We can see that the percentage of usage of the non-standard form is highest in the lowest social class (LWC), and the usage of the non-standard form decreases from the lowest class to the highest class (MMC in Norwich and UMC in Detroit).
These studies clearly show the close association between social class and speech.

Several scholars have conducted studies in India and have correlated differences in speech to differences in the social structure.

In Telugu, N. Sivaramamurthy (1977) conducted a study in the rural areas of Srikakulam in Andhra Pradesh. The speech of people belonging to fourteen castes was analyzed to observe the usage of kinship terms of address, third person pronouns (pronouns of reference), and the polite-impolite suffixes added to words in this region. Kinship terms are used not only within the family and the caste but also across communities. Sivaramamurthy observed the usage of third person pronouns (which are ranked in five degrees in the politeness hierarchy from the most polite to the impolite or intimate form) to refer to people of different castes. The pronouns used for men are,

1. /vaaru/ ~ /aaru/
2. /aayana/ ~ /aayina/
3. /atanu/
4. /atagaanu/
5. vaaDu/ ~ /aaDu/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Norwich</th>
<th>Detroit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MMC</td>
<td>0 %</td>
<td>UMC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LMC</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>LMC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UWC</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>UWC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MWC</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>LWC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LWC</td>
<td>97</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Table from Trudgill, 1974: 93-94).

The usage of different pronouns to refer to members of the
various castes, reveals the way speakers evaluate the social status of other people and categorize them into different classes. On the basis of the usage of pronouns of reference, the author was able to categorize the castes in this region into four classes.

The polite – impolite suffixes added to words are,

1. /eem-anDi/ – most polite
2. /eem baabu/ – very polite, also indicates intimacy.
3. /eemayya/ – slightly polite
4. /eemooty/ – polite
5. /eem-raa/ – impolite and intimate.

Based on the usage of the above forms to address people of various castes, Sivaramamurthy arrived at a five-fold classification of castes into classes. He feels that there are caste as well as class dialects in our society. That is, the usage of certain lexical items may be confined to certain castes, but speakers may be broadly placed in different classes on the basis of their speech. He feels that speech differences related to class, in the Indian context, depend on the density of communication, since members of certain castes interact with each other more frequently than others. For instance, the speech of the castes at the lower end of the social ladder is said to be closer due to the density of communication between them. The upper most caste, Brahmins, on the other hand, has the minimum contacts with other castes. He says that "speakers are caste conscious in narrower contexts, and class conscious in wider contexts" (1977: 50).

Gumperz (1958) conducted a study in Khalapur village in U.P.
and distinguished between different linguistic groups in the village on the basis of phonological differences. It was found that the greatest amount of difference in speech was between the touchables and the untouchables. The speakers in the sample were divided into thirty one endogamous caste or 'Jati' groups, which were ranked hierarchically along a scale according to ritual status. At the top of the ritual hierarchy were the Brahmans, Rajputs (Warrior-Rulers) and Vaishyas (merchants) who were the twice born castes, followed by a large group of middle castes, mostly artisans and labourers. The three lowest ranking groups were the Chamars, a group of landless labourers, Jatia Chamars or Leather workers and Bhangis or sweepers, which were referred to as untouchables.

The Rajputs, both Muslim and Hindu, are the dominant caste who own more than ninety percent of the land and wield most of the political power. Brahmans are accorded first rank with respect to ritual status, but are second to the Rajputs and some of the merchants with respect to wealth and prestige enjoyed in the region.

On the basis of phonological differences, he distinguished between six linguistic groups or subgroups in the village labeled A, B, C, D, E and F. Of these various groups, group F (Sweepers) was the most divergent as it was set apart from the others by a phonemic difference. The differences between the groups A, B, and C (touchable castes) were relatively minor, and similar was the case with the groups D (Chamars) and E (Shoe makers). Dialect A was the prestige dialect and minority groups were observed to
make efforts to imitate it.

In order to account for the differences in speech, Gumperz considered several factors such as residential patterns, ritual purity, work or economic contact, informal adult friendships and children's play-groups in the village. An examination of the residential patterns, differences in ritual purity and the composition of play-groups among children, showed that there was considerable distinction between the touchables and the untouchables. Intercaste friendships among adults were not rare, though they were confined to the touchable castes. Among the three untouchable castes, there was not much interaction. In fact, each of their residential quarters was shut off not only from the touchable castes but also from the adjoining quarters of other untouchable groups. However, where the factor work-contact was concerned, it was found that the Chamars and Sweepers had the greatest amount of work contacts with other castes.

