

## DISCRETENESS AND CONTINUITY OF SOME OF THE USAGES IN TAMIL SPEECH

K. KARUNAKARAN

### Introduction

Despite the general orientation of the field towards the study of language in isolation, there have been a number of situations where linguists have hoped to obtain confirmation from the study of speech (Labov, 1972:187).

It is common for a language to have several alternate ways of expressing a particular thing or meaning. Some usages like *ca:ppuṭu* and *tinnu* seem to have the same referent (eat) in Tamil; others have two or more pronunciations like *namma* and *nampa* 'our' (incl.) or *amma:* and *amme* 'mother'. There are certain syntactic options such as:-

- i) *ya:ro:ṭe avan pe:cikiṭṭirukkara:n* or *avan ya:ro:ṭe pe:cikiṭṭirukkra:n* 'to whom is he talking?',
- ii) *pe:cratu ya:rukkum culapam(or)ya:rukkum pe:cratu culapam* 'it is easy for anybody to talk' etc. In each of these cases, we have the problem of deciding the exact nature and significance of the speech variation in the sociolinguistic structure of Tamil.

### Study of Variation

The problem of explaining language variation according to Labov (ibid. 1) seems to resolve itself into three separate issues viz., i) the origin of linguistic variation, ii) the spread and propagation of linguistic variation and iii) the regularity of linguistic variation. The model which underlies the three - way division requires as a starting point a variation in one or several words (or usages) in the speech behaviour of one or two individuals. These variations may be induced by the process of assimilation or differentiation, by analogy, borrowing, fusion, contamination, random variation, or any number of processes in which the language system interacts with the physiological or psychological characteristics of the individuals concerned. Most such variations occur only once, and are extinguished as quickly as they arise. However, a few recur, and, in a second stage, they may be imitated more or less widely, and may spread to the point where the new forms are in contrast with the older forms along a wide front. Finally, at some later stage, one or the other of the two forms or usages usually triumphs, and regularity is achieved.

### Study of Variation in Tamil Speech

Variations found in the different spoken varieties of Tamil have been studied both by the dialectologists and sociolinguists. The dialectologists have described the dialects by preparing dialect grammars, dialect dictionaries, dialect maps, and also have done considerable research work on the comparative study of the dialectal usages – both regional and social. Shanmugam Pillai (1965) has identified certain 'caste isoglosses' which distinguish the Tamil varieties spoken by different castes who live in a particular village. Zvelebil (1961), Bright and Ramanijan (1964) and Karunakaran (1981) have analysed the sociolinguistic variation and language change with reference to Tamil speech varieties. Zvelebil (1964), Shanmugam Pillai (1967), Karunakaran (1970, 1971) and Srinivasa Varma and Sakthivel (1978) have classified the regional dialects of Tamil on the basis of the 'isoglosses' (including the bundles of isoglosses, inclusive vs. exclusive isoglosses, etc.) which they were able to identify through their research.

Sociolinguists on the other hand have made certain sociolinguistic descriptions for some of the Tamil speech varieties.<sup>1</sup> They have studied some of the speech varieties of Tamil which are in use in the rural, semi-urban (industrial) and urban areas of Tamilnadu. They have identified the variations which are diagnostic and significant, and conditioned the same with the help of the 'sociolinguistic correlations' which they were able to establish (by correlating the linguistic features and social parameters). They have formalised and presented the sociolinguistic correlations in the form of a series of rules known as 'variable rules' which explain the variations conditioned by the social variables like educational status, social status (caste or class), age, sex, occupational status, economic status, etc. Some of the variable rules given by them also take into consideration the linguistic conditioning along with the social ones.

<sup>1</sup>Gnanam, M. (1980). 'Social Stratification of Tamil in the Neyveli Township (Industrial) Area' (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis submitted to the Annamalai University).

Irulappan, K.M. (1979). 'Dialect Differences and Social Stratification in a Tamilnadu Village'. (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis submitted to the Annamalai University).

Karunakaran, K. (1975). 'Social Stratification of Tamil Dialects'. *Ayvukkavai* - 7.2, p. 189.

Muthuswamy Pillai, P. (1981). 'Social Differentiation of Tamil in Madurai City'. (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis submitted to the Annamalai University).

Sivashanmugam, C. (1981). 'Social Differentiation of Tamil in Coimbatore' (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis submitted to the Annamalai University).

Yesudhasan, C. (1977). 'Sociolinguistic Study of Kanyakumari Tamil Dialects (with special reference to Vilavencode)'. (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis submitted to the Annamalai University).

Sociolinguists also have stratified and differentiated the speech varieties used by the different social groups which live in a particular place or area.<sup>2</sup> They have also brought to light the social significance of speech as well as the social meaning of language<sup>3</sup>.

