Status Marking in Tamil: A Sociolinguistic Study

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled **STATUS MARKING IN TAMIL: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY** submitted to the Bharathiar University, Coimbatore by **Mr. P. PERUMALSAMY**, Research Scholar of the Department of Linguistics, Bharathiar University is a bonafide record of original research work done by him during the period of his study (1987-1991) as a full time scholar under my supervision and guidance. It is also certified that the above research has not previously formed the basis for the award of any Degree, Diploma, Associate ship, Fellowship or any other similar title to any candidate of any University. This independent research work of the candidate is an original contribution to the field of Sociolinguistics with particular reference to Language Use.

Coimbatore – 46

08.04.1991   (**C.SIVASHANMUGAM**)

DECLARATION

I do hereby declare that the thesis entitled **STATUS MARKING IN TAMIL: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY** submitted to the Bharathiar University, Coimbatore for the award of the Degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN LINGUISTICS is a record of original and independent research work done by me during November 1987 to March 1991 under the supervision and guidance of Dr. C. SIVASHANMUGAM, Lecturer in Linguistics, Bharathiar University, Coimbatore and it has not previously formed the basis for the award of any Degree, Diploma, Associate ship, Fellowship or any other similar title to any candidate of any University.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED

Adv.	-	adverb
Acc.	-	accusative
AT	-	address term
Att. Ca.	-	attention caller
Aux.	-	auxiliary
Br.	-	brother
CE	-	college education
Comp.	-	completive
Con.	-	continuous
Dat.	-	dative
Dia.	-	dialectal
Eld.	-	elder
Excl.	-	exclusive
FTA	-	face threatening act
Fut.	-	future
HIG	-	high income group
Hon.	-	honorific
Hu.	-	human
Incl.	-	inclusive
Ind. Req.	-	indirect request
If	-	if clause
IIM	-	intermediate intimacy marker
IM	-	intimacy marker

Inf.	-	infinite
Inter.	-	interrogative
L1	-	first language
L2	-	second language
LIG	-	lower income group
Loc.	-	locative
M	-	marker
MAG	-	middle age group
Mas.	-	masculine
MIG	-	middle income group
N	-	non
NM	-	neutral marker
OAG	-	old age group
Pas.	-	past
PANM	-	Power avoidance neutral marker
PE	-	primary education
Per. Na.	-	personal name
Persu.	-	persuasive
Pl.	-	plural
PM	-	power marker
PNG	-	person number gender
Pos.	-	possibility
Pre.	-	present
PT	-	pronominal termination
SE	-	school education

Sg.	-	singular
Suf.	-	suffix
Sug.	-	suggestive
Ten.	-	tense
Voc.	-	vocative
YAG	-	young age group
I	-	first person
II	-	second person

ABBREVIATIONS USED FOR JOURNALS AND INSTITUTIONS

AL	-	Anthropological Linguistics
AITLA	-	All India Tamil Linguistics Association
AIUTTA	-	All India University Tamil Teacher's Association
CIIL	-	Central Institute of Indian Languages
DLA	-	Dravidian Linguistics Association
IILS	-	Indian Institute of Language Studies
IJAL	-	International Journal of Applied Linguistics
IJDL	-	International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics
IJSL	-	International Journal of Sociology of Language
IL	-	Indian Linguistics
JP	-	Journal of Pragmatics
LS	-	Language in Society

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN DIAGRAMS

ED' H & O	-	ego's daughter's husband & others
EEB & W	-	ego's elder brother and wife
EED & H	-	ego's elder daughter and husband
EES & H	-	ego's elder sister and husband
EES & W	-	ego's elder son and wife
ES'W & O	-	ego's son's wife & others
EYB & W	-	ego's younger brother and wife
EYD & H	-	ego's younger daughter and husband

EYS & H	-	ego's younger sister and husband
EYS & H	-	ego's younger son and wife
F	-	father
FEB & W	-	father's elder brother & wife
FOR	-	father's other relations
FSH & W	-	father's sister husband and wife
FYB & W	-	father's younger brother and wife
M	-	mother
MB & W	-	mother's brother and wife
MES & H	-	mother's elder sister and husband
MOR	-	mother's other relations
MYS & H	-	mother's younger sister and husband

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN GRAPHS

AD	-	action deplored
AQ	-	action questioned
ASS	-	assurance
AT	-	address term
CI	-	command and instructive
Dou.	-	double
HI	-	hint
HS	-	honorific suffix
IF	-	if clause
IIM	-	intermediate intimacy marker

IM	-	intimacy marker
Int.	-	intimacy
IR	-	indirect request
Neu.	-	neutral
NM	-	neutral marker
PA	-	persuasive adverb
PANM	-	power avoidance neutral marker
Pen.	-	penta
PIS	-	pause and incomplete sentence
PM	-	power marker
Pow.	-	power
Sing.	-	singular
SL	-	softening lexicals
SR	-	sentence repeating
TA	-	time adverbial
Tet.	-	tetra
Tre.	-	treble

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1. Introduction

1.1 <u>General</u>

A society consists of a number of individuals. Each individual is expected to do or discharge his/her duty according to his/her position in the society. The position or status of a person is measured in terms of what the person is expected to discharge to the society concerned. Thus, social status can be defined as the position of an individual in a social system with attendant rights and duties.

The social status of a person is evaluated by means of different kinds of phenomena. Modern sociolinguistics talks about the evaluation of social status in terms of assessing:

1. The individual's position in the informal and formal groups of the family
2. The individual's role in terms of the activities in different social settings whereby he/she relates himself/herself to the larger society
3. The value system or the world view which places the individual or group in that society
4. The expression of social status as represented symbolically by various cultural dimensions in terms of the ideal or normative types and
5. Evaluation of status in terms of the attributes of wealth, power, privilege and authority (Malik, 1986).

Some studies have been carried out with non-linguistic backgrounds to determine the rank order or the position of caste in the social hierarchy. Beck (1972) while analyzing the peasant society of Kongu region in Tamilnadu, describes about the non-linguistic status differences that are getting explicited in the linguistic interaction between two persons. According to her, the following aspects of <u>giving</u> and <u>receiving</u> will destine the rank.

<u>Order of a person:</u>

1. Willingness to offer/accept a seat on the verandah of a house
2. Willingness to give the service of disposing the plantain leaves (after meals) to the member of another caste
3. Giving and receiving of milk products and
4. Giving and receiving cooked rice on informal occasions

Beck has pointed out that when changes in ranking occur, they occur first in informal seating arrangements and then only in the realm of informal food exchange (Beck, 1972 : 172).

Recent studies in sociolinguistics have clearly indicated that the social position of a person can be assessed well through his speech (Labov, 1966 ; Trudgill, 1974 ; Wolfram and Fasold, 1973). Some of the studies on caste dialects in Tamilnadu have also indicated the influence of caste on the linguistic behavior as a significant one. Mention may be made of some of the sociolinguistic studies which have brought out the influence of social variables like caste, age, education etc., on linguistic behavior (Karunakaran, 1975; Irulappan, 1979; Gnanam, 1980; Sivashanmugam, 1981; Muthuswamy Pillai, 1981 and Vasanthakumari, 1987).

In the interactional level, language use may bring out the relationship that exists between the addresser and addressee. Based on the ethnographic model, Levinson (1982) has brought out the exchange of T/V pronoun usage to evaluate the caste rank order in the Tamil society.

The present research aims at studying the variations in the linguistic usages such as address terms, reference terms, etc., and the social parameters that constrain those usages. The influence of social variables over the choice of linguistic usages has been analysed in this study.

1.2   Objectives of the Study

This dissertation is mainly concerned with the study of the linguistic variation found to occur in the use of expressions like pronouns, pronominal terminations, kinship terms, address terms, requesting pattern and exercising authoritativeness in relation to the varying statuses of the participants. The objectives of the research are as follows:

1. Study of variations in the use of pronouns and pronominal terminations in kin and social network levels and correlation of those variations with the social parameters concerned.

2. Study of kinship and address terms in the kin and social network levels and correlating them with the social parameters.

3. Semiotic study of the address terms and.

4. Study of the modes of request expressing politeness and authoritativeness in the social network level and correlating the variations with the social parameters.

1.3   Scope of the Study

The present study has chosen a rural sector as its field of study. An attempt has been made to study the relationship between linguistic behavior and social structure. The variations attested in the use of second person pronouns and in the use of person-number gender markers

have been studied. The uses of first person and third person pronouns have not been included in this study. This is because, in the use of first person pronouns, there is no variation in the morphological level. Similarly the variations in the use of third person pronouns parallel the variations in the use of person-number-gender markers. Hence, no attempt has been made here to study the third person pronouns.

The variations in the use of pronouns as well as PNG markers have been studied from the point of view of two network levels, namely, <u>kin network level</u> and <u>social network level</u>.

The variations in the use of kinship terms and address terms have been studied, and they have been correlated with social parameters. The description of variation in the address terms has been extended to kin and social network levels, while those in the kinship terms have been restricted to the kin network level only.

The semiotic study of address terms and forms is restricted to the position of limbs of the interactants, observance of silence, eye positions and facial expressions.

With a view to study the patterns of request in a rural set up, an attempt has been made to study how requests are made:

1. To request a specified individual to give something and
2. To request a specified individual not to do something.

These two modes of request have been studied from two perspectives, namely,

1. As a means of expressing politeness and
2. As a means of exercising authority

1.4   **Review of Literature**

Brown and Gilman (1972), the pioneers in the study of the use of pronouns, have explained the development of pronominal usage in various European languages such as Latin, Italian, French, Spanish, German and English. They have discussed the relationship among social structure, group ideology and the semantics of pronoun. Brown and Gilman have drawn a distinction between symmetry and asymmetry in the interpersonal address forms. According to them, there has been a reciprocal use of <u>tu</u> between equals of lower classes and of <u>vou</u> between the equals of upper classes and non-reciprocal use of <u>tu</u> and <u>vou</u> between the persons of non-equal status.

Brown and Gilman's study on the use of pronouns related to the social structure has lead other scholars to investigate the use of pronouns in various other languages (Fredrich, 1972; Paultson, 1976; Jain, 1973; Misra, 1977; Venkitachalam, 1981; Fang and Heng, 1983; Alrabaa, 1985; Kempf, 1985; and Holes, 1986).

In Tamil language also, some attempts have been made to study the use of pronouns (Suseendirarajah, 1973; Karunatillake and Suseendirarajah, 1975; Levinson, 1982; Thirumalai, 1983 and Perumalsamy, 1988 a).

The influences of the social variable on the speech behavior of a person has been studied by several Indian scholars (Annamalai, 1975 b; Gopinathan Nair, 1975; Karunakaran, 1975 b; Neethivanan, 1975; Somasekharan Nair, 1975; Tiwari, 1975; and Upadyaya, 1975). These scholars have given their arguments for the influence of caste differences over the linguistic behavior of a person in reply to the claim of Pattanayak (1975) that caste dialect is a myth.

The studies on kinship terminologies related to the society have been carried out by a number of scholars (Capell, 1966; Muthushanmugan, 1965 & 67; Beck, 1972; Saraswathi Venugopal, 1980; Dumont, 1986; Bakthavatchalu, 1989; Usha Nambudiripad, 1989 and Perumalsamy, 1990).

A sociolinguistic study of kinship terms has also been made on Sri Lankan Tamil (Suseendirarajah, 1983). The contextual factors involved in the use of kinship terms in the Koya language have been studied by Tyler (1972).

The study of forms of address has started in the American English with the pioneering works of Brown and Ford (1964). Ervin Tripp has (1972) extended the work done by Brown and Ford. Based on the above works, a number of studies on various languages have been carried out to study the address pattern. Consoli (1987) discusses about sex discrimination in the address forms of Italian. Jain (1973), Misra (1977), Mehrotra (1985) and others have discussed about the address forms in Hindi. Koul (1986) has described the modes of address in Kashmiri. Koul and Madhubala (1989) have described the modes of address in Punjabi.

In Tamil, a study on address terms has been carried out by Thirumalai (1983), Sankaranarayanan (1985), Jayapal (1986), Perumalsamy (1988 b) and others.

A detailed study on the non-verbal communication phenomena has been done by Thirumalai (1987 a). He has also mentioned the relationship existing between the verbal and non-verbal communication. He has also studied the non-verbal behaviours as portrayed in Tamil novels (1987 b). Claus (1980) has analysed the gestural communication pattern in Tamil.

The politeness features present in various languages have also been studied by scholars from sociolinguistic as well as pragmatic points of view (Ervin-Tripp, 1976; Chandrasekhar, 1977; Neustupny, 1978; Hill et al, 1986; Hori, 1986; Brown and Levinson, 1987; Blum-Kulka, 1987 and Brown and Gilman, 1989).

The patterns of request available in a language have been studied by some scholars (Ervin-Tripp, 1976; Levinson, 1987; Blum-Kulka, 1984 and 1985).

The language of power has been studied from the pragmatic point of view (Thomas, 1985). In Tamil, the semantics of the verbs *vaa* 'come' and poo 'go' has been studied by Annamalai (1975 a). Imperative in old Tamil has been studied by Agesthialingom (1980 b). Verbs and auxiliaries have been studied by many scholars (Agesthialingom, 1980 a; Karthikeyan, 1981; Muthushanmugan, 1986; Ramani, 1988 and others).

There have been some studies on the status of a person and his speech behavior (Muthushanmugan, 1967; Suseendirarajah, 1970; Bean, 1974; Karunakaran, 1975 a; Sivashanmugam, 1979; Anandarajan, 1980; Meenakshisundaran, 1980; Karunakaran and Sivashanmugam, 1981; Yesudason, 1981; Thirumalai, 1987 and Perumalsamy, 1988 a).

1.5 <u>Significance of the Study</u>

Since language and society are two sides of a coin, and linguistic study has to take into account the society where language is used. Any attempt to neglect or overlook the social settings will be incomplete and inadequate. This particular study has attempted to study the significance in the linguistic usages not only from the linguistic point of view but also from the societal point of view. The social significance of use of pronouns, kinship terms, address terms, PNG markers, etc., helps us to have a complete and comprehensive picture of the language involved as well as the society involved. The interesting parallels that we draw between the social structure and linguistic structure establish the close interaction between them.

It is interesting to note how a choice of a particular pronoun or PNG marker or address term or reference term helps to strengthen or hamper the relationship between the individuals. The choice of a wrong linguistic feature weakens not only the communication system but also the relationship between the individuals. A study of this type, therefore, gains importance not only from the linguistic point of view but also from sociological point of view.

Study of the social significance of various linguistic usages is highly relevant from the pedagogical point of view also. Learners of a language, especially second language learners are confronted with the problem of choosing an appropriate linguistic item in a specified context. So, this type of the study helps them to understand the social significance of various linguistic usages.

Another enterprising area of importance is transactional analysis which impinges heavily on sociolinguistics. The establishment, reinforcement and maintenance of social relations which are part of a modern man's transaction depend upon his linguistic behavior also. Therefore, psychologists will also be benefitted by this type of study.

Another significant feature of this study is that the exercises of authority as well as politeness in linguistic behavior have been studied for the first time in an elaborate manner. This type of analysis helps us to know how to get things done by developing friendship and by

averting conflicts. Address conflicts quite often lead to enmity and disharmony. So, proper linguistic choice, therefore, helps an individual to overcome this kind of social situation/context.

1.6   **Plan of the Study**

This dissertation comprises of ten chapters. The first chapter is an introductory one which describes the aims and scope of the study. A review of literature, plan of the study and significance of the study are also presented in it.

The second chapter entitled Methodology discussed the methodology adopted in this research. It describes about the selection of diagnostic social variables for this study, field of study, sampling technique adopted, preparation of questionnaire and the method of data elicitation.

The third chapter entitled Network of the People describes the network of the people in the village under investigation. The topographical nature of the village and the characteristic features of the village have been presented briefly. The way of life of the people also has been included in this section. The possible categories of persons belonging to the informant's kin as well as social network level have also been described in this chapter.

The fourth chapter entitled Use of Pronouns discusses about the use of pronouns. The pronouns used in the informant's kin network level interactants and social network level interactants have been analysed in this chapter. The use of second person pronoun alone has been taken up for discussion here.

The fifth chapter entitled Use of Pronominal Terminations discusses about the use of pronominal terminations. This chapter deals with the variations found in the use of pronominal terminations depending upon the status of the person concerned. This study has been carried out in the informant's kin as well as social network levels.

The sixth chapter entitled Use of Kinship Terms discusses the use of kinship terms. The various parameters controlling the choice of a particular kinship term have also been scrutinized sociolinguistically. The reflection of the social structure in the use of kinship terms has also been analysed in this study. The variations found in the three communities have also been discussed and presented.

The seventh chapter namely, Use of Address Terms discussed the use of address terms and reference terms. This chapter describes the address pattern existing in the three communities and the variations in the address pattern have also been discussed.

The eighth chapter entitled Semiotic Study of Address Terms discusses the relationship between the non-verbal behavior and the verbal behavior. The role of non-linguistic factors such

as physical space, observance of silence, eye movement, facial expressions and gestures etc. in communication network have been discussed.

The ninth chapter The Modes of Request and Exercising Authority discusses the requesting pattern of individuals as attested in the social network level. The politeness mechanisms as well as authoritative features used in requests have also been presented. The variations in making the request on two aspects, namely, (1) requesting an individual to give a particular thing and (2) requesting an individual not to do a particular act have been presented elaborately.

The tenth chapter is the conclusion which summarizes the results obtained from this study and also describes the future perspectives of this research. The bibliography and questionnaire have also been given towards the end of this dissertation as appendices.

2.   Research Methodology

2.1.   General

This chapter describes the methodology adopted in this study. After formulating the problem and after finalizing the conceptual framework using which this study has been carried out, a questionnaire to elicit information on various linguistic usages such as address terms, reference terms, pronominal terminations, etc., has been prepared for this study. The validity of the questionnaire prepared thus was tested by undertaking a pilot study in a village called *Thondamuthur* and based upon the results obtained from the pilot study, the questionnaire was modified and finalized for the full-fledged study.

2.2   Selection of the Field

As the aim of the study is to analyze the various linguistic usages relating to address and reference terms, it was decided to choose a village which is not affected by the urban features.

Studies have already shown the marked difference in the linguistic behaviors of urban and rural masses (Irulappan, 1979 & Sivashanmugam, 1981). Moreover in rural areas, we find that the impact of social variable is visible than in the urban areas. This impact of such social parameters as caste, income, age, literacy level, etc., on linguistic behavior can be thoroughly studied in a rural setting. Therefore, this study has chosen a rural setting as its field of study.

2.2.1. Sample

Two villages, namely *Nanjal Kolanalli* and *Punjai Kolanalli* have been selected as sample villages for this study. These two villages are located near *Kodumudi* in *Periyar* District of Tamilnadu. These two villages have been selected as sample villages for this study for the following reasons:

1. These villages have all the three major communities of people, namely, forward community, backward community and scheduled community, within their limits.

2. They are located at a distance of about thirty kilometers from the nearest urban centre namely, *Erode*, and hence, the influence of urban features over these villages may be considered as negligible or very less.

3. These two villages are mainly engaged in agriculture and their population figures are given below (Census of India, 1981):

   Nanjai Kolanalli   -   2140   (Village Panchayat)
   Punjai Kolanalli   -   9779   (Town Panchayat)

2.3   Parameters Chosen

The social parameters chosen for this study are: (1) Community, (2) Income, (3) Age and (4) Literacy level. These parameters have been chosen for this study because they were found to be significant and diagnostic in the pilot study. Other social variables such as sex, occupation etc., have not been considered as significant for this study. These social parameters which have been chosen have further been sub-classified as detailed below.

2.3.1. Community

Informants belonging to all the three major communities, namely, forward, backward and scheduled communities have been chosen for this study. Individuals belonging to *Iyer* and *Iyyangar* communities have been chosen in the forward communities while those belonging to *Gounder, Mudaliar, Vanniyar, Nadar, Chettiyar, Vannar* and *Navidar* communities have been selected from the backward communities and those belonging to *Pallar, Parayar, Cakkiliar* and *Kuravar* have been selected from the scheduled communities.

2.3.2. Age

Those individuals below the age of twenty five are treated as belonging to the young age group, those between twenty six and fifty years of age are treated as belonging to the middle age group and those who are above 50 years of age are treated as belonging to the old age group.

2.3.3. Education

The parameter education has been further divided into three as (1) illiterate (2) school education (upto the plus two level) and (3) college education (Degree and above).

2.3.4. Income

The informants whose range of income is below Rs.1000/- p.m. are treated as belonging to the low income group while those who have an income between Rs.1001/- and Rs.2500/- p.m. are treated as belonging to the middle income group and those whose income is above Rs.2500/- p.m. constitute the high income group.

2.4   Sampling Method

11,919 individuals living in these two villages form the 'corpus' or 'universe' of this study. From this 'universe' a sample has been drawn using a statistically approved and accepted sampling technique. As a number of social parameters have been used to stratify the universe, and informants have been chosen purposively to represent each of the social groups which are sub-classified into several categories on the basis of the social parameters, the method of stratified purposive sampling has been used to select the representative sample for this study.

The stratified purposive sampling has helped the researcher to stratify the universe into several subcategories using the social parameters and to choose samples   to represent those sub-categories.

2.4.1. Sample Size

The parameter, social group has been divided into three as (1) forward community, (2) backward community and (3) scheduled community. The parameter literacy level has been classified into three as (1) college educated, (2) school educated and (3) illiterates. The individuals living in the sample villages could be divided into three groups on the basis of age, as (1) young age group, (2) middle age group, and (3) old age group. Income may be taken as a parameter dividing the society into three groups, namely (1) high income group, (2) middle income group, and (3) low income group. Thus we have (3x3x3x3 = 81) eighty one sub-groups and an individual has been chosen as a sample to represent each of the eighty one sub-groups. Thus eighty one informants have been chosen for this study.

Educational Status

Social Groups	Age	Illiterate			School Education			College Education		
		Income Group								
		L	M	H	L	M	H	L	M	H
Forward Community	Y									
	M									
	O									
Backward community	Y									
	M									

O

Scheduled   Y

community

           M

         O

2.5   **Questionnaire**

The questionnaire constructed for this study consists of the following questions to elicit information on different aspects of language use:

1. Questions to elicit information on the use of pronouns in an individual's social and kin network levels

2. Questions to elicit information on the use of pronominal terminations

3. Questions to elicit information on the use of address and reference forms in an individual's kin and social network levels

4. Questions to elicit information on the use of kinship terms

5. Questions to elicit information on the use of request patterns in a given social situation

6. Questions to elicit information about the request patterns expressing authority/power/intimacy.

The individual chosen as representative sample were asked to give their response to the questions in the questionnaire. The English translation of the questionnaire is appended towards the end of this dissertation.

2.6   **Network**

In day-to-day interaction, an individual meets and comes into contact with several persons. Depending upon the nature of those persons, an individual chooses appropriate

linguistic forms while interacting with them. These persons may be mainly classified into two categories.

1. Those who are in the kin network level and

2. Those who are in the social network level.

These two network levels have been taken up for this study.

2.6.1. Kin Network Level

In the kin network level, five generations of people have been taken into consideration for this study. They are (1) grandfather, (2) father, (3) ego, (4) son, and (5) grandson. Apart from this, paternal relatives, maternal relatives and affinal relatives have also been included in this study.

2.6.2. Social Network Level

In the social network level, twelve categories of persons were identified for this study. It is assumed that an individual comes into contact quite often with these twelve categories of individuals. The twelve categories are as follows:

1. Classmate

2. Classmate but placed in a relatively a high position now

3. Hotel server

4. Colleague

5. Headman of a caste

6. Owner of the concern or superior

7. Barber

8. Washerman

9. Sweeper

10. Grocery shop keeper

11. Priest of a local deity and

12. Priest of a major diety

2.7   Elicitation of Data

The data for this study have been elicited by means of questionnaire method as well as participant observation method.

2.7.1. Social Network Level

Using the questionnaire specially prepared for this study, data have been elicited. The informants chosen as representative sample of the population have been interviewed with the help of the questionnaire and data have been elicited. The informants have been asked to give the appropriate linguistic use (address terms, reference terms, etc.,) to an individual of specific description (like caste, age, income and education). Moreover, they have been asked to supply data on their linguistic use in the kin as well as social network levels.

The whole of the interview situation was recorded using a cassette tape recorder. Every care was taken to see that the interview was as much informal as possible. To facilitate free flow of information the interview was conducted in the residence of informants and the kiths and kins of informants were also allowed to be there in the interview situation.

2.7.2. Participant Observation Method

It is not always possible to elicit accurate and unbiased information using questionnaire for this type of study. Therefore, to overcome this difficulty, the technique of participant observation method was also used in the collection of data. The use of pronouns, pronominal terminations, way of exercising authority or power and expressing intimacy could be studied accurately by participant observation method only. Hence, the researcher stayed in the village and lived among the villagers to observe their linguistic behavior. This observation helped the researcher to cross check the data that were collected through questionnaire method. Moreover, the data which formed basis for the semiotic study of address terms have been collected essentially through this method only. All such observations have been recorded properly.

2.8   Transcription and Classification of Data

Whole of the data have been transliterated using Roman script adopting the method of broad transcription. Since, the aim of the study is not concerned with phonetic changes, narrow transcription method has not been resorted to. All such data have been processed and classified in the following manner:

1.   Pronouns used to refer to the persons in the kin and social network levels.

2. Pronominal terminations used

3. Address terms used

4. Kinship terms used

5. Politeness markers used and

6. Authoritative features used

All these features have been listed in separate master charts which contain information about the informant (addresser) and the addressee.

2.9   <u>Analysis</u>

Correlation of linguistic features with social parameters is at the foundation of sociolinguistics. In this sociolinguistic study, the data have been analysed to identify the variations in the use of different linguistic features which are controlled or influenced by any of the social variables chosen as diagnostic for this study. Variations identified in the use of these linguistic features have been correlated with the social variables. The correlation of linguistic variation with the social parameters has helped the researchers to identify the patterns of request available in a rural Tamil society.

Statistical analysis of variations have been carried out by calculating the instances of occurrences of each of the linguistic features in all the three major social communities and the percentage of occurrence has been calculated to know their distribution level in different social groups. The statistical data have been presented in the form of charts as well as in the form of three dimensional bar diagrams using a computer software package.

3. Network of the People

3.1   General

Sociolinguistics have resorted to network analysis as it explains the social behavior and patterns by analyzing the relations among concrete social entities like persons, groups and organizations (Gartrell, 1987 : 50). Milroy (1980), a linguist who studied the linguistic variation in Belfast through network system suggests that the network concept is a very useful one because it focuses on the individual's relationship to society at large through the individual contacts.

This chapter discussed briefly about the social network found in the field under study. The social, geographical, topographical structures of the field are discussed here. The cultural characteristics of the people of the area under study are also in the following sections.

3.2   Sample Villages

The sample villages taken up for this study are *Nanjai Kolanalli* and *Punjai Kolanalli* which are located in the Periyar districts of Tamilnadu. The study concentrates on all the three major communities of the area, namely, forward community, backward community and scheduled community. Each village is constituted of some hamlets which fall within its administrative jurisdiction. *Nanjai Kolanalli*, a village panchayat consists of six hamlets, whereas *Punjai Kolanalli*, a town panchayat, consists of twenty eight hamlets. A hamlet consists of four houses at the minimum and about two hundred houses at the maximum.

3.2.1. Transportation Facilities

The sample villages are situated on *the Erode – Karur* highway. *Erode*, the headquarters of the *Periyar* district, situated twenty five kilometers away from it, is the nearest town. The temple village *Kodumudi* is located five kilometers away from *Kolanalli.* The river *Cauvery* flows on the eastern boundary of the village. The other side of the river bed is the boundary line of the *Salem* district.

The buses plying between *Karur* and *Erode* pass through these villages and they offer good transport facility to the public. Six sub-urban buses connecting *Erode* are also plying via these villages. The trains which go from *Erode* to *Trichy* pass through these villages and the passenger trains stop here. The school and college students use these trains to reach their educational institutions. Thus, both road and rail transport facilities are available for the people of these villages.

3.2.2. River and Canals

The river *Cauvery* flows through the sample villages making them prosperous. A canal from Lower *Bhavani* Project (LBP) flows across these villages and supplies abundant water for irrigation and other purposes. Another canal by name *Kalingrayan* canal also passes through these villages. Both these canals are perennial sources of water for the people of these villages.

3.2.3. Caste Groups

Different kinds of caste groups are found in these villages. Sometimes, a hamlet is dominated by the people of a particular caste who constitute majority of the population. The following castes are found in the above said sample villages.

3.2.3.1.   Forward Community

The forward communities found in these villages are *Iyer, Iyengar, Kannada Brahmin, Telugu Brahmin* and *Vellalas*.

3.2.3.2.   Backward Community

The following castes which belong to backward community are found in these villages. *Gounder, Vanniyar, Nadar, Mudaliyar, Pandaram, Pon Acari, Thaccu Acari, Kulala Chettiyar, Pillai, Komutti Chettiyar, Guha Vellalar (Odakkar), Ottar (Boyar), Vannar, Navithar, (Aruntatiyar), Vettuvar* and *Isai Velalar*.

3.2.3.3.   Scheduled Community

Pallar, Parayar, Kuravar and *Cakkiliyar* are the scheduled communities who live in these villages.

3.3   Occupations of the Major Castes

3.3.1. Forward Community

People belonging to *Iyer* and *Iyengar* sub-sects of the Brahmin community engage themselves in performing religious activities. They do pujas in the temples, take part in religious functions such as conducting religious ceremonies and other ceremonies such as fixing date for marriages, etc. The other forward community people are landlords, government servants and businessman.

3.3.2. Backward Community

Among the backward communities, *Gounders* are predominantly agriculturists. Most of the people of the *Nadar* community engage themselves in agriculture-based works and small business. *Vanniyars* are engaged in agriculture. *Pandarams* perform pujas in the temples of the local deities and they work as flower vendors also. *Acaris* are engaged in carpentry work and in making of gold ornaments. *Kulala Chettiyars* are pot makers. *Komutti Chettiyars* and *Mudaliyars*

are engaged in business besides, agriculture. *Isai Vellalars* are temple musicians, *Guhavellalars* engage themselves in conducting boat service across the river *Cauvery*. *Ottars* or *Boyars* are stone masons and the service communities like Washermen and Barbers are engaged in their respective traditional Professions.

3.3.3. Scheduled Community

People of *Pallar* caste mostly supervise the lands of the *Gounders* and work as agricultural laborers also. *Kuravars* engage in basket making using bamboo splinters. *Parayars* work as agricultural laborers and drum beaters. They also work as menial servants to the people of the forward and backward communities. *Cakkiliars* are primarily engaged in shoe making and are also engaged in agricultural labour.

3.4   Agriculture

The agricultural lands of this area are owned by the people of the *Gounder* community. Almost ninety percent of the land holdings belong to these people. The important agricultural products cultivated in this area are paddy, turmeric, plantain, sugar cane and betel leaf. However, the products such as onion, ragi and maize are also cultivated as inter crops. In the outer boundary of the fields coconut trees are also cultivated. Gingili, castor and Sorghum are the dry land crops cultivated in this area.

3.5   Characteristic Features of the Villages

3.5.1. Housing Pattern

The area under study is mainly agricultural area and consequently most of the houses are constructed amidst the fields. Many farm houses could be seen in this area. Each hamlet is surrounded by the fields. The houses in the farms have been mostly built with bricks and tiles while some houses have reinforced concrete cement roofings. The agriculture laborers and other service caste people live in houses that have thatched roofs which bear clear evidence to their low socio-economic status.

The houses of the forward community people are located near and around the temple. Agriculture and other professional communities belonging to the backward community live next to Brahmins and the scheduled community people live next to those of the backward community.

3.5.2. Interaction among Caste Groups

Though members of each caste are skillful in one way or the other, they have to depend upon the members of other castes also. Landlords depend upon the agricultural laborers, artisans depend upon the landlords, the priests depend upon landlords and so on. This mutual inter-dependence leads to the good relationship among different communities which live in an area. As a result of this inter-dependence, interaction among the members of each caste takes place

smoothly and cordially, though of late there are some disturbances and problems taking place occasionally.

3.5.3. Temples

A large *Kottai Mariyamman* 'Fort Mariamman' temple is situated by the side of *Erode-Karur* main road. It is the biggest temple of this area. This is a common temple for both the *Nanjai Kolanalli* and *Punjai Kolanalli* villages. The annual festival is celebrated during the Tamil month of *Masi* (February – March).

In this area, there are other temples also. Temples such as *Annamar* temple, *Varatharaja Perumal temple* and *Vinayagar temple* are noteworthy. Besides these, there are some other temples which belong to a particular sect or caste. They are as follows:

Temples	Maintaining Community/Sect
1. *Kulaliyamman*	*Gounder* – Subsect*: Kannan*
2. *Throupathiyamman*	*Vanniar*
3. *Mariyamman*	*Vanniar*
4. *Kamatchiyamman*	*Kuravar*
5. *Malayalamman*	*Pallar*
6. *Karuppanan*	
7. *Bhakavathiyamman*	
8. *Madurai Veeran*	

Besides the above mentioned temples, some road-side temples such as *Pokkannan*, *Vinayagar* etc., are also located in some of the hamlets.

3.5.4. Schools and Government Institutions

There are two schools in *Nanjai Kolanalli* and ten schools in *Punjai Kolanalli*. Out of these twelve schools, eight schools are Panchayat Union Elementary Schools; two aided Government Schools; one Higher Elementary School and one Government High School. One primary health centre is located here and there are two sub-primary health centres in two different hamlets. There is one Panchayat office located in *Nanjai Kolanalli* and one town Panchayat office in *Punjai Kolanalli*. Moreover, there are two post offices in the two villages. A veterinary hospital is also located within the limits of *Punjai Kolanalli* town panchayat.