Gumperz concluded that linguistic differences were social rather than geographical. Also, there was some correlation between linguistic groupings and ritual status because, both set apart the untouchables from the majority group (touchables), and from each other. The distinction between high and middle caste was not reflected in village speech. It was observed that lexical variants in Khalapur occurred between individual castes, but phonological differences correlated with larger groupings. Gumperz felt that in examining inter-caste communication, linguistic differences have no correlation with work contacts, and therefore Bloomfield's concept of 'density of communication' needed refinement. He felt that there are several forms of
communication, all of which do not have same effect on linguistic diversity. He says:

"In the present study, the determining factor seems to be informal friendship contacts. We may assume that the population is divided into a number of small friendship groups... Each of these creates its own norms and exerts pressures for uniformity. A linguistic form adopted in one group may spread to the other, through individuals having membership in both groups, and is then adopted. Since there are a number of intergroup and intercaste friendships among touchables, there is no barrier to the spread of innovations from one sector to another. However, these friendships do not extend across the touchable-untouchable line or from one untouchable group to another, and thus account for the linguistic isolation of the untouchables" (Gumperz, J.J., 1958: 45-46).

Variation in speech is not necessarily a result of barriers in communication. Pandit (1969: 207-8) has argued that variation may be regarded as functional because, in a sense, it facilitates communication. For instance, if a Brahmin can maintain his social distance by the choice of a variant in his speech, he could have no hesitation in talking to a non-Brahmin, because his social identity is still preserved.

Ramanujan (1966) has held that the urge to preserve one's identity is one of the reasons for the presence of variation in language. In his study of Tamil dialects, he has brought out the major dichotomy between the Brahmin and the non-Brahmin speech,
the high and the low, in Tamil. He has observed that the dialect differences are used as expressions of social identity. He also mentions that many of the non-Brahmin forms are constantly used in Brahmin homes only in a derogatory or pejorative sense. Ramanujan also points out that besides the Brahmin/non-Brahmin contrasts in speech, there are other contrasts such as urban/rural, educated and uneducated.

Linguists have tried to analyse the nature and direction of linguistic change. It has been argued that linguistic innovation in general comes from the lower social levels. On the other hand, it has also been claimed that phonetic change and perhaps linguistic change in general are initiated by the upper social strata in order to maintain a prestige-marking difference from the lower strata (Joos, 1952: 229). The lower classes are said to imitate their social superiors who are then forced to innovate once more. Fischer explains language change as a "protracted pursuit of an elite by an envious mass, and consequent 'flight' of the elite" (Fischer, John L., 1958: 52).

William Mc. Cormack (1960) observed three dialects of spoken Kannada in Dharwar and the districts of Belgaum and Bijapur, which corresponded to three social classes, the Brahmin, non-Brahmin and Harijan. He quantified the data and gave it recognition scores. It was found that the Brahmin speakers were correctly identified by their speech, whereas the backward class speakers were almost always not identified correctly. The reason attributed for this situation was that, some urbanized backward class speakers borrow elements from the speech of the upper
classes when they speak to members of other social classes.

William Bright (1960) carried out an investigation in Kanarese and Tulu. A comparison of the Kanarese Brahmin (B) and Non-Brahmin (NB) dialects revealed that B dialects showed innovation on the more conscious levels of phonological and lexical borrowing and of semantic change, while the NB dialect showed innovation on the less conscious levels of native phonology and morphology. In a similar study of Tulu, B and NB dialects showed phonological change in similar degrees. In order to explain the difference between the Kanarese and Tulu case, it was hypothesized that the greater literacy of the Kanarese Brahmins and hence their knowledge of the formal, literary language may have retarded the unconscious processes of change to which speech is normally subject. Tulu Brahmin speech on the other hand, having no written Tulu tradition to affect it, has been subject to changes of the same type that have operated in the NB dialects of Tulu. It is suggested that literacy, wherever it is present in human societies, acts as a brake on processes of linguistic change.

Bright and Ramanujan (1964) feel that innovations in language are initiated in the upper and lower class dialects, independently of one another, and in two ways, which are called conscious and unconscious. The conscious type of change is regularly the mark of the upper-class dialect. The less conscious changes may affect both upper and lower class dialects, as seen in the Tulu case.
1.7 **Social structure in India**

In order to understand the nature of social stratification in India, it is important to know what is meant by the term 'caste', since the traditional social order based on the varnas does have a bearing on the present day social structure. Hence, a knowledge of the traditional social order will enable us to understand speech differences based on caste.

According to Mandelbaum, the term 'caste' is of Portuguese origin and has been used by many writers to describe "the prevalent social order in India as well as the component groups within that order" (Mandelbaum, David G., 1972: 3).

In our society, caste is an important indicator of an individual's social status unlike in the West where a person's status depends on several factors like one's income, education and occupation. G.S. Ghurye sums up the difference in these words: "The status of a person depended not on his wealth as in the classes of Modern Europe but on the traditional importance of the caste in which he had the luck of being born" (1961: 2). Thus, people belong to different castes by virtue of their birth and members of various castes are assigned a ritual rank on the basis of their place in the caste order. A person's secular rank on the other hand, is determined by factors such as wealth, political power and occupation. Hierarchy is one of the principal characteristics of the caste system. The other important characteristics of a caste are, endogamy, distribution over a definite region and usually, an association with a hereditary occupation.