### Present Study

#### *Scope of the Study*

The scope of the present study is that to understand the exact nature and development of a linguistic variation one has to necessarily take into consideration the social life of the speech community in which the variation occurs. As Labov (1972:3) puts it "Social pressures are continually operating upon language, not from some remote point in the past, but as an immanent social force acting in the living present".

#### *Aim of the Study*

The aim of the present study is to add a new dimension to the study of speech behaviour. By making use of the two concepts viz., i) *continuity* and ii) *discreteness*, the present study tries to explain the variations found in the different levels (phonological, morphological and lexical) of the Tamil speech varieties.

Though there are variations in speech, various social (caste) groups which speak Tamil are able to understand each other and interact with one another, and in this way they continue to use their language both in the formal and informal contexts with all these existing variations. So there is a continuity as far as many of the usages are concerned, but at the same time there are some distinct discrete changes also which are found in some of the speech varieties of Tamil.

### Concepts, 'Continuity' and 'Discreteness'

#### *The Concept of Isogloss*

The concept of 'isogloss' in the study of *dialect geography* just helps us to demarcate the dialect areas i.e., to distinguish one dialect area as different from the other. There are certain inclusive isoglosses (Karunakaran, 1971) which help us to identify two or more dialect areas sharing some of the linguistic features found in the different levels of the language.

<sup>2</sup>Labov, W. (1966). *Social Stratification of English in the New York City*. CAL : Washington, D.C.

Trudgill, P. (1974). *Social Differentiation of English in Norwich*. CUP : London.

<sup>3</sup>Platt, J.T. and Platt, K.H. (1975). *The Social Significance of Speech*. NHBC : Amsterdam.

Pride, J.B. (1970). *The Social Meaning of Language*. OUP : London.

- Ex. i) /r/ isogloss (exclusive) which separates the Kanyakumari Dialect Area from all other dialect areas of Tamilnadu.  
 ii) /ə/ isogloss (exclusive) which separates the Kanyakumari Dialect Area from the remaining dialect areas.  
 iii) /-ra/ isogloss (exclusive) which separates Coimbatore Dialect Area from all other areas.  
 iv) /-vaccu/ isogloss (inclusive) which is shared by the Kanyakumari and Tirunelveli regions of the Southern Dialect Area.  
 v) /-a:ṇṭe/ and /-aṇṭe/ isogloss (inclusive) which is shared by the Northern Dialect Area and some regions of the Western Dialect Area.

There are bundles of isoglosses which are also helpful in demarcating the Kanyakumari dialect area as a focal area<sup>4</sup>. The following are some of the exclusive isoglosses found in the Kanyakumari Tamil Speech, and all these isoglosses have the same centre viz., Kanyakumari Dialect Area. So this area is called a focal area.

#### 4.3.1.1 *Phonological Level*

- |                 |                              |
|-----------------|------------------------------|
| i) Use of /r/   | Ex. /ka:r <u>r</u> u/ 'air'  |
| ii) Use of /ə/  | /te <u>r</u> rə/ 'mistake'   |
| iii) Use of /ṇ/ | /va <u>ṇ</u> ṇa:n/ 'came-he' |

#### 4.3.1.2 *Morphological Level*

- i) Use of the instrumental case suffix - ṭṭu  
 Ex. kattṭṭu 'with knife'
- ii) Use of the genitive case suffix - (u) kke  
 (a)  
 Ex. avanukke 'his'  
 enakke 'my'
- iii) Use of the ordinal suffixes — a:matte and —a:matu  
 Ex. na:la:matte 'fourth'  
 mu:na:matu 'third'
- iv) Use of the emphatic marker - a:kkum  
 Ex. avana:kkum vanta:n 'it is he who came and not anybody else'
- v) Absence of the present tense suffix - (k)r-  
 Ex. o:ṭa:n 'runs-he'  
 paṭikka:n 'reads-he'

<sup>4</sup>Hockett, C.F. (1958). *A Course in Modern Linguistics*. p. 481. 'A region bounded by a group of concentric isoglosses and enclosing a center of probable prestige, is called a focal area'.