3.5.5. Industries

There is one rural industry run by the *Sarvodhaya Sangh in Kuttappalayam* hamlet. Soap and perfumed (incense) sticks are manufactured here. Eight rice mills are also located within the limits of *Punjai Kolanalli* Town Panchayat.

3.5.6. Marriage

The backward and scheduled community people have been practicing the habit of marrying their paternal or maternal cross relative's or affinal's daughters or sons. Besides this, they can select a bride or bridegroom from a particular lineage group which the caste permits. The role of paternal or maternal relatives is important in each ritual or ceremony performed.

3.5.7. Auspicious Days

The auspicious days in a year are the following:

The first day of the Tamil month *Chittarai*	Tamil New Year Day celebrated by most of the people
The eighteenth day of the Tamil Month *Aḍi*	*Adipperukku* 'river festival' celebrated by all the people
Avani Aviṭṭam	*pu:nu:l* (cross belt) wearing ceremony Celebrated by the Brahmins
Puraṭṭa;si Poŋkal	*Pongal* (celebrated during the Tamil month Puratta:si)
Ka:rttikai Ti:pam	Light festival celebrated in the Tamil month *Karthikai*
Sarasʋati Pu:jai	Festival to offer worship to the Goddess *Saraswathi* requesting good education
Ajutha Pu:jai	Worshipping the instruments and other articles.
Po:ki Paṉṭikai } *Taippoŋkal }* *Ma:ṭṭup poŋkal }*	Farmer's harvest festival
Taippu:sam	Lor *Muruga's* incarnation day
Ma:si Tiruvila:	A local festival dedicated to *Mariamman*
Paŋkuni Uttiram	Festival dedicated to Lord *Muruga*

3.5.8. Ornaments

Ornaments made up of gold and silver are worn by women and men. Women wear gold chains on their necks, bangles on their hands and rings to ear as well as nose. Silver rings are worn by married women on their toes. *Kolusu* is worn by women on their anklets. Men usually wear gold chain on their necks and rings on their fingers.

3.5.9. Entertainments

Men play native games such as *Kabadi, Killi,* etc., whereas women play *ta:yakkaram* which is also a native one. On auspicious days, they play *kummi*. Children play a lot of their own games. With the spread of T.V., mass media has gained more importance. Films and other entertainments help the people to relax themselves from their mundane routine works. Festivals open several avenues for entertainments to the villagers.

3.6   <u>Network Analysis</u>

Linguistic studies employ the analysis of the personal communication network using the informant as the axis and plotting all possible channels of communication or links to others both inside and outside the community. Some studies have been carried out by linguistics through network system in urban and rural areas. Notable among them are the works of Milroy (1980) and Lippi Green (1989). As far this study is concerned, the networks may be mainly classified into two levels, namely, (1) Kin network level and (2) Social network level.

3.6.1. Kin Network Level

In the kin network level, the informant's possible kinship relatives may be selected for a study. On the basis of generation, five generations such as grandfather, father, ego, son, and grandson may be selected. The relatives may be classified as either consanguinal/parallel or affinal/cross relatives. Again both the sexes may be included in the above said classification. All possible kinship relations may be taken up for study. As far this study is concerned, fifty kinship categories have been identified and included in the kin network level for the purpose of analyzing their linguistic behavior.

3.6.2. Social Network Level

In the social network level, the following individuals with whom contacts are made quite often have been taken into consideration for this study.

1. Classmates
2. Classmates who are placed in a high position currently
3. Colleagues
4. Hotel servers
5. Village headman (each caste)
6. Owner of the concern

7. Supervisor/accountant in the concern
8. Barbers
9. Dhobies
10. Sweepers
11. Grocery shop owner/salesmen
12. Temple priests – local deity

3.7 Status Marked Situations

The differences in social relations get reflected in the linguistic usages. When an unequal encounter takes place between power encoder and non-power encoder i.e., superior and inferior in age, education, economy and caste, or profession then this results in the use of different linguistic structures (Labov, 1966). The linguistic structures which explicate the differences in the social structure between a speaker and a hearer are identified as: pronouns, pronominal terminations, address terms, kinship terms, linguistic features expressing politeness and those features which help in exercising authority. Thus, if a superior speaks to a subordinate, the subordinate's speech is often marked by an elaborate display of deference. For example, in a village, if a landlord speaks to an agricultural laborer who belongs to scheduled caste, he exercises power and authority in his speech and uses swear words, non-honorifics, etc., in his communication. However, with the people of same rank (peer groups) he uses intimate or honorific usages. Thus, the status of a person plays a vital role in the use of a language. When unequal encounter takes place, we observe status inconsistency leading to variations in language use also. The unequal encounters are considered as status marked situations. Thus, the process of social evaluation that human beings make about themselves by comparing themselves to others leads to positive, neutral and negative self-ratings that are relative to the standard set by the individuals employed for comparison (Gartrell, 1987:49). These self-ratings about themselves and others are explicated through language use.

4. Use of Pronouns

4.1   General

There are some linguistic choices, the usages of which bring out the social relationship existing between the addresser and addressee. One way of looking at the relationship existing between them is to examine the pronoun exchange. There are two second person pronouns in Tamil. One is *ni*: 'you-singular' and the other one *is ni:ŋka*(l) 'you-plural'. The latter one is used to address a single person also as a mark of honor or deference. When persons of unequal status interact in the speech event, a kind of pronoun system which is non-reciprocal in nature may be used. If persons of equal status interact, then they exchange the same kind of pronouns which are said to be reciprocal in nature. Thus, based upon the relationship between the two persons and the status of the participants involved in the speech event, the choice of pronouns is made. This chapter deals with the study of the use of pronouns by the speaker in the kinship as well as social network level and also upon the factors which influence the use of such pronouns.

4.2   Nouns

Nouns are those which can take or are capable of taking case markers. Each noun belongs to a particular gender. It can be inflected for number and case. The gender classification of the noun is mainly based on its pronominal reference.

4.2.1. Classification of Nouns

All the nouns of Tamil are classified into (1) substantives and (2) pronouns. All substantives are further classified into:

1. Simple nouns having only one morpheme and
2. Derived nouns where the stem takes a gender – number marker as a derivative suffix.

Simple nouns are classified into human and non-human nouns based on their pronominal reference. The pronominal reference in Tamil is found in the finite verbs.

4.3   Pronouns

Pronoun is a word that is used instead of a noun. Pronouns as a sub-category of nouns distinguish number and gender. There are many types of pronouns, viz.,

1. Personal pronouns
2. Possessive pronouns
3. Demonstrative pronouns
4. Interrogative pronouns

5. Reflexive pronouns
6. Indefinite pronouns
7. Relative pronouns
8. Deictic pronouns
9. Anaphoric pronouns and
10. Cataphoric pronouns

This chapter mainly deals with personal pronouns with special reference to second person pronouns and their use.

4.3.1. Personal Pronouns

Personal pronoun is a word used instead of a noun to refer

1. The person speaking and
2. The person spoken to

Thus, the pronouns *na:n* 'I' and *na:ŋka*(l) 'we-excl.' which denote the persons speaking are said to be the pronouns of first person. The pronouns *ni*: 'you-sig.' and *ni:ŋka*(l) 'you-pl.' which denote the persons spoken to, are said to be the pronouns of second person. Personal pronouns have only number distinction.

4.3.2. Alternate of Second Person Pronouns in Tamil

Form	Meaning
ni:	You – singular
ni:r	You – neutral (dialectal)
ni:ŋkal	You – plural as well as You – honorific singular
ta:ŋkal	You – plural as well as highly deferential honorific singular used in formal situations.

In this chapter the variations in the use of the second person pronouns *ni*: and *ni:ŋka*(l) have been taken up for discussion. Since the pronoun *ni:r* is not found to be used in this area and since the pronoun *ta:ŋkal* is used only in certain highly formal situations, they have not been considered for this study. The use of *ni*: and *ni:ŋkal* is controlled by various factors such as power or distance, solidarity or intimacy which vary according to the age, education, economy, role relationship caste, etc., of the persons involved in speech act.

4.4   Kin Network Level

4.4.1. Father

Most of the informants belonging to the forward and backward communities address their father using the pronoun **ni:ŋka**. Father is the head of the family and hence he enjoys supremacy among the other members of the family. Hence the wife as well as the children address him using the honorific pronoun **ni:ŋka**(l) 'you – pl'. However, lower income group informants in scheduled caste and some of the backward castes address their father using the pronoun *ni*: 'you-sg.' which is a non-honorific one. This may be because they are employed as menials or as daily wagers. These blue collar laborers enjoy no status in the society and hence they are addressed as *ni*; 'you-sg.' by their kins as well as others.

The educated informants of backward and scheduled communities use *ni:ŋkal* 'you-pl.' honorific pronoun to refer to their fathers. Here, it has to be observed that the variable education plays a vital role in changing the usage of pronoun. Thus the educated individuals of the scheduled community as well as the backward community use *ni:ŋkal* 'you-pl.' to refer to their fathers.

4.4.2. Mother

Mother is generally addressed by using the pronoun *ni*: 'you-sg.' in most of the communities. This may be because the interactional frequency between the mother and her children is very high when compared with that of 'father' or others. The exchange of views between the mother and her children takes places often smoothly and she approaches the problems very cordially and carefully. Moreover, mothers are not generally earning members of a family and hence they do not have that much authority as their male counterparts. Hence, children generally use the intimacy pronoun *ni*: 'you-sg.' to refer to their mothers. However, among the educated high and middle income group informants *ni:ŋka* 'you-pl.' pronoun is found in use for addressing their mothers.

The forward community informants, the collegiate and school educated, high and middle income group informants belonging to backward community, the college educated informants or professionals of scheduled community use *ni:ŋka* 'you-pl.' pronoun for addressing their mothers.

The low income agricultural laborers, service caste informants and menials use *ni*: 'you-sg.' for addressing their mothers.

4.4.3. Brother

Young age group informants irrespective of the other parameters address their elder brothers using the pronoun *ni*: 'you-sg.'. This feature is found in the speech behavior of most of the young and some of the middle age group speakers belonging to the three major social groups. If the age difference is vast between the brothers, then the younger brother uses *ni:ŋka* 'you-pl.' to address the elder brother. The high income group landlords belonging to the old age group address their elder brothers using the pronoun *ni:ŋka* 'you-pl.' whereas the same age group agriculture laborers address their elder brothers using the pronoun *ni:* - 'you-sg.'. The former pronoun exhibits the honour given to the addressee, whereas the latter one shows the intimacy features.

4.4.4. Wife

Wives are addressed by their husbands as *ni*: 'you-sg.' irrespective of the social parameters.

4.4.5. Husband

Husbands are addressed as *ni:ŋka* 'you-pl.' by their wives. This is found in the speech behavior of the wives of high and middle income groups.

Thus the wives use deferential pronoun to refer to their husbands, and receive non-deferential pronoun from their counter-parts. This pronoun is not an intimacy pronoun as it is not reciprocated by their husbands. This usage, therefore, may be taken as an indication of the male dominance over the female.

However, some of the wives belonging to the backward and scheduled communities address their husbands by using the non-honorific pronoun *ni*: 'you-sg.'. This may be due to the poor socio-economic and literacy status of the husbands.

4.4.6. Grand Parents

The choice of address terms used to address the grandparents roughly corresponds with that of the parents. The informants who address their fathers using the pronoun *ni:ŋka* 'you-pl.' use the same pronoun to their grandfathers and use *ni*: 'you-sg.' if it is use in case of addressing their fathers. A similar situation is attested in the case of addressing their grandmothers also. The informants who address their mothers using the pronoun *ni:ŋka* 'you-pl.' use the same pronoun to their grandmothers and use *ni:* 'you-sg.' if it is used in the case of addressing their mothers.

4.4.7. Paternal Relatives

Paternal relatives are persons who are born or bloodly related with father. Thus father's brothers and sisters are paternal relatives. The elder and younger ones of father and their spouses are addresses as *ni:ŋka* 'you-pl.' if the father is also addressed as *ni:ŋka* 'you-pl.', otherwise it is *ni*: 'you-sg.' only. Similarly the sons and daughters of elder and younger brothers of father are addressed as *ni:ŋka* 'you-pl.' if they are elders to the informants and as *ni*: 'you-sg.' if they are younger provided the informant addresses their father as *ni:ŋka* 'you-pl.'. Otherwise it is *ni*: 'you-sg.' only.

4.4.8. Maternal Relatives

Maternal relatives are persons who are born or bloodly related with mother. The choice of an address terms to address the mother's elder and younger sisters is made in correspondence with that of the address term used to address the mother. The high and middle income group collegiate and school educated informants forward and backward communities use *ni:ŋka* 'you-pl.' to address their mother's sisters.

4.5   Social Network Level

In the social network level, the use of pronoun to address persons belonging to twelve categories has been identified and discussed here.

4.5.1. Classmates

The classmates of an informant are addressed mostly as *ni:* 'you-sg.'. However, depending upon the individuals, the pronoun *ni:ŋka* 'you-pl.' is also used to address them. This situation is found mainly among the informants who have collegiate education since college education opens new avenues for interaction with so many friends having varied social backgrounds.

4.5.2. Classmates Placed in a High Position (now)

The use of the pronoun *ni:* 'you-sg.' to address one's classmate gets changed when that classmate is currently placed in a high position professionally. If a person is placed in a high position in some institution or organization then the relationship between the informant and the classmate gets a new dimension and consequently the informant starts to use the pronoun *ni:ŋka* 'you-pl.' to address him. Some of the informants reported that they had some confusion over the choice of a proper pronoun in such cases. Thus, it is seen that the present position of a classmate plays a vital role in the choice of a pronoun.

4.5.3. Hotel Server

There are some small, roadside hotels in the villages run by people of various castes belonging to the backward communities.

The servants working in these hotels also belong to backward communities. The educated job goers, landlords, priests and other trading community people and agricultural laborers are addressed by the servers in the hotels as *ni:ŋka* 'you-pl.'. However, the scheduled community low income group persons and service community people are addressed as *ni:* 'you-sg.'. This discrimination in the use of pronouns is based on the caste and occupational differences.

4.5.4. Colleagues

The government employed individuals generally address their colleagues by using the pronoun *ni:ŋka* 'you-pl.'. This type of use is attested in the case of most of the informants irrespective of caste and community. However, in some cases the agricultural laborers, temple priests of same age group and service caste people use *ni:* 'you-sg.' to address their colleagues.

Thus, from the use of the pronouns *ni:ŋka* 'you-pl.' or *ni:* 'you-sg.' to colleagues, one could understand the distant or intimate relationship existing between the two persons. Those who are working in the organized sectors get the formal relationship with their colleagues and hence they use mostly the pronoun *ni:ŋka* 'you-pl.'. Those who are working in the unorganized sectors use mostly the pronoun *ni:* 'you-sg.'. Even among the unorganized sectors, the individuals belonging to middle and high income groups tend to use the pronoun *ni:ŋka* you-pl.' to each other because they keep distance between each other.

4.5.5. Headman of the Village

Each caste has its own caste leader who regulates the social functions of his caste such as marriages, death ceremonies, arbitration and so on. The caste leader is duly respected by all the members belonging to that caste. All of them use *ni:ŋka* you-pl.' to refer to the headman of the particular caste to which they belong. However, in the scheduled communities, individuals of two sub-sects use *ni:* 'you-sg.' to address the headman of their sect.

4.5.6. Superiors of Owners of Concerns

Superiors or owners of concerns are addressed by using the pronoun *ni:ŋka* you-pl.' A significant variation is found in the agricultural sector. If the superior is younger than the speaker but belongs to the same caste, then the speakers address the owner or the landlord as *ni:* 'you-sg.'. Here it may be said that the caste factor nullifies the formality in the linguistic usage. However, those belonging to organized sectors address their superiors by using the pronoun *ni:ŋka* you-pl.'.

4.5.7. Barber

The barber in the village is addressed as *ni:* 'you-sg.' by the people of forward and backward communities. The young age group scheduled caste informants address the barber as *ni:ŋka* you-pl.' whereas the middle and old age group informants address him as *ni:* 'you-sg.'.

4.5.8. Washerman

The village *dhoby* is addressed by using the pronoun *ni*: 'you-sg.'. There are two categories of dhobies in the village. One category of dhoby is meant for attending to the people of forward and backward communities and another category of dhoby is attending to the people of scheduled communities. Both the categories of washerman are addressed as *ni:* 'you-sg.'.

4.5.9. Sweeper

The sweepers in the village are all addressed as *ni:* 'you-sg.' by the villagers. However, the people belonging to such groups as *Cakkiliyar* and *Parayar* address them as *ni:ŋka* you-pl.' if they are elder to the informants. The educated people alone use *ni:ŋka* you-pl.' to address them. All others use only *ni:* 'you-sg.' to them.

4.5.10. Grocery Shop Keeper

Grocery shop keepers of the village are addressed mostly using *ni:ŋka* you-pl.'. As they deal with money and commodities, they keep distance from the people, and it is reflected in the usage of the pronoun *ni:ŋka* you-pl.' to address them. However, the old age group backward community people address them as *ni:* 'you-sg.'. This may be because of the personal relationship between them.

4.5.11. Temple Priest – Minor Deity

The priests who perform pujas to the local deities (Pandarams) are usually addressed using *ni:* 'you-sg.'. These priests are engaged mostly in ritual works. In addition to those ritual works, they work as cooks and flower vendors. Though they are engaged in ritual works, they are addressed using the non-honorific pronoun *ni:* 'you-sg.' only, because of their low socio-economic status, and also because of the closeness and non-formal relationship that they have with the individual concerned.

4.5.12. Temple Priest – Major Deity

The priests working in the temples of major deities who belong to forward communities are usually referred to as *ayyar* 'male of Brahmin community' (honorific) and *sa:mi* 'lord/person of higher status'. These priests are addressed using the deferential pronoun *ni:ŋka* you-pl.' by all the members of the society. They are professionally trained in conducting pujas and other rituals. While performing pujas and other rituals, they recite '*mantras*' in the vedic language which helps to establish communication between them and the god. They conduct pujas for the welfare of the people. These people are, therefore, usually revered and are referred to using the deferential pronoun *ni:ŋka* you-pl.'.

4.6   <u>Conclusion</u>

In this chapter, the use of second person pronoun has been analysed. An analysis of the use of second person pronoun in the kin network level and social network level reveals certain interesting patterns of the usages.

The nature of the relationship existing between the speaker and hearer, one's socio-economic status, literacy level and age play significant role over the choice of a particular pronoun.

Due to the group solidarity that exists among the individuals working in the unorganized sectors and also due to their lower socio-economic status, the use of singular non-honorific pronoun *ni:* is found prevalently among them. However, the high and middle income peer groups address one another by using the honorific pronoun *ni:ŋka*. This is due to their high socio-economic status. Intimacy and exercise of power or authority tend the addresser to use the non-honorific singular pronoun *ni:* even to the elders.

5. Use of Pronominal Terminations

5.1   Pronominal Terminations

In the morphological structure of the Tamil language, we find agreement and concord relationship between the subject and the predicate. That is, the person, and gender – number of the finite verb show concord relationship with the subject. This type of morpheme which exhibits the agreement between the subject and predicate is called pronominal termination. Since they express person, number and gender in third person they are called PNG markers also. The choice of a proper pronominal termination (PT) to refer to a particular person depends upon several social and other parameters and they are discussed in the following pages. They are eight types of third person pronominal terminations in Tamil. They are,

1. III person masculine singular
2. III person masculine non honorific plural
3. III person feminine singular
4. III person feminine non honorific plural
5. III person epicene plural
6. III person honorific singular
7. III person non-human singular and
8. III person non-human plural

5.2   Third Person Pronominal Terminations

5.2.1. Masculine Singular

If the subject of a sentence is in masculine gender and singular number, then the verb should end with the suffix denoting masculine gender and singular number. Tolkappiar lists the following suffixes as masculine suffixes:

-an, -a:n, -o:n. In old Tamil, - *an* suffix is used often. But in middle Tamil, *-a:n* is found to be used often.

The present day language use alone has – *a:n* suffix. The examples are given below:

aʋan po:na:n	'he went'
aʋan po:Ra:n	'he goes'
aʋan po:ʋa:n	'he will go'

The suffix – *tu/- ccu* is used to a person to whom moderate honour is shown as in the following example:

<div align="center">

*a*ηη*en ʋan̲t̲uccu*   'elder brother came' (Mod. Hon.)
</div>

5.2.2. Masculine Plural

In the modern language use, the non-honorific form of masculine plural is also found. The suffix denoting the masculine non-honorific plural is *–a:nu(ŋ)ka*.

<div align="center">

aʋanu(ŋ)ka po:ra:nu(ŋ)ka   'they (Mas.Non Hon.Pl.) go'

aʋanu(ŋ)ka po:na:nu(ŋ)ka   'they (Mas.Non Hon.Pl.) went'

aʋanu(ŋ)ka po:ʋanu(ŋ)ka   'they (Mas.Non Hon.Pl.) will go'
</div>

5.2.3. Feminine Singular

If the subject is in feminine gender and singular number then, the verb use in predicate also should have the suffix denoting feminine gender and singular number. Tolkappiar cites the suffixes such as *–al, a:l, -o:l* as used to denote feminine gender. *–al* is used mostly in old Tamil. But in middle Tamil, - *a:l* is used often. In modern Tamil also *–a:l* is used. If the person referred to has to be shown moderate honor, then the suffix *–tu/-ccu* is used.

<div align="center">

aʋa ciricca:(l)   'She laughed' (non-hon)

aʋa cirikkirRa: (l)   'She laughs' (non-hon.)

aʋa cirippa: (l)   'She will laugh' (non-hon.)

amma: ʋan̲t̲atu/ ʋan̲t̲uccu   'Mother came' (moderate hon.)
</div>

5.2.4. Feminine Plural

-a:lu(n)ka is the suffix used to denote the feminine non-honorific plural in the modern language use.

<div align="center">

aʋalu(ŋ)ka ciricca:lu(ŋ)ka   'They (Fem.Non Hon.Pl.) laughed'

aʋalu(ŋ)ka cirikkiRa:lu(ŋ)ka 'They (Fem.Non Hon.Pl.) laugh'

aʋalu(ŋ)ka cirippa:lu(ŋ)ka   'They (Fem.Non Hon.Pl.) will laugh'
</div>

5.2.5. Epicene Plural

If the subject has nouns of both the genders, then the verb has the suffix denoting the epicene plural. Epicene plural is common to both masculine and feminine genders. Hence, there

is no distinction between masculine and feminine genders in the representation of epicene plural. Tolkappiar cites suffixes such as *–a:r, -ar, -pa, ma:r* etc., as those denoting epicene plural.

In the middle Tamil *–ar, -ma:r, -a:r, -o:r, -pa, -arkal, -a:rkal* and *-o:rkal* are used as the epicene plural suffices and in the modern spoken Tamil, *-a:ŋka* suffix is used.

> *amma:ʊum appa:ʊum ka:ʈʈukkup po:na:ŋka*
>
> 'Mother and father went to the farm'
>
> *amma:ʊum appa:ʊum ka:ʈʈukkup po:Ra:ŋka*
>
> 'Mother and father go to the farm'
>
> *amma:ʊum appa:ʊum ka:ʈʈukkup po:ʊa:ŋka*
>
> 'Mother and father will go to the farm'

In old Tamil, the suffix *–kal*, was used to denote non-human plural only, later *–kal* was used to denote human beings also. Agesthialingom (1980 a) and Ramani (1988) have pointed out that to differentiate the plural forms from honorific forms, *-kal* is added in the nouns which end with *–a:r*. This has led to double plural forms in Tamil. The following are some of the examples:

> *eʌutina:rkal*   'They wrote'
>
> *eʌutukiRa:rkal*   'They write'
>
> *eʌutuʊa:rkal*   'They will write'

in spoken Tamil, the plural suffix *–a:rkal* is changed into *–a:ŋka*.

> *elutuna:ŋka*   'They wrote'
>
> *elutura:ŋka*   'They write'
>
> *elutuʊa: ŋka*   'They will write'

5.2.6. Honorific Singular

There are separate suffixes to denote singular honorific in the third person. In old Tamil, the suffixes such as *–ar, -a:r, -o:r, -pa*, etc., were used as honorific suffixes. In the modern Tamil also *–a:r* and *-a:rkal* are used as honorific suffixes.

> *appa: to:ʈʈakkukku po:jirukka:r/po:jirukka:ŋka*
>
> 'Father has gone to the farm'

appa to:ṭṭattukku po:Ra:r/po:Ra:ŋka

'Father goes to the farm'

appa: to:ṭṭattukku po:ʋa:r/po:ʋa:ŋka

'Father will go to the farm'

5.2.7. Non-Human Singular

When non-human singular nouns occur as subject in a sentence, then the predicate will have a non-human singular marker. If it is plural, then plural suffix will be used. Tolkappiar cites suffixes such as *–tu* and *-ru* as singular non-human suffixes. In old Tamil, *-atu, -tu, -ru, -Ø, -u*, etc., were used to denote non-human singular. In the middle Tamil, the suffix *–atu* is used and in the modern Tamil *–atu, -Ø, -tu* and *–ttu* are found in use. In spoken Tamil, the suffixes such as *–ccu, -u* and *–um* are found to occur.

atu ʋanṯuccu	'It came'
atu ʋarutu	'It comes'
atu ʋarum	'It will come'

5.2.8. Non-Human Plural

When non-human plural nouns occur as subject, the predicate will also have the non-human plural suffix. Tolkappiar cites *–a, -a:, -ʋa* etc., as the suffixes denoting non-human plural. In old Tamil, *-a, -Ø, -ai,* etc., were used to denote non-human plural. In middle and modern Tamil *–a* is used. In spoken Tamil, the non-human singular PTs such as *–ccu, -u, -um* are used in non-human plural as well.

atella:m ʋanṯuruccu	'They (Non Hu.Pl.) came'
atella:m ʋarutu	'They (Non Hu.Pl.) come'
atella:m ʋarum	'They (Non Hu.Pl.) will come'

5.3   Use of Pronominal Terminations

Thus, in Tamil there are eight categories of pronominal terminations in third person according to the nature of the noun used in the subject. However, variations are found to occur in the usage of pronominal terminations based on the intimacy or power between the speaker and the hearer.

5.3.1. Non-Human Singular Form Denoting Human Singular

Sometimes, the non-human pronominal terminations such as *–u, -ccu* and *–um* are used to denote epicene singular. Thus, the non-human singular forms replace the human singular pronominal terminations *–a:n, -a:l* and *–a:r*. These non-human terminations are used to humans in order to show a moderate respect to the referent. The non-human pronominal termination suffixes have been used depending upon the tense and aspect.

> *amma: ka:ṭṭukkup po:jirukkutu*
>
> 'Mother has gone to farm'
>
> *amma: ka:ṭṭukkup po:kutu*
>
> 'Mother goes to farm'
>
> *amma: ka:ṭṭukkup po:kum*
>
> 'Mother will go to farm'
>
> *appa: ka:ṭṭukkup po:ccu*
>
> 'Father went to farm'

In the above said examples, it is found that the non-human singular pronominal terminations are used to denote human singular nouns. The speaker used the non-human singular form to human singular in order to show a moderate respect to the referent. Thus in the above said examples, the speaker does not want to use the non-honorific suffixes *–a:l/a:n* to the referent and instead of that he/she uses the non-human singular form with a view to give moderate respect to the referent.

5.3.2. Addresses and Referent Honorific Suffixes

Much care has been taken while analyzing the pronominal terminations to see whether the pronominal terminations are addressed to the speaker or to the hearer. For example, in the following three sentences the referent and the hearer pronominal terminations are used.

1. *appa: to:ṭṭattukku po:jirukka:ŋka*
   'Father has gone to the farm'

2. *appa: to ṭṭattukku po:jirukka:ruŋka*
   'Father has gone to the farm'

3. *appa: to:ṭṭattukku po:yirukkuŋka*
   'Father has gone to the farm'

In the first example cited above, we find that the honorific suffix *–a:ŋka* has been addressed to the referent viz., father. In the second example both the referent and the addressee are honoured. In the morphemic sequence *-a:ruŋka*, the honorific morpheme *–a:r* is used to the referent, namely, the father and the another honorific morpheme *–uŋka* is used to the addressee as a mark of respect towards the person spoken to. In the third sentence also, we have a sequence of two morphemes, namely, *- uŋka* of which the first one *u-* is used as a pronominal termination to the referent (father) with a sense of moderate honor and the second morpheme *–(u)ŋka* is used to the hearer as a mark of respect to him.

5.4   Variations in the use of Pronominal Terminations

This analysis is carried out in two levels so as to see how the pronominal terminations are used in

1. Kin network level and
2. Social network level

5.4.1. Kin Network Level

5.4.1.1. Father

5.4.1.1.1. Forward Communities

In the forward communities, while referring to father, the honorific pronominal termination *–a:ŋka/-a:r* is used.

appa: ko:jilukkup po:jirukka:r

'Father has gone to the temple'

appa: ko:jilukkup po:jirukka:ŋka

'Father has gone to the temple'

The pronominal suffix *–a:r* is used to refer to father or the other third person with respect. However, the pronominal suffix *–a:ŋka* is used in some cases to show higher degree of respect to the referent.

5.4.1.1.2. Backward Communities

In the backward communities, while referring to the father, pronominal terminations such as *–a:ŋka, -a:r, -u/-ccu/-um* are used.

The school and college educated middle and high income group informants belonging to all age groups refer to their father or other third persons by using the pronominal terminations –*a:r* or –*a:ŋka*.

The primary educated low income group informants use the pronominal suffix –*u/-um/-ccu* the choice of which is determined by the tense and aspectual differences.

> *appa: to:ṭṭattukku po:jirukku*
>
> 'Father has gone to the farm'
>
> *appa: to:ṭṭattukku po:jirukkum*
>
> 'Father would have gone to the farm'
>
> *appa: to:ṭṭattukku po:yiruccu*
>
> 'Father has gone to the farm'

In the above cited examples, one may find the variations in the use of pronominal terminations. The educated, middle and high income groups use –*a:r* and –*a:ŋka* suffixes to denote respect whereas the low income, primary educated informants use –*u* suffix to show respect to father.

5.4.1.1.3. Scheduled Communities

In the scheduled communities the following pronominal terminations are used to refer to father. They are –*a:r*, -ŋka, -*ccu* and –*u*. the high and middle income, college and school educated informants use pronominal terminations –*a:r* and –*a:ŋka* whereas the primary school educated, low income group informants use the pronominal terminations –*ccu* and –*u* while referring to father.

5.4.1.2 Mother

5.4.1.2.1. Forward Communities

The pronominal terminations used while referring to mother is either –*a*: or –*a:ŋka*. The old age group informants of the Brahmin community use –*a:* while referring to mother. Other forward community informants use –*a:ŋka* while referring to mother.

> *amma: ko:ilukkup po:jirukka*:
>
> 'Mother has gone to the temple'
>
> *amma: ko:ilukkup po:jirukka:ŋka*

'Mother has gone to the temple'

This shows that the younger generation informants of the Brahmin community do not want to use the brahminical feature in their speech behavior. It also shows that they are slowly accepting the popular/common usage found in Tamil.

5.4.1.2.2. Backward Communities

In the backward communities, the non-human singular pronominal termination is used to refer to mother also. Among the educated informants and professionals, there is a tendency to use the pronominal terminations in the following way: In formal situations, they tend to use –*a:ŋka* otherwise –*ccu/-um* is used (i.e., in informal situations depending upon the tense and aspect). However, among the low income agricultural and service caste people, the pronominal terminations –*ccu/-u/-um* are found to occur in their language use.

5.4.1.2.3. Scheduled Communities

In the scheduled communities also the pronominal terminations such as –*u/-ccu/-um* are used. All the informatns use –*u/-ccu/-um* while referring to mother.

5.4.1.3. Brother

5.4.1.3.1. Forward Communities

The pronominal termination used by the Brahmin informants while referring to elder brother is –*a:n.*

aŋŋan ʋeliya po:yirukka:n

'Elder brother has gone out'

This is found in the young and middle age groups only. The old age group in the Brahmin Community and all age groups the other forward communities use the pronominal terminations –*a:r* while referring to the elder brother.

5.4.1.3.2. Backward Communities

In the backward communities, the elder brothers are referred to as *aʋan* and *atu* and the pronominal terminations used while referring to them are –*u, -um, -ccu, -a:ŋka and –a:r.*

If the age difference between the brothers is more than about five, then the younger brothers are found to use –*a:r* or *a:ŋka* to their elder brothers and if the age difference is less than five then they use –*a:n*, the non-honorific pronoun to their elder brothers.

5.4.1.3.3. Scheduled Communities

In the scheduled communities, the terms *aʋan* and *atu* are used to refer to brothers and the terminations *–a:n* and *–ccu/-u/-um* are used.

However, among the educated informants, the pronominal terminations *–a:r* and *–a:ŋka* are used when the age difference between the brothers is more than about five.

5.4.1.4. Husband

5.4.1.4.1. Forward Communities

Husband is referred to as *aʋar* and *aʋuŋka* in the forward communities. The pronominal terminations to refer to the husbands are *–a:r* and *–a:ŋka*. The pronominal termination *–a:ŋka* us used in the sense of extensive honorific reference to the husbands by wives.

5.4.1.4.2. Backward Communities

In the backward communities, husbands are referred to as *aʋaru* and *aʋuŋka*. The pronominal terminations used for them are *–a:r* and *–a:ŋka* respectively.