The present day caste system is said to have evolved from
the four orders of Indian society which are referred to as varnas. During the Vedic period society was divided on the basis of occupations, into classes which were open in nature. In Mandelbaum’s words: "The earliest literary sources in India, the Vedas, reflect a system of open classes in which people carried on a culture and society that were basically different from those of later times, though the later forms were developed out of the earlier ones" (1972: 7).

Malley describes the classification of society as found in the Laws of Manu in these words: "...there were four classes ranged in order of precedence, viz. Brahmans, an order of priests and law-givers, who represented the world of religion and learning; Kshattriyas, the fighting and ruling class; Vaisyas, who were engaged in commercial, agricultural, and pastoral pursuits; and Sudras, whose life was one of service to the other three classes and who also obtained a living by handicrafts" (Malley, O., 1976: 11). A fifth Varna called 'Panchama' was added in medieval times, especially in South India. It comprised the castes which were called 'untouchables' in British times and were later called 'scheduled castes'. This order has some times been regarded as a sub-order of the Sudras.

In the different orders various castes were included. The multiplicity of castes we have today is a consequence of the continuous division and sub-division of these castes. This segmentation is the result of various causes such as racial, religious and occupational distinctions, territorial distribution and to some extent also the regulations made by Hindu Kings on
the advice of their Brahmin councillors in different parts of India.

People of the three higher varnas, Brahmins, Kshatriyas, and Vaishyas, are supposed to conduct themselves in close accord with scriptural rules for purity. These categories are collectively called the 'twice-born' varnas. The males of the Jatis classed in these varnas undergo the initiation ceremony called 'upanayana'. In this rite a boy wears a sacred thread over his left shoulder. This rite is deemed a second birth and those who wear the sacred thread are considered to be 'dvija' or twice born. The Shudras do not undergo the ritual of second birth as they are not considered to be as pure as the other three varnas.

From the above stated facts we come to understand that society was divided on the basis of occupations and that their place in the hierarchy depended on the nature of the professions they pursued. In other words, the attitudes towards particular occupations were transferred to the people who pursued them. Thus, religion being held in high esteem, Brahmans were accorded a high status and the people who did menial tasks were accorded a low status. The former were considered to be pure and the latter, polluting.

Attempts were made by the ritually lower castes to improve their position in the social order. According to M.N.Srinivas:

"Sanskritization is the process by which a 'low' Hindu caste, or tribal or other group, changes its customs, ritual, ideology, and way of life in the direction of a high, and frequently, 'twice-born' caste. Generally such
changes are followed by a claim to a higher position in
the caste hierarchy than that traditionally conceded to
the claimant caste by the local community. The claim is
usually made over a period of time, in fact, a
generation or two, before the 'arrival' is conceded...
However, the mobility associated with Sanskritization
results only in positional changes in the system and
does not lead to any structural change. That is, a caste
moves up, above its neighbours, and another comes down,
but all this takes place in an essentially stable
hierarchical order. The system itself does not change" (1966: 6-7).

Thus, we can see that there was a certain rigidity in the
stratification of the traditional Indian society, as a result of
which there was considerable social distance between various
sections of society. The strict rules of pollution and purity
placed restrictions on interdining and intermingling of people of
different castes. The cleavage in castes was most marked between
the touchables and untouchables, and among the touchables,
between Brahmins and non-Brahmins. However, the situation has
changed to a great extent in the present day, by the changes
brought about in society as a result of the processes associated
with modernization. Factors like western education, jobs in the
administration, the development of industrialization and
urbanization, and the spread of an equalitarian ideology have
contributed to the prestige and power of particular caste groups
in a region. There was an access to various channels for social
mobility. We have discussed these changes in the following section of this chapter.

1.10 **Social change in India and its impact on social structure**

"Social change" according to B.Kuppuswamy is:

"... the process in which is discernible significant alteration in the structure and functioning of a particular social system. The term 'change' itself is wholly neutral. It only implies that there is some difference through time in the object under study. When we speak of social change we simply assert that there is some change in social behavior, social structure and social and cultural values" (1979 : 43).

The author while discussing the major types of social changes, states that all these various trends in social relationships and changes in values are included in the concept of modernization which involves "a transformation of social, political and economic organization" (ibid.: 54). Let us briefly examine some of the significant aspects of social change in India.

In the sphere of economic development, there came about a change from the traditional techniques of production to newer and more scientific modes of production. The Indian economy which was primarily dependent on an agrarian income, now had other sources of income. Various industries were set up in towns and cities which opened up employment opportunities for a number of people. As a result, several people from all sections of society, migrated from rural areas to the urban areas in search of
employment. There were opportunities for managerial posts, as well as skilled and unskilled labour. This led to the process of urbanization which entails new settlement patterns as well as occupational patterns. The "modern Indian society" according to Andre Beteille "is characterized by occupational patterns which are very different from those of the village and far less directly connected with caste" (1969: 64).

People who took up jobs in the towns, still had their links with their ancestral villages. As a result there was considerable traffic between the rural areas and urban areas.