- vi) Use of the second person singular termination -e:l  
 Ex. pa:tte:la: 'did you (sg.) see?'
- vii) Use of the conditional marker -a:kki  
 Ex. conna:kki 'if (someone) said'

#### 4.3.1.3 Lexical Level

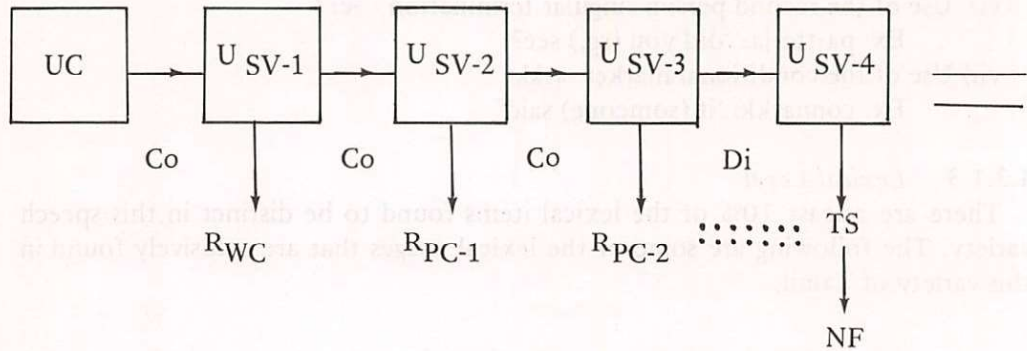
There are atleast 10% of the lexical items found to be distinct in this speech variety. The following are some of the lexical usages that are exclusively found in this variety of Tamil.

a:cce/	'day'
a:lce	'spittoon'
paṭikkam	'instead of'
pakaram	'mistake'
teṇṇa	'gun'
to:kku	'cobbler'
cemma:n	'a relish for food'
cammanti	'chaff'
caṇṭu	'jump'
ca:ṭu	'jumping'
ca:ṭtam	'a wild animal'
mḷa:	etc.,

The diversity phenomenon as explained above with the help of the isoglosses doesn't explicitly say anything about the nature of the variations found in language use. So it has now become obligatory on the part of the sociolinguists to explain the nature of the variations as part of the sociolinguistic description.

The concepts viz., 'continuity' and 'discreteness' will explain the exact nature of the variations found in the speech varieties concerned. Continuity explains the process of continuum of a particular feature or usage in speech. The shape or quality of the feature continues to be the same in use either without any change (retained without change) or sometimes with a partial change (retained with partial change). Because of this process of retention, continuity is found in the usages concerned.

'Discreteness' explains the process of a total shift in the shape or quality of a particular feature or usage in speech. Due to this process a new feature comes into the speech variety and replaces the old one. There are several extra linguistic reasons for this type of process to take place. The following diagram explains the process.



The concepts viz., *continuity* and *discreteness* are also useful to explain the regularity of change/variation as well as the incidence of the partial and total shifts in usages. We are able to notice that the total shifts that have taken place in Tamil speech are not sudden and partial changes are gradual.

*Abbreviations:*

- UC — Usage Common
- U — Usage
- SV — Speech Variety
- R — Retention
- WC — Without Change
- PC — Partial Change
- TS — Total Shift
- NF — New Feature
- Co — Continuity
- Di — Discreteness

The interpretation of some of the total shifts reflects the interference of the contacting language(s) (with the mother tongue) especially in the linguistic border areas. This is clear from the usages found in the Kanyakumari speech variety (Tamil-Malayalam bilingual area) and the Dharmapuri speech variety (Tamil-Kannada-Telugu-Urdu multilingual area).

4.3.2 Continuity and Discreteness in Tamil Speech

4.3.2.1 Phonological Level

4.3.2.1.1 Use of /l/

R.1 (l) → [ l ~ l ~ l ]  
Co

Co → R<sub>WC</sub> → R<sub>PC-1</sub> → R<sub>PC-2</sub>

Ex. palam → palam → palam → palam 'fruit'

R.2 (l) → [ š ~ y ]  
Di

Di → Di<sub>TS-1</sub> → Di<sub>TS-2</sub>

Ex. tiruvla: → tiruvša: → 'festival'  
palam → payam 'fruit'

4.3.2.1.2 Use of /k/ in the intervocal position

R.1 (k) → [ k / Co ~ v / Di ~ y ]

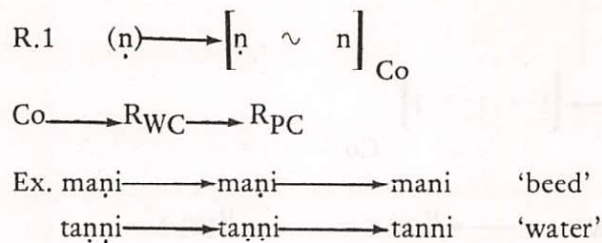
Co → R<sub>WC</sub>

Ex. pake → pake 'enmity'

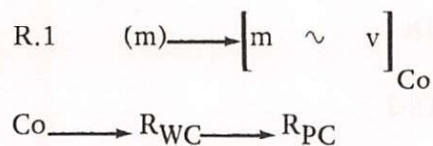
Di → Di<sub>TS-1</sub> → Di<sub>TS-2</sub>