However, low income group, primary educated or illiterate agricultural laborers or service caste husbands are referred to by their wives as *atu* and the pronominal terminations used to them are *–um, -ccu* and *–u*. Here, the Pronominal terminations *–ccu* or *–kku, -um* and *–u* are used in the sense of moderate honour.

5.4.1.4.3. Scheduled Communities

In the scheduled communities, husbands are referred to as *aʋaru, aʋuŋka* and *atu*. The pronominal terminations used for them are *–a:r, -a:ŋka* and *–ccu/-u/-um*.

The school and college educated informants use the pronouns *aʋar* and *aʋuŋka* and use the pronominal terminations *–a:r* and *–a:ŋka* to their husbands. The primary educated or illiterate informants who are engaged in agriculture and other works use *–ccu/-u/-um*.

5.4.1.5. Wife

5.4.1.5.1. Forward Communities

Wife is referred to by the terms *aʋa:* and *aʋuŋka* in forward communities. The pronominal terminations used while referring to them are *–a*: and *–a:ŋka*.

Among the Brahmins, in formal situations, while referring to the wife the honorific suffix *–a:ŋka* is used. In informal situations i.e., while speaking with the same caste relatives the pronoun aʋa: and the termination *–a:* is used. The non-Brahmin forward communities use *–a:ŋka* in formal situations, otherwise, *-ccu* and *–a:* are used.

5.4.1.5.2. Backward Communities

In the backward communities, the wives are referred to by using the pronouns *aʋa, aʋuŋka* and *atu* by their husbands. The pronominal terminations used for the wives are *–a:, -a:ŋka* and *–ccu* or *–um*.

aʋa is a term used to refer to the wife when the husband is referring to her while speaking with the close relatives. The pronominal termination used in this context is *–a:*. in formal situations, wife is referred to by using the honorific pronoun *aʋuŋka* and the pronominal termination *–a:ŋka*.

However, the low income agricultural laborers and service caste people refer to their wives by the term *atu* and the pronominal termination used for them is *–ccu/-u/-um*.

5.4.1.5.3. Scheduled Communities

In the scheduled communities, the wives are referred to by the terms *aʋa, atu* and *aʋuŋka*. The pronominal terminations used for the wives are *–a:, -ccu/-u/-um* and *–a:ŋka*.

While interacting with the relations, the wives are referred to by the pronoun *aʋa* and pronominal termination *–a:* by their husbands. In other situations, they are referred to as *atu* and the termination used for them is *–ccu/-u/-um* depending upon the tense and aspect.

However, the educated and professional informants refer their wives by using the pronoun *aʋuŋka* and the pronominal termination used for them is *–a:ŋka* in formal situations.

5.4.1.6. Grand Parents

Among the grand-parents, grand-fathers are referred to as *aʋar, aʋuŋka* and *atu*. The pronominal terminations used for grand fathers are *–a:r, -a:ŋka* and *–ccu/-u/-um*. In the forward communities, the pronominal terminations *–a:r* and *–a:ŋka* are used whereas in the backward communities and schedule communities the pronominal terminations *–a:r, -a:ŋka* and *–ccu/-u/-um* are used.

-ccu and *–um* are used in the sense of giving moderate honour by the people of the low income backward and scheduled communities.

 Grand-mothers are referred to by the terms *aʋʋa:, aʋuŋka* and *atu* and the pronominal terminations used for them are *–a:, -a:ŋka* and *–ccu* or *–u* or *–um*.

aʋa: is used within the Brahmin caste and the pronominal termination used to refer to the grand-mother is *–a:* whereas in the backward and scheduled communities the pronoun *atu* is used to refer to the grand-mother and the pronominal termination is *–ccu* or *–u* or *–um*.

5.4.2. Social Network Level

5.4.2.1. Classmates

Classmates re referred to by the pronoun *aʋan* and the pronominal termination used for them is *–a:n*.

However, low income group service caste and scheduled community informants refer to their classmates by the term *aʋar* and the pronominal termination is *-a:r*.

5.4.2.2. Classmates Placed in Higher Position

A classmate who is placed in higher position currently is referred to by using the pronouns *avar* and *avaŋka* and the pronominal terminations used while referring to them are *–a:r* and *-a:ŋka*.

5.4.2.3. Hotel Server

A hotel server is referred to mostly by the pronoun *aʋan*. The pronominal termination used for him is *–a:n*.

The forward and backward communities refer to him by using pronoun *aʋan* and use the pronominal termination *–a:n*. In the absence of hotel server, scheduled communities people also refer to him by the pronoun *aʋan* and use the pronominal termination *–a:n*.

5.4.2.4. Colleagues

The individuals working in the organized sectors such as government departments, offices, banks and other concerns refer to their colleagues by the pronoun *avar* and *aʋuŋka* and the pronominal terminations used for them are *–a:r* and *–a:ŋka*.

However, the informants belonging to unorganized sectors viz., agricultural laborers, daily wagers and others and also those belonging to service castes refer to their colleagues by the pronoun *aʋan* and *atu* and the pronominal terminations used to them are *–a:n* and *–ccu* or *–u* or *–um*.

5.4.2.5. Headman

Headman of the each caste is referred to by the pronoun *aʋar* and *aʋuŋka* and the pronominal terminations used to him are *–a:r* and *–ŋka*.

5.4.2.6. Owner

Owner of a concern or superior of the institution/concern is always referred to by the pronoun *aʋar* and *aʋuŋka*. The pronominal terminations used to them are *–a:r* and *–a:ŋka*.

5.4.2.7. Barber

The village barber is referred to by the pronouns *aʋan* and *atu*. The pronominal terminations used to refer to them are *–a:n, -u, -ccu* or *–um*.

Most of the speakers of forward and backward communities refer to him by the pronoun *aʋan* and use the pronominal termination *–a:n*. The lower income group scheduled community informants use the pronoun *atu* and the pronominal termination used to him is *–ccu* or *–um*.

However, the educated scheduled community informants use honorific reference term *aʋar* and the pronominal termination *–a:r*.

5.4.2.8. Dhoby

The village dhoby is referred to by the pronouns *aʋan* and *atu*. The pronominal terminations use for him are *–a:n* and *–ccu* or *–u*.

Most of the speakers of forward and backward communities refer to him by the term *aʋan* and use the pronominal termination *–a:n*. the lower income group scheduled community informants use the term *atu* to refer to him and the pronominal termination used is *–ccu* or *–um*.

However, the educated informants in the scheduled communities refer to him as *aʋar* and use the pronominal termination *–a:r*.

5.4.2.9. Sweeper

The village sweepers are referred to by the pronouns *aʋan* and *atu*. The pronominal terminations used for them are *–a:n* and *–ccu* or *–um*.

The forward and backward community informants refer to them by the pronoun *aʋan*, and use the pronominal termination *–a:n*.

The forward and backward community professionals and the scheduled community informants use the pronoun *atu* to refer to him and use the pronominal terminations *–ccu* and *–um* to him.

5.4.2.10. Grocery Shop Keepers

The grocery shop keepers are referred to by the terms *aʋar* and *aʋan*. The pronominal terminations used for them are *–a:r* and *–a:n*.

The speakers of the forward and backward communities refer to them by the terms *aʋar* and *aʋan*. They use the pronominal terminations *–a:r* and *–a:n*. Here, the context plays a vital role in the use of the terminations. If he is present in the speech event then he will be referred to by the term *aʋar* and the pronominal termination used for him is *–a:r*. if he is not present, the

pronoun *aʋan* and the pronominal termination *–a:n* are used. Scheduled communities mostly refer to them by using the term *aʋar* and use the pronominal termination *–a:r*.

5.4.2.11. Temple Priest – Local Deity

The priest of the local deity is referred to by the pronouns *atu* and *aʋar*. The pronominal terminations used for him are *–ccu* or *–um* and *–a:r*.

The forward the backward community individuals refer to him by the pronoun *aʋar* and pronominal termination *–a:r*. However, the scheduled community informants refer to him by the pronoun *avar* or *atu* and by the pronominal terminations *–a:r* and *–ccu/-um*.

5.4.2.12. Temple Priest – Major Deity

The priest of the major deity belongs to forward community and he is referred to by the pronouns *avar* and *avuŋka* and by the pronominal terminations *–a:r* and *–a:ŋka*.

5.5 –a:ple as a Pronominal Termination

Another typical feature is the usage of the suffix *–a:ple* which is used as a kind of epicene pronominal termination. This suffix is used in such dubious cases as whether to use the honorific suffix or non-honorific suffix to the referent. When the speaker wants neither to honour nor to dishonor the referent, may this suffix be used. The following are some of the examples:

aɳɳen eŋke po:na:ple?

'Where did elder brother go?'

paḷanica:mi enna: conna:ple?

'What did Palanisamy say?'

5.6 Conclusion

5.6.1. Pronominal Termination: Pattern of Usages

From the data on the use of pronominal terminations collected for this study, an attempt has been made in the following passage to describe the pattern of use of pronominal terminations by the three social groups.

The percentage-wise occurrences of different categories of pronominal terminations in the three social groups are presented in the form of charts. The charts present the percentage of use of pronominal terminations to refer to six categories of individuals, namely,

1. Stranger
2. Neighbor

3. Friend
4. Colleague
5. Superior and
6. Subordinate

The following three charts present the percentage of occurrences of different types of pronominal terminations in the speech of informants belonging to forward communities, backward communities and scheduled communities. They are presented in the form of bar diagrams also.

Forward Communities : Pronominal Terminations

Forms	Stranger	Neighbor	Friend	Colleague	Superior	Sub-ordinate
NM		1.9		1.9		1.9
PANM	-	-	-	3.9	-	5.9
IIM	-	-	3.9	-	-	5.9
PM	-	-	-	-	-	-
IM	-	-	11.8	-	-	-
Hon. Suf.	17.7	15.8	1.9	9.8	15.8	1.9

Forward Community

Pronominal Terminations
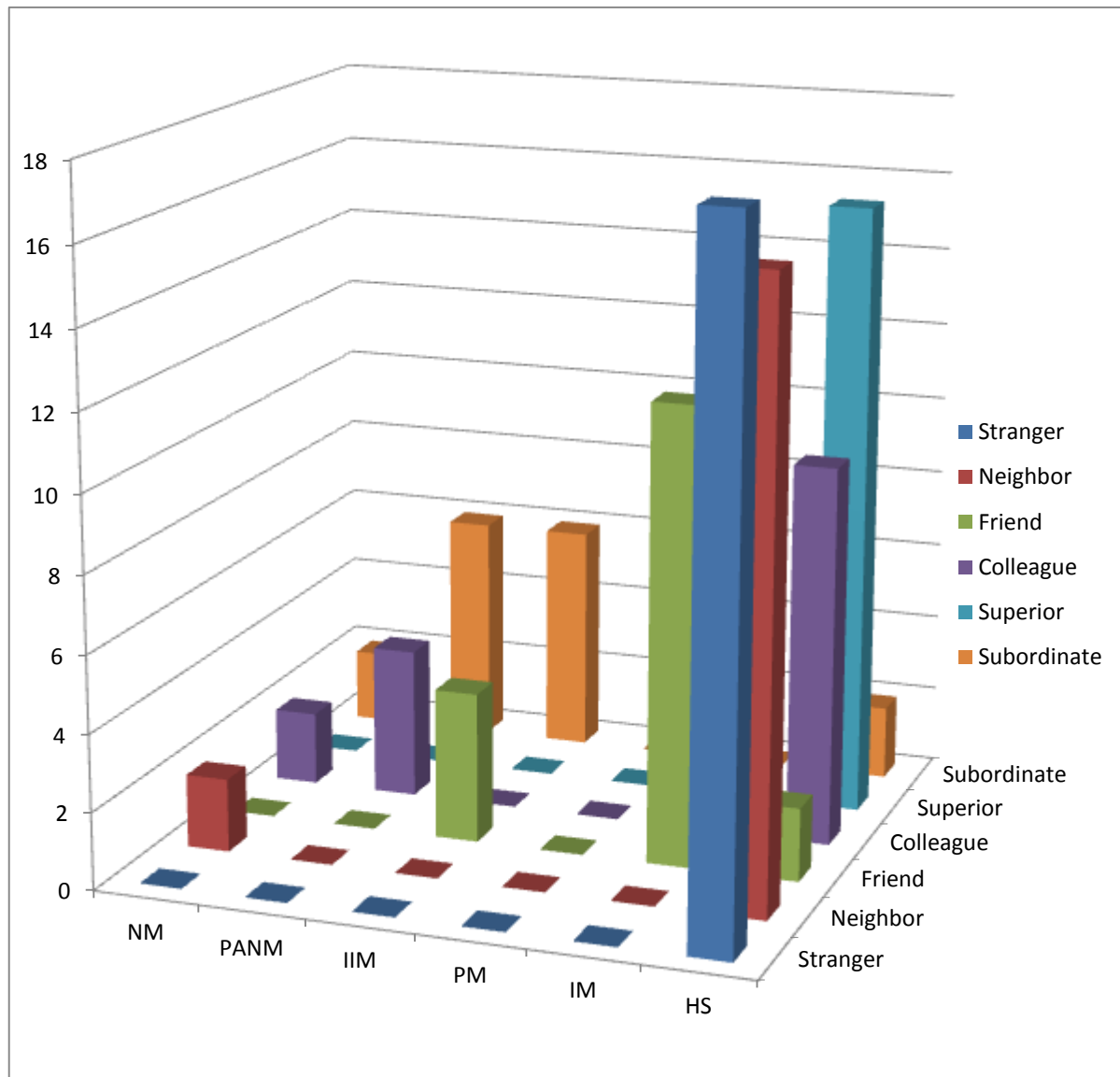
(in Percentage)

Backward Communities   :   Pronominal Terminations

Forms	Stranger	Neighbor	Friend	Colleague	Superior	Sub-ordinate
NM		2.5	5	3.8	1.2	5
PANM	-	1.2	-	1.2	-	6.3
IIM	-	-	2.5	-	-	-
PM	-	-	-	1.2	-	7.5
IM	-	-	5	-	-	-
Hon. Suf.	18.8	12.5	-	10	16.3	-

Backward Community

Pronominal Terminations

(in Percentage)
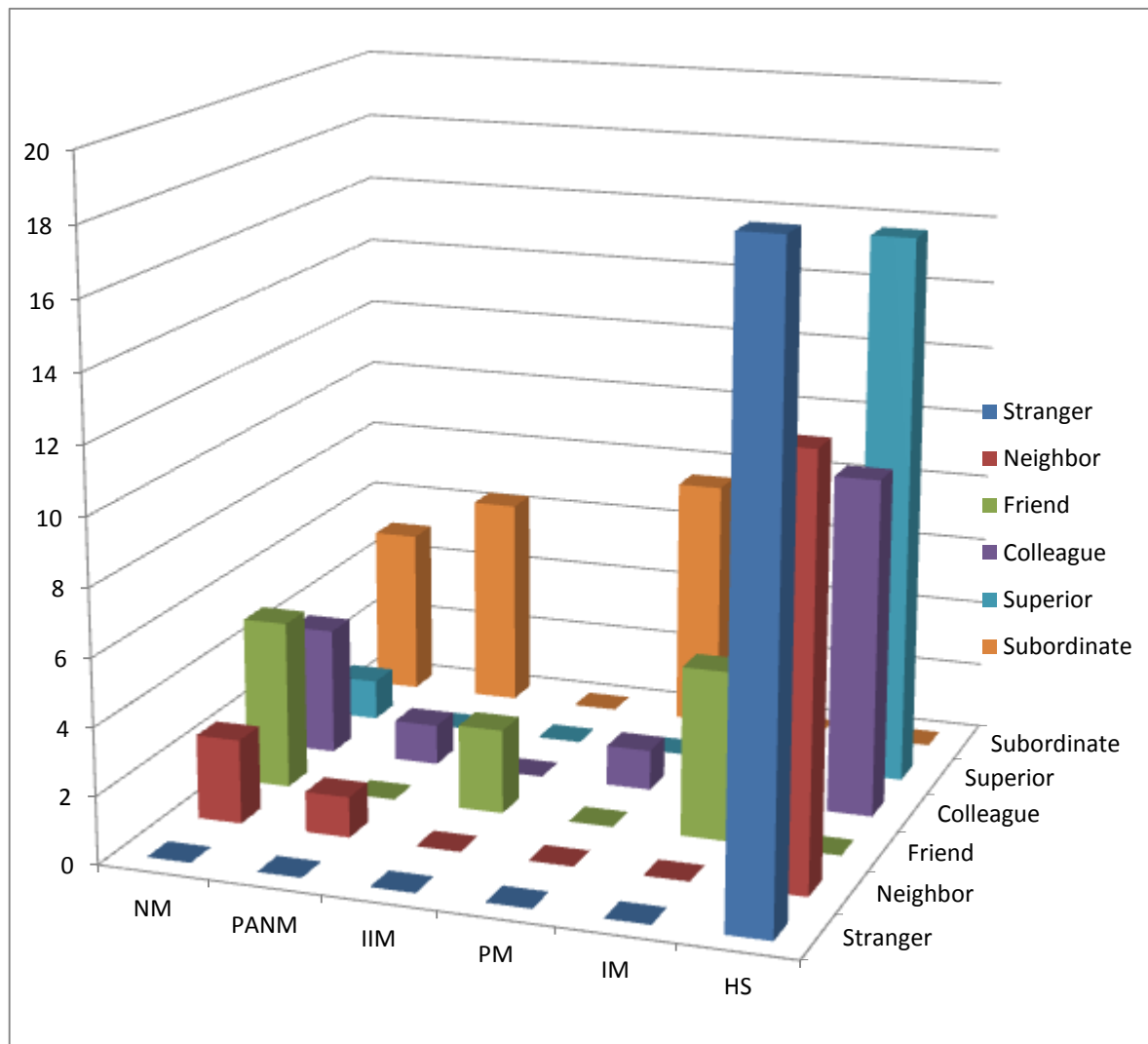
Scheduled Communities   :   Pronominal Terminations

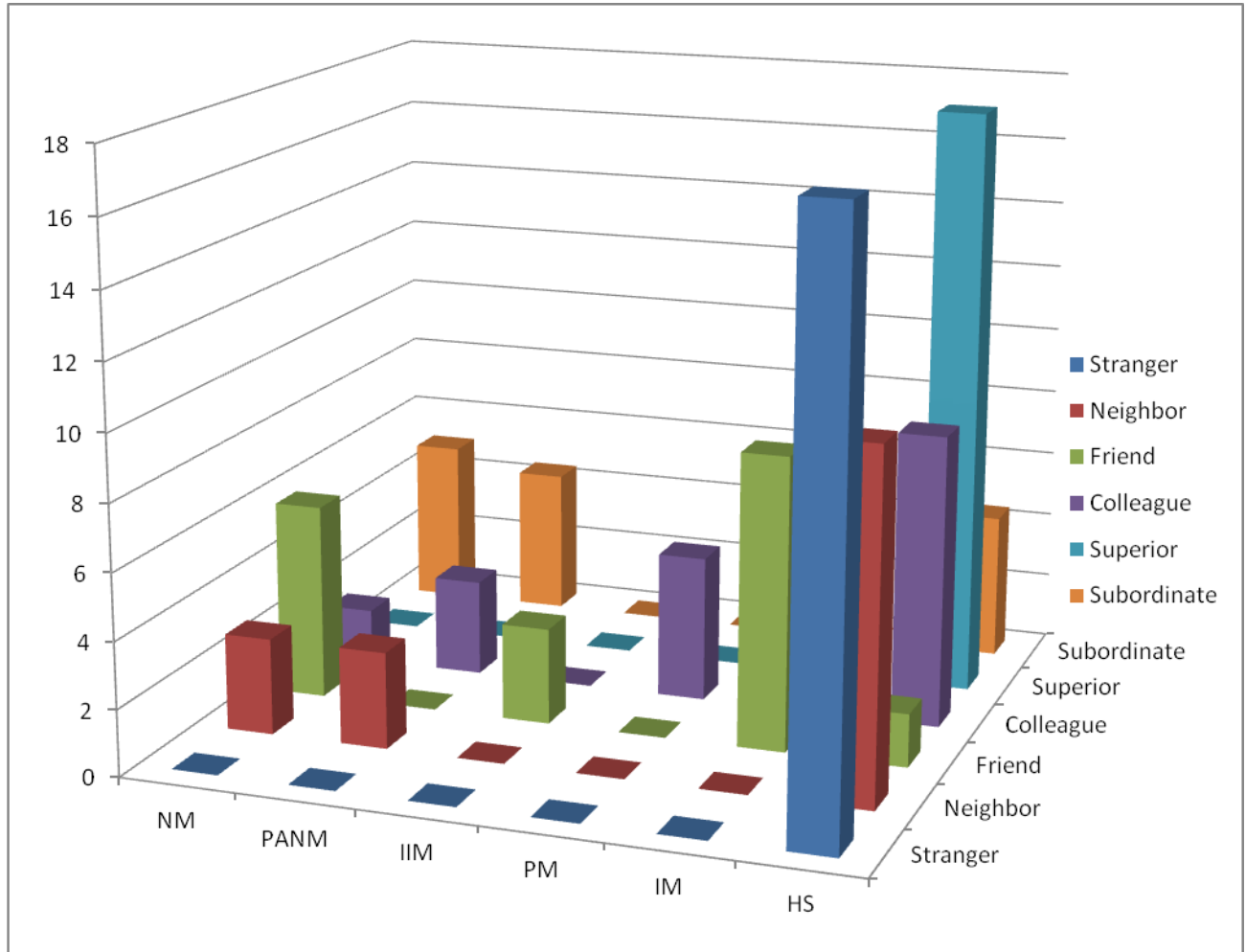| Forms	Stranger	Neighbor	Friend	Colleague	Superior	Sub-ordinate
NM		2.9	5.9	1.6	-	2.9
PANM	-	2.9	-	2.9	-	4.4
IIM	-	-	2.9	-	-	-
PM	-	-	-	4.4	-	-
IM	-	-	8.8	-	-	-
Hon. Suf.	17.6	10.4	1.6	8.8	17. 6	4.4

Scheduled Community

Pronominal Terminations

(in Percentage)

From the above three charts, the emergence of a neat pattern of the use of pronominal terminations becomes clear. Let us consider the use of honorific pronominal terminations. The highest score of use of honorific pronominal termination is found in the instance of reference or address to a stranger. A stranger, for this study has been defined as a person who appears as belonging to middle income group and middle age group. Irrespective of the social groups, people of all communities honour the strangers as reflected to their linguistic behavior of using honorific pronominal terminations to them. No other forms of pronominal terminations are used in this context. Honorific pronominal terminations alone are found to be used.

Another interesting conclusion of this study is that among the individuals of forward communities 61.9% of them use the honorific form of pronominal termination. The same for the backward and scheduled communities are 57.6% and 60.4% respectively. This means that, of the six types of pronominal terminations, the use of honorific form has the highest occurrence while that of the other forms are less in all the three communities. This conclusion closely correlates with the popular and common belief that the *Kongu* Tamil (the Tamil spoken in the districts of Coimbatore and Periyar of Tamil Nadu) possesses a number of honorific forms.

Next to strangers, the superiors are honored more as far as the uses of pronominal terminations are concerned. This is a true of all the three communities taken up for this study. The conspicuous absence of other forms of pronominal terminations in this case is another evidence to establish the fact that the superiors are honored very much in verbal interactions.

Neighbors are also more or less equally honored in verbal interactions as evinced by high scores in this category (Forward communities 15.8%, backward communities 12.5% and the scheduled communities 10.4%).

As far as the use of other forms of pronominal terminations such as neutral marked, power avoiding neutral marked, intermediate intimacy marked, power marked and intimacy marked pronominal terminations are concerned, we find that there is no significant variation among the three communities.

Regarding the use of power marked pronominal terminations, we find that it is totally absent among the individuals of the scheduled communities. There is no linguistic situation in which they could use the power marked linguistic features. This is a linguistic evidence of their low social status.

6. Use of Kinship Terms

6.1 Kinship

The Oxford Dictionary of English describes kinship as 'the quality or state of being kin'. The relationship between the people may be based on either blood or through marriage. 'The bonding of blood or marriage, which binds the people together in group, is called kinship' (Sachdeva and Vidyabhusan, 1979) . Kinship is of two types, namely,

1. Affinal kinship
2. Consanguineous kinship

The bond of marriage is called affinal kinship. When a person marries, he establishes a relationship with the girl whom he marries and also with the girl's family members. Thus by marriage, a person establishes a number of new relations. For example, a person becomes husband to the girl whom he marries, brother-in-law to the girl's brother and son-in-law to the girl's parents and so on.

The bond of blood is called consanguineous kinship and the bond between parents and children is consanguineous kinship. On the basis of nearness or distance, relatives can be classified into three categories as:

1. Primary kin
2. Secondary kin and
3. Tertiary kin

Thus, father is a primary kin and father's brother is a secondary kin and father's brother's brother-in-law is a tertiary kin to the ego.

6.2 Kinship Terms

Kinship terms are those terms which are used in designating kins of various types. In all societies, kinship is marked by a set of relationship terms.

Thus in Tamil, to denote a male parent the term *appa*: is used and to denote a female parent the term *amma*: is used. Morgan (quoted by Sachdeva and Vidhyabhusan, 1979) classified kinship terms into two systems as,

1. Classificatory system and
2. Descriptive system

Under the classificatory system the various kins are included in one category and all are referred to by the same terms. Thus the term *ma:ma:* which refers to uncle is a classificatory term. It is used to address,

1. Mother's brother
2. Father's sister's husband and
3. Sister's husband

Under the descriptive system, one term refers to only one relation. It describes the exact relation of a person towards another. Thus, a term 'father' refers that he is married and having son/daughter.

6.2.1. Characteristics of Kinship Terms

International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences observes that the kinship systems are found to vary in different societies with respect to a number of characteristics. They are as follows:

1. The extent to which genealogical and affinal relationship are recognized for social purposes
2. The ways in which relatives so recognized are classified and grouped in social categories
3. The particular custom by   which the behavior of these relatives is regulated in daily life
4. The various rights and obligations which are mediated through kinship
5. Linguistic forms which are used to denote the various categories of kin

Thus, the study of kinship system brings out the study of behavioral pattern of different kins. In this chapter an attempt is made to study the following items:

1. To elicit information about the kinship terms available in the Tamil society
2. The way a particular kin is addressed as well as referred to by an ego and
3. The variations in the usage of kin terms of different social groups

6.2.2. Kinship Terms in Tamil

The following diagram describes about the kinship terms existing in Tamil. The terms used in the diagram are found in the standard variety of written Tamil.

Starting from ego, the upper left hand side defines the terms for father and others related to father and the upper right hand side defines the terms for mother and her other relations.

The lower part of the left hand side of the diagram describes the ego's brother and his relatives whereas the right hand side, ego's sister and her relatives. Towards downwards further,

it describes the relatives of either wife or husband and their relatives. Still downwards the relatives of ego's generation and the relatives of them have been described. On the left hand side, ego's son and his relatives are described and on right hand side, daughter and her relatives are described.

DIAGRAM
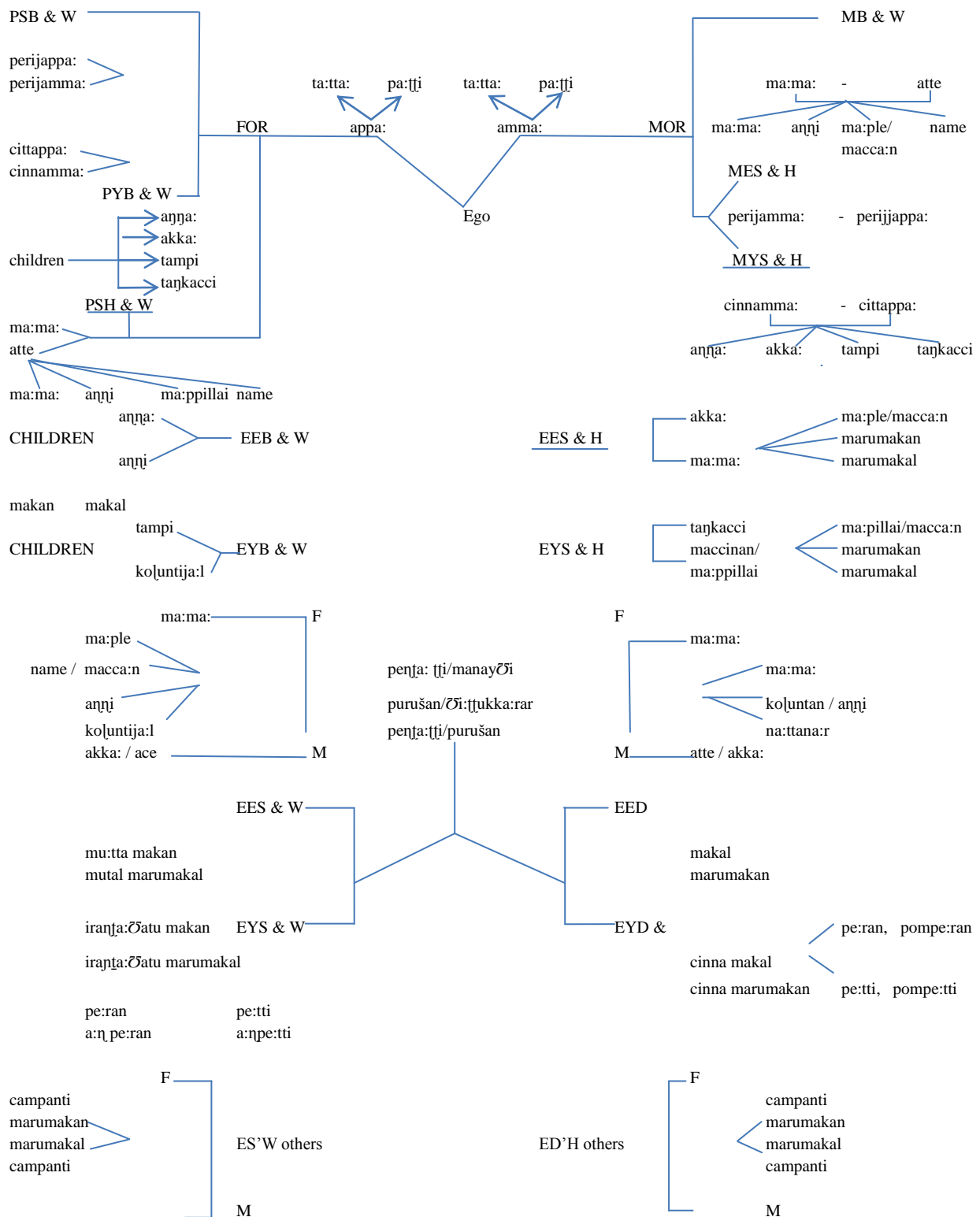
List of Kinship Terms
Kinship Terms

1. *aɳɳa:/*   'father'
   appa: used to address as well as to refer

2. *amma*:   'mother'
                     used to address as well as to refer

3. *aɳɳa:/*   'elder brother'
   cinnaɳɳa: used to address as well as to refer

4. *tampi*   'younger brother'

                     used to refer as well as to address

5. *poɳʈa:ʈʈi*   'wife'
   ʋi:ʈʈukka:ri   used to refer
   manajʋi
   camca:ram
   a:ttukka:ri
   poñca:ti

6. *ʋi:ʈʈukka:raru*   'husband'
   purušan   used to refer
   kaɳaʋar
   a:ttukka:rar
   a:mpaʈaja:n

7. *makan*   'son'
                     used to refer

8. *makal*   'daughter'
                     used to refer

9. *perijappa*:   'father's elder brother'
                     used to address as well as to refer

10. *perijamma*:/   'father's elder brother's wife'
    perija:ja:/   used to address as well as to refer
    perija:ji

11. *cittappa*:   'father's younger brother'
                                used to address as well as to refer

12. *cinnamma*:/   'father's younger brother's wife'
    cinna:ji/   used to address as well as to refer
    cinna:ja:/
    citti

13. *atte*:/   'father's elder or younger sister'
    ma:mi: used to address as well as to refer

14. *ma:ma*:/   'father's elder or younger
    attimpe:r   sister's husband'
                                used to address as well as to refer

15. *perijamma*:/   'mother's elder sister'
    perija:ja: used to address as well as to refer

16. *cinnamma*:/   'mother's younger sister'
    cinna:ja:/   used to address as well as to refer
    cinna:ji/
    citti

17. *ma:ma*:   'mother's elder or younger brother'
                                used to address

    ta:j ma:man   used to refer

18. *atte*:/   'mother's elder or younger brother's wife'
    ma:mi: used to address as well as to refer

19. *ma:man pulla*/   'mother's elder or younger brother's daughter'
    morap poṇṇu/   used to refer
    ammaŋka:

20. *ma:man pajjan*/   'mother's elder or younger brother's son'
    amma:ɲci   used to refer

    macca:n/
    ma:ppillai/   used to address

ma:ma:

21. *ma:ma*:	'father's elder or younger sister's husband'
	used to address as well as to refer
22. *atta pulla/*	'father's elder or younger sister's daughter'
morap poŋŋu	used to refer
23. *atta pajjan/*	'father's elder or younger's sister's son'
atta:n/	used to refer
ma:ma:/	used to address
ma:ple:	
24. *naŋkaya:/*	'elder brother's wife'
aŋŋan camca:ram/	used to refer
aŋŋi/	used to address
manni	
25. *tampi camca:ram*	'younger brother's wife'
	used to refer
26. *macca:n/*	'elder sister's husband'
ma:ma:/	used to address
attimpe:r/	
akka: ʋi:ṭṭukka:rar	used to refer
27. *ma:pillai/*	'younger sister's husband'
macca:n	used to address as well as to refer
28. *ma:ma:/*	'wife's elder or younger brother'
ma:ppillai/	used to address as well as to
attimpe:r	refer
29. *koluntija:l*	'wife's younger sister'
	used to refer
30. *ma:ma*:	'wife's or husband's father'
	used to address
mamana:r	used to refer
31. *atte*	'wife's or husband's mother'

		used to address
ma:mija:r		used to refer

32. *ma:ma*:	'husband's elder brother'
	used to address
perija ma:ma:	used to refer

33. *koluntana:r*	'husband's younger brother'
	used to refer

34. *na:ttana:r*	'husband's younger sister'
	used to refer

35. *ma:ppillai*	'son-in-law'
marumakan	used to refer

36. *marumaka* (1)	'daughter-in-law'
	used to refer

37. *pompe:tti/*	'daughter's daughter'
pe:tti	used to refer

38. *pompe:ran/*	'daughter's son'
pe:ran	used to refer

39. *a:mpe:ran*	'son's son'
	used to refer

40. *a:mpe:tti*	'son's daughter'
	used to refer

41. *cakale*	'wife's sister's husband'

42. *ta:tta:/*	'father's father'
ajjan	used to address as well as to refer

43. *pa: ʈʈi/*	'father's mother'
a:ja:/	used to address as well as to
a:tta:	refer

44. *ta:tta:/*	'mother's father'

*appucc*i	used to address as well as to refer

45. *pa:ʈʈi/*   'mother's mother'
     amma:ji   used to address as well as to refer

Thus, the kinship terms used in the Tamil society may be classified into two types, namely,

1. Classificatory System and
2. Descriptive System

The term *ma:ma*: includes,

1. Mother's brother
2. Mother's brother's son
3. Sister's husband
4. Father's sister's husband and
5. Father's sister's son

The term *appa*: refers only to the male parent. Thus both the classificatory and descriptive types of kinship terms are found to be used.