The Industrial revolution introduced new and rapid means of transportation. This facilitated the large scale spatial mobility of people. There was also a development in the means of communication through the use of modern technology. These processes led to increased cultural contacts between people of different regions.

One cannot ignore the factor called 'westernization' when discussing social change in India. Westernization as used by Srinivas (1962), implies the changes which took place in India during the British rule in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries:

"Chiefly, westernization implies changes in dress, diet, style of eating, manners etc. The most important change was in the medium of instruction... The Brahmins and other castes with traditions of learning and traditions of service in the courts, readily took to secular education with English as the medium of
Another big change introduced in the Indian society by the new system of education is that the schools were thrown open to all people, in contrast to the traditional schools which were restricted to upper-caste children and which transmitted mostly traditional knowledge" (Kuppuswamy, B., 1979:58).

A characteristic feature of the modern Indian society is the tremendous spread in literacy. The invention of the printing press and the opening of schools and colleges made possible the transmission of modern as well as traditional knowledge to large sections of people in the country. As a result, knowledge was no longer the privilege of a few hereditary groups. Modern education enabled people to take up jobs in the government service or in other institutions. Recruitment to the Indian civil service for instance was based on competitive examinations. The spread of western education resulted in a change in the outlook of people and also promoted rationalism and a critical outlook towards events and problems.

Rationalism according to Srinivas is a "comprehensive expression applied to various theoretical and practical tendencies which aim to interpret the universe purely in terms of thought, or which aim to regulate individual and social life in accordance with the principles of reason and to eliminate as far as possible ... everything irrational" (1966 : 119). It involves, among other things, the replacement of traditional beliefs and ideas by modern knowledge.

Several changes took place in the political organization of the Indian society. The post independence period saw the
introduction of the adult franchise and Panchayati Raj (local self-government at village, tehsil and district level). These measures resulted in wider political participation by the people and in giving a new sense of power and self-respect to the so-called 'low' castes, particularly Harijans. The latter enjoy reservation of seats in all elected bodies from the village to the union parliament.

Changes in the traditional social structure were brought about by the opening up of several channels of social mobility. According to Srinivas (1966), two very important sources of social mobility were, the fluidity of the political system and the availability of marginal land. Both these factors enabled individual castes to move up and down within the caste hierarchy. In many parts of India dominant castes have combined land ownership with political power and have risen in the social order. We can cite the examples of the Kammas and Reddis in Andhra Pradesh. Once a caste had captured political power, it tried to Sanskritize its ritual and style of life and lay claim to being a Kshatriya.

In the above example, the caste is the unit of social mobility. In modern India however, there is greater scope for the individual as the unit of mobility. This kind of movement, according to Beteille, where a caste is the unit of mobility, "is very different from that which is becoming increasingly common in modern India. The latter allows greater scope to the individual as the unit of mobility and tends increasingly to relegate caste to a marginal position" (1969: 58). Some of the factors that
enable individual mobility are the emergence of a new 'caste-free' occupational structure, the spread of educational facilities and the development of political structures such as legislatures, parties and organs of local government. In urban settings these various factors are contributing to the diminishing importance of the caste hierarchy and paving the way for the emergence of class-differences.

An important means of social mobility was conversion to another religion, such as Christianity. Conversion movements took place in several parts of India. Says Walter Fernandes (1981) in his discussion on conversion movements in India: "While Christians often view conversion as a purely spiritual phenomenon, those opposed to them may view it only as a change caused by material inducement. Though spiritual motivation is important, the material factor cannot be brushed aside as irrelevant" (1981: 261). Although the caste system has often been described as rigid and closed, it is not without mobility. However, as M.N. Srinivas (1962) attests, mobility usually took place among the castes of the middle order. The top of the ritual order and the bottom, rarely, if ever, changed their places. In Fernandes's view, "Christianity came as an outsider to those who had to remain unchanged, since while the others had an avenue to push themselves upwards, those at the bottom had none within the system" (ibid. : 267).

It should also be mentioned at this juncture that these various opportunities -- educational, economic and political, were in principle caste free. No one was barred from having access to them by reason of birth in a particular caste or sect.
or religion. However, they were usually more accessible to the high castes with a tradition of learning, employment in the government, and urban residence.

The processes of industrialization and urbanization have also led to changes in the nature of family organization. There is an increasing number of nuclear or conjugal families (family unit of couple and children) as against the traditional joint family. It is doubtful, however, that the amount of change in family patterns is a simple function of industrialization. It is more likely that ideological and value changes, partially independent of industrialization also have some effect on family patterns. In India, every existing joint family is a piece broken off from a larger unit. The frequent divisions in a family and consequent division of property, gives rise to uneconomic holdings which cannot support the new joint families. The possibility of getting employment in the industrial towns leads junior members of the joint family to go out. These people, however, usually keep their ties with the joint family.