Ex. makan → mavan → mayan 'son'

4.3.2.1.3 Use of /n/ in the intervocal position



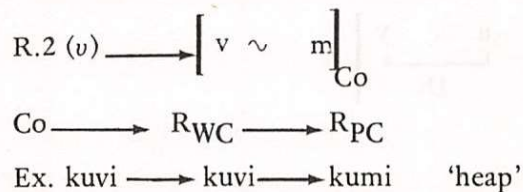
4.3.2.1.4 Use of /m/ and /v/



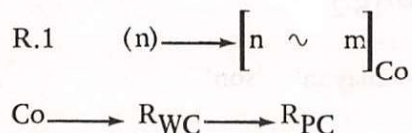
As /m/ and /v/ are labial sounds, the change is considered as partial.

Ex. mi:ce  $\longrightarrow$  mi:ce  $\longrightarrow$  vi:ce 'moustache'

The converse is also possible in this case.



4.3.2.1.5 Use of /n/



As /n/ and /m/ are nasals, and as assimilation takes place due to the following sound, the change here is considered as partial and continuous.

Ex. anpu  $\longrightarrow$  anpu  $\longrightarrow$  ampu 'affection'



4.3.2.1.6 Use of /r/

$$R.1. \quad (\underline{r}) \longrightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{c} r \sim l \\ \text{Co} \end{array} \right] \sim \left[ \begin{array}{c} n \\ \text{Di} \end{array} \right]$$

$$\text{Co} \longrightarrow R_{WC} \longrightarrow R_{PC}$$

Ex. rattam  $\longrightarrow$  rattam  $\longrightarrow$  lattam 'blood'

$$\text{Di} \longrightarrow \text{Di}_{TS-1}$$

Ex. rattam  $\longrightarrow$  nattam 'blood'  
rompa  $\longrightarrow$  nompa 'much'

As /r/ and /l/ are liquid sounds, the change is considered here as partial.

4.3.1.2.7 Use of /ʃ/

$$R.1. \quad (\underline{\text{ʃ}}) \longrightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{c} ʃ \sim ʃ \\ \text{Co} \end{array} \right]$$

$$\text{Co} \longrightarrow R_{WC} \longrightarrow R_{PC}$$

Ex. vaʃe  $\longrightarrow$  vaʃe  $\longrightarrow$  vale 'bend'

mullu  $\longrightarrow$  mullu  $\longrightarrow$  mullu 'thorn'

4.3.2.1.8 Use of /r/

$$R.1. \quad (\underline{r}) \longrightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{c} r \sim r \\ \text{Co} \end{array} \right] \sim \left[ \begin{array}{c} t \\ \text{Di} \end{array} \right]$$

$$\text{Co} \longrightarrow R_{WC} \longrightarrow R_{PC}$$

Ex. a:ru  $\longrightarrow$  a:ru  $\longrightarrow$  a:ru 'six'

$$\text{Di} \longrightarrow \text{Di}_{TS-1}$$

Ex. ka:rru  $\longrightarrow$  ka:ttu 'air'  
u:rru  $\longrightarrow$  u:ttu 'spring'

4.3.2.2 *Morphological Level*

4.3.2.2.1 *Instrumental Case Suffix*

R.1 (a:le) → [a:le ~ a:la]<sub>Co</sub>

Co → R<sub>WC</sub> → R<sub>PC</sub>

Ex. avana:le )  
avana:la ) 'by him'

R.2. (a:le) → [vaccu ~ e+vaccu ~ koṅṭu ~ ṭṭu]<sub>Di</sub>

Di → Di<sub>TS-1</sub> → Di<sub>TS-2</sub> → Di<sub>TS-3</sub> → Di<sub>TS-4</sub>

Di →  
TS ( vaccu )  
( e+vaccu )  
( koṅṭu )  
( )  
( ṭṭu )

Ex. kattivaccu )  
kattiyevaccu )  
kattikoṅṭu ) 'with knife'  
kattiṭṭu )

4.3.2.2.2 *Sociative Case Suffix*

R.1 (o:ṭe) → [o:ṭe ~ o:ṭa]<sub>Co</sub>

Co → R<sub>WC</sub> → R<sub>PC</sub>

Ex. avano:ṭe → avano:ṭe → avano:ṭa 'with him'

R.2 (o:ṭe) → [ku:ṭe ~ ku:ṭa]<sub>Di</sub>

Di → Di<sub>TS-1</sub> → Di<sub>TS-2</sub>

Ex. ra:mano:ṭe → ra:manku:ṭe → ra:manku:ṭa 'with Raman'