6.3   Variations found in the Use of Kinship Terms

Kinship terms are used to address as well as to refer to a particular person. In addition to that, the system of kinship terms reflects the structure of the society in which they are used within a language group. However, variations in the use of some kinship terms with reference to various social groups are also found. Some social or regional factors are involved in these variations of the kinship terms. An attempt is made here to analyze the variations in kinship terms used by various social groups of this region, and to describe the nature for such variations. In this analysis, the terms which exhibit variations alone, have been discussed and the remaining terms which do not exhibit variations have been left out.

6.4   Father

6.4.1. Forward Communities

The Tamil lexical item used to refer to father is *appa*:. In the forward communities father is addressed as *appa*: with only one exception.

6.4.2. Backward Communities

In the backward communities father is addressed as *aɳɳa*: and *appa*:. The term *aɳɳa*: 'elder brother' is used to address father invariably by all castes belonging to backward community, in the middle and old age group except one informant.

A middle aged informant of the Mudaliyar caste having collegiate education addresses his father as *appa*:.

The informants of younger generation, cutting across all sections of social groups address father as *appa*:. This reflects the social change taking place in the recent times, i.e., the younger generation informants have had at least school education and thereby they have acquired the standard terms, as a result of which they have switched to the use of the term *appa*: to refer to father instead of the term *aɳɳa*:. Thus a deviant linguistic behavior attested in the middle and old age group informants has undergone a change and this reflects the social change taking place among the young age group informants.

6.4.3. Scheduled Communities

In the scheduled castes father is addressed by using the terms *appa:, aɳɳa*: and *ayya*:. The lower income group middle age informants address father as *ajja*:.

6.5   Elder Brother

Elder brother is addressed as *appa*: in the backward communities. As the term *aɳɳa:* is used to address one's father in the backward and scheduled communities, the terms *cinnaɳɳa:* 'junior elder brother' and *appan* 'father' are used to address elder brothers. Colloquially *appan* means father. As the term *aɳɳa*: is used to refer to father, the term *cinnaɳɳa*: is used to refer to elder brother. Brother is referred to as *aɳɳan* in forward and scheduled communities and as *cinnaɳɳan, appan* in backward communities. It has to be noted here that the scheduled caste people address their elder brother as *aɳɳa*: and not as in the case of backward communities.

6.6   Wife

6.6.1. Forward Communities

Some variations are found in the manner in which wives are addressed by their husbands. In the forward communities, wives are addressed by their 'name'. To invite their attention, the non-honorific singular forms are used.

kamala: iŋke ʋa:	'Kamala, come here'
caroja: iŋke ʋa:mma:	'Saroja, come here'
caroja: iŋke ʋa:ppa:	'Saroja, come here'

The middle age group informants of male sex in all the social groups address their wives as *ennamma:, ennaʈa*: or *ennappa*:. Though the usage of –ʈa: seems to be authoritative, it actually exhibits the intimate relationship between the husband and wife. However, a remarkable change has been seen in the case of educated high income group informants who use *ennamma*: as an attention caller.

6.6.2. Backward and Scheduled Communities

Similarly in the backward and scheduled communities, wives are addressed by using singular non-honorific forms and names.

There are some exceptions, in which *amma*: and *a:ja*: are found to occur. Middle age group, middle income group backward community informants address their wives with the form name '*amma*:. Similarly the polite address form, typical from other address terms, *a:ya*: literally meaning 'mother' a variant of *amma*:, is used to address the wives by the informants of Madhari caste of scheduled community.

A typical form *e:pulle*: is also used to address to wives. However, it is found only in some social groups of backward and scheduled communities. This address term is found in illiterate, old age group informants of backward community who are engaged in agricultural labor. They address their wives as,

> *e:la:. iŋka ʋa:le*   'hey', come here'

e: is an attention caller and –*le*: is derived from *pulle*:. *pulle*: is found in the scheduled community also. This term is used by the husbands who have married their sisters' daughter i.e., niece. Here, the blood relation permits the person to use the language so authoritatively and intimately that the attention caller *e:* and the form *pulle*: 'girl' are freely used. This is found among older as well as younger age group informants.

In forward communities, *aʋa:, aʋuŋka, ma:mi* and *a:ttukka:ri* are used. *ma:mi* is a term used to refer to the wives in the Brahmin community.

The term *aʋa*: is also used to refer to the wives honorifically. *a:ttukka:ri* is a term which is usually used to refer to the wives while introducing to the other person. *aʋaŋka* is yet another form used to refer to the wife in formal situations.

In the backward communities, *ʋi:ʈʈukka:ri, camca:ram, ʋi:ʈʈle, aʋa* and name are used to refer to the wives. *camca:ram and vi:ʈʈukka:ri* are the forms used to introduce the wife to others. The high income group, college educated informants refer to their wives by their names. The landlords always refer to their wives by using the word *kaʋuɳʈacci*, the feminine form of *kaʋuɳʈar*, the caste name. a term *paɳɳakka:ricci* 'land lady' is also used to refer to the wives of

land lords. *ʋi:ʈʈle* means literally 'in the house' and it refers to one's wife. *aʋa* 'she non-honorific' and *ʋi:ʈʈle* are used in lower income communities to refer to the wives.

Name is commonly used with non-honorific forms. The forms *le:*, and *pulle*: are used in addressing the wives in scheduled caste groups. *pulle*: is used by the husbands who have married the consanguinal relatives as their mates, i.e., sister's daughter. *le:* and *ʋa:le:* are used by the old age people with primary education who are engaged in cultivation.

6.7   <u>Husband</u>

6.7.1. Forward Communities

Husbands are addressed by their wives politely and honorifically. Honorific forms are used to address the husbands. In the forward communities, the items such as *ma:ma:*, *e:ŋka*, *ennaŋka*, *e:nna*: and *e:nuŋka* are used to address the husbands. *e:nna*: is an attention called used by the Brahmin wives to draw the attention of their husbands.

The other forms used by the forward communities are:

e:nuŋka
enna:ŋka   'attention caller + honorific suffix'
e:ŋka
ma:ma   'uncle

Among the above mentioned terms, *e:nuŋka* and *ennaŋka* are found in the middle and old age groups and *e:ŋka* is found in the middle aged lower income, school educated groups.

The husbands are referred to by the terms *ayyar, aʋuŋka* and *aʋar* also. The caste name *ajjar* which itself has an honorific suffix is used to refer to the husbands. This is found in the speech behavior of the wives of lower income, middle aged temple priests.

6.7.2. Backward Communities

In the backward communities, husbands are addressed as *e:nuŋka*. This word is predominantly found in all the social groups of this region. This form is found mostly in all the caste groups cutting across economic, age as well as educational criteria. However, the college educated high income group informants use a slightly different from viz., *e:ŋka*.

Husbands are referred to as *aʋaru* 'he – honorific' *kaʋuɳʈar* 'a man of Gounder caste' and *ʋi:ʈʈukka:rar* 'master of the house'. ka ʋuɳʈar is a form used to refer to the husbands of Gounder community who own lands. They are referred to by their wives as *kaʋuɳʈar* while taking with dependent caste people and others.

ʋi:ʈʈukka:rar literally 'master of the house' which gives or implies the meaning 'head of the family' is also used to refer to the husbands in educated high income group.

6.7.3. Scheduled Communities

In the scheduled castes *e:n* and *ta:* are used to address the husbands and also to call their attention.

e:n, iŋke ʋa:	'hey, Come here'
ta:, ata kuʈu	'hey, Give that (to me)'

6.8 Mother's Sister

6.8.1. Forward Communities

Mother's elder sister is addressed as well as referred to by the kin term *perijamma*: 'elder mother' in all the three communities whereas mother's younger sister is addressed using different forms.

In the forward communities, mother's younger sister is addressed as *citti* in all the groups (irrespective of age, education and economic status) except the middle age group which uses the term *cinnamma*:. The backward and scheduled communities show marked variations.

6.8.2. Backward Communities

The marked variations found in the backward communities are due to the age factor. The primary and middle educated old age group individuals address their mother's younger sister as *cinna:ja*: 'younger mother'. Except the college educated middle age group, the remaining categories address their mother's younger sister as *cinnamma*:.

The younger generation and college educated middle age group informants address their aunts as *citti* in which, the term *amma*: 'mother' is missing. The use of the term *citti* to refer to aunts depends upon the age of the persons who is referred to. If the addressee belongs to young age group, then the word *citti* is used, otherwise the word *cinnamma*: is used.

MOTHER'S YOUNGER SISTER

Primary School Old age group	Others	College educated, middle age group and young age group
cinna:ja or *cinna:ji*	*cinnamma:*	*citti*
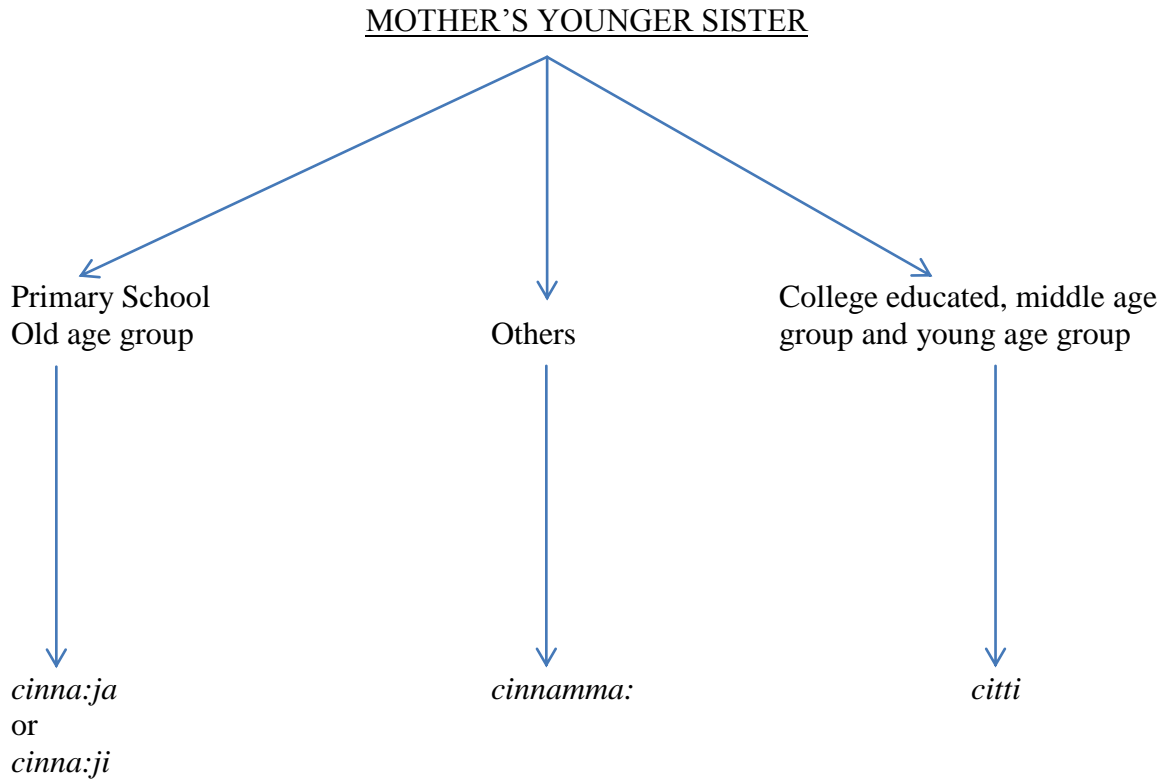
6.8.3. Scheduled Communities

In the scheduled communities, the primary educated agricultural laborers irrespective of age, address their mother's sister as *cinna:ja*:. However, except college educated youngsters and middle aged high and middle income groups, others address as *cinnamma*:. College educated young and middle age group job goer's address as *citti*.

MOTHER'S YOUNGER SISTER

Farm laborers
Primary education

Others

College educated, youngsters
and job goers

cinna:ja
or
cinna:ji

cinnamma:

citti
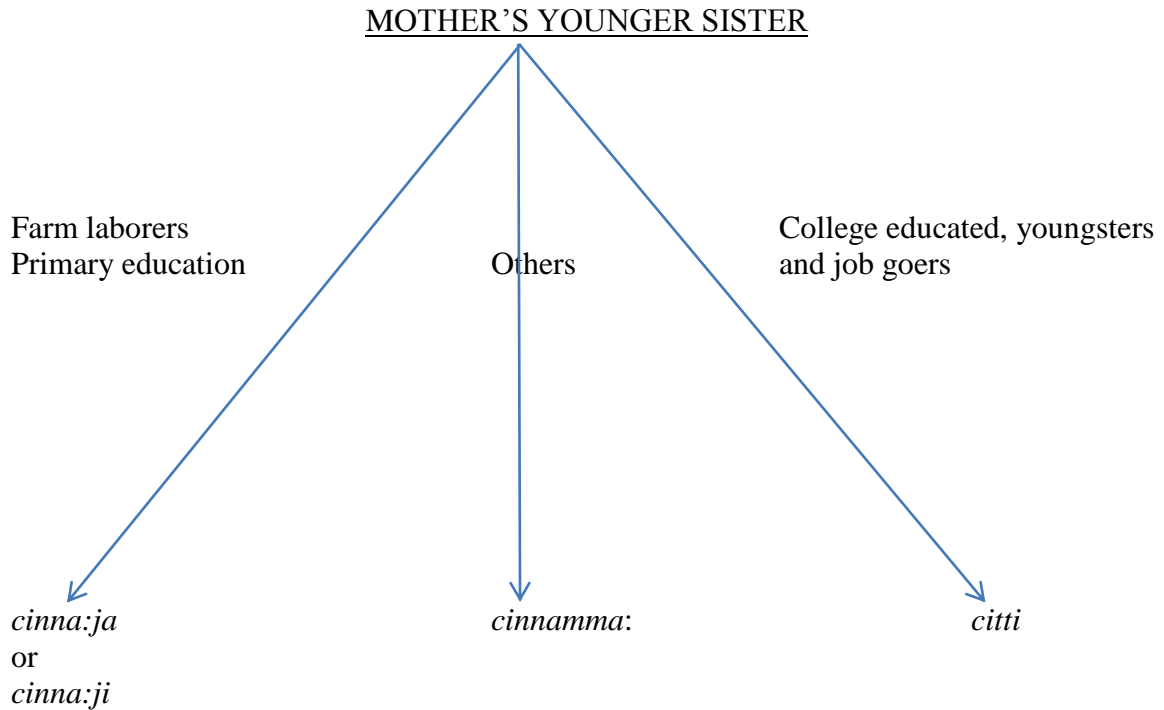
6.9   Father's Parents

6.9.1. Forward Communities

Father's mother is addressed *as pa:ṭṭi* in the forward communities by all the social groups. Father's father is addressed as *ta:tta:* invariably by all groups.

6.9.2. Backward Communities

In the backward communities, there are some variations in address forms. Except the school and college educated middle age group informants, all others address their father's mother as *a:ja*:. The school going younger generation addresses as *a:tta*:. The change in address term is because of the feeling among speakers that this term is a stigmatized one. And also, the term *a:ja*: used by the older generation has been changed as *a:tta*:.

Similarly, in addressing father's father, the term *ajjan* has been replaced with the word *ta:tta*: by school and college educated younger generation of this area.

6.9.3. Scheduled Communities

In the scheduled communities father's mother is addressed as *a:ja*:. However, in addressing father's father variation is found to occur in various social groups among the scheduled communities. The school and college educated people address their father's father as

ta:tta: whereas primary educated agricultural laborers and old age group informants address as *appa:ru*.

FATHER'S MOTHER

Forward Community   Backward
Community   Scheduled Community

others   School and
College educated
Middle age informants

pa:ṭṭi   *a:ja:*

a:ja: *a:tta*:

<u>FATHER'S FATHER</u>

Forward Community   Backward Community   Scheduled Community

others   School and College educated informants

ta:tta

old age and Agricultural Laborers

a:jjan   *ta:tta*:

Others

ta:tta: *appa:ru*
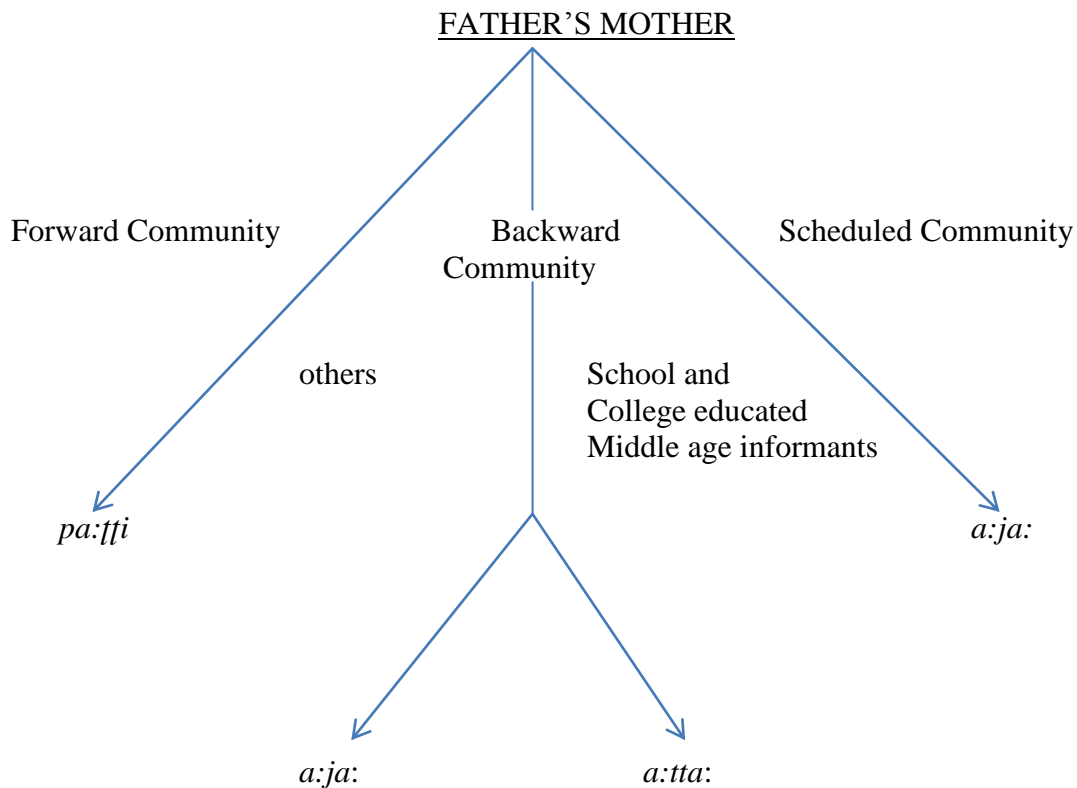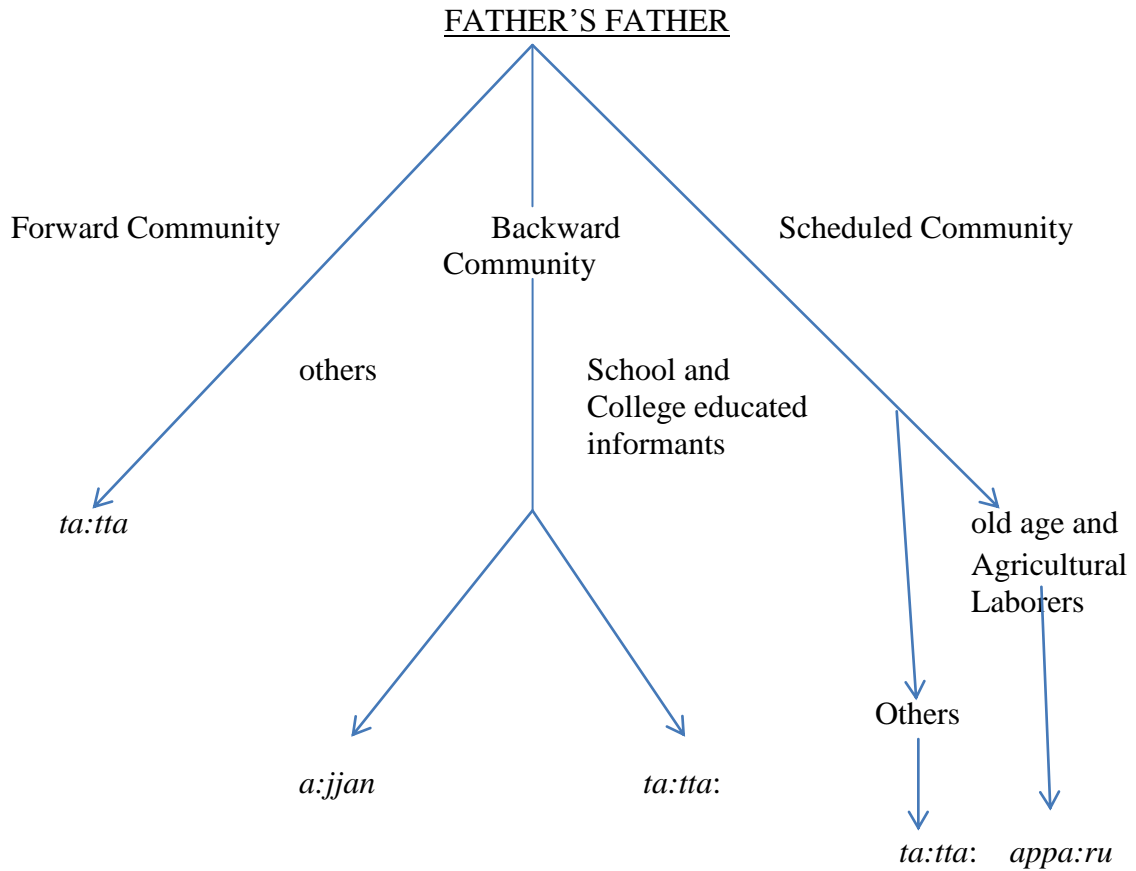
6.10 <u>Mother's Parents</u>

6.10.1. Forward Communities

In the forward communities, mother's mother is addressed as *pa:ʈʈi* by all social groups and mother's father is addressed as *ta:tta*:.

6.10.2. Backward Communities

In the backward communities, mother's mother is addressed as *amma:ji*. Mother's father is addressed as *appucci* by all social groups except middle income, school educated young informants and college educated middle and old age informants who address their mother's father as *ta:tta*:.

6.10.3. Scheduled Communities

In the scheduled castes, mother's mother is addressed as *amma:ji*. The old age group as well as the middle age lower income group informants engaged in farming, address their mother's father as *appucci*. Youngsters who have school and college education address as *ta:tta:*.

MOTHER'S MOTHER

Forward Community   Backward Community   Scheduled Community

pa:ṭṭi   *amma:ji*   *amma:ji*

MOTHER'S FATHER

Forward Community   Backward Community   Scheduled Community

ta:tta

School and College educated informants   others

School and college educated youngsters and middle age groups   Others

ta:tta: *appucci*   *ta:tta:*   *appucci*
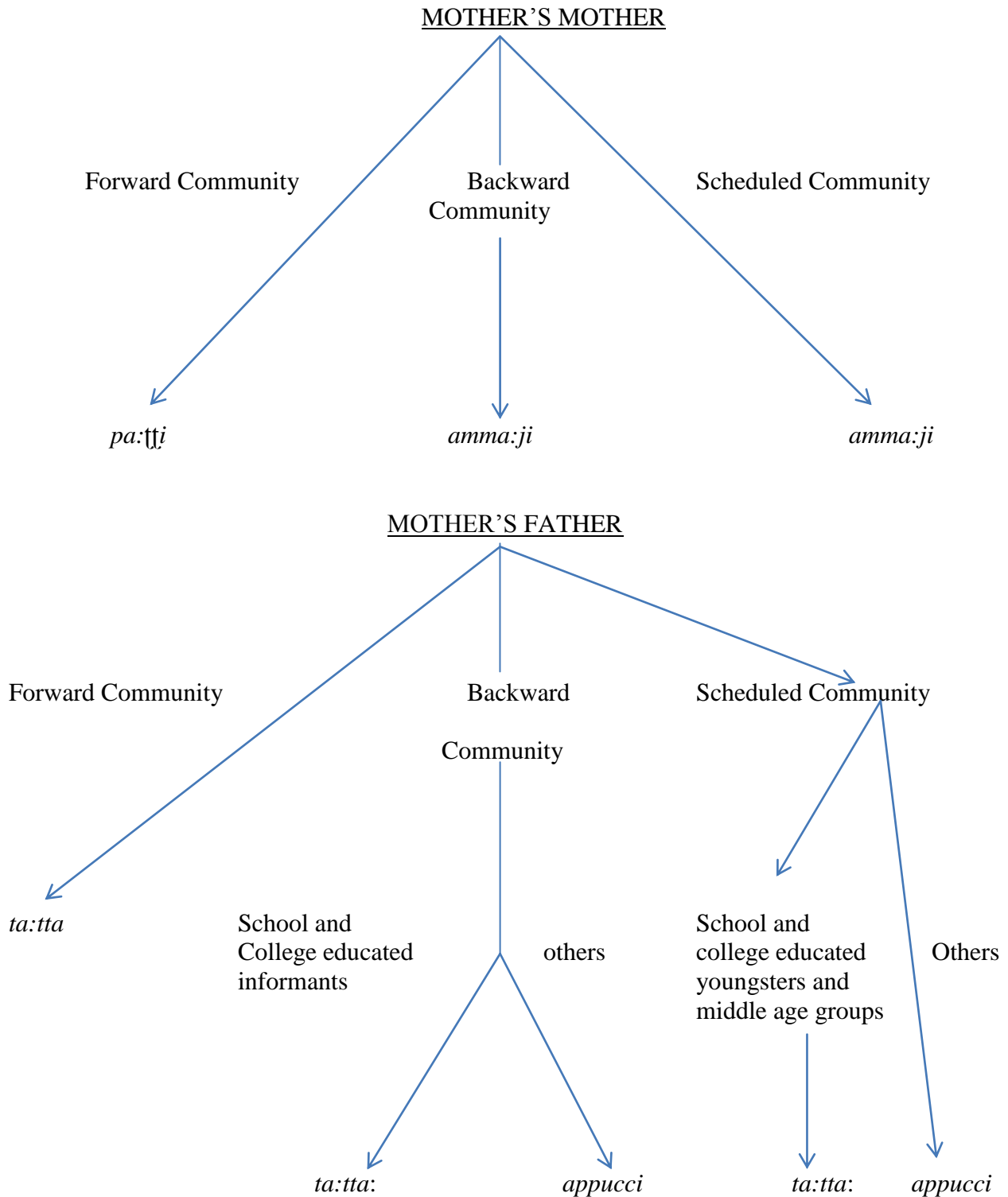
6.11 Maternal Uncle's Wife

6.11.1. Forward Communities

In the forward communities, maternal uncle's wife is addressed as *ma:mi* by the Brahmins with some exceptions. Due to the influence of the speech behavior of the people of other castes the address term of other communities is found in this group and consequently we come across the use of the term *atte*. The lower income group Brahmins also address as *atte*. The other forward community groups also use *atte*.

6.11.2. Backward and Scheduled Communities

In the backward as well as scheduled communities, maternal uncle's wife is addressed as *atte*.

6.12 Maternal Uncle's son and daughter

6.12.1. Forward Communities

Maternal uncle's son is addressed by a number of terms. The variations found in these terms are due to sex and age differences.

In the forward communities, if the maternal uncle's son is younger to the addressee, then he is addressed by his name only. Similarly, maternal uncle's daughter is also addressed by her name. But the reference terms used to refer to them reveal the relationship existing between them.

Maternal uncle's son elder to the addressee is referred to as ***amma:ɲci*** while maternal uncle's daughter is referred to as ***ammaŋka***:.

Because of the influence of the surrounding non Brahmin communities, Brahmins also have started to address their kins with the same terms as the individuals of other communities. According to the maternal uncle's son's age, the choice of address terms varies. If he is senior to the addressing person, then he will be addressed ***ma:ma***:. If he is junior, then ***ma:ple***: is used. if maternal uncle's daughter is senior to the addressing person, then she will be addressed as ***akka***: and if she is junior, then by her name.

6.12.2. Backward Communities

In the backward communities, maternal uncle's son is addressed in the following ways: If he is senior to the addressing person, he is addressed as ***ma:ma***:. If he is junior, then ***ma:ple***: or his name itself is used.

If maternal uncle's daughter is senior to the addressing person, she is addressed as ***akka***: and if she is junior to the concerned person, then her name itself is used.

6.12.3. Scheduled Communities

In the scheduled communities also, maternal uncle's son is addressed by a term according to his age. If he is senior to the addressee, he will be addressed as *ma:ma*: and if he is younger, then, *ma:ple*: or *macca:n* is used.

Maternal uncles' daughter is addressed in the following ways: If she is senior to the addressing person and got married, she is addressed as *aŋŋi*. Otherwise she is addressed by her name only.

6.13 Conclusion

This chapter presents a brief description about the kinship terms and their use as address terms and reference terms. Kinship terms have been mainly classified into two types as classificatory system and descriptive system. The variations found in the use of some of the important kinship terms have also been discussed.

The changes that have taken place in the social structure are very well reflected in the usage of kinship terms. With the universalization of education, spread of literacy, phenomenal development in the fields of mass communication such marked kinship terms as *aŋŋa*: 'father', *cinnaŋŋa*: 'elder brother', *cinnamma*: 'aunt', etc., have lost their currency among the young aged educated informants which reflects the process of modernization in the linguistic usages taking palace.

Another interesting finding is that the linguistic usages which are related to a particular community are losing their currency gradually and some sort of standardization is taking place. For instance, the use of Brahminical kinship terms is found in certain cases of Brahmin informants only, while other Brahmin informants tend to use non-Brahmincial kinship terms only.

Of all the kinship terms, significant variations have been attested in the case of six items only, namely, the words referring to

1. Father
2. Father's mother
3. Father's father
4. Mother's younger sister
5. Mother's mother and
6. Mother's father.

The charts given below present a statistical description of the percentage of occurrences of different kinship terms in the three social groups. The data in this chart are given as bar diagram also.