Another important feature of the modern Indian society is the change in the status of women. The movement of social reform initiated by the Indians since the inception of the British rule was largely responsible for the change in this direction. These reforms consisted, among other things, of crossing the seas for education, marriage of girls after puberty, sending girls to schools and establishing schools for girls, and allowing the marriage of widows. The increase in the marriageable age of girls, enabled them to take advantage of opportunities of higher
education. Today, a large number of women are economically independent. They are employed as teachers, doctors, nurses and social workers. We also have women in the administrative service, in the police service and in politics. This is a marked departure from the traditional position of women in our society.

1.11 Social stratification in Andhra Pradesh

E.K. Gough (1959) rightly says of India that it does not possess a single caste system, but a number of regional systems. Regional differences are related to ecological variation as well as political history. This is so true, because the names of castes differ from region to region and so does the position of castes within the hierarchy. There is usually no agreement as to which caste enjoys the highest position in any region. Says Irawati Karve: "Part of Indian social history in ancient and modern times is made up of such disputes" (1965:1).

It has been stated that in the traditional social order, the status of a person depended on his ritual rank, or in other words, the caste into which he was born. The first three varnas which were regarded as the the 'twice-born' varnas, enjoyed a high ritual status. However, with the changes brought about in Indian society by the forces of urbanization and modernization, and the emergence of a new power structure, other castes with control over land and numerical strength, have been able to rise in the social hierarchy. Certain castes have been able to improve their status due to the legal safeguards granted to them (the castes represented in the sample are discussed in sec. 2.3, 2.4). S.N.M. Kopparty (1980) studied the changing patterns of power among the caste groups in rural Andhra as represented by the
membership and holding of offices in panchayats after the introduction of panchayati raj in the state in 1959, over a period of a decade. The study was conducted in Telangana region in Andhra Pradesh. The various castes which figured in the data were broadly classified on the basis of their ritual, economic and social similarities. Following is the classification of castes according to Kopparty:

1. The upper caste group consists of the Brahmin, Kshatriya and Vaisya castes which are called the 'dvija' or twice-born varnas. A characteristic feature of this group is that they are entitled to undergo 'upanayana' or the sacred thread wearing ceremony, which symbolizes their spiritual rebirth.

   There are several subdivisions among the Brahmin. These various subdivisions are distinguished by their different modes of worship or the places from where they hailed. The Kshatriyas, who occupy the second place in the ritual hierarchy are locally called 'Raju'. They are not as numerous and widespread as the other two upper castes. They are now mostly an agricultural caste who enjoy a similar status as that of the upper middle castes like Reddi and Kamma, who claim the status of Kshatriya. The Vaishyas occupy the third place in the varna hierarchy. They are known as 'Komatis' in this region. Their traditional occupation has been commerce, trade and money lending.

2. The upper middle caste group comprises all the dominant, land-owning castes in the region, such as Reddi, Kamma, Kapu, Telaga, Velama etc. They are referred to as sat-Shudras.

   The Reddis are mostly landlords whether with large, medium or small holdings and are concentrated largely in Rayalaseema area. It is debated as to whether the Kapus are a Reddi sub-caste or not. The Kammas are a land-owning dominant caste, concentrated largely in the delta districts of circars area. Both the Reddis and Kammas claim the status of Kshatriya. It has been said that both Kammas and Reddis were probably warriors in the service of the early Andhra kings. Later they became farmers. Some became feudal over lords and others became small peasant proprietors who cultivated their lands. Between them they dominated rural Andhra, leaving Brahmins beyond the pale of economic power in the countryside. The Telaga, Kapu, Balija and Velama are
generally land owning castes who pursue agriculture as their main occupation. These castes are locally dominant in some areas. They call themselves Naidus. The Kapus, who are mostly spread over in coastal Andhra, are also known as Balijas and Telagas.

There is a lot of ambiguity in the hierarchy of the upper middle castes.

3. The Lower middle caste group is made up of the service castes and castes other than scheduled castes. It represents a number of castes which fall under the category of backward classes of the state government.

The service castes are Mangali (barber), Chakali (washerman), Boya (palanquin bearer), Kummari (potter), Satani or Chattada shri Vaishnavites (temple priests in Hanuman and Rama Temples), Idiga or Gamalla (toddy tappers) and Vaddes (stone quarriers).

The artisan castes which are collectively known as Pancha Brahma consists of the five occupational groups - Vadrangi (carpenters), Kammari (blacksmith), Kamsali (gold smith), Kasi (carver of figures and designs in wood and stone) and Kanchari (worker in bell metals). These castes are vegetarians and teetotalers and adopt a Brahminical style of life. They wear the sacred thread of the twice-born. They claim structural equality with Brahmins and are believed to have changed their names to Vishwakarma Brahmins during the pre-British period.

The other castes in this group are Sale, Golla (shepherd), Devanga and Thogatas, Katikas (butcher), Batraju (bard), Kankapollu (vendors) and Jangam. The Sale, Thogatas and Devangas are weavers by occupation and are differently called in different regions. Gollas, also known as Yadavas, are shepherds by occupation. They claim descendance from lord Krishna and are considered Sat-Shudras because of their claim to have a clean occupation. The Jangams are a semi-priestly class. They act as priests on the occasion of weddings.