4.3.2.2.3 Genitive Case Suffix

R.1. (o:te) → [o:te ~ o:ta ~ ota ~ uta]

Co

Co → R<sub>WC</sub> → R<sub>PC-1</sub> → R<sub>PC-2</sub> → R<sub>PC-3</sub>

Ex. enno:te → enno:te → enno:ta → ennota

→ ennota 'my'

R.2 (o:te) → [ra ~ te ~ (a) kke ~ u]

(u)

Di

Di → Di<sub>TS-1</sub> → Di<sub>TS-2</sub> → Di<sub>TS-3</sub> → Di<sub>TS-4</sub>

Ex. enno:te → enra → ente → enakke

→ ennu 'my'

avanukke 'his'

4.3.2.2.4 Accusative Case Suffix

R.1 (e) → [e ~ eye]<sub>Co</sub>

Co → R<sub>WC</sub> → R<sub>PC</sub>

Ex. nammaḷe )

nammaḷeye) 'us' (incl.)

4.3.2.2.5 Dative Case Suffix

R.1. ( (a) kku ) → [ (a) kku ~ e<sup>5</sup> ]  
 ( (u) kku )      Co      Di

<sup>5</sup>The suffix -e (occurring as in *vi:tte*, *u:re*, etc, representing the dative case) is found to occur only with place nouns in the South Arcot District of Tamilnadu.

Co  $\longrightarrow$  R<sub>WC</sub>  
 Ex. avanukku 'to him'  
 enakku 'to me'  
 atukku 'to it'

Di  $\longrightarrow$  Di<sub>TS-1</sub>

Ex. vi:ṭṭukku  $\longrightarrow$  vi:ṭṭe 'to the house'  
 u:rukku  $\longrightarrow$  u:re 'to the village'

#### 4.3.2.2.6 Purposive Case Suffix

R.1.  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} (a) \\ (u) \end{array} \right] \text{kka:ke} \longrightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{l} (a) \\ (u) \end{array} \right] \text{kka:ke} \sim \left[ \begin{array}{l} (a) \\ (u) \end{array} \right] \text{kka:ka} \Bigg]_{\text{Co}}$

Co  $\longrightarrow$  R<sub>WC</sub>  $\longrightarrow$  R<sub>PC</sub>

Ex. unakka:ke  $\longrightarrow$  unakka:ke  $\longrightarrow$  unakka:ka 'for you' (sg.)  
 avanukka:ke  $\longrightarrow$  avanukka:ke  $\longrightarrow$  avanukka:ka 'for him'  
 ya:rukka:ke  $\longrightarrow$  ya:rukka:ke  $\longrightarrow$  ya:rukka:ka 'for whom'

R.2.  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} (a) \\ (u) \end{array} \right] \text{kka:ke} \Bigg] \longrightarrow \left[ \text{ko:cam} \sim \text{ko:caram} \right]_{\text{Di}}$

Di  $\longrightarrow$  Di<sub>TS-1</sub>  $\longrightarrow$  Di<sub>TS-2</sub>

Ex. avanukka:ke  $\longrightarrow$  avanukko:cam  $\longrightarrow$  avanukko:caram 'for him'  
 enakka:ke  $\longrightarrow$  enakko:cam  $\longrightarrow$  enakko:caram 'for me'  
 ya:rukka:ke  $\longrightarrow$  ya:rukko:cam  $\longrightarrow$  ya:rukko:caram 'for whom'

#### 4.3.2.2.7 Locative Case Suffix

R.1. (kiṭṭe)<sup>6</sup>  $\longrightarrow$   $\left[ \text{kiṭṭe} \sim \text{ṭe} \right]_{\text{Co}}$

Co  $\longrightarrow$  R<sub>WC</sub>  $\longrightarrow$  R<sub>PC</sub>

<sup>6</sup>This suffix occurs only with human nouns.

Ex. payyankiṭṭe )  
 ) 'with the boy'  
 payan+ṭe )

R.2 (kiṭṭe) → [aṇṭe ~ a:ṇṭe]<sub>Di</sub>

Di → Di<sub>TS-1</sub> → Di<sub>TS-2</sub>

Ex. ennaṇṭe )  
 ) 'with me'  
 enna:ṇṭe )

#### 4.3.2.2.8 Present Tense Suffix

R.1. ( (k) r ) →  $\left[ \frac{(k)r \sim (k)ar}{Co} \sim \frac{\tau \sim \phi}{-Di.} \right]$

Co → R<sub>WC</sub> → R<sub>PC-1</sub>

Ex. o:ṭra:n → o:ṭra:n → o:ṭara:n 'runs-he'  
 paṭikkra:n → paṭikkra:n → paṭikkara:n 'reads-he'