VARIATIONS IN THE USE OF KINSHIP TERMS

FATHER'S RELATIVES

Social Groups	Father			Father's mother			Father's father		
	ajja:	*aṇṇa:*	*appa:*	*a:tta:*	*pa:ṭṭi*	*a:ya:*	*appa:ru*	*ta:tta*	*ajjan*
Forward Community	-	-	100	-	100	-	-	100	-
Backward Community	-	66.7	33.3	20	-	80	-	26.7	73.3
Scheduled Community	12.5	16.7	70.8	8.3	16.7	75	16.7	-	83.3

Father

(in Percentage)
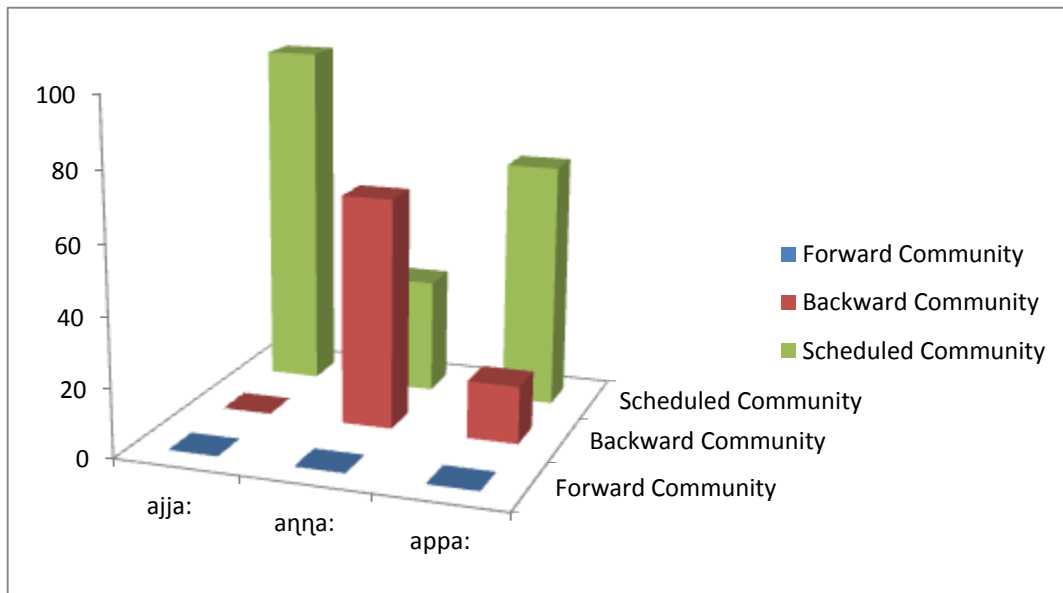
Father's Mother

(in Percentage)
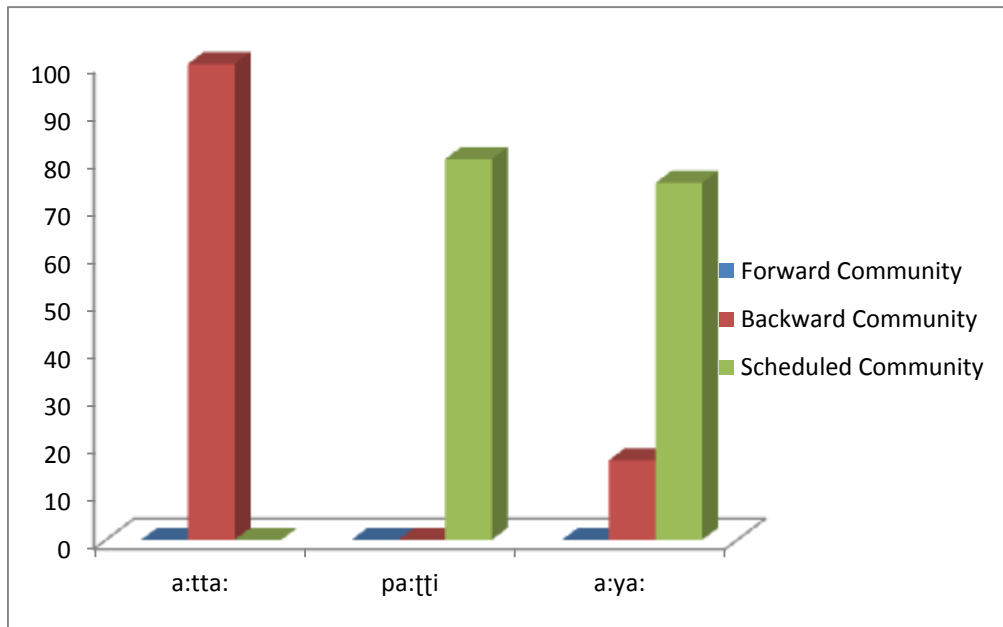
Father's Father

(in Percentage)
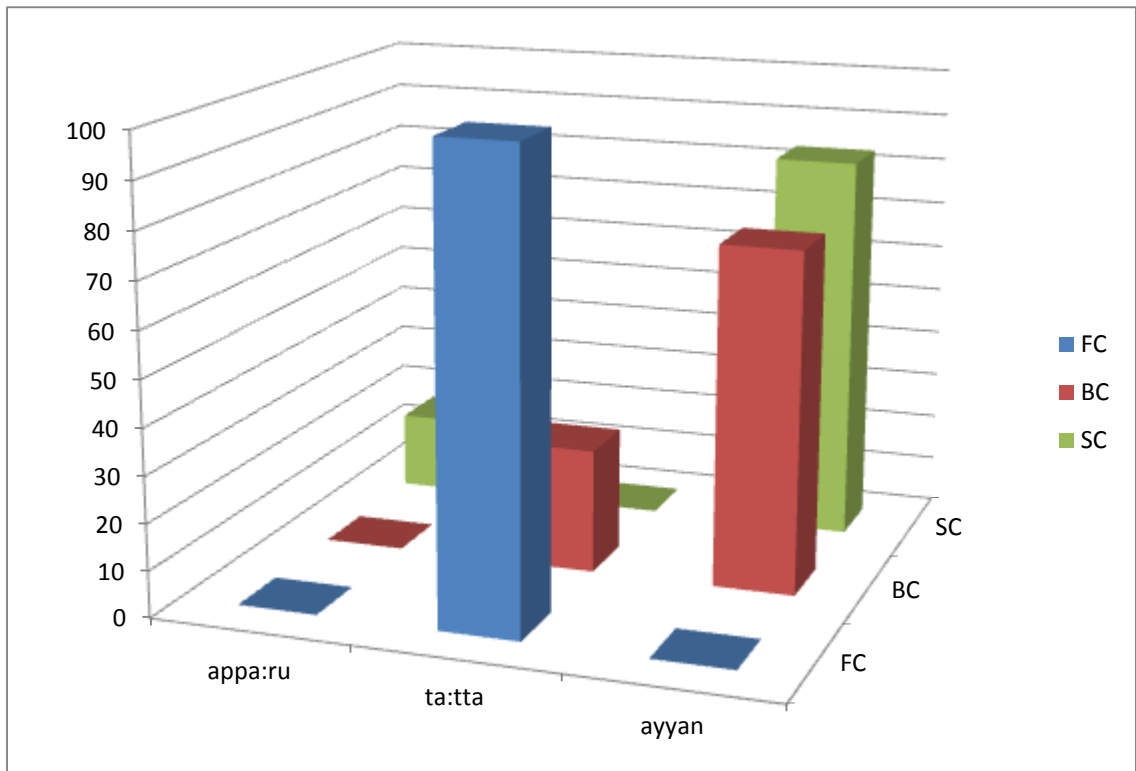
VARIATIONS IN THE USE OF KINSHIP TERMS

MOTHER'S RELATIVES

Social Groups	Mother's younger sister			Mother's mother			Mother's father		
	cinna:ya:	*citti*	*cinnamma:*	*a:ja:*	*a:tta:*	*pa:ṭṭi*	*amma:ji*	*appucci*	*ta:tta:*
Forward Community	-	88.9	11.1	-	-	100	-	-	100
Backward Community	20.0	13.3	66.7	6.7	13.3	-	80	86.7	13.3
Scheduled Community	16.7	33.3	50	16.7	-	8.3	75	58.3	41.7

Mother's Younger Sister

(in Percentage)
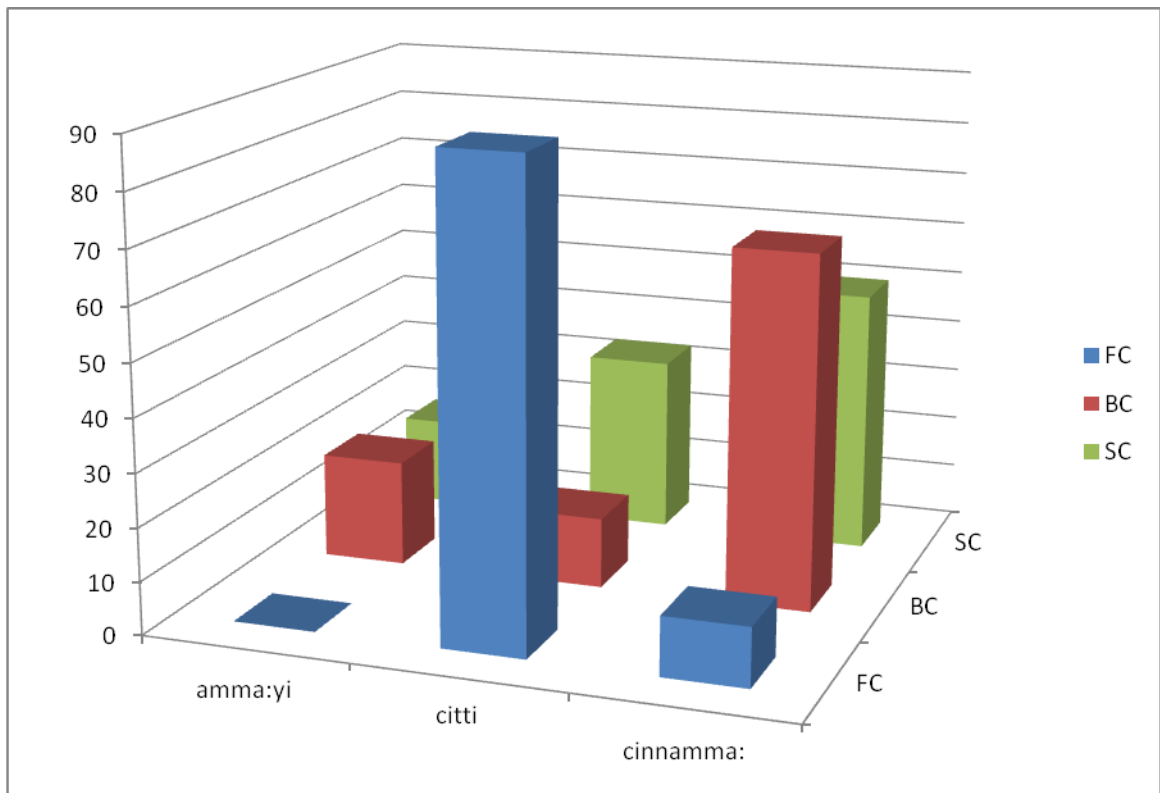
Mother's Mother

(in Percentage)
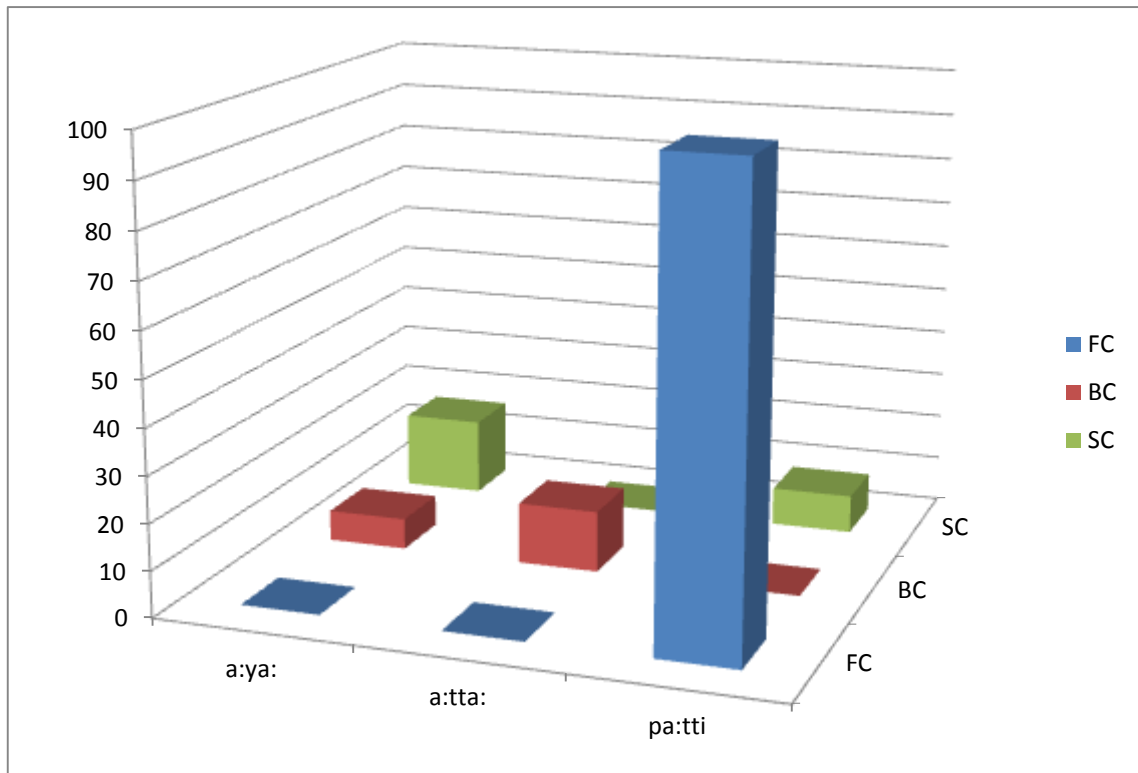
Mother's Father

(in Percentage)
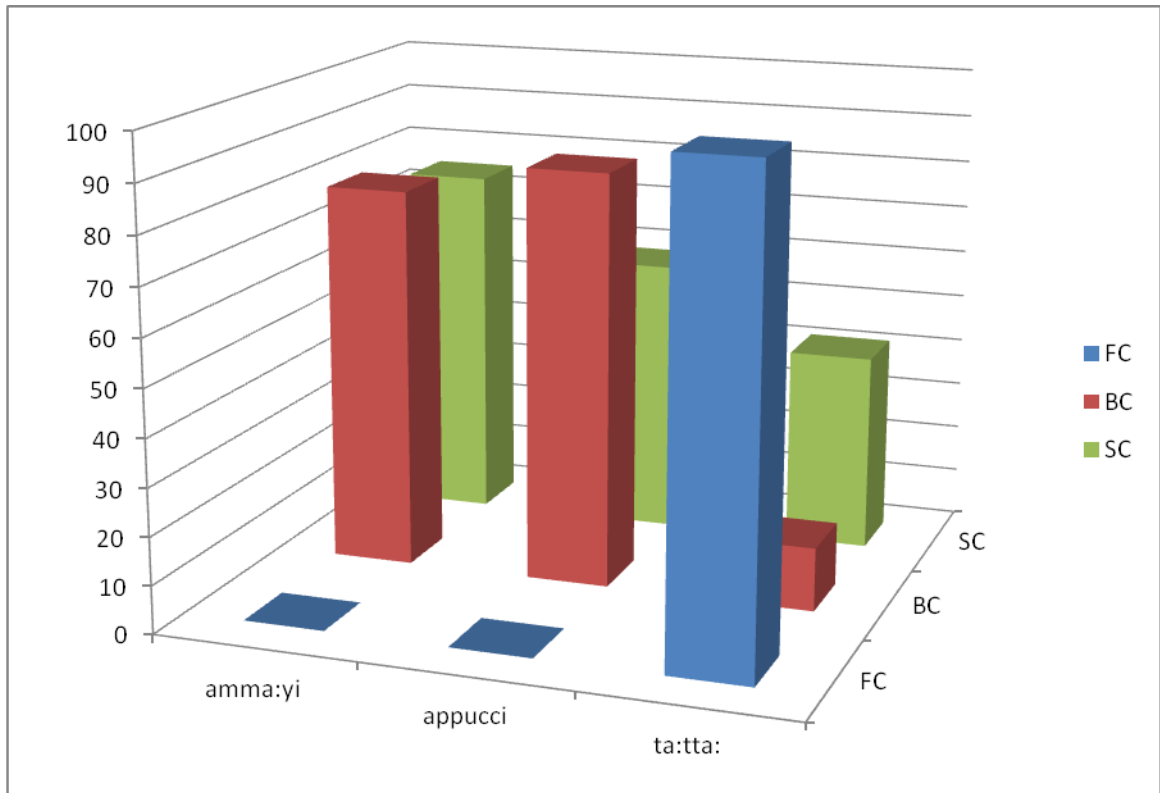
As far the variations in the word referring to father are concerned, we find no variations in the case of the individuals of the forward community while there are variations in the other two communities. The same is true in the case of words referring to father's mother as well as father's father. Regarding the use of the word *aŋŋa*: referring to father, we find that it has a higher percentage of occurrences, in the backward community while it is less in the case of the scheduled community. The variations in the words referring to 'father's mother' and 'father's father' have no significance in the backward and scheduled communities.

Regarding the words referring to mother's younger sister, we have three variations that are distributed with significant difference in the three communities. Of the three variants, namely, 1. *cinna:ya*: 2. *citti* and 3. *cinnamma*:, the former one is not attested in the forward community whereas the backward and scheduled communities have all the three variants. The word *citti* has a higher percentage of occurrences in the forward communities while it is less in

backward and scheduled communities. The word which has a higher percentage of occurrence among the individuals of backward and scheduled communities is *cinnamma*:.

Words referring to mother's mother and mother's father have no variation in the forward community whereas we do find significant variations in the other two communities. Individuals of both backward and scheduled communities use the word *amma:ji* to refer to mother's mother and the word *appucci* to refer to mother's father. Thus we find that the variations in the backward and scheduled communities show some similarities. This speaks about the social proximity between these groups and the social distance they have with the individuals of the forward communities.

7. Use of Address Terms

7.1   Social Dyadic Relations

A person comes into contact with various types of people in his social life and plays different roles in a given society. These contacts can be of different types, namely, contact among relatives, friends, colleagues, employer-employee, village headman, religious people, service caste people, etc. of a given society.

Certain socio-cultural and socio-economic factors also bring the individuals and families close together. As a result, diverse interpersonal relations of individuals develop among the members of the society. The use of address forms and pronominal terminations depends upon different factors in the interpersonal relationship.

To study the variations in the use of address forms, the possible contact situations in the village level have been identified first. Twelve types of contact situations have been identified and the informant's choice of address terms and pronominal terminations in a given situation has been observed and taken up for analysis. The contact situations identified for this study are listed below:

1. Classmate
2. Classmate but placed in a higher position currently
3. Hotel server
4. Colleague
5. Village headman
6. Owner of the concern
7. Barber
8. Dhoby
9. Sweeper
10. Grocery shop-keeper
11. Temple priest – Local deity
12. Temple priest – Major deity

7.2   Classmate

7.2.1. Forward Communities

In the forward communities most of the informants address their classmates by their names and use the intimacy pronominal termination – *ʈa:* (intimate, non-honorific). However, one exception is also noted. Hindu temple priests (Brahmin-Gurukkal) do not add the suffix – *ʈa:* (intimate and non-honorific pronominal termination) while addressing the classmates. This may

be because of the holy work which they do and, naturally, their speech behavior has to be formal. Therefore, they usually avoid using the intimate forms while interacting with other persons.

7.2.2. Backward Communities

In the backward communities, the mixed trend of using – *ʈa:* (intimate and not honorific pronominal termination) and not using – *ʈa:* is found in various social groups. Most of the old age group persons of all social groups address their classmates by their names and use the verb base only while asking them something. i.e., there will be no honorific markers in their addressing pattern. However, here also one exception is found.

School educated, washermen of low income group address their classmates as *e:nuŋka* 'attention caller + honorific suffix' whereas they receive non-honorific suffix in return. All the middle and young age group informants address their classmates by their names and use the pronominal termination – *ʈa:* i.e., intimacy and non-honorific suffix.

7.2.3. Scheduled Communities

In the scheduled communities, most of the persons address their classmates by their name and use the pronominal termination – *ʈa:* which expresses intimacy and non-honor of the speaker towards the hearer. However, one exception is found here also: School educated, high income old age group informants address their classmates by their names and use the non-honorific pronominal terminations.

7.3   <u>Classmates placed in high position</u>

7.3.1. Forward Communities

In the forward communities, a classmate who is currently placed in a higher position than the speaker is addressed by using any one of the address terms presented below:

> *sa:r*
> *ennaŋka*
> *caste name*
> *ennaʈi*

The address term *sa:r* 'sir' is used by primary educated, lower income, middle age group informants. College educated, lower income, young age group informants address their classmates by using the caste names like *mutalija:re:* etc. Similarly, the college educated, high income group, young girls address their classmates by non-honorific intimacy pronominal form – *ʈi*.

The other social groups address their classmates who are placed in a higher position than the speaker as *ennaŋka* and *e:nuŋka* in which –*ŋka* is honorific suffix denoting the high rank of the addressee.

7.3.2. Backward Communities

In the backward communities primary educated middle income, middle age group informants address their classmates who are placed in a high position by their names and by using the intermediate intimacy marker *ennappa:*. Similarly school educated middle income, young age group informants also address their classmates placed in high positions now in the same manner.

The rest of the informants use – *ʈa:*, a non-honorific, intimate pronominal suffix because of the familiarity between them.

However, the caste of an individual and the role played by him in the society make the speech behavior different. Thus, service caste people such as barbers and washermen address their classmates who are in high position currently as *e:nuŋka* 'Att.Ca. + Hon. Suf.' whereas they receive non-honorific suffix from them.

7.4   Hotel Server

7.4.1. Forward Communities

The forward communities address the hotel servers without any honorific suffix except the women informants who use the honorific suffix to address them.

iŋke ʋa:	'come here'
reɳʈu ka:fi koɳʈu ʋa:	'bring two cups of coffee'
taɳɳi ʋe:ɳum	'(I) need water'

Whereas women informants ask

taɳɳi koɳʈa:ŋka	'bring (Hon.) water'

School educated, lower income, old age group persons address hotel server by the non-honorific marker *ennaʈa:*.

7.4.2. Backward Communities

In the backward communities the hotel servers are addressed by the following ways:

Primary educated middle income, middle age and old age group, school educated, middle income middle age group, collegiate educated high income, middle and old age group informants

address the servers by the attention caller *ennappa*: which carries he power avoidance neutral sense along with it.

The primary educated, low income, old age group informants of backward community ask the server to bring coffee as

ennaŋka	*oru*	*ka:ppi*	*kuʈuŋka*
Att. Ca. + Hon. Suf.	One	coffee	give + Hon.Suf.

'Hello give (me) one (cup of) coffee'

Whereas the server asks

ʋe:Ra	*ennaŋka*		*ʋe:ɳum*
what else	Attn. Ca. + Hon. Suf.		do you want

'Hello, what else do you want?'

School educated, low income, old age group informants of washerman community ask the server as

ka:ppi	*kuʈuŋka*
coffee	give+Hon. Suf.

'Give coffee'

And thereby marking honor to the server whereas the server asks him

ʋe:Ra	*ennappa:*	*ʋe:ɳum*
what else	Att. Ca. + PANM	do you want

'What else do you want?'

Here, the use of the power avoidance neutral marker –*ppa* to the washerman by the server may be attributed to the relative low status of the addressee.

The women informants address the servers using –*ŋka* suffix and also receive – ŋ*ka* from them.

However, one can find significant changes in the address system of the young and middle age groups.

School educated, lower income, young age group, college educated, high income, young age group, college educated, middle income, middle age group and college educated, lower

income, middle age group informants address the servers by using the honorific form *ennaŋka* and also receive the same from them.

7.4.3. Scheduled Communities

In the scheduled communities the following informants address the server with the honorific form – ŋ*ka* whereas the server uses the power avoidance neutral form *ennappa:* to them.

Primary educated, high income, old age group

Primary educated, middle income, old age group

Primary educated, lower income, young age group and

School educated lower income old age group

7.5   **Colleague**

7.5.1. Forward Communities

In the forward communities, three types of address forms are available. They are,

1. Attention caller   +   ŋ*ka*   >   *ennaŋka*
2. Attention caller   +   ʈ*a*:   >   *ennaʈa:*
3. Attention caller   +   neutral forms >   *enna + name*

Attention caller + ŋ*ka* form is used by the informants belonging to primary educated low income old age group, school educated middle income middle age group and college educated high income young age group.

Attention caller + - ʈa: form is used by the informants

belonging to school educated low income young age and college educated middle income middle age group. Neutral form i.e., adding no suffixes in the verb is found in the case of college educated low income young age group informants.

7.5.2. Backward Communities

In the backward communities also three types of situations are available. They are:

1. Adding – ŋ*ka*, the honorific suffix
2. Adding – ʈ*a*:, the non-honorific suffix
3. Neutral (Ø) marking

Attention caller + ŋ*ka* is used by the following social groups:

PE	+	LIG	+	MAG	
SC	+	HIG	+	OAG	
CE	+	HIG	+	MAG	
CE	+	HIG	+	OAG	
CE	+	MIG	+	MAG	
CE	+	LIG	+	MAG	

Attention caller + ʈ*a*: non-honorific, intimacy form is used in the following social groups:

PE	+	MIG	+	MAG	
PE	+	LIG	+	OAG	
SE	+	MIG	+	YAG	
CE	+	HIG	+	YAG	

Neutral form (adding Ø suffix) is found in the following social groups:

PE	+	MIG	+	OAG	
SE	+	LIG	+	MAG	
SE	+	LIG	+	OAG	

7.6 <u>Village Headman</u>

Here 'village headman' refers to the headman of a particular section or caste. He will control all the members of the community. He will function as an arbitrator of the disputes that arise between the members and participate in the ceremonies, etc.

7.6.1. Forward Communities

In the forward communities almost all groups, use the honorific form *ennaŋka* to show respect to him.

7.6.2. Backward Communities

Similarly in backward communities also, the honorific marking – ŋ*ka* 'you-pl' is suffixed to address the headman.

7.6.3. Scheduled Communities

In the scheduled communities also the elderly headmen are addressed with –ŋ*ka* 'you-pl' suffixed address terms.

The above addressing pattern shows that the headman of the community has been given importance in society and respected by all of its members. Hence, the verbal expressions showing respect to them are found in the linguistic behavior of the concerned people.

7.7   Owner of the Concern

Owner of the concern includes the proprietor of the concern, for example, the owner of a rice mill, dharmakartha of the temple, owner of a shop, owner of the land, etc.

7.7.1. Forward and Backward Communities

In the forward and backward communities, the owner of the concern or immediate boss of an institution other than agricultural field are addressed as,

sa:r	-	if the addresser belong to such profession as
'sir'		teacher, contractor, post-master, etc.
ennaŋka/	-	Agricultural laborers and grocery shop employees
e:nuŋka		address their masters as *ennaŋka/e:nuŋka*. If an agricultural laborer belongs to the same caste and if elder than the addressee then pseudo kin terms are used for addressing him.
sa:mi:	-	The service caste people such as barber, dhobi
'lord'		address their agricultural land lords as *sa:mi*:, 'lord'

7.7.2. Scheduled Communities

The schedule community people working in organized sectors address their superiors either simply by the term *sa:r* or by adding *sa:r* to their designation as supranḍ *sa:r* 'superintendent sir'. The agricultural laborers address their land owners as *sa:mi*: 'lord'.

7.8   Barber

7.8.1. Forward Communities

In the forward communities, the barber is addressed by either one of the following items:

By name

ennappa:

ennaŋka

most of the informants address the barber by his name or by using *ennappa*: 'attention caller with power avoidance neutral marker' whereas the barber addresses all the informants as,

sa:mi   'lord'

e:nuŋka/e:ŋka   Att. Ca. + Hon. Suf.

7.8.2. Backward Communities

In the backward communities, the barber is addressed by the informants by his name or the attention calling words such as,

e: +   name   Att. Ca. + name

e:mpa: +   name   Att. Ca. + PANM + name

The agricultural laborers address him by using the power marker - *ʈa*:.

e:nʈa: *ra:ma*:   'Hey Rama'

In reply, the barber addresses the old age Gounder community people as,

ennaŋka sa:mi   'hello lord'

While their wards/sons are addressed by him as

appan ʋa:ŋka   'pseudo kinship form + come + Hon. Suf.'

However, this is found only in higher economic groups. The other caste people are addressed by him as,

e:nuŋka   'hello'
e:nuŋka motala:li   'hello, owner
e:nuŋka ajja: 'hello, sir' etc.,

7.8.3. Scheduled Communities

In the scheduled communities, barber is addressed by his name by the primary and school educated people comprising all the economic and age groups whereas the college educated people address him by *enaŋka* and others use the following forms:

Name   +   *ʋa:ppa*: }
e:mpa: }   PEG & SEG
ennaŋka   CEG

Here, it has to be noted that the address term *sa:mi*: 'lord' is not used by any of the scheduled community informants to address the barber.

7.9   <u>Washerman</u>

7.9.1. Forward Communities

In the forward communities, the washermen are addressed by their names. Neutral forms of address are also used to him. While referring to him non-honorific forms are used as

ʋaṉṭa:n   'came-he (non-honorific)'

whereas the washerman addresses all the forward community people by means of the following forms:

sa:mi   'lord'

e:nuŋka sa:mi   Att. Ca. + Hon. Suf. + lord

e:ŋka   Att. Ca. + Hon. Suf.

7.9.2. Backward Communities

In the backward communities the dhobi is addressed by his name. The members of Gounder community are addressed by the dhobi as:

enaŋka sa:mi: 'hello lord'

e:nuŋka sa:mi: 'hello lord'

sa:mi: 'lord'

However, there are variations in the use of addressing pattern of the dhoby while addressing different persons as shown below:

Gounder old age group, LIG }
                              }   -*sa:mi*
Agricultural laborers   }

Vanniar young age group, MIG   -*e:nuŋka*/
Nadar middle age group, LIG   *ennaŋka*

However, in HIG a different kind of address form is used by the dhoby to address the young and middle age group informants.
e:nuŋka paṇṇaka:r   'Hello, Landlord'

e:nuŋka cinna paṉṉakka:r   'Hello, Young landlord'

e:nuŋka appan   'Hello, Brother'

The above terms are used to address the individuals of Gounder community only.

7.9.3. Scheduled Communities

In the scheduled castes it is found that they have a separate washerman for them and he is purely meant for attending to the needs of the individuals of the scheduled castes only and he does not serve the individuals of other communities. He is addressed by his name.

7.10 <u>Sweeper</u>

7.10.1. Forward Communities

In the forward communities, the sweeper is addressed by any one of the following items.

By name

ennaʈa: Att. Ca. + PM

ennappa: Att. Ca. + PANM

Most of the informants address him by his 'name' and use the non-honorific suffix –ʈa:.

iŋka ʋa:ʈa: kuppa: 'Hey, Kuppa, come here'

ʈe: iŋka ʋa: 'Hey, come here'

Professionals address the sweeper as *ennappa*: and *e:mpa*: which have the power avoidance neutral form. The young informants use both *ennappa*:, a power avoidance neutral form and *ennaʈa*:, a power marked form to address them.

The sweeper addresses the individuals belonging to all groups by the term *sa:mi* and uses the attention calling word *e:nuŋka*. He uses – ŋka honorific marker invariably to all the people.

7.10.2. Backward Communities

In the backward communities, the individuals address the sweeper by his name.

The attention called word used for the sweeper is

e:mpa: +   name

7.10.3. Scheduled Communities

In the scheduled communities, the sweeper is addressed by using either one of the following items:

pseudo kin terms such as *aɳɳa:, ma:ma:, appa*:, etc.

e:ɳʈa:

enna:

by name

7.11 <u>Grocery Shop Owner</u>

7.11.1. Forward Communities

In the forward communities, women address the grocery shop owner as,

kaʈakka:rre: 'owner of the shop + vocative (-e)

(*kaʈai + ka:rar + e*:)

Shop + agentive suffix + vocative suffix

Whereas the shop owner addresses the informants as mentioned below:

Old age group   -   *e:nuŋkamma*:   'hello madam'

Middle age group   -   *ennaŋka*   'hello'

Here the addition of the pseudo kinship term *amma:* marks the middle or old age of the addressee.

7.11.2. Backward Communities

In the backward communities, the grocery shop owner is addressed by any one of the below mentioned forms.

kaʈakkarre:

ennaŋka motala:li

sa:mi

e:mpa:

e:nuŋka

The term *kaṭakka:rre*: 'shop owner' is used by most of Gounder, Mudaliyar and Nadar caste informants of all age, income and educational levels.

The term *e:mpa*: is used by an informant who lived in an urban area till his retirement from service. This may be because of the influence of the urban linguistic behavior where they use the term *e:mpa*: to address the show owners.

e:nuŋka kaṭakka:rre: is used by most of the students and service caste people such as dhoby and barber.

The shop owners address the informants by the following terms:

kin terms	-	Gounders and agricultural laborers
e:mpa: tampi	-	young age groups
enna:	-	Nadar and agricultural coolies
ṭe: + tampi	-	young age and low income groups
sa:r	-	professionals
e:nuŋka	-	middle age students and gounders

The term *kaṭakka:rre* is used by most of the people of backward communities while requesting something from the shop owner on loan.

7.11.3. Scheduled Communities

Among the scheduled communities, the grocery shop owner is addressed by various informants by any one of the below mentioned items:

e:nuŋka

ennaŋka

kaṭakkarre:

ajja:

Most of the individuals address him as *e:nuŋka*. The form *ennaŋka* is used by college educated informants of middle age group.

The address term *kaṭakka:rre*: is used by old age group informants and the form *ayya*: is used by old age middle income individuals.

The Grocery shop owner addresses others by any of the items given below:

By name

e:nʈa: +   name

e:mpa: +   name

sa:r

professional terms and

pseudo kinship terms.

e:mpa: + name is used to address the old age group agricultural laborers.

sa:r and professional terms like *va:ttija:re:,* etc., are used to address the job holders such as teacher, police and back staff.

Pseudo kinship terms such as *tampi, ennappa:* etc., are used to address the young informants.

7.12 Temple Priest – Local Deity

7.12.1. Forward Communities

In the forward communities, the informants address the temple priest of local deity (*pu:ja:ri*) by various terms such as

By name

pu:sa:ri   'priest' (local deity)

ennappa:/e:mpa: AC   +   PANM 'hello'

The priest (local deity) is addressed by the name by primary educated low income middle age group, school educated low income group (young) and school educated low income old age group informants.

ennappa: and *e:mpa:* are used to address the priest (local deity) by the school educated high income group old age informants and middle income group middle age informants.

All the above mentioned groups which address the temple priest of a local deity by name and *ennappa:/ e:mpa:* use Ø suffix in the imperative constructions which is a neutral usage.

e:mpa: iŋka ʋa: 'Hello, come here'

ennappa: pu:se paɳri:ya   'Hello, do you perform puja?'