4. The scheduled caste group (the lower caste group) comprises the castes which are considered to be ritually impure because of their defiling occupations. Mala and Madiga are the main castes in this group.

5. The scheduled tribe group represents the scheduled tribes. They are generally engaged in agricultural labour. They are the Jatapus, Sugalis, Yanadis, Yerukulas etc. Some of them are slowly discarding their tribal mode of life.

6. The group 'others' consists of religious groups like Christians, Muslims, Sikhs etc. Muslims are predominant
in the Telangana region and the Christians largely in the Coastal area.

The author describes the pattern of social stratification in his preface in these words:

"With the advent of statutory panchayats in rural Andhra, the upper-middle castes which are the main land-owning groups, and are numerically preponderant, have been able to occupy positions of power. On the other hand, the upper castes which were holding village offices along with some upper middle castes have failed to make a dent in the new power structure partly because of their insignificant numerical strength and lack of control over land. The lower middle castes and scheduled castes which could not participate in the traditional power structure have secured entry into the new power structure as a result of legal safeguards granted to them. Looking at the changes in land ownership over a quarter century, it is observed that the upper middle castes have further consolidated their strong position while the upper castes have slipped down. The lower castes and scheduled castes have emulated their position but not as much as the intermediate castes" (S.N.M.Kopparty, 1980: preface).

1.12 Kinship

Scholars from varied disciplines such as linguistics, sociology and anthropology have studied kinship systems in the world though their objectives have been different. Kinship
terminology frequently represents a distinctive subset of the lexicon, and the linguist's interest is to provide a greater understanding of it by componential analysis, formal analysis and historical reconstruction of earlier forms. Social anthropologists are more concerned with the set of behavioral patterns between relatives. They tend to consider the kinship terms that are used as linguistic tags representing or symbolizing the particular expected behaviours and attitudes between pairs or groups of kin. Sociologists are interested in the study of kinship terms as a means of understanding the social system rather than the linguistic differences of the kin terms.

Our purpose in studying kinship terms is to describe the variation in the use of terms of address. By examining who uses which set of terms, we may analyse the factors related to speech variation.

In India, there are several religious communities, castes and tribes in different cultural regions. The patterns of kinship found here, cover almost the entire range of known kinship systems in the world. In some societies kinship systems have a wide range, sometimes encompassing entire social groups, whereas in others, they operate only in the narrow familial domains.

Kinship is one of the universals in human society and therefore plays an important role in the regulation of behavior and the formation of social groups. There are different categories of relationship between kin—those that represent relationship by descent or consanguinity and those that are formed by marriage or affinity. In most societies, kinship terms are utilized in daily life to address and to refer to these
relations, and often their use is required by custom. The usage of kinship terms involves an associated set of behavioural patterns and attitudes for the participants.

For example, in most societies, the parents are responsible for the care and support of children during their period of dependency and for their education and training for adult life. Therefore, they are treated with affection as well as respect. The terms 'father' and 'mother' are usually associated with authority and love.

Kinship systems are not similar the world over. In India itself, kinship systems of the South where the Dravidian languages are spoken, differ from those of North India. Kinship systems in different societies may vary with respect to a number of characteristics such as, 1. the extent to which genealogical and affinal relationships are recognized for social purposes, 2. the ways in which relatives are grouped in social categories, 3. the particular customs by which the behavior of these relatives is regulated in daily life, 4. the various rights and obligations which are mediated through kinship and 5. the linguistic forms which are used to denote the various categories of kin.

The relationships established in the family group are affected by generation and relative age and by similarities or differences of sex. Those members of the parental generation who are in a position of authority are entitled to obedience and respect, whereas others may share an intimacy without subordination. For instance, in our society, the father and his elder brothers are treated with great respect, while one may be
relatively free or intimate with the father's younger brother. Friendship and support are expected of brothers and sisters. With relatives outside the family group there is frequently a greater variety of behavioral patterns representing joking or teasing relationships on the one hand, or extreme respect or avoidance on the other. In our society a man may joke with his wife's younger sisters and younger brothers, although a certain reserve is maintained between him and his wife's elder sister. Quite often there is an avoidance of address between the mother-in-law and son-in-law, or between daughter-in-law and father-in-law.

1.12.1 Studies on kinship

Following is a brief discussion on some of the studies that have been done on kinship.

Linguists have attempted to study meaning by using the componential framework of analysis. That is, the total meaning of a word is seen in terms of a number of elements or components of meaning. The idea that semantics could be handled in terms of components has been argued with the investigation of kinship terms. The most important contributions to this field have come from scholars with a primary interest in anthropology, such as F.G. Lounsbury (1956) and W.H. Goodenough (1956), who were the first to develop the technique of componential analysis to any degree of sophistication.