Di → Di<sub>TS-1</sub> → Di<sub>TS-2</sub>

Ex. o:ṭra:n → o:ṭuta:n → o:ṭa:n 'runs-he'  
 paṭikkra:n → paṭikkuta:n → paṭikka:n 'reads-he'

#### 4.3.2.2.9 Past Tense Suffix

R.1 (t) →  $\left[ \frac{t}{Co} \sim \frac{s \sim \tilde{n}c}{Di} \right]$

Co → R<sub>WC</sub>

Ex. vayta:n → vayta:n 'scolded-he'

Di → Di<sub>TS-1</sub> → Di<sub>TS-2</sub>

vayta:n → vassa:n → vañca:n 'scolded-he'

#### 4.3.2.2.10 Future Tense Suffix

$$R.1 \quad (pp) \longrightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{c} pp \\ Co \\ \sim \\ \frac{uv}{Di} \end{array} \right]$$

$$Co \longrightarrow R_{WC}$$

$$Ex. \quad na\dot{t}appa: \longrightarrow na\dot{t}appa: \quad 'will\ walk-she'$$

$$Di \longrightarrow Di_{TS-1}$$

$$na\dot{t}appa: \longrightarrow na\dot{t}akkuva: \quad 'will\ walk-she'$$

#### 4.3.2.2.11 Negative Suffix

$$R.1 \quad (a:t) \longrightarrow [a:t \sim a:tt]_{Co}$$

$$Co \longrightarrow R_{WC} \longrightarrow R_{PC}$$

$$Ex. \quad ceyya:ta \quad ) \\ \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad ) \quad 'not\ done' \quad (adj.) \\ \quad \quad \quad ceyya:tta \quad )$$

Though the change is partial, the occurrence of the suffix *-a:tt-* in the Kanyakumari Tamil Speech is due to the interference of the Malayalam negative suffix *-a:tt-*.

#### 4.3.2.2.12 Verbal Participle Suffix

$$R.1 \quad (mal) \longrightarrow [mal \sim ma \sim me]_{Co}$$

$$Co \longrightarrow R_{WC} \longrightarrow R_{PC-1} \longrightarrow R_{PC-2}$$

$$Ex. \quad vara:ma:le: \quad 'even\ without\ coming'$$

$$vara:meye: \quad 'even\ without\ coming'$$

$$vara:ma \quad 'without\ coming'$$

R.2 (te) → [te ~ ta]  
Di

Di → Di<sub>TS-1</sub> → Di<sub>TS-2</sub>

Ex. colla:te → colla:te → colla:ta 'without saying'

4.3.2.2.13 *Pronominal Terminations*

4.3.2.2.13.1 *Second Person Plural*

R.1 (i:nka) → [i:nka ~ i:ka ~ i:ya ~ i:yo ~ i:nko]  
Co

Co → R<sub>WC</sub> → R<sub>PC-1</sub> → R<sub>PC-2</sub> → R<sub>PC-3</sub> → R<sub>PC-4</sub>

Ex. pa:tti:nka )  
pa:tti:nko )  
pa:tti:ka ) 'saw-you' (pl.)  
pa:tti:ya )  
pa:tti:yo )

R.2 (i:nka) → [e:ɿ]  
Di

Di → Di<sub>TS-1</sub>

pa:tti:nka → pa:tte:ɿ 'saw-you' (pl.)

4.3.2.2.13.2 *Third Person Epicene Plural*

R.1 (a:nka) → [a:nka ~ a:nko ~ a:ka ~ a:va ~ a:]  
Co

Co → R<sub>WC</sub> → R<sub>PC-1</sub> → R<sub>PC-2</sub> → R<sub>PC-3</sub> → R<sub>PC-4</sub>

Ex. po:na:nka )  
po:na:nko )  
po:na:ka ) 'went-they' (hum.)  
po:na:va )  
po:na: )

4.3.2.2.13.3 *Third Person Neuter Singular*

R.1 (utu) → [utu ~ atu ~ u]  
Co

Co → R<sub>WC</sub> → R<sub>PC-1</sub> → R<sub>PC-2</sub>

Ex. vantutu )  
vantatu ) 'came-it'  
vantu )

R.2 (utu) → [icci ~ cci]  
Di

Di → Di<sub>TS-1</sub> Di<sub>TS-2</sub>

Ex. vantutu → vanticci 'came-it'  
po: nutu → po: cci 'went-it'

4.3.2.2.14 *Pronoun Bases*

4.3.2.2.14.1 *First Person Singular*

R.1 (en) → [en ~ e ~ e: ~ ne<sup>7</sup>:]  
Co

Co → R<sub>WC</sub> → R<sub>PC-1</sub> → R<sub>PC-2</sub> → R<sub>PC-3</sub>

Ex. enakku )  
ekku )  
e:kku ) 'to me'  
ne:kku )

<sup>7</sup>The first person singular pronoun base *ena-* becomes *ne:-* after the operation of the metathesis rule ie.,  $V_1 C_1 V_2 \rightarrow C_1 V_1$ . Therefore *ena-* → *ne:-*.