The priest of the local deity addresses the forward community informants as

sa:mi   'lord/master'

ajjaramma: 'madam-Brahmin'

sa:stirikal   'professional name'

e:nuŋkamma: Att. Ca + Hon. Suf. + madam 'hello, madam'

Most of the men informants are addressed as *sa:mi* except one Gurukkal who is called as *sa:stirikal*.

All of the informants receive – ŋ*ka* honorific suffix from the priest.

7.12.2. Backward Communities

In the backward communities, the priest of a local deity is addressed by the informants by using

Name

e:mpa:/enna   + name

paɳʈa:ram

pu:sa:ri

The term *paɳʈa:ram* is a caste name used to address the priest of local deities. The attention caller *enna*: or *e:mpa*: is also used to address him. Professional address term *pu:sa:ri* is also used to address him.

The service caste people address the priest of a local deity as

sa:mi   'lord'

and use honorific suffix –ŋ*ka*. He also reciprocates the –ŋ*ka* suffix to the service caste people such as barber, dhoby, etc.

The priest addresses the informants as,

e:nuŋka

e:nuŋka appan/amma:

esama:n

The term *e:nuŋka* is used to most of the middle and old age informants. *e:nuŋka appan* is used to unmarried young and middle age group high income Gounder informatns and the word *esama:n* is used to the informants of high status.

7.12.3. Scheduled Communities

In the scheduled communities, the priest (local deity) is addressed as,

pu:sa:ri

e:nuŋka

paɳʈa:ram

ajjan

e:mpa:

School educated middle income middle age group informants, college educated high income young age group informants, middle age, middle income young age group informants and middle age professionals use *e:nuŋka* to address him.

The primary educated agricultural laborers of young and old age groups address him as *pu:sa:ri*.

The priest addresses the various individuals by using,

Name

e:nuŋka

professional terms

ennappa:

The Cakkliyar caste young and middle age group individuals are addressed by their name by the priest.

7.13 Temple Priest – Major Deity

7.13.1. Forward Communities

Temple priests of major deity (gurukkal) belong to forward community. In the forward communities, a temple priest of a major deity is addressed by any one of the below mentioned items:

Kin terms

Name

sa:mi

Most of the forward community informants address the temple priest by means of kin terms such as *ma:ma:, aɳɳa:*, etc.

7.13.2. Backward and Scheduled Communities

In the backward and scheduled communities the temple priest is addressed as

sa:mi

e:nuŋka

Most of the informants address him as *sa:mi. sa:mi* is a term used to refer to God and it is also used to address the priest, who does the puja works to the God.

7.14 Conclusion

In the above passages a description on the use of address terms by various individuals in the social and kin networks has been presented. Twelve contacts situation have been identified in the social network level and in each contact situation the address term used has been identified and analysed.

The choice of an appropriate address terms depends not only on the socio-economic status, literacy level, age group, etc. of the addressee but also on those of the addresser. This becomes evident in the address situation of an illiterate, low income, old age scheduled community individual to a superior. While he uses the word *sa:mi*: 'lord' to address his superior, the same superior is addressed as *sa:r* 'sir' by an educated young aged middle income group backward community informant. Thus, the co-relationship between the addresser and addressee controls over the choice of an appropriate address term.

Another diagnostic parameter which conditions the choice of an address term is the economic status. The sweepers are invariably addressed using non-honorific forms only.

8. Semiotic Study of Address Terms

8.1   Non-Verbal Behavior

Non-verbal behavior refers to communicative human acts other than speech. Thus non-verbal behavior includes facial expressions, eye movements, hand and arm gestures, postures, positions as well as use of space between individuals and objects and various movements of the body, legs and feet. Silence (Thirumalai, 1987) also comes under this non-verbal behavior because dropping of some elements in the speech or missing elements in the speech utterances can also make sense. Non-verbal behavior includes a variety of subtle aspects of speech, variously called paralinguistic or vocal phenomena. It seems that there are several ways in which non-verbal behavior is clearly related to verbal behavior. For instance, the following non-verbal communicative acts get easily translated into word:

The gesture with folded hands: *vaɳakkam*   'a mode of greeting'

A gesture of hand shake   :   'hello'

This chapter is concerned with the description of terms of address and their relation to non-verbal behavior. An attempt has been made to study the address forms of different individuals belonging to various social groups and their relationship to non-verbal behavior which aids/accompanies the verbal behavior.

8.2   Relationship between Verbal and Non-Verbal Communication

The relationship between verbal and non-verbal communication may be characterized in six different ways (Thirumalai, 1987). They are:

1. The relationship between verbal and non-verbal communication is one of the latter playing supplementary role to the former.
2. The relationship between verbal and non-verbal communication is also one of the former playing a supplementary role to the latter.
3. The relationship between verbal and non-verbal communication could be one of correspondence as well.
4. The relationship between a verbal act and a non-verbal act is one of dependence.
5. Verbal and non-verbal acts can be independent of one another and
6. The relationship between verbal and non-verbal act is one of non-relevance.

8.3   Disciplines Engaging in Non-Verbal Research

There are four disciplines engaging in studying the non-verbal behavior (Thirumalai, 1989). They are:

1. Linguistically oriented studies of non-verbal behavior
2. Anthropologically oriented studies of non-verbal behavior
3. Psychologically oriented studies of non-verbal behavior and
4. Semiotically oriented studies of non-verbal behavior

Among the four types of studies, the fourth one, namely, semiotically oriented study of non-verbal behavior is attempted here to analyze the address forms. Because of the close relationship between verbal and non-verbal communications and because each one of them plays a supplementary role to one another, the semiotic point of view of study is necessary in the analysis of the address forms. This type of study helps us to know how the non-verbal behavior complements the verbal communication.

8.4   Earlier Studies on Caste Rank and Status

8.4.1. Caste Rank

Sociologists and linguists have shown interest to study the ranking of castes in Indian society. Beck (1972) has studied the *Kongu* society by analyzing the non-linguistic factors such as willingness to offer and accept a seat on the verandah of a house and giving and receiving of milk products or cooked rice on informal occasions, to judge the rank of caste.

Levinson (1982) has studied the ranking of caste through linguistic media by analyzing the use of *tu/vou* pronouns i.e., giving and receiving the pronouns *ni/ni:ŋka* among the members of different castes to judge the rank of the caste.

Thus, both linguists and ethnographers have shown interest in studying the interactional patterns of the people and have tried to find the ranking differences in the interactional behavior.

8.4.2. Status of a Person and Non-verbal Behavior

Thirumalai (1987) observes that there is a relationship between the status of the people and the non-verbal behaviors such as proximity, eye sight, facial expression, gesture, language and silence.

8.4.3. Terms of Address and Semiotics

Sociolinguistic studies of address forms and terms in various languages have considered the variant address forms as indicators of relative social status of the addresser and addressee. These variant forms have semiological significance due to their contextual and cultural occurrences. This chapter aims to study the inter-relationship between the address forms and the non-verbal behavior and to bring out the significance of the role played by them in the inconsistent status encounters and also to study how linguistic media gets an assistance of non-linguistic media in differentiating the rank or status of persons in the interactions.

8.5   Semiotics of Address Forms

8.5.1. Proxemics

Proxemics is the term used to refer to 'the study of how man uses the space – the space that he maintains between himself and his fellow beings and which he builds around him in his home and office' (Hall, 1977). It is the study of the ways in which the individuals use physical space in their interactions with others and how this use of physical space influences behavior of all concerned. The following variations are observed:

8.5.2. Space in Locality

The housing pattern of the hamlets itself gives a clue about the nature of the proximity. The arrangement of housing patterns clearly exhibits the variation among different caste groups. *Gounders* live in tiled, independent houses whereas the *Harijans* live in thatched houses in a congested atmosphere. However, some variations could be found in the pattern of house among scheduled castes. The *Parayas* and *Cakkiliyas* live mostly in thatched houses whereas the *Pallars* live in tiled houses. Space can be seen clearly between castes in the geographical contiguity of the habitats. Thus near the *Kottaimariamman* temple, *Brahmin* priests live and next to them, the backward community people mostly *Gounders* and people of other castes are settled. The individuals of scheduled caste live in places which are away from the places where the people of forward and backward communities live.

Brahmins live near *Paṭittorai* which is near the *Ko:ṭṭaimariyamman* temple by the side of which a canal passes. The *Gounders* and other non-Brahmins live in the next orbit which is away from it, and the scheduled caste people live still away from the non-Brahmins. Thus ranking of the caste in terms of other castes may be judged based on the geographical distance the caste occupies from the elitist temple in the village.

8.5.3. Touchability

Touchability is closely associated with the phenomenon of pollution. Touchability as a social institution functions to create distance between various social groups. While untouchability as a social act is prohibited by law, creating distance between members of different castes through the phenomenon of untouchability still continues in certain levels. In public places like tea-shop, small road-side hotels, there is no discrimination as far as the serving of tea is concerned. All the people irrespective of caste are served tea in the tea shops. However, there is some difference in the nature of the cup in which tea is served. Tea or coffee is served in stainless steel cups to those who are of high income groups and in glass cups to others.

Another instance of the observance of untouchability is the following: An agricultural laborer of the same community is permitted to enter and go upto the interior room of a landlord's house whereas, the scheduled caste laborers are restricted only upto the verandah where he sits

down on the floor whereas the landlord will be sitting on a raised platform *(tiṇṇai)* or on a cot. Drinks, if offered, have to be taken without sipping the glasses while the non-scheduled caste people may sip the drinks.

8.5.4. Seating Arrangements

Seating indicates rank determined by the willingness to offer and accept a seat on a raised platform (*tiṇṇai)* or on a cot to a member of another caste. As already mentioned, landlord – laborer difference is found in seating arrangement. In the landlord's house, the landlord sits on the *tiṇṇai* and the agricultural laborers irrespective of caste sit before him on the floor. However, same caste old age agricultural laborers sometimes share the verandah or *tiṇṇai* with the landlord.

8.5.5. Space in Conversation

The people belonging to scheduled communities, particularly laborers keep distance with the landlords. They could not stand very close to the landlord. They have to keep some distance while conversing with their masters. This type of behavior is found among the middle and old age group people.

8.5.6. Proximity and Address Forms

The space between the participants in the speech event gets reflected in the speech behavior of the persons involved. Thus, the people of forward and backward communities who live close to the elitist temple are addressed honorifically by the people of scheduled communities. The following are some of the examples:

sa:mi:	-	'lord' highly deferential address term
ni:ŋka	-	'you-pl' second person honorific singular pronoun
avuŋka	-	'he' honorific referential pronoun
-a:ŋka	-	honorific pronominal termination

However, the people of forward and backward communities never address a scheduled community person by using the address term *sa:mi* or *ejama:n*. Similarly they do not use the honorific pronoun *ni:ŋka* to scheduled caste people. The forms such as

Personal names

ni:	-	second person pronoun 'you – sg.'
-a:n	-	non-honorific pronominal termination

are used to address or refer to the scheduled community people.

Similarly, a person who is seated on verandah or *tiŋŋai* can use non-honorific forms to a person who is seated on the floor but will receive honorific forms in turn. Thus, physical space maintained between the persons also controls the use of linguistic forms.

8.5.7. Social Change and Linguistic Change

The younger generation of scheduled community gets lot of facilities due to the developmental activities of the government. Government provides free school education and college education facilities to the students of scheduled communities. Jobs have been reserved for them in the government institutions and thus it helps them to have better education and job opportunities. Hence, the middle and younger generation of scheduled community have utilized this opportunity and are slowly stepping up in the social mobility ladder. The younger generation of the *Gounder* community and *Brahmin* community has accepted this change and give respect to the younger generation of scheduled community.

This is reflected in the linguistic usages as well. They exchange the honorific pronoun –*ŋka* to each other and the honorific attention caller *ennaŋka* is used to draw the attention of one another. They share the seat on verandahs or *tiŋŋai*. Similarly the educated scheduled caste people are able to get tea served in stainless steel cups on par with other higher social groups.

8.5.8. Eye Sight

Eye contact plays an important role in determining the status of persons taking part in the speech act. To mark one person's higher status, the speaker does not see the hearer's eye directly. Thus, a landless laborer while speaking to his superior landlord, avoids seeing the master's eye directly. The agricultural laborer either looks at the earth or any other direction than his master's face. If a laborer converses with another laborer, then both of them can look one another directly.

In the inter-personal level, eye plays an important role in prohibiting or exercising power, etc. Generally, service caste and scheduled caste people particularly those who belong to the *Parayar* and *Cakkiliar* groups are not permitted to see the food which the people of backward and forward communities are eating. At the time of eating the food, if a person of the same caste comes to the landlord's house, he will be invited for eating. However, if scheduled caste people come, they will not be invited.

8.5.9. Face

Face is the most important part of the 'face to face' interaction between two persons. Just like eye contact, face is also used as a parameter. The face may be seen or may not be seen by those who take part in the speech event, i.e., speakers or hearers in accordance with their status level. Facial expression of emotions also is very important. When two equals meet, say,

landlord   -   landlord

educated   -   educated

they smile and enquire about each other and they exchange pleasantries.

When two laborers meet each other, their face becomes bright often while their conversation is in progress. However, when a landlord and an agricultural laborer converse, that is, during unequal encounter, smiling is very minimum and exchange of pleasantries is not possible. It is observed that smiling does not take place in front of or in the vicinity of a superior.

8.6   Language and Silence

8.6.1. Culture and Address Forms

The relationship between the mother-in-law and son-in-law is an avoidance based relationship in Tamil culture. While most of the kinship terms are used to address as well as to refer to the concerned kins, a notable situation is found in the case of mothers-in-law who use no address term to address their sons-in-law. Though address and reference terms are available to address by their sons-in-law (i.e., *ma:mi:ja:r, atte, akka*:), these are all not used to address her. Similarly, the terms such as *marumakan, ma:ple* are available as address terms to address sons-in-law but they are not used by mothers-in law.

Similarly uttering the names of husbands and the elder sons of paternal or maternal affinal relatives is a taboo for women in Tamil culture. Thus, culture prohibits the use of certain address forms.

8.6.2. Prolonged Pause and Status

A prolonged pause between the words also makes a sense that the speaker gives respect to the hearer. When a subordinate makes a request to his superior a prolonged pause is found between words.

koɲcam   *cuɳɳa:mpu*

persu.   lime

iruṉṯa: *kuʈuŋka*

if available give + Hon. Suf.

'If lime is available, please give (me)'

The pause in between words marks the respect to the addressee.

8.6.3. Incomplete Sentences and Status

In some contexts, an incomplete sentence produced by the speaker also marks respect to the addressee.

sa:r   nu:Ru   ru:pa:jkku…………

sir   hundred   rupees+Dat.

The above request is made to the superior along with the non-verbal behavior that a hundred rupees currency note on the speaker's hand or inserting the finger into the pocket to take the currency note out, which implies that he needs change. Thus kinesic clue accompanying with some linguistic structure or feature make a sense.

8.7   <u>Address Conflicting Situations</u>

When a person is addressed without honorific forms, then the addressee will retort the addresser by means of not responding to the addresser's call. Thus a village sweeper did not respond to the call of an old age speaker or *Gounder* community who used the following sentence:

to:ʈʈi   iŋka   va:ʈa:

menial   'here   come   +Non. Hon. PT

'Oh menial, come here'

The forty year old sweeper did not respond to this call and reported to the neighbor in the following way.

avan   to:ʈʈinna: ku:ppiʈʈa:n

he+Non.Hon.   menial+quotative+Inter.   Called + Non.Hon. + PT

ku:ppiʈʈuk kiʈʈe: irukkaʈʈum

call   Pre.Con. + Emph.   Let (he) be

'Did he call me as a menial (then), let him call continuously (I shall not respond to him)'

Thus, use of non-honorific address term leads to break up in the personal relationship though they are in unequal statuses.

8.8   <u>Gestures</u>

Gestures are formed by movements of the parts of the body such as facial muscles, head, limbs or body. These movements may express a thought, feeling or mood. These acts may accompany oral speech and thus they may be used to emphasize the ideas.

8.8.1 Gestures as Interpersonal Ranking

While speaking with the superiors, the subordinates are expected to be quiet without making any movements of the body in front of them. Thus, between an agricultural laborer and a landlord, the interaction has been marked by very limited body movements on the part of agricultural laborer whereas landlord freely uses the body movements such as directing the hands towards something or somebody, etc.

However, among equals the gestures are used freely. While talking with the superiors, the subordinates accept the views of superior by moving their head upwards and downwards and verbalizing *a:ma:ŋka* 'yes'. Thus a verbal act is associated with non-verbal act to emphasize the theme.

8.8.2. Non-Verbalizing Phenomena

When certain individuals have been asked to make a request to their superiors not to park the bicycles in front of their houses, the subordinates replied that instead of making request to the superior, they themselves would take the cycles away and park them aside. This shows that in some levels, linguistic strategies are of little use in speech acts. Thus, in front of the superior, a subordinate hesitates to make a request. Here non-verbalization plays a role as a status denoting device. Moreover, it indicates that subordinates avoid giving instructions to their superiors.

8.9 Conclusion

The above analysis brings out the close relationship between the social structure and the physical layout of a village. The settlement pattern closely correlates with the social structure. Apart from this, the physical posture of an individual, the space between the speaker and hearer, observance of silence, etc., have linguistic significance in a communication situation. The misuse or an improper use of an address form results in conflict and break up of relationship. From this study, it has become possible for us to show that the social change taking place in the village situation, especially the economic and educational development of the backward and scheduled communities, is reflected in the way in which they are addressed by others.

9. Modes of Request and Exercising Authority

9.1   <u>General</u>

There are different kinds of social positions in the social structure of a society. Because of the existence of different social positions, one can find unequal social positions such as employer-employee, boss – subordinate, old person – young person, rich – poor, high caste – service caste, etc., in the society. When the persons who are in unequal positions interact with each other, the language use between them certainly varies. The variation may be at least in the ways of constructing the sentence pattern or using some linguistic structures, say, attention callers or address terms. In this chapter an attempt has been made to study the different linguistic strategies employed by persons belonging to different social groups while making a request.

e.g.,

1. To get a newspaper form selected/specified persons and

2. Not to park the bicycle/not to dump garbage in front of their houses

Thereby an attempt has been made to study the different syntactic patterns employed by individuals belonging to different social groups.

Requesting a newspaper or something else from others will make at least a minimum disturbance to the requestee or hearer and hence the requester tends to use the politeness strategies while making a request, depending upon the relationship between the requester and requestee. The requestee may belong to the same rank of requester or different rank. Differences in ranks tend a person making a request to use different linguistic structures.

Requesting not to park the bicycle in front of the requester's house is certainly different from asking a person to lend his newspaper for a while. In the former case, the requester feels that by the encroachment action of that person he is disturbed and annoyed and hence the requester requests the intruding individual not to park the bicycle in front of his house and asks him to remove it to some other place. In this particular action, the requestee my feel unhappy because his action of parking the bicycle, has been challenged by the other person. Therefore, the requester tends to use the linguistic structures/features which may not hurt the feelings of the requestee and keep the relation normal. However, the social position of the requestee plays a vital role over the choice of a suitable request pattern in in this context.

This chapter sociolinguistically describes thoroughly the above said two kinds of requesting patterns.

9.1.1. Politeness: Some Definitions

The Random House Dictionary of the English Language describes 'polite' as,

1. Having or showing culture or good taste; polished; cultured; refined;
   polite society, **polite** letters
2. Having or showing good manners especially courteous, considerate, tactful, etc.

According to Brown and Gilman (1989:161) "politeness means putting things in such a way to take account of the feelings of the hearer'.

Fraser (1975:13) defines politeness as a "property associated with an utterance in which according to the hearer, the speaker has neither exceeded any rights nor failed to fulfill any obligations".

Fraser stresses that politeness is a property of an act. Whatever the intension of the speaker may have been, it is the hearer who assigns politeness to any particular utterance within the situation in which it was heard. This means that politeness is a property of utterances and not of sentences, so that assigning politeness to any particular structure cannot be done out of the context. In other words, politeness cannot be directly associated with linguistic structures without the consideration of context. Politeness according to Fraser, is doing what is socially acceptable and expected.

9.1.2. Models Available for Politeness Study

9.1.2.1. Brown and Levinson Model

Brown and Levinson (1978 & 1987) have proposed that power (P), Distance (D) and the Ranked extremity (R) of a face threatening act are universal determinants of politeness levels in dyadic discourse. In the Brown and Levinson's theory, the feelings of the hearer are of two kinds.

1. Those concerned with positive face
2. Those concerned with negative face

Politeness theory holds that the selection of strategies is universally determined by three variables. Two variables concern with the relationship between speaker and hearer: Vertical social distance or power and horizontal social distance or solidarity. These are the two dimensions that Roger Brown and Albert Gilman take into account to describe the semantics of European pronouns of address as like the French *tu/vou* (T/V) distinction. The third one is rank order of requiring services or goods. R is a culturally and situationally defined ranking of impositions by the degree to which they are considered to interfere with an agent in an act of self-determination or of approval (his negative face – and positive face wants).

9.1.2.2. Leech Model

Leech (1983) approaches politeness through a theory of general pragmatics. In his approach, he discusses the rhetoric's under two topics, viz.,

1. Interpersonal rhetoric and
2. Textual rhetoric

In interpersonal rhetoric, he discusses three principles. They are:

1. Co-operative principle
2. Politeness principle and
3. Irony principle

The politeness principle has six maxims such as (1) Tact, (2) Generosity, (3) Approbation, (4) Modesty, (5) Agreement and (6) Sympathy (1983: 131-139).

9.1.2.3. Hill, Ide, Ikuta and Kawasaki Model

Brown and Levinson, and Leech are concerned with the formulation of theories from the viewpoints of strategies or maxims which speakers utilize in order to be linguistically polite. They classify types of strategies and maxims to formulate system of functions. Hill et al (1986) are more concerned with the quantification of politeness resulting from specific application of such strategies/maxims. Hill et al have attempted to examine the pattern of the interactions and quantitatively compared them.

They studied the requesting pattern in two different languages namely Japanese and American English and found that q and $\underline{P}$ factors vary in each language. q is discernment – a recognition of certain fundamental characteristics of addressee and situation and $\underline{p}$ is volition – the desired degree of politeness i.e., positive politeness and a good part of negative politeness.

Their findings show that for Japanese,

q is obligatory and primary

p is optional and secondary

i.e., for Japanese, the factors of addressee status and general situation relative to speaker's own have been addressed and specific linguistic forms at a conventional level of politeness are also assessed.

For American English, by contrast, the factors of addressee status and typical situation define a very broad range of polite usage. Discernment (q) functions chiefly to prevent gross breaches of politeness and not as in Japanese – to identify specific correct choices. Thus for American English,

q is obligatory but secondary

The American speaker may choose a specific utterance according to the guide (Consciously or otherwise) whereas the Japanese speaker does not have the same choice to select the utterance. Thus for American English,

p is obligatory and primary.

9.1.2.4. Application of Brown and Levinson Model

Three studies have come out so far with the application of Brown and Levinson's model. They are:

1. The language of requesting in Israeli society (Blum-Kulka, Brenda Danet and Rimona Gherson : 1985).
2. Power and Politeness in conversation encoding of face threatening acts at church business meetings (Pearson: 1988)
3. Politeness theory and Shakespeare's four major tragedies (Roger Brown and Albert Gilman: 1989).

9.1.2.5. Study of the Language of Israeli Society

The study revealed that Modern Hebrew shares with other languages a rich repertoire of requesting strategies which is fully exploited in actual use. The study showed that the most important predictors of variance are the types of request goal, the relative power of the speaker and the age of the hearer, while neither sex nor relative social distance have a strong predictive value.

From an <u>etic</u> point of view the findings of the above study may be interpreted as reflecting the distinct culture-specific interactional style of the Israeli society. The low value attached to social distance manifested in language by a relatively high level of directness suggests that the interactional style of the society is basically solidarity-politeness oriented. From an <u>emic</u> point of view, the findings indicate that in Israeli society, as elsewhere, variation in requesting behavior is to a large extent determined by social factors inherent in the situation. Thus, the study is an example of the inter-dependence of language and social situations.

9.2   The Present Research

Brown and Levinson model provides to assess the weight of the face threat depending upon the three social parameters. They are:

1. Relative social distance between speaker and hearer
2. Relative power of speaker vis-à-vis the hearer and
3. The degree of imposition involved in performing the act

Brown and Levinson admit that relative power, relative distance and degree of imposition need not be the factors that affect assessment of face, yet they claim that "they subsume all others (status, authority, occupation, ethnic identity, friendship, situational factors, etc.) that have a principled effect on such assessments" (Brown and Levinson, 1987:80). Taking the point of view that within the same society or cultural group some variables can cause variations in the language use, this research has aimed to study the following:

1. The general pattern of request available in Tamil language
2. Characteristic features of request in relation to different social groups
3. Pattern of request with reference to different social groups and
4. Analysis of the linguistic elements/structures involved in politeness or authoritative mechanisms, and counting their occurrences for quantification to findout their frequency of occurrence.

9.2.1. Data for the Study

The informants selected for this study have been asked to make a request for a given situation. Six categories of subjects have been selected and asked to make the request. The selected categories of subjects are:

1. Unacquainted person
2. Neighborhood
3. Friend
4. Colleague
5. Superior and
6. Subordinate

One will have no idea about the background of the stranger. Age and mode of dressing of the person gives some clue about the stranger. Community leader is usually respected by his community people and he is the person having some control over the conduct of the local people's ceremonies and rituals. Quite often he serves as an opinion leader. Neighborhood is the place where one established a lot of contact in the day-to-day activities. Outside the house, the informant spends most of the time with his friends. Hence, these categories are selected. In office/working place, the informant has to spend his time with his colleagues. So this category also is selected. Though he has limited contact with his superior, (the language use between them also may be limited) this category is selected because the rank or social position difference will lead to usage of different linguistic patterns. Subordinates were taken into consideration because they will supply data on how the informants exercise power through language while talking with their subordinates.

Community leader is selected from each community on the basis of informant's caste and the question 'how he will request on his community leader to do something?' was asked. Neighborhood is the actual neighborhood of the informant. Colleague is considered as the co-

worker to the informant. For instance, to an agricultural laborer, another agricultural laborer is a colleague; to a landlord, another landlord is a colleague; to a clerk, another clerk is a colleague; to a *gurukkal*, another *gurukkal* is a colleague. Similarly, superior means boss/employer. Thus to an agricultural laborer, the landlord is a superior; to the *gurukkal*, the *dharmakartta* is a superior; to the service caste people, the landlord is a superior; to the bank cashier,, the branch manager is a superior; to the postman, the postmaster is a superior; the teacher, the headmaster is a superior; to the student, the headmaster/principal is a superior and so on.

Subordinates are those who assist in the work. For instance, a landlord may have *paɳɳaija:l* 'farm laborer' who works in the farm of the landlord throughout the year. For landlord, *paɳɳaija:l* is a subordinate. Similarly for agricultural laborers, service caste people such as *to:ʈʈi* 'menial servant' or sweeper are subordinates. In offices peons are subordinates.

9.3   General Pattern of Request

The pattern of request varies from person to person. However, based on the role played or the position of the person in the society, linguistic elements get changed in the pattern of request. The relationship between the speaker and hearer who take part in the speech event destines the linguistic structure.

 When a person requests something from other, he actually interferes in other person's activities i.e., he is disturbing the freedom of action of that individual. Hence the requester uses a polite language which ultimately pacifies the hearer. However, if the requester is a known person to the requestee, then their statuses play a vital role over the choice of linguistic items in making the request. That is, the linguistic structures get changed based on their role relationship.

9.3.1. The Structure of Requesting Sentences

An analysis of the following sentence enables us to understand the mechanisms involved in making the request.

sa:r	*pe:ppar*	*paʈiccïʈʈi:ŋkanna:*	
sir	paper	read+pas.Ten. + if.	
koɲcam	*kuʈuŋka*	*pa:ttuʈʈut*	*tarre:n*
Persu.	Give+Hon.Suf.	see + Aux. Com.	Give+Pre.Ten. I PT

'Sir, if (you) have read the paper, please give, (I) will return after going through it'.

In the above mentioned sentence, two mechanisms are involved in making this request. They are:

1. Drawing the attention of the hearer

2. Applying politeness markers in the request

Thus, in the above cited request the following aspects are incorporated. They are:

1. The address term *sa:r* which helps to draw attention as well as showing respect to the person who is addressed.

2. *paʈicciʈʈi:ŋkanna*: the if clause sentence with honorific suffix gives options to the hearer to hand over the newspaper if he has completed his action of reading it otherwise he can keep it with him. The hearer has to decide whether he has completed the action of reading or not. If completed, he will be free from impositions and hence the request for lending the paper is not a disturbance to him.

3. *koɲcam kuʈuŋka* "please give". The imposition is minimized by means of using the word *koɲcam* literally 'a little bit' acting as a persuasive adverb here with having –ŋka honorific suffix with the main verb *kuʈu* 'give'.

4. *pa:ttuʈʈut tarre:n* 'having seen (will) give'

The requester mentions that after going through the paper he will return it to the requestee. Thus he assures that he will return the paper after his work is over.

Thus two mechanisms incorporating four features are involved in the request for a newspaper from one person. However, not all the four features need be present in a sentence. Depending upon the relationship between the requester and requestee, choice will be made from the four features. Among the four features described above, the first feature and third one are obligatory in each request, while the second and fourth are optional. That is, the address term or attention caller and the action of requesting i.e., verb used in the sentence are obligatory. They may occur with or without the honorific suffix. The second and fourth are polite features which give option to the requester to decide for the request. Hence these two are called politeness markers.

Depending upon the role played by a person in the society and the role relationship between the speaker – hearer, the choice of attention callers/address terms and politeness markers is made.

9.3.1.1. Attention Callers

A term which draws the attention of a hearer is called attention caller. The term may be an address term or attention caller or attention caller + address terms.

1. Honorific attention callers
   e:nuŋka   *ennaŋka*   *e:ŋka*

2. Intermediate intimacy/power avoidance neutral attention callers
   ennappa:, e:ma:, appa:, ennamma:,   e:mma:,   amma:

3. Intimacy/power attention callers

   ennaɖa:, e:ɳɖa:, ɖe(j), aʈa, aʈe(j), e:(j),
   e:le(j), ennaɖị:, e:nɖị:, aɖije:

4. Kinship/pseudo kinship terms

   ajja:, *appa:, amma:,* aɳɳa:, aɳɳe:, *a:ja:*

5. Address terms

   sa:r, ʈi:ccar, motala:li, sa:mi:, me:ɖam, hello

6. Attention caller plus address terms

   ennaŋkappa:, e:nuŋkamma:, ennaŋkanna:

9.3.1.2. Politeness Markers

While making a request to other persons, the requester intrudes in the activities of the other person and hence he may use the linguistic markers to nullify the intrusion. These markers are called politeness markers. The following politeness markers have been obtained from the data:

1. –ŋ*ka* – honorific suffix may be added to the verb
2. *koɲcam*, a persuasive adverb, literally meaning a little bit helps to minimize the imposition.
3. Assurance by the hearer to return the object which he borrows
4. Using address terms to show reference or respect
5. Using if clause in the construction of the sentence
6. Making indirect request so as to give options to the requestee
7. Using hints to justify the request
8. Making incomplete sentences or pause in between words to show respect
9. Mentioning the time adverbial to minimize the imposition and
10. Repeating the sentences to show politeness

9.4 Pattern of Request with Reference to Different Social Groups

Classification of Requests

The politeness markers occur in the requesting sentences according to the relationship between the requester and requestee and the relative status difference between them. The imposition i.e., requesting the object also is an important factor that makes the presence of politeness markers obligatory in a sentence. Based on the presence of number of politeness

markers in a single request and on the nature of such politeness markers ten types of requests could be identified. They are:

1. Neutral request
2. Single marked request
3. Double marked request
4. Treble marked request
5. Tetra marked request
6. Penta marked request
7. Power request
8. Intimacy request
9. Power avoidance neutral request and
10. Intermediate intimacy request

9.4.1. Neutral Request

Neutral request is a request that does not comprise any politeness markers in the request. In neutral request, the speaker or requester either does not want to give respect or hesitates to give respect to the requestee. The following are the examples:

| *cuɳɳa:mpu* | *kuʈu* | 'Give lime' |
| lime | give | |

| *pe:ppar* | *ta*: | 'Give the newspaper' |
| paper | give | |

9.4.2. Single Marked Request

Single marked request is a request which consists of a single politeness marker in the request. Any one of the politeness markers may occur in the request. The following are some of the examples for single marked requests:

1. *e:n*   *ka:liamma:*   *ti:ppeʈʈi*   *tarri:ja*
   Att.Ca.   Per. Na.   match box   give + Ind. Req.
   'Oh Kaliamma; will (you) give match box?'

2. ɖ*e:*   *cuɳɳa:mbu*   *koɲcam*   *kuʈra*:
   Att.Ca.+PM   lime   Persu.   give + PM
   'Hey, give (me) little bit lime'

In the above said examples either one of the politeness markers such as indirect request or using persuasive adverb is used.

9.4.3. Double Marked Requests

Double marked request is a request which consists of two politeness markers in the request. Any of the two politeness markers may occur in the request. The examples for this type are given below:

1. *e:ŋka*   *koɲcam* *cuɳɳa:mpu* *kuʈuŋka*
   Attn. Ca.+Hon. Suf. Persu.   Lime   give+Hon.Suf.
   'Hello, please give lime'

2. *e:nuŋka*   *anta* *pe:ppara* *paʈuccuʈʈut*
   Att. Ca.+Hon. Suf. that paper +Acc read + Fut. Ten. +Aux.comp.
   tarre:nuŋka
   give+hon.Suf.
   'Hello, (I) will return that paper after reading

In the above said examples, two types of politeness markers viz., -ŋka honorific suffix and persuasive adverb *koɲcam* have been used in the requests.