For example, let us look at some American-English consanguineal terms like grandfather, father, mother and daughter. These terms could be defined by the following components (Wallace and Atkins., 1960: 58-80):

1. Sex of relative (A): male (a1), female (a2)
2. Generation (B): Two generations above ego (b1),
   One generation above ego (b2),
   ego's own generation (b3),
   One generation below ego (b4),
   Two generations below ego (b5),

3. Lineality (C): Lineal (c1), co-lineal (c2),
   ablineal (c3).

According to Goodenough (1956), lineals are persons who are
ancestors of ego; co-lineals are non-lineals all of whose
ancestors include, or are included in, all the ancestors of ego;
ablineals are consanguineal relatives who are neither lineals nor
colineals. Thus the following terms may be described in this
manner:

   grand father = a1 b1 c1
   father = a1 b2 c1
   mother = a2 b2 c1
   daughter = a2 b4 c1

Componential analysis is truly representative of a
structuralist's approach to language study. In this approach,
each language is regarded as a system of relations, the elements
of which -- sounds, words, etc. have no validity independently
of the relations of equivalence and contrast which hold between
them. For instance, all relationships in a set of kinship terms
are viewed as paradigmatic relations. Such a model cannot account
for the variability of forms. For example, consider the variable
forms of a kinship term such as -- father, dad, daddy, pop and
old man. All these terms are defined on a paradigm as a1 b2 c1,
because they have the same referential meaning. In other words,
all these terms have been treated as synonyms in a paradigm, although they may have different connotative meanings.

It has been argued against the componential framework of analysis that it can only give a 'structurally real', description of a language and culture and not a 'psychologically real' description. A psychologically real description is one that approximates to the native users world of meanings, whereas a structurally real description gives a world of meanings as perceived by the ethnographer and which is not necessarily the same as the native’s way of perceiving things.

Friedrich Paul studied the usage of Russian kinship terms. Several events of social and historical significance took place in Russia since 1860, as a result of which the structure of the kinship system underwent a radical change. The events include the emancipation of serfs in 1861, the first world war, the revolution, the collectivization of agriculture and second world war. The social and political revolution that took place has been accompanied by a corresponding change in the language. For example, in the middle of the last century, the term for 'wife's brother' was 'shurin', whereas now it is simply 'brat zheny' meaning 'brother of wife.' Similarly, the term for 'brother's wife' was 'nevestka' but now it is 'zhena brata' meaning 'wife of brother'. Distinctions that were formerly lexicalized, because they were important, are now made by means of descriptive phrases. The loss of importance of these particular relationships, and the corresponding linguistic changes, are due
to the fact that social changes in Russia have led to the rise of the small, nuclear family system. Previously, most Russians lived in large patrilocal extended family households, but now brothers’ wives, who were at that time part of the family, normally live in different households. Hence, the usage of the term ‘yatrov’ which means ‘husband’s brother’s wife’ has disappeared completely. Earlier it was a very important term, meaning for the woman who used it, a person of the same status as herself—a woman from outside married into the father-centred household. The significance of this status has now been lost and so has the relevant vocabulary item.

Irawati Karve (1965) has utilized kinship terminologies for delineating and comparing the kinship systems of different regions of India, and as a means of understanding the various influences that have shaped them.

Karve has discussed the kinship terminologies of three language areas, namely the Indo-European or Sanskritic, the Dravidian and the Austro-Asiatic family of languages. She has presented the kinship organization of the various languages, in a geographical sequence of northern, central, southern and eastern zones, in order to emphasize the spatial pattern and interrelation of kinship organization and the linguistic divisions. She observes that the kinship organization in India follows roughly the linguistic pattern, but in some aspects language and kinship pattern do not go hand in hand. Thus though Maharashtra region belongs to the area of Sanskritic languages, its kinship organization is to a large extent modelled on that of the Dravidian South, its southern neighbour. The Dravidian north
on the other hand has been affected to a large extent by its northern neighbours speaking Sanskritic languages. The people of Andhra are found to use some of the northern kinship terms. Karve also describes the kinship usage in ancient and historical periods as found in the Vedas, Brahmanas and the epic Mahabharatha. She feels that a knowledge of the Indian literary traditions enables us to understand the present day society.

In her article on the Smartha Brahman kinship, E.K. Gough (1956) describes and analyses the kinship system of the Brahmans of Kumba petta village in Tanjore, compares it with the kinship system of the lower castes of the region, and attempts to relate the basic features of the Brahmin kinship terminology with other institutions. She observes that a woman has a high status in her natal home but she has a subordinate status in her husband’s home. Father-son relationship is characterized by mutual dependence, sacredness of the bond and asymmetry. A similar pattern of relationship is the norm between the elder brother and younger brother. Cross-cousin as well as maternal uncle-niece marriages are found among Brahmins. She states that the differences between the kinship system of the Brahmin and the non-Brahmin include differences in the range of the kinship systems as a whole: "The two systems differ in the size and generation depth of the patrilineal group, the composition of dwelling group, the rules regulating marriage and divorce, the types of payments made at marriage, the range of incest prohibition, the rules of adoption and of ancestral propitiation, the pattern of kinship terms, etiquette of the behavior, and in
the emotional content of the rights and obligations between kin" (Gough, E.K., in Dube, Leela., 1974: 20-22).