4.3.2.2.14.2 *Second Person Singular*

R.1 (un) → [un ~ on ~ u ~ u: ~ no<sup>8</sup>:]  
Co

Co → R<sub>WC</sub> → R<sub>PC-1</sub> → R<sub>PC-2</sub> → R<sub>PC-3</sub> → R<sub>PC-4</sub>

Ex. unakku )  
onakku )  
ukku ) 'to you' (sg.)  
u:kku )  
no:kku )

4.3.2.2.15 *Gender-Number Suffix (Third Person Epicene Plural)*

R.1 (vanka) → [vanka ~ vanko ~ viya ~ vuka ~ vinka ~  
va:(1) ~ wo]  
Co

Co → R<sub>WC</sub> → R<sub>PC-1</sub> → R<sub>PC-2</sub> → R<sub>PC-3</sub> → R<sub>PC-4</sub>  
→ R<sub>PC-5</sub> → R<sub>PC-6</sub>

Ex. avanka → avanko → avinka → aviya → avuka  
→ a va:(1) → avo 'they' (hum.)

4.3.2.2.16 *Ordinal Suffix*

R.1 (a:m) → [a:m ~ a:matte]  
Co

Co → R<sub>WC</sub> → R<sub>PC-1</sub>

Ex. raṅṅa:m )  
 ) 'second'  
raṅṅa:matte )

<sup>8</sup>The second person singular pronoun base *ona-* becomes *no:-* after the operation of the matathesis rule i.e.,  $V_1 C_1 V_2 \rightarrow C_1 V_1 :-$ . Therefore *ona-* becomes *no:-*.

R.2 (a:vatu) → [a:vatu ~ a:matu]  
Co

Co → R<sub>WC</sub> → R<sub>PC-1</sub>

Ex. na:la:vatu )  
                  ) 'fourth'  
      na:la:matu )

#### 4.3.2.2.17 Temporal Marker

R.1 (appo) → [appo ~ appa ~ appe ~ acce ~ atte]  
Co

Co R<sub>WC</sub> → R<sub>PC-1</sub> → R<sub>PC-2</sub> → R<sub>PC-3</sub> → R<sub>PC-4</sub>

Ex. ceyrappo )  
      ceyrappa )  
      ceyrappe ) 'while doing'  
      ceyracce )  
      ceyratte )

#### 4.3.2.3. Lexical Level

There are a number of lexical items which show variation in use. As lexical usages are less resistant towards change, we find relatively more number of variations when compared to those features in the other levels. The following list shows some of the lexical variations found in the Tamil speech varieties. Apart from the social conditionings, one can also find the interference and impact of the contacting languages in the bilingual/multilingual areas, situations, etc. There are considerable number of assimilated forms (borrowings from other languages) which have come into Tamil due to the various developments that have taken place in different realms of the social activity.

##### 4.3.2.3.1 Lexical Variations

S.No.	Common Usage	Variations	Meaning
1.	ivlavu	ivvalavu, imma:m, impuṭṭu, ivlavu	'this much'
2.	empatu	empatu, empaḷatu, eṇpatu	'eighty'

3.	enke	enke, eñce	'where'
4.	appa:	appa:, appa:ru, ayya:, ayyan, nayna:, to:ppana:r, aṇṇan	'father'
5.	amma:	amma:, amme, a:tta:, a:yi	'mother'
6.	aṇṇi	aṇṇi, manni, matani, mayni, aṇṇamuṇṇi	'elder brother's 'wife'
7.	appo	appo, appa, appe, aḷe	'then'
8.	pa:ṭṭi	pa:ṭṭi, appatta:, amma:yi, a:ya:, a:tta:, pa:cca:yi ammamma:	'grand mother'
9.	poñca:ti	poñca:ti, poñta:ṭṭi, camsa:ram, a:mpaṭaya:, u:ṭṭukka:ri	'wife'
10.	purusan	purusan, a:mpaṭaya:n, u:ṭṭukka:ran, u:ṭṭukka:rar	'husband'
11.	tiṭṭu	tiṭṭu, vayyi, e:cu	'scold'
12.	ta:tta:	ta:tta:, pa:ṭṭan, ayya:, ciyya:n, pa:ccappan	'grand father'
13.	tikku	tikku, tece, lakku, pakkam	'direction'
14.	ta:li kaṭṭu	ta:li kaṭṭu, tiruppu:ṭṭu	'tie the sacred marriage badge'
15.	came	came, a:kku, ponku	'cook'
16.	ca:ppuṭu	ca:ppuṭu, tunnu, tinnu, unku, kuṭi	'eat'
17.	kaṭale	kaṭale, kalle, koṭṭe, ve:rkkaṭale, malla:ṭṭe	'ground nut'