9.4.4. Treble Marked Requests

Treble marked request is the one which consists of three politeness markers in a single request. Three types of politeness markers occur in this type of request. The examples are given below:

1. *e:nuŋka*   *neruppeʈʈi* *irunta:*
   Att.Ca.+Hon.Suf. match box if available
   tarri:ŋkala:
   give+Pre.Con. Hon.Suf. + Ind. Req.
   'Hello, will you give match box, if you have?'

2. *ekskju:s* *mi:* *sa:r,* *pe:ppar* *kuʈʈuŋka*
   excuse me sir, paper give+Hon.Suf.
   'Excuse me sir, please give the newspaper'

In the first example, the politeness markers such as –ŋka honorific suffix, 'if clause' and indirect request have occurred in a single sentence and hence they are called treble marked requests.

9.4.5. Tetra Marked Requests

Tetra marked request is the one which consists of four politeness markers in a single sentence. The following sentence comprises of four politeness markers

ti:ppeṭṭi		*inṯa*	*malaijila*	*oraya*	*ma:ṭṭe:ŋkutu*
match box		this	rain+Loc.	Friction	did not take place
oŋka		*ti:ppeṭṭi*	*koɲcam*	*kuṭuŋka*	
your+Hon.Suf.		match box	Persu.	Give+Hon.Suf.	
orasikkiṭṭu		*tarre:n*			
friction+Aux.Comp.		give+Pre.Ten.I PT			

'Match box is not lighting due to this rain. Please give your match box, (I) return after lighting'

Thus, in the above sentence four politeness markers namely, (1) hinting (2) using *–ŋka* honorific suffix (3) using persuasive adverb and (4) assurance to return the object are present, and hence it is called a tetra marked request.

9.4.6. Penta Marked Request

Penta marked request is a request which consists of five politeness markers in a single request sentence. Five types of politeness markers occur in the request. The example is given below:

ekskju:s	*mi:*	*me:ḍam*	*pe:ppar*	*kuṭuŋka*
excuse	me	madam	paper	give+Hon.Suf.
reŋṭu nimisam		*pa:ttuṭṭut*		*tarre:n*
two minutes		see + Aux.Comp.		give + Pre. Ten. I PT

'Excuse me madam, give the newspaper, (I shall) return (it) after going through (it) for two minutes'.

In the above sentence five politeness markers namely, (1) asking excuse for intrusion, (2) using address term, (3) using *–ŋka* honorific suffix, (4) mentioning the minimum imposition by means of using the time adverbial, namely two minutes, and (5) assurance to return the object that was borrowed are present and hence it is called penta marked request.

9.4.7. Power Request

Power request is a request which consists of non-honorific markers in a single request sentences. Power request is made to subordinates or to power inferiors only. The example is given below:

pe:ppar	*kuṭRa:*	'Give the newspaper'
newspaper	give + PM	

In the above sentence, a non-honorific suffix –*ra*: is used to a person which shows his power on subordinate and hence it is called power request.

9.4.8. Intimacy Request

Intimacy request is a request which consists of non-honorific markers in a single request sentence. Intimacy request is made to friends only. The example is given below:

ɖ*e:*   *an̲ta   pe:ppara   koʈRa:*
Attn. Ca. + IM   that paper + Acc.   Give + IM
'Hey, give that newspaper'

In the above sentence, a non-honorific suffix –*ra*: is used to a person and this shows his intimacy on a requestee, and hence it is called an intimacy request.

9.4.9. Power Avoidance Neutral Request

Power avoidance neutral request is the one which consists of power avoidance neutral markers in a single request sentence. Power avoidance neutral request is made to subordinates or to power inferiors only. The example is give below:

e:mpa: *an̲ta pe:ppara   kuʈappa:*
Att. Ca. + PANM   that paper + Acc.   Give + PANM
'Hey, give that newspaper'

In the above sentence, power avoidance neutral marker –*ppa:* has been added in the attention caller and in the pronominal termination suffix which shows his power avoidance, and hence it is called power avoidance neutral request.

9.4.10. Intermediate Intimacy Request

Intermediate intimacy request is a request which consists of intermediate intimacy markers in a single request sentence. Intermediate intimacy request is made to friends only. The example is given below:

e:mpa: *majilu,   buk   e:tavatu irun̲ta: kuʈappa:*
Att.Ca.+IIM   Per.Na.   book   any if available   give+IIMM
'Hey, Mayil, if you have any book please give'

In the above sentence, the intermediate intimacy marker –*ppa:* has been added in the attention caller and in the pronominal termination suffix which shows intermediate intimacy attitude of the requester, and hence it is called intermediate intimacy request.

9.4.11. Use of Request Patterns

In this section, an analysis of the use of different patterns of request by the three social groups is attempted. The use of request patterns with reference to the individuals in the social network namely, (1) strangers (2) neighbors (3) friends (4) colleagues (5) superiors and (6) subordinates are given in the form of a chart. The percentage wise occurrences of different patterns of request have been calculated and they are presented below. They are presented in the form of bar diagrams also.

FORWARD COMMUNITY: REQUEST PATTERNS

Forms	Stranger	Neighbor	Friend	Colleague	Superior	Subordinate
Neutral	-	-	-	2.3	-	-
Single	-	2.3	6.8	-	2.3	6.8
Double	4.5	6.8	2.3	2.3	-	-
Treble	6.8	2.3	-	6.8	2.3	4.5
Tetra	4.5	6.8	-	2.3	6.8	-
Penta	2.3	-	-	-	4.5	-
Power	-	-	-	-	-	2.3
Intimacy	-	-	6.8	-	-	-
PANM	-	-	-	2.3	-	-
IIM	-	-	2.3	-	-	-

Forward Community
Request Patterns
(in percentage)
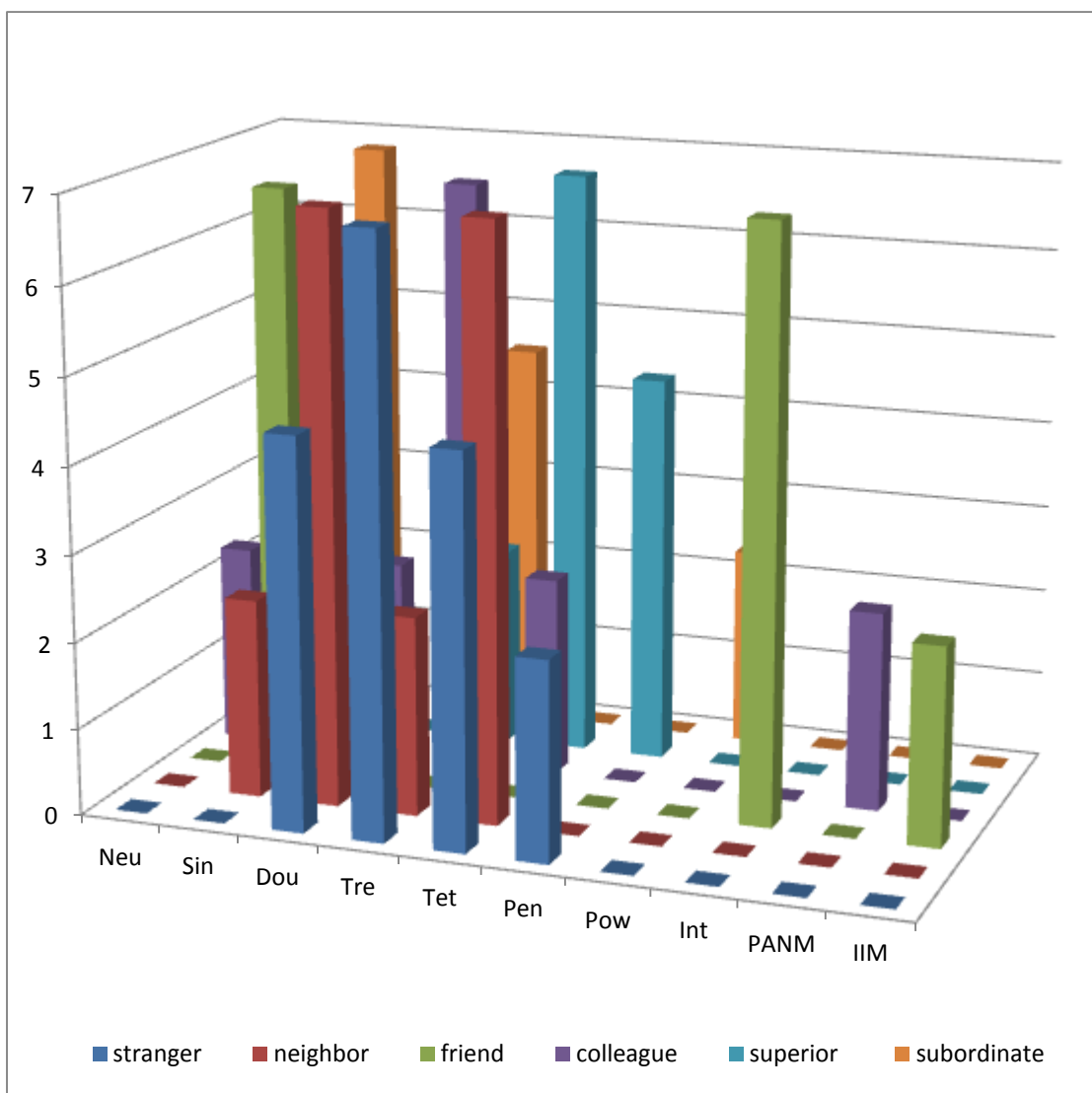
BACKWARD COMMUNITY: REQUEST PATTERNS

Forms	Stranger	Neighbor	Friend	Colleague	Superior	Subordinate
Neutral	-	2.9	-	-	-	-
Single	1.5	4.3	5.8	2.9	-	2.9
Double	4.3	2.9	4.3	7.2	1.5	2.9
Treble	5.8	4.3	-	2.9	2.9	-
Tetra	8.7	2.9	-	1.5	7.2	1.5
Penta	-	2.9	-	-	2.9	-
Power	-	-	-	-	-	5.8
Intimacy	-	-	4.3	-	-	-
PANM	-	1.5	-	-	-	-
IIM	-	-	1.5	-	-	-

Backward Community
Request Patterns
(in percentage)

SCHEDULED COMMUNITY: REQUEST PATTERNS

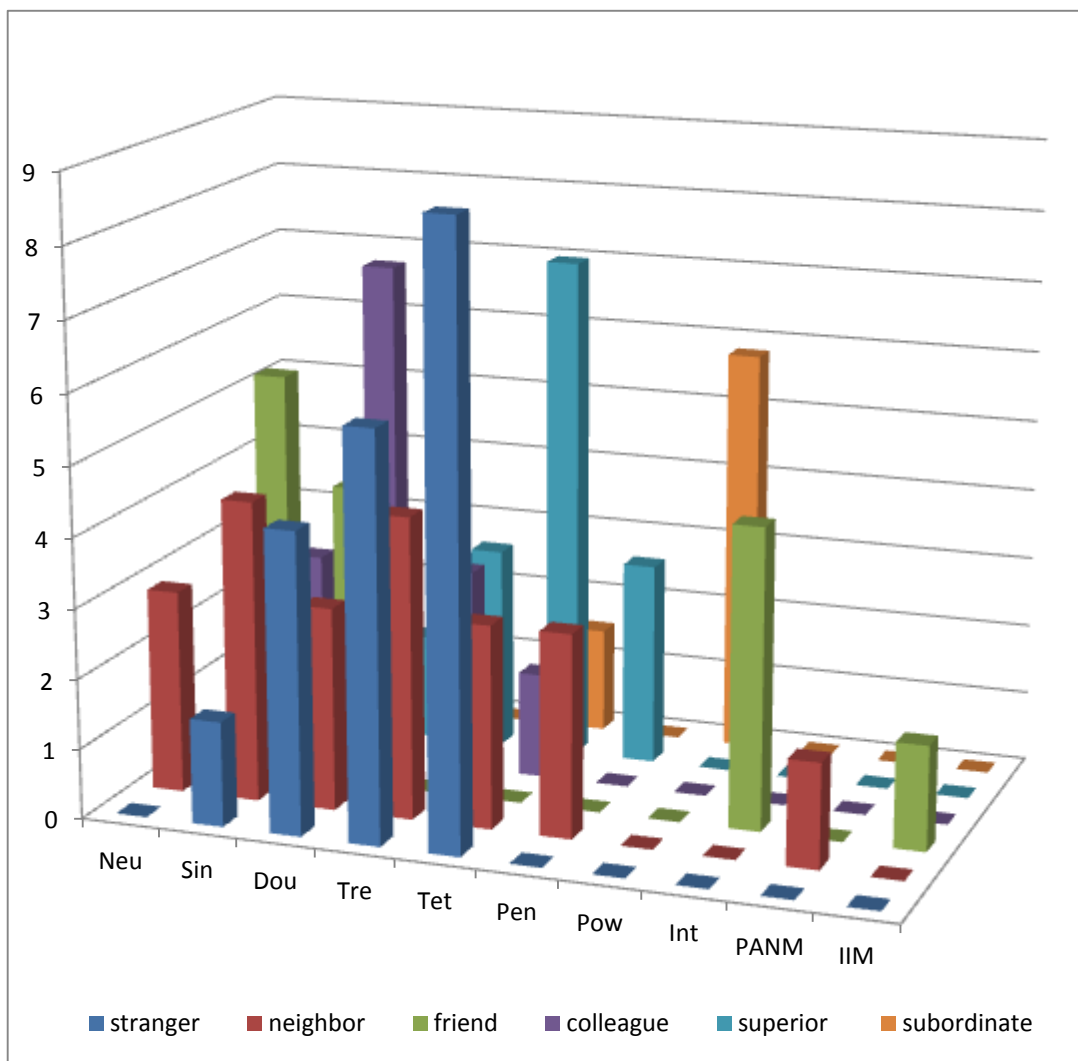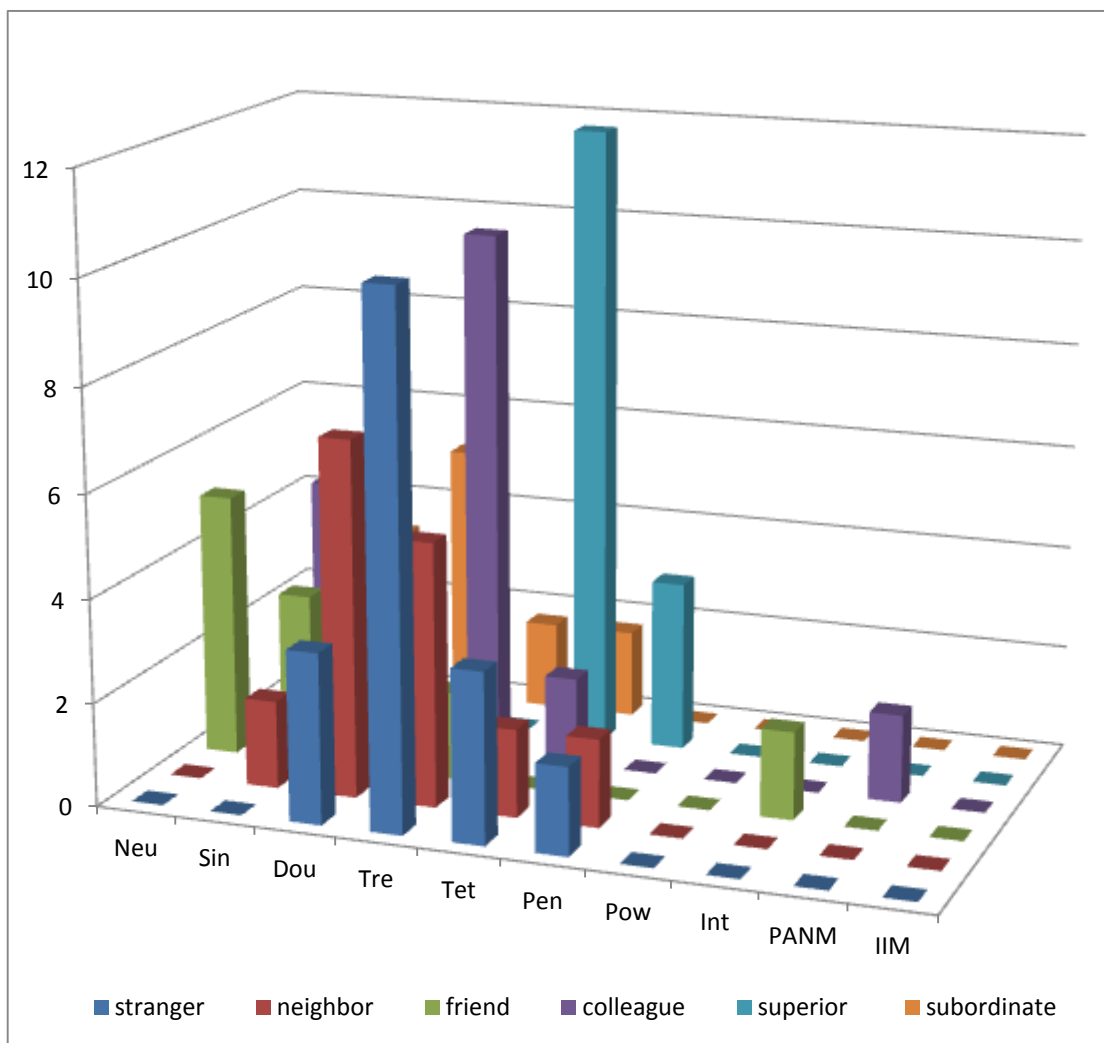| Forms	Stranger	Neighbor	Friend	Colleague	Superior	Subordinate
Neutral	-	-	5.1	-	-	-
Single	-	1.7	3.3	5.1	-	3.3
Double	3.3	6.9	5.1	1.7	-	5.1
Treble	10.2	5.1	1.7	10.2	-	1.7
Tetra	3.3	1.7	-	1.7	12.0	1.7
Penta	1.7	1.7	-	-	3.3	-
Power	-	-	-	-	-	-
Intimacy	-	-	1.7	-	-	-
PANM	-	-	-	1.7	-	-
IIM	-	-	-	-	-	-

Scheduled Community
Request Patterns
(in percentage)

An analysis of the percentage wise occurrences of patterns of request gives us certain interesting conclusions. The clarification of data on the basis of the number of occurrences of politeness markers and also on the basis of the nature of the request type shows that in all the social groups the use of penta marked request pattern is comparatively less whereas the use of tetra marked request pattern in prevalent. This shows that only in certain extraordinary situations the highly deferential penta marked request patterns are used. Treble and tetra marked constructions are found in all the three communities with minor differences. The highly deferential penta marked constructions are used mostly while making a request to the superiors. The absence of single, double, treble marked request patterns and the high percentage of occurrences of tetra and penta marked constructions in the scheduled community closely corresponds and correlates with their low social status. It means that the individuals of the scheduled community interact less with other individuals in their social network.

Single and double marked request constructions are prevalent among friends, colleagues and neighbors. The higher percentage of occurrences of single, double and treble marked constructions in three social groups clearly indicate the close relationship that these groups have with their friends, neighbors and colleagues.

A stranger has been defined as a person having the look of middle age with middle income and of unknown caste. That strangers of above description are given due respect by all the three social groups becomes clear by the high scoring in the treble, tetra and penta marked request constructions. This explains the polite nature of the rural people of the *Kongu* region.

Another important conclusion is that treble, tetra, and penta marked request constructions, have less frequency in the context of interaction with subordinates among the forward and backward communities, but it has a higher frequency in the case of individuals belonging to the scheduled community.

As far as the use of power language is concerned, the forward and backward community informants have higher frequencies in the use of power language while scheduled community informants have less frequency in such use. Moreover, the use of power language is attested only while the informants are in interaction with their subordinates.

The use of 'power avoidance neutral marker' and 'intermediate intimacy marker' in requests is not at all found among the scheduled caste informants while they are found among the remaining two communities in the context of interaction with neighbors, friends and colleagues.

From the above analysis, it becomes clear that strangers and superiors are ranked as equals on the one hand while neighbors, friends and colleagues are ranked as equals on the other hand. Use of intimacy markers in requests is attested only among friends.

9.5   Characteristic Features of Request in Relation to Different Kinds of Persons

9.5.1. Distance and Persons

The informants have been asked to make a request to the following categories of persons who hail from different walks of life. Each one will have different kinds of relationship with the informant. For this study the informants were asked to construct request sentences to the following personalities belonging to six categories:

1. Unacquainted people
2. Neighborhood
3. Friend
4. Colleague
5. Superior and
6. Subordinate

Each social relationship is different from the other in the informant's social network level. For instance, the relationship between the informant and an unacquainted person is distant whereas the relationship between the informant and his friend is close or intimate. Similarly the relationship between the superior and the informant is a distant one and with the colleagues the relationship is somewhat close. The relationship between the informant and subordinate is quite distant. However, the distant existing between, the informant and superior, the informant and subordinate are different from each other. In the former, the distance is kept and maintained by the superior, whereas in the latter the informant keeps and maintains the distance from the subordinates.

9.5.1.1. Request made to a Stranger

A stranger is one whose social position and other backgrounds are not known. Hence the requester will tend to use politeness markers depending upon the age and the mode of dressing of the requestee. The informants were asked to make a request to a person who is in his late forties (above 40 years of age) and who wears a moderately neat dress. The following patterns of requests have been constructed by different groups of informants:

9.5.1.1.1. Indirect Request

Indirect requests are made by different kinds of people belonging to three communities viz., forward, backward and scheduled.

1. *e:nuŋka*   *ti:ppeṭṭi*   *tarri:ŋkala:*
   Att.Ca. + Hon.Suf.   match box   give+Pre Ten. + Hon. Suf. + Ind. Req.
   'Hello, will (you) please give (me) match box?'

2. *pe:ppar   koɲcam   tarri:ŋkala*:
   paper   Persu.   Give+Pre.Ten. + Hon.Suf. + Ind. Req.
   'Will (you) please give (me) paper?'

This type of request is found in the speech behavior of the young age group school educated girls, the school educated female agriculturists and contractors, college educated students and retired professionals. They all employ indirect request strategy in their request made to strangers. The retired professionals make use of double indirect requests in their request.

inṯa   pe:ppar   paṭiccuṭṭi:ŋkala:
this paper   read + Pas.Ten. + Aux.Comp + Hon.Suf. Ind. Req.
koɲcam   kuṭukkiri:ŋkala:
Persu.   Give + Pre. Con. Ten. + Hon. Suf. + Ind. Req.
'Have (you) read this paper, will (you) give (it) please'

9.5.1.1.2. If Clause

ennaŋka   paṭicciṭṭi:ŋkanna:
Att. Ca. + Hon.Suf.   read + Pas. Ten. + Aux. Comp. + Hon. Suf. + If
kuṭuŋka   pa:ttuṭṭut   tarre:n
give + Hon.Suf.   having seen + Aux.Comp   give + Pre. Ten. + I PT
'Hello, if you have read the paper, give (it), (I) will go through (it) and return

The similar kinds of <u>if clause</u> embedded structure requests are constructed with some modifications, such as,
1. dropping the attention caller
2. dropping the assurance marker
3. mentioning the name of the object that is wanted, such as match box, newspaper, etc.

The above type of request is found in the speech behavior of different kinds of people such as old aged and college educated professionals to show respect to the stranger.

9.5.1.1.3. Minimizing the Imposition

The school educated young agriculturists make a request to a stranger by using the strategy of minimizing the imposition.

pe:ppar   oru   pattu nimisam   kuṭuŋka
paper   one   ten   minutes   give + Hon. Suf.

*pa:ttu*ʈʈ*ut*   *tarre:n*
see + Fut. Ten. + Aux. Camp.   Give + Pre. Ten + I PT
'Give the paper for ten minutes (I) will return (it) after going through it'

9.5.1.1.4. Asking Apology for Intrusion

The college students belonging to the forward community ask apology for intrusion on the hearer's action first and then make a request. The following request is made by college educated informants:

ekskju:s   *mi:*   *sa:r*   *pe:ppar*   *ku*ʈ*uŋka*
excuse   me   sir   paper   give+Hon.Suf.
'Excuse me sir, give the paper'

However, the women of the same category drop the address term but add the reason why they need and assure to return the thing which they want for a short while.

9.5.1.1.5. Address Terms used

The address term <u>sa:r</u> is used to give deference to the requestee. It is a kind of showing politeness to the person who happens to be a requestee.

sa:r   *pe:ppar*   *koɲcam*   *ku*ʈ*uŋka*   *pa*ʈ*uccu*ʈʈ*ut*
sir   paper   Persu.   Give + Hon.Suf.   read + Aux. Comp.
tarre:n
give+Pre. Ten. + I PT
'Sir, please give the paper, (I) will return it after going through it'.

The above said request and specifically such address terms as <u>sir</u>, <u>madam</u> are used by college students and professionals with college education.

9.5.1.2. Request to Neighborhood

An analysis of the requests made by different kinds of informants to their neighbors shows that the following strategies were employed by them for making some requests.

9.5.1.2.1. Asking Permission to take the Paper

Brahmins of economically lower income group and old age group while making a request to their neighbors who belong to the same community and middle age group make use of the following strategy to make their request.

na:n	*anta*	*pe:ppar*		*etuttuṇḍu*		*po:jittu*
I	that	paper		take + Fut. Ten.		Go + Aux. comp.

konṭu vanṭu		*vaccirre:n*
Bring		place + Fut. Ten. + Aux. Comp. I PT

'I take that paper and bring (it) back afterwards'

9.5.1.2.2. Hint

Old age group forward community house wives use hint as a strategy to ask the match box from their neighbors of a backward community, as,

ti:ppeṭṭi	*inta*	*malaijila*	*oreja*	*ma:ṭṭe:ŋkutu*
match box	this	rain + Loc.	Friction	not it is

oŋka		*ti:ppeṭṭi*		*koncam*	*kuṭuŋka*
your + Hon.Suf.		match box		Persu.	Give + Hon.Suf.

orasikkiṭṭut		*tarre:n*
friction + Aux. Comp.		give + Pre. Ten. I PT

'Due to rain, match box is not lighting please give your match box, (I) will return it back after lighting'

The same strategy is adopted by college educated scheduled community students to make a request to their neighbors.

9.5.1.2.3. Indirect Request

Agricultural women belonging to forward community request their women neighbor belonging to the same age group and backward community as,

e:n	*ka:lijamma:*	*ti:ppeṭṭi*	*tarri:ja:*
Att. Ca.	Per. Na.	match box	give+Fut.Ten + Ind. Req.

'Hey, Kaliamma, will (you) give match box?'

In the above request the speaker has not included any politeness marker other than indirect request probably because of the same age group.

Agriculturists of young age group, however, use the other politeness markers such as, Kinship term, *-ŋka* honorific suffix and assurance to their neighbor who belong to the middle age group.

Young age group informants who ask change from their neighbor use five markers in their request. They are,

1. a kinship term
2. persuasive adverb
3. if clause
4. –ŋka honorific suffix and
5. Indirect request

The agricultural laborers belonging to the scheduled community make a request with the single marker indirect request. However, young, college educated informants use treble marker consisting of indirect request, -ŋka honorific suffix and if clause.

9.5.1.2.4. If Clause

Single marker i.e.only if clause pattern, is used by the old age group women informants of backward community, to make a request to their neighbors.

oru	*ti:peṭṭi*	*irunta:*	*koṭamma*:
one	match box	if (you) have	give + PANM

'If (you) have a match box, please give'

Agricultural laborers of the scheduled community also make the same type of request to their neighbor by replacing the last lexical item i.e., replacing the *amma:* power avoidance neutral marker by *aṇṇa*: (a pseudo kinship term).

Double markers are also available in the if clause type of sentences. They are constructed by means of adding –ŋka honorific suffix. This type of request is attested in the speech behavior of lower income group agricultural laborers.

Requests with treble marker are attested in the speech behavior of high income group school teachers. Besides if clause, the persuasive adverb *koɲcam* and the honorific suffix –ŋka could also be added.

9.5.1.2.5. Direct Request

The persons, who belong to the same age group and more or less same status such as having same profession etc. use direct request with signle and double politeness markers.

saravaṇa:	*koɲcam*	*cuṇṇa:mpu*	*ve:ṇum*
Per.Na.	Persu.	Lime	need

'Saravana (I) need little bit of lime'

The above said request is attested in the speech behavior of informants belonging to the middle age group while they address their neighbors who are also of the same age group.

Hindu temple priests belonging to middle age group make a request to the old age group informants of the *Gounder* caste with *–ŋka* honorific suffix. The same pattern of request is made by informants of the backward community also.

Treble politeness markers are also attested in the direct requests. The polite markers used are:

1. A kinship term or the persuasive adverb *koɲcam*
2. *–ŋka* honorific suffix
3. Assurance to return the object within specified time.

It has to be noticed that though the requester is younger than the requestee, the requester does not want to add the *–ŋka* honorific suffix to the neighbors who happen to belong to the scheduled community. However, the pseudo kinship term 'brother' is used to the neighbors as in the following example:

e:ɳɳa: *anṯa*   *pe:pparak*   *kuʈuɳɳa:*
Att. Ca. + Eld. Br.   That   paper + Acc.   Give + Eld. Br.

paʈiccittut   *tarre:n*
read + Fut. Ten. Aux. comp.   give + Pre. Ten. + I PT
'Brother, give (me) that paper, I will return (it) after going through (it)'

9.5.1.3. Request made to a Friend

When a person wants to make a request to his friend, the requester tends to use a direct request. However, depending upon the age and level of intimacy between them, choice is made from among the following:

1. *–ra*:   }
      }   'non-honorific intimacy marker'
   –Ri: }

2. *–ppa*:   }
   -mma: }   'intermediate intimacy marker'
   –jja: }
3. Ø 'neutral intimacy marker'

which are used along with verb as suffixes.

9.5.1.3.1. Direct Request

Informants who are school or college educated or persons of young age group belonging to any socio-economic group use a direct request while making a request to their friends.

9.5.1.3.2. Use of Intimacy Markers

pe:ppar   *kotRa:*
paper   give + IM
'Give the paper'

Thus, *-Ra*: an intimacy non honorific suffix is added to the request to show the intimacy level. The attention callers such as *aʈe:j*, ɖe:, etc., also occur.

Besides the direct request, some other types of requests are there with varying degrees of politeness markers. They are as follows:

9.5.1.3.3. Persuasive Adverb as a Politeness Marker

koɲcam   *cuηηa:mpu*   *kutRa*:
persu.   Lime   give+IM
'Give some lime please'

9.5.1.3.4. Assurance as a Politeness Marker

kuʈRa: *paʈicciʈʈut*   *tarre:n*
give + IM   read + Aux. Comp.   give + Pre.Ten. + I PT
'Give (it) (I) give (you) after going through (it)'

9.5.1.3.5. Indirect Request

ennaɖa: *paʈucca:cca:*
Att. Ca. + IM   read + Pas. Ten. Aux. Comp. + Ind. Req.
'Hey, have you read?'

9.5.1.3.6. If Clause

ti:ppeʈʈi   *irunʈa:*   *kuʈRa:*
match box   if (you) have   give + IM
'If (you) have match box, give'

9.5.1.3.7. Using Neutral Markers

majil   *buk*   *e:ta:vatu*   *irunʈa;*   *kuʈu*
Per.Na.   book   any   if available   give

'Mayil, if (you) have any book, give'

This type of request is made by informants of middle age group having college education to persons of young age group having college education. When both of the interactants economically well off, belong to the same caste and belong to same friends circle, this type of usage is found to be quite prevalent. The requester does not want to add - *Ra:* intimacy suffix because of the requestee's higher educational qualifications.

The similar type of neutral request is found in the speech of agricultural women of forward community, when they request the same age group women of the backward community.

9.5.1.3.8. Intermediate Intimacy Request

When a person wants to avoid the intimacy marker – *Ra:* then he will use –*ppa:* or –*mma:* or –jj*a:* suffixes to mark the intimate relationship between the requester and requestee. The middle and old age group informants mostly use this intermediate intimacy marker to their friends. It indicates that the level of relationship is neither too intimate nor too respectful but intermediate between these two.

pe:pparak	*kuʈappa:*
paper + Acc.	Give + IM

'Give the paper'

The above type of requests is made by middle age group college educated informants to their friends in which the intermediate intimacy marker is used.

9.5.1.3.9 Honorific Suffix to Friends

-*ŋka* honorific suffix is found to be used to friends rarely in this analysis. The two cases of –*ŋka* honorific suffix attested are as given below:

A Hindu temple priest of old age group uses –*ŋka* suffix to his friend.

piccumaɳi	*anṯa*	*pe:ppare*	*citta*	*kuʈuŋko:*
Per. Na.	that	paper + Acc	Persu. Dia.	Give + Hon.Suf.

'*Piccumani*, give that paper please'

He always uses honorific suffix to all the members of the society because, as he says, he should respect all the people due to the nature of his job i.e., serving as a priest. However, the temple priests of younger generation do not use the same pattern i.e., respect language to all the

members of society. The middle and young generations of the temple priests use –*Ra:* suffix also to their friends. The pattern of request of middle and young age group *gurukkals* are given below:

1. *koɲcam*   *cuɳɳa:mpu*   *kuʈRa:*
   Persu.   lime   give + IM
   'Give lime please'

2. *cuɳɳa:mpu*   *kuʈRa:*
   lime   give + IM
   'Give lime'

A retired police uses –*ŋka* honorific suffix to a retired teacher of the scheduled community even though he is a friend. From these instances, it becomes clear that in villages, usage of honorific suffixes among friends is very rarely found. Only the intimacy marked requests are quite prevalently used. If this feature is compared with the urbanities, we may be able to get some striking conclusions about the ways of life of rural and urban people.