Louis Dumont studied the kinship system in south India. Dumont (1983) stresses the importance of marriage alliance to kinship terminology in the Dravidian languages. He describes the main features of the kinship terminology which are, classification according to generations, distinctions of sex, distinction of two kinds of relatives inside certain generations and distinctions of age (older and younger than the ego). He feels that all the kinship terms may be described in terms of these features. For instance, the relation between the ego, ego's father and the ego's mother's brother is described in these words: "If we now consider together the two oppositions between Ego, his father and his mother's brother, we see that Ego and the father are similar in kin and different in generation, while father and mother's brother are similar in generation and different in kin (i.e. are allied)" (1983: 11).

The ego's father and the ego's mother's brother are referred to as affines because their children could form a marriage alliance. The relation between the ego, the ego's mother and ego's father's sister may be described similarly. The ego's mother and ego's father's sister are affines, and the ego and his cross cousins are affines. Dumont states that the principle of alliance, runs through generations and this may be the reason for the stability and vitality of the Dravidian kinship terminology. In his view the practice of cross-cousin marriage is nothing but the "perfect formula" for perpetrating the alliance relationship from one generation to the next and so
making the alliance an enduring institution.

G.M. Trivedi (1983) in his sociolinguistic study of an Andhra village, describes the kinship terms used in this region. He says that Telugu kinship terminology is classificatory. A single kinship term refers to many relations. For example, the term of address for one’s mother is /amma/. The mothers of parallel cousins (mother’s sister, father’s brother’s wife) are also referred to and addressed by the same term, although the adjectives, /cinna/ ‘younger’ and /pedda/ ‘elder’ are prefixed to the term, depending on the age of the relation as compared to the ego’s mother. Thus Fa elder Br Wi and Mo elder Si are called /peddamma/ and Fa younger Br Wi and Mo younger Si are called /cinnamma/. The term for father, is used in a similar manner to address one’s father’s brothers and the husbands of mother’s sisters.

Trivedi attests the presence of variation in the use of kinship terms which he says, vary according to the caste of the speaker. For instance, the relation ‘father’ is addressed by the term /naanna/ among the higher caste people, and by the term /abba/ among the untouchables. There is variation in the use of terms of reference for wife and husband. He says:

"The word /pen Dlam/ is used for wife. The Reddies, the Komaties and the Lingayats prefer the term /b(h)aarya/, a loan from Sanskrit instead of the term /penDlam/ which is used among the uneducated low caste people. The husband is called /magaDu/... The word /magaDu/ or /mogaDu/ is used among the illiterate low
Caste people. The higher castes as the Lingayats, the Komaties and the Reddies generally use the word/b(h)arta/, a loan from Sanskrit" (1983: 79).

The author observes that in Telugu kinship terminology there is no clear-cut distinction between family of birth and the family of marriage. For example the term /akka/ elder Si, and /atta/ Fa Si, who are the members of a man's family of birth can become the members of his family of marriage also because he can marry his elder Si Da or Fa Si Da. The distinction of blood relatives and affinal relatives cannot be signified by a large number of terms in Telugu. For example the term /atta/ is used for Fa Si, a blood relation and also for Mo Br Wi, an affinal relation. Similarly, the term /maama/ is used for Mo Br, a blood relation and also for Fa Si Hu, an affinal relation. Because of the prevailing practice of cross-cousin marriage the kinship terminology of Telugu does not distinguish between the extended family of birth and the extended family of marriage.

Kinship terms in Telugu, reveal the relative age of the person being referred to or addressed. There are separate terms for elder brother, younger brother, elder sister, younger sister, elder brother-in-law, younger brother-in-law, elder sister-in-law, and younger sister-in-law.

Trivedi also states that the Telugu speaking people use four pairs of kinship terms to distinguish between those who are blood relatives only, and those who are blood relatives and affinal relatives as well. These terms are /talli-tanDrlulu/, (Mo and Fa), /annatammullu/ (elder Br and younger Br), /atta maama/ (Wi Mo
and Wi Fa, Hu Mo and Hu Fa) and /baavamar(u)dulu/ (Fa Si So, Mo Br So, Wi Br, Hu Br, Si Hu). In his words:

"These compounds have a special connotation in Telugu phraseology. By /talli-tanDrulu/ and /anna tammulu/ the male speaker refers to all of his blood relatives and by /attamama/ and /bavamardulu/ he refers to those blood relatives who are affinal relatives also. By /talli tanDrulu/ he means his blood-relatives one generation removed from himself and by /anna tammulu/ he means his blood-relatives belonging to his own generation. The expression /atta mama/ includes those blood-relatives who are affinal relatives also and are one generation removed from the ego and the expression /bava mardulu/ includes such relatives of his own generation... A female speaker refers to all of her blood-relatives by /talli tanDurulu/ and /akka cellelu/. For her those blood-relatives who are affinal relatives also she uses the phrases /atta mama/ and /annatammulu/" (ibid. 83-84).

The terms of address used in the region under study are described in chapter 4.
Notes and references

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