18.	keḷavi	keḷavi, keyvi	'old woman'
19.	ko:yḷu	ko:yiḷu, ko:yḷu, ampalam, cece	'temple'
20.	varuma:nam	varuma:nam, varavu, varumpaṭi, varava:ci	'income'
21.	na:ḷu	na:ḷu, keḷame, a:ḷcce, a:cce	'day'
22.	atta:n	atta:n, attimpe:r, macca:n, maccunen, aytta:n	'brother-in-law'

#### REFERENCES

- Bright, W. and Ramanujan, A.K. (1964), 'Sociolinguistic Variation and Language Change' in *Sociolinguistics* (eds.) J.B. Pride and J. Holmes, Penguin Books: Harmondsworth (England).
- Gnanam, M. (1980) 'Social Stratification of Tamil in Neyveli Towship (Industrial Area)'. (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation submitted to the Annamalai University).
- Hockett, C.F. (1958). *A Course in Modern Linguistics*, The Macmillan Company: New York.
- Irulappan, K.M. (1979) 'Dialect Differences and Social Stratification in a Tamilnadu Village'. (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation submitted to the Annamalai University).
- Kamatchinathan, A. (1969). *The Tirunelveli Tamil Dialect*, Annamalai University: Annamalainagar.
- Karunakaran, K. (1970). 'Tamil Dialects - A classification'. *Ayvukkovai*-2. AIUTTA: Annamalainagar.
- Karunakaran, K. (1971). 'Tamil Isoglosses'. *Ayvukkovai*-3. AIUTTA: Annamalainagar.
- Karunakaran, K. (1975 a). *Camudbaya Mozhiyiyal*, Pari Nilayam: Madras.
- Karunakaran, K. (1975 b). 'Social Stratification of Tamil Dialects'. *Ayvukkovai*-7. AIUTTA: Annamalainagar.
- Karunakaran, K. (1978). *Linguistic Convergence*. AITLA: Annamalainagar.
- Karunakaran, K. (1980). 'Caste System and Linguistic Variation' in *Dravlingpex*, Washington, D.C.
- Karunakaran, K. (1981). *Study of Social Dialects in Tamil*. AITLA : Annamalainagar.
- Labov, W. (1966). *Social Stratification of English in New York City*, CAL : Washington, D.C.
- Labov, W. (1972). *Sociolinguistic Patterns*, Basil Blackwell : Oxford.
- Muthuswamy Pillai, P. (1981). 'Social Differentiation of Tamil in Madurai City'. (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation submitted to the Annamalai University).
- Platt, J.T. and Platt, K.H. (1975). *The Social Significance of Speech*, NHBC : Amsterdam.
- Pride, J.B. (1970). *The Social Meaning of Language*, OUP : London.
- Shanmugam Pillai, M. (1965). 'Caste Isoglosses in Kinship Terms of Tamil'. *Anthropological Linguistics* 7.3.: 59-66.
- Shanmugam Pillai, M. (1967). 'Tamil To-day' *Indian Linguistics* 36.1 : 52-59.

- Shanmugam Pillai, M. (1968). 'Fishermen Tamil of Kanyakumari'. *Anthropological Linguistics* 10.1 : 51-57.
- Sivashanmugam, C. (1981). 'Social Differentiation of Tamil in Coimbatore' (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation submitted to the Annamalai University).
- Srinivasa Varma, G. and Sakthivel, S. (1978). 'Vertical and Horizontal Dialects of Tamil'. *Journal of Indian Linguistics* 2.1.
- Trudgill, P. (1974). *Social Differentiation of English in Norwich*, CUP : London.
- Yesudhasan, C. (1977). 'Sociolinguistic Study of Kanyakumari Tamil Dialects (with special reference to Vila-vencode)', (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis submitted to the Annamalai University).
- Zvelebil, K. (1961). 'Some Features of Dindigul Tamil', *Te. Po. Mi. Manivila Malar*, Kalaikkathir : Coimbatore.
- Zvelebil, K. (1964). 'Spoken Language of Tamilnadu'. *Archiv Orientalni* 32.1.