9.5.1.4. Requests to Colleagues

Even while making a request to a colleague, several factors such as intimacy level, the nature of job, etc., are taken into consideration.

9.5.1.4.1. Intimacy Markers

The agricultural laborers have a close relationship and familiarity with each other and they have better co-ordination among themselves. Moreover, they happen to belong to the same caste group and same age group and therefore they make a direct request. The following is the mode of request made by them:

aʈa   *ti:ppeʈʈi*   *kuʈRa:*
Att. Ca.+IM   match box   give + IM
'Hey, give the match box'

The above type of request was made by agricultural laborers of scheduled caste. The other type of requests are made by adding either persuasive adverb or if clause structure or by making an indirect request along with *koɲcam* persuasive adverb and if clause structure. However, the informants belonging to the backward community old age group and working as agricultural laborers make their requests without intimacy suffix –*ra:* i.e., neutral request. The example is as follows:

e:	muttappa:	koŋcam	cuɳɳa:mpu	iruṉta:	kuʈu
Att.Ca.	Per.Na.	Persu.	lime	if available	give

'Hey, Muttappa, if (you) have lime, give (me) please'

9.5.1.4.2. Politeness Markers

When the requestee happens to be working in institutions such as college, government departments, banks, etc., where profession leads extreme formalities, the requester makes use of politeness makers to make a request. The following examples explain this type of situation:

When the requester and requestee do not have intimate relation the following elements are used:

1. asking apology for intrusion
2. adding –ŋka honorific suffix and
3. adding either koŋcam persuasive adverb or giving assurance.

ekskju:s	mi:	koŋcam	pe:ppar	kuʈuŋka
excuse	me	Persu.	paper	give + Hon. Suf.

'Excuse me, give (me) the paper, please'

Besides the above mentioned items, indirect requests, if clause structures and address terms such as *sa:r, ajja:, ʈi:ccar*, 'sir, father, teacher' are also used by the informants of the above category.

9.5.1.5. Requests made to Superiors

When a person makes a request to his superior, he uses a number of strategies to show extensive deference to him. The strategies may be any or combination of the following:

1. prolonged pause in between words
2. using time adverbials
3. using incomplete sentences
4. asking apology for intrusion
5. adding if clause
6. using address terms
7. adding the honorific suffix –ŋka
8. minimizing the imposition

9.5.1.5.1. Prolonged Pause

When Hindu temple priests make a request to their superiors (*dharmakartta*, a trustee of the temple), they make the following type of request:

citta	*pe:ppara*……….		*kuʈuŋka*
Persu. Dia	paper + Acc. Pause		give + Hon. Suf.
paʈuccittut	*tarre:n*		
read + Aux.Comp.	give + Pre. Ten. + I PT pause		

'Please give that paper, (I will) return after reading. (*I have to see an item in that paper*)'.

In the above request, the words are not spelt with regular and actual pause but it is prolonged and extended for some more time. Here, prolonged pause is used because the requesters want to show their extensive politeness/deference to the requestee. The requests made by the barbers also consist of unusual pause between words to show respect to the landlords from whom they get money for their living.

9.5.1.5.2. Time Adverbial as a Marker

Low income group government employees while making a request to the landlords employ the following type of request patterns. Here it has to be mentioned that the low income group government employees belong to the same village and hence they are very much familiar to the local people.

e:nuŋka		*anta*	*pustakam*	*irunta:*	*kuʈuŋka*
Att. Ca. + Hon. Suf.		that	book	if available	give + Hon.Suf.
paʈiccittu	*na:lakki*		*allatu*	*na:la:nnikki*	
read + Aux. Comp.	tomorrow + Dat.		or	day after	
tarre:n					
give + Pre. Ten. + I PT					

'Hello, if (you) have that book, give…..
I will return tomorrow or day after tomorrow'

9.5.1.5.3. Using Incomplete Sentences

Incomplete sentences are made use of to show respect to the requestee. Middle age group and young age group backward community informants use incomplete sentences to their superiors as a mark of respect to them in the following manner:

1.	*e:nuŋka*	*sa:r*	*cillaRe*	*irunta:*
	Att. Ca. + Hon. Su.	Sir	change	if available
	nu:Ru ru:pa:jkki	-	……………	
	hundred repees + Dat.		Incomplete	

'Hello, sir, if (you) have change for hundred rupees….'

2. *e:nuŋka*   *cillaRe*   ……………
 Att. Ca. + Hon. Suf. change incomplete
 'Sir, change……………………'

9.5.1.5.4. Asking Apology for Intrusion

Apologizing for intrusion while making a request to superiors is another strategy employed in this type of expression.

ekskju:s *mi:* *pe:ppar*   *koncam* *kuʈuŋka*
excuse me paper   Persu.   give + Hon. Suf.
'Excuse me, give the paper, please'

Similarly requests along with time adverbial or indirect request with honorific suffix *–ŋka* have been attested in the request of college going students to their superiors.

9.5.1.5.5. If Clause

If clause sentence is used to give options to the requestee and thereby the requester expresses respect or politeness to the requestee.

sa:r *buk* *irunʈa:*   *kuʈuŋka*
sir book if (you) have give+Hon.Suf.
paʈicciʈʈut   *tarre:n*
read + Aux. Comp.   give + Pre. Ten. + I PT
'Sir, if (you) have the book give (me), I will return (it) after reading'

9.5.1.5.6. Address Terms

Address terms such as *sa:r, me:ɖam, ʈi:ccar, amma:, sa:mi, motala:li, ejama:n*, etc., are used to show deference to their superiors.

sa:r, me:ɖam, ʈi:ccar   - used by educated informants
sa:mi & ejama:n   - highly deferential address terms used by agricultural
             laborers belonging to the scheduled community
motala:li   - used by manual laborers to address the persons who
             buy their labor

9.5.1.5.7. Minimizing the Impositions

When a request is made, it would affect the freedom of actions of the requestee. Hence minimizing the imposition is adopted as a strategy of request to superiors.

sa:r   *atak*   *koncam*   *kuṭuŋka,*   *koncam*
sir   that+Acc.   Persu.   give+Hon.Suf.   Persu.
heḍḍins   *pa:ttuṭṭut*   *tarre:n*
headings   see+Aux. Comp.   give + Pre. Ten. + I PT
'Sir, please give that (paper), (I will) go through the headings and return (it).'

The above pattern of request is used by professionals to their superiors while requesting to lend the paper to them. The use of the lexical item heḍḍiŋs 'headings in a paper' minimizes the imposition by asserting that they will take less time to read the paper.

9.5.1.5.8. Indirect Request

motala:li   *pe:ppar*   *paṭuccuṭṭi:ŋkala:?*
owner   paper   read+Aux. Comp. + Hon. Suf. + Ind. Req.
'Owner, have you finished reading the paper?'

The above said request is attested in the speech of casual labors. In this type of constructions, the requesters never ask directly the requestee to bestow something. On the other hand, they simply hint or indirectly made it known that they need something.

Besides the above said strategies of using politeness markers to give deference to the requestee, there are other ways also which are used often to mark the politeness. They are,
1. using –ŋka honorific suffix to the requestee
2. addition of *koncam* persuasive adverb to minimize the imposition and
3. giving assurance to return the object after the purpose is over.

9.5.1.6. Requests made to Subordinates

When a request is made to subordinates, the following three features are noted:

1. use of language of power i.e., using power makers
2. use of power avoidance neutral makers and
3. use of neutral markers

9.5.1.6.1. Language of Power

The marker –*Ra*: when used among friends functions as a marker of intimacy which gives the clue that the relationship between the requester and requestee is very close and that they are intimate friends. If it is used outside the friends circle, then it is a non-honorific suffix. This

suffix may be used irrespective of the person when he is in an emotional state or when he is in quarrel with someone.

9.5.1.6.2. –*Ra:* Marker Used

The direct request with non-honorific suffix is found in the speech behavior of the younger generation, mostly while making a request to the subordinates such as menial servant or sweeper of the village or agricultural laborers from the scheduled community who work in their farm.

pe:ppar   *kutRa:*
paper   give + PM
'Give the paper'

However, in some of the requests the politeness markers are also added.

ennaḍa: *paṭuccuṭṭaja:*   *paṭiccirunṯa:*   *koṭRa*
Att. Ca.+PM   read +Pas.Ten.+   have read + if   give + PM
                     Aux. Comp. + Ind. Req.
'Have you read the paper? If read give me'

In the above said request the indirect request and *if clause* structure are the politeness markers which soften the imposition of the requester. The other politeness markers used in the requests are *koɳcam* a persuasive adverb and time adverbial. It should be noted that this power language is used by forward and backward community people alone.

9.5.1.6.2. Power Avoidance Neutral Marker Used

Another pattern of request is attested in the speech behavior of forward and backward community informants. The middle and old age group informants, mostly professionals use the power avoidance neutral markers while making a request to their subordinates. Example for the above type is given below:

e:mpa: *pe:ppar*   *kuṭappa:*
Att. Ca. + PANM   paper   give + PANM
na: *pa:ttuṭṭut*   *tantuṭre:n*
I   read+Aux. Comp.   return + Fut.   Ten.
'Hey, give the paper, I will return (it) after going through (it)'

In the above request, -*ppa:* is used as power avoidance neutral suffix to the subordinate. It shows that the requester does not want to make the power language explicitly to the subordinate.

Hence he uses *–ppa:* suffix instead of *–Ra:*. If the *–ppa:* suffix is used outside the friends circle, then it will be considered as a power avoidance neural suffix.

In the above said sentence, the informant used the pronoun 'I' while making the request and this also may be considered as power language in another sense, because the mention of 'I' does not give any options to the requestee, and also it denies the freedom of action to the hearer. Hence, it is also a power language though *–Ra*: suffix is not used.

9.5.1.6.3. Neutral Marker Request

Another type of strategy in making a request is using neither honorific markers nor intimacy markers. This type of request is made by professionals to the subordinates belonging to the three communities. The examples are as follows:

1. *pe:ppar*   *paʈuccuʈʈaja:*   *kuʈu*
   paper   read+Aux.Comp. + II PT+Ind.Req.   give
   'Have (you) read the paper, give (it)'

2. *ti:ppeʈʈi*   *iruṉta:*   *ta:*
   match box   if available   give
   'if you have match box, give'

9.5.2. Use of Politeness Features

In the following passage an attempt has been made to study the nature of use of politeness markers in six social networks, namely, (1) strangers, (2) neighbors, (3) friends, (4) colleagues, (5) superiors and (6) subordinates. The various politeness features attested have been classified into nine categories, namely,
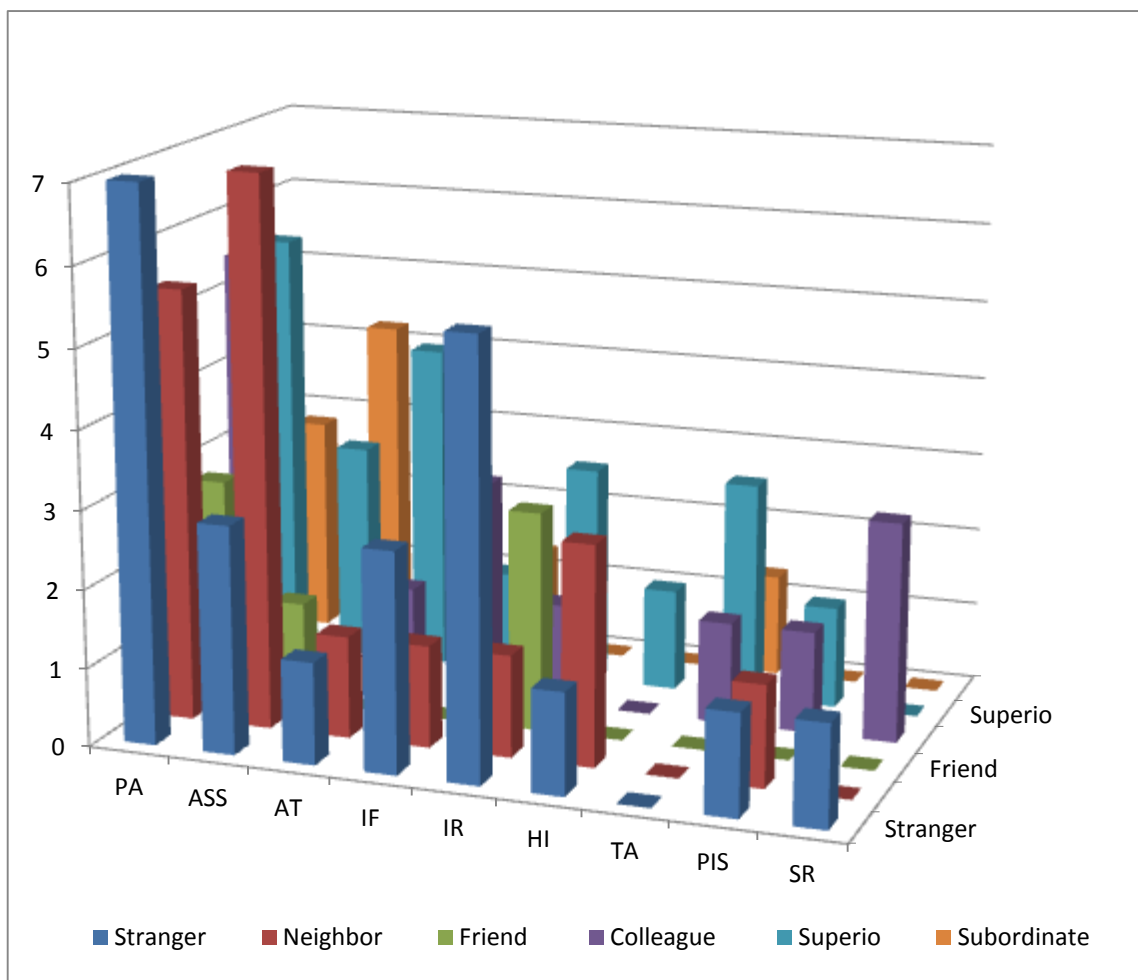
1. persuasive adverb *koṉcam*
2. assurance
3. polite address terms
4. if clause
5. indirect request
6. hinting
7. time adverbial
8. pausing and
9. repeating the sentence

The percentage of occurrences of different politeness features in the three social groups is presented in the following charts and also in the bar diagrams.

FORWARD COMMUNITY: POLITENESS FEATURES

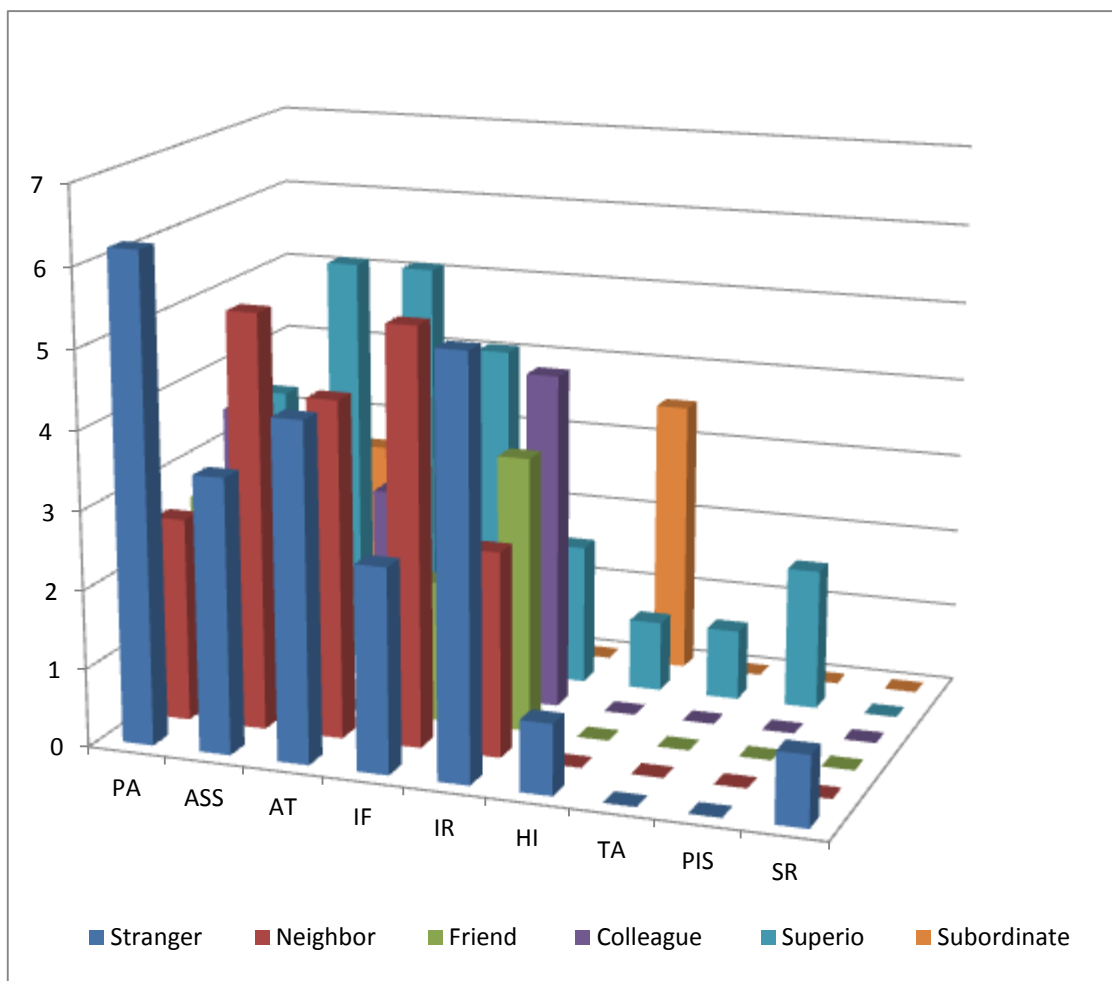| Forms	Stranger	Neighbor	Friend	Colleague	Superior	Subordinate
Persuasive Adverb	7.0	5.5	2.8	5.5	5.5	2.8
Assurance	2.9	7.0	1.3	-	2.8	4.2
Address Terms	1.3	1.3	-	1.3	4.2	1.3
If Clause	2.8	1.3	-	2.8	1.3	1.3
Indirect Request	5.5	1.3	2.8	1.3	2.8	-
Hint	1.3	2.8	-	-	1.3	-
Time Adverbial	-	-	-	1.3	2.8	1.3
Pause and Incomplete Sentence	1.3	1.3	-	1.3	1.3	-
Sentence Repeating	1.3	-	-	2.8	-	-

FORWARD COMMUNITY

POLITENESS FEATURES

(in percentage)

BACKWARD COMMUNITY: POLITENESS FEATURES

| Forms	Stranger	Neighbor	Friend	Colleague	Superior	Subordinate
Persuasive Adverb	6.2	2.6	2.6	3.5	3.5	0.9
Assurance	3.5	5.3	0.9	1.8	5.3	2.6
Address Terms	4.3	4.3	-	2.6	5.3	-
If Clause	2.6	5.3	1.8	1.8	4.3	2.6
Indirect Request	5.3	2.6	3.5	4.3	1.8	-
Hint	0.9	-	-	-	0.9	3.5
Time Adverbial	-	-	-	-	0.9	-
Pause and Incomplete Sentence	-	-	-	-	1.8	-
Sentence Repeating	0.9	-	-	-	-	-

BACKWARD COMMUNITY

POLITENESS FEATURES

(in percentage)

SCHEDULED COMMUNITY: POLITENESS FEATURES

Forms	Stranger	Neighbor	Friend	Colleague	Superior	Subordinate
Persuasive Adverb	6.0	3.5	2.6	3.5	4.3	1.7
Assurance	6.0	4.3	2.7	6.0	4.3	4.3
Address Terms	3.3	3.5	-	5.3	6.0	1.7
If Clause	3.5	2.7	2.7	1.7	4.3	1.7
Indirect Request	2.7	1.7	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.9
Hint	0.9	0.9	-	-	2.7	-
Time Adverbial	-	-	-	-	1.7	-
Pause and Incomplete Sentence	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sentence Repeating	-	-	-	-	-	-

SCHEDULED COMMUNITY

POLITENESS FEATURES

(in percentage)
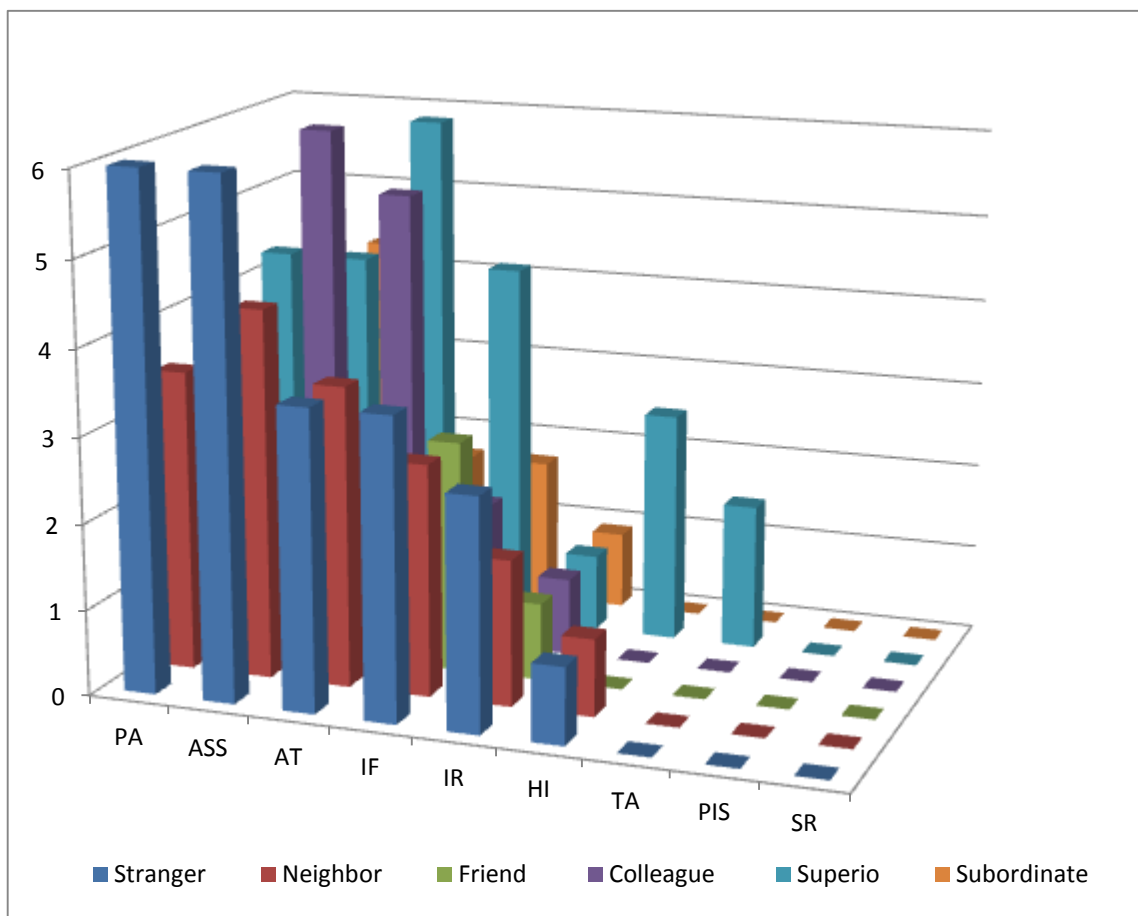
Of the nine politeness features identified in this study, the strategies of pausing and repeating the sentence have not been attested among the backward and scheduled community informants while it is found among the forward community informants. The use of time adverbial as a technique of politeness expression is found in all the three communities especially when they are in interaction with superiors and colleagues. However, the frequency of occurrence of this strategy is found to be less in this case. Therefore, the above three techniques may be treated as sparingly used techniques. The other six techniques are found to be used by the informants when they are in interaction with individuals of all the social networks with minor differences in their percentage of occurrences. The use of the persuasive adverb *koɳcam* has higher frequency of occurrence in all the three communities. This shows that the persuasive adverb *koɳcam* is frequently used as a politeness feature.

9.6 Exercising Authority Through Language Use

The difference in social relationship between the requester and requestee contributes to the difference in language use. When the role relationship between the participants in the speech event concerned differs, then use of linguistic structure also differs. This part of the study describes the following:

a. Asking someone not to indulge in some activity which may impinge upon one's right or which may be an encroachment into one's right
b. The reaction of an individual when he is put into some inconvenience, as explained above, by the action of another person.

The informants have been asked to make a request to the following specified persons *not to park their cycles/cars in front of the informant's house*. The specified persons in this study are the following:

1. Community leader
2. Neighbor
3. Friend
4. Colleague
5. Superior and
6. Subordinate

9.6.1. Status and Language Use

While making a request not to park the cycle/car in front of the house, the speaker uses the language depending upon the status of the specified person. For instance, the following linguistic strategies may be applied in making the request by the speaker:

1. He may use power language to some group of persons

2. He may use softening linguistic mechanisms to some group of persons though he uses a powerful language
3. He may use polite language to some group of persons.

Thus depending upon the relationship, intimacy level, caste group, profession, age, economic status, education etc., of the individual, the speakers use the language.

9.6.2. Structure of the Sentence

While making a request not to park the bicycle, the speakers may use sentences which may consist of the following three features, viz.

1. Attention callers/address terms
2. Authoritative features
3. Linguistic devices which convert the powerful request into a soft request

9.6.2.1. Attention Callers

Attention callers used may be divided into four categories as, (1) attention callers per se (2) address terms (3) kinship terms and (4) attention caller per se + address terms.

9.6.2.1.1. Attention Callers Per se

The relationship between the speaker and hearer decides the choice of a particular attention caller. The intimacy/distance relationship, caste, age, education, economic status and profession of the speakers contribute to the variation in the selection of the attention callers. The following attention callers have been collected from the data:

ennaŋka	-	hello + honorific suffix
e:nuŋka	-	hello + dialect honorific suffix
ennappa:	-	hello + pseudo kin term (father)
jo:ʊ	-	hey (non-honorific)
e:ppa:	-	hello + pseudo kin term (father)
e:mpa:	-	hello + pseudo kin term (father)
appa:	-	father (pseudo kin term)
aʈe:	-	hey (non-honorific)
e:ɳʈa:	-	hey (non-honorific)
e:ɳʈa: ɖe:	-	hey (non-honorific)

ɖe: -   hey (non-honorific)

The above said attention callers are used by persons belonging to various status groups.

9.6.2.1.2. Address Terms

Sometimes, address terms may also be used to draw the attention of the hearer. The address terms used by various informants as attention callers are:

ajja: -   'father' (honorific)

perijaʋare: -   'old man' (honorific)

ʋa:ttija:re: -   'teacher'

sa:r   -   'sir'

gurukkal   -   Hindu Temple Priest

sa:mi: -   'lord' (extensively polite)

a:ja: -   'grandmother'

9.6.2.1.3. Kinship Terms

Sometimes kinship terms are also used to draw the attention of the hearers.

ma:ma: -   'uncle'

ma:mi: -   'aunt' (Brahminical connotation)

9.6.2.1.4. Attention Callers Per se and Address Terms

Sometimes, attention callers per se and address terms both compound together to form a compound word which is used to draw the attention of the hearer. The following are the examples selected form the data:

ennaŋkajja: -   *ennaŋka + ajja*:
                    hello + honorific suffix + 'father'
                    attention caller per se pseudo kinship term
                    'father' used as address term

ennaŋkappu   -   *ennaŋka*   +   *appu*
                    hello + honorific suffix + dialectal,   pseudo
                                kinship 'brother' used
                                  as address term

attention caller per se

9.6.2.2. Authoritative Features Used in the Request

Authoritative features are used in order to make the hearer to reconsider his activities. The following strategies have been adopted while making a request not to park the bicycle/two or four wheeler vehicles in front of their houses by various persons. The verb base *nil* 'stop' is inflected in the following ways:

1. *niRuttu*   -   park
2. *niRuttuŋka*   -   park + honorific suffix
3. *niRuttuppa:*   -   park + power avoidance neutral marker or intermediate intimacy marker
4. *niRuttuRa:*   -   park + non-honorific suffix
5. *niRut(a)rije:*   -   park + present continuous + II PT + action deploring marker
6. *niRut(a)ri:ŋkale:*   -   park + present continuous + honorific suffix + action deploring marker
7. *niRutta ʋe:ŋam*   -   don't park
8. *eʈuttu niRuttu*   -   take it and park (somewhere else)
9. *niRuʈʈuna: enna:*   -   what is problem in parking (here)
10. *nirRuttuŋkale:n*   -   you park + suggestive
11. *ʋe:Ra eʈattula niRuttu*   -   you park at some other place
12. *niRuttiʈʈu ʋarala:mla*   -   you could have parked and come + suggestive
13. *niRutta:te*   -   don't stop
14. *o:rama: niRutta ma:ʈʈi:jo:*   -   won't you park (it) aside
15. *niRuttiʈʈa: piraccineille*   -   no problem if (you) park (there)
16. *niRutti ʋacciʈʈup po:*   -   you park and go
17. *ʋelila niRuttiʈʈu ʋarratuta:ne* -   you park (it) outside and then come + suggestive

Thus, the verb in the construction of a sentence may denote the authoritativeness of the requestee, and it may vary according to the status of the hearer. The verb may be inflected for honorific suffix or for non-honorific suffix and request may range from the suggestive request type to command depending upon the hearer's status and the relationship between the participants.

9.6.2.3. Softening Features in the Authoritative Request

When a person makes a deliberate request to someone not to park the bicycle, he will get annoyed over it or may feel unhappy or get wounded. Hence, there are some linguistic strategies that make the request a mild or soft one instead of expressing authority. These features are called polite or softening features. These features help to make the request polite though it has some authority primarily. For instance, let us consider the following constructions:

niRuttu - park + Ø

niRuttuŋka - park + honorific suffix

talli niRuttuŋka - move a little bit + park +

honorific suffix

koɲcam talli - persuasive adverb + move (a little bit) + park

niRuttuŋka + honorific suffix.

In the above sequence of constructions we find polite or softening features added one after another. And at last, if we compare the first and last constructions then we find the softening features such as *–ŋka* honorific suffix, suggestion to park the bicycle aside and persuasive adverb are added in the request which ultimately makes the request a polite one instead of an authoritative one. This process is called 'softening feature'.

9.6.2.4. Lexical Features Making the Request as Polite

There are some linguistic devices which help to make the request more polite. The features which help to make the request more polite are listed below:

1. adding *–ŋka* honorific suffix to the verb
2. making the request in the indirect form *orama: niRut(ta)ri:ŋkala*: 'will you park aside?'
3. using persuasive adverb
   ……*koɲcam talli ʋajŋka*
   'Please park (your bicycle) a little bit away'
4. using if clause sentence
   o:rama: niRuttiʈʈa: paraʋa:lla
   'It is good if you park aside'
5. pausing between two words
   koɲcam…………..sajkkile talli
   'Please……………move (your) cycle a little bit away'
6. using double sentences
   sajkkle talli ʋajŋka talli ʋacciruŋka sajkkle

'Park the cycle little bit away
 park the cycle little bit away'

7. using the connecting lexical items such as *iṉṯa ma:tiri*
'like this' before making the request, and *atana:la*
'that is why' after briefing the inconvenience caused,
etc., are used as softening lexical items.

8. Using lexical items such as *paraʋa:ille*, *te:ʋale*, etc.,
saykkila talli ʋacca: paraʋa:ille/te:ʋale
'It is better if the cycle is parked aside'
These lexical items are called benefactor lexicals.

9.7   Requests Made by Various Social Groups

To make a comprehensive study of authoritative language use in request, the informants were selected form all sections of the society viz., forward, backward and scheduled communities. They were asked to make a request to specified individuals not to park the bicycle or not to dump garbage in front of their houses and their responses were collected.

9.7.1. General Pattern of Request

The general pattern of request is charted out as given below:

Attention

Caller/address term	+ object	+ (Persu.)	+ adverbial phrase	+ action
e:nuŋka/ajja:	+ *sajkkla*	+ *koɲcam*	+ *talli*	*niRuttuŋka /ʋaiŋka*

Hello+Hon.Suf./	cycle + Acc.	+ Persu.	+ move little bit	+ park/place
Father or sir				hon.Suf.

'Hello, park that cycle a little bit away, please'

The adverb *talli* 'move a little bit' may be replaced by other lexical items such as *eṭṭattula* 'at a distance', *o:rama*: 'at a side', *otukkama*: 'at a side', *nakatti* 'having moved' and *aṉṯap pakkam* 'that side'.

The above sentence pattern is used in most of the requests exercising authority. However, depending upon the status of the person some of the features are added or deleted from the above pattern. In the following passage an exhaustive study of the linguistic strategies employed in exercising one's authority while making a request is presented.

9.7.2. Request to a Community Leader

The woman and girl informants belonging to the middle and young age groups use indirect request pattern while making a request not to park the cycle in front of their house. But old age group housewives make a request through the hint strategy. The old age temple priests make use of sentence repeating pattern to show politeness to the speaker. As the above said patterns are elaborately discussed in the earlier part i.e., politeness part, these are not discussed here again and so the significant variations in the usage alone are discussed here.

9.7.2.1. Suggestive Request

Lower income group informants make a suggestive request while making a request to their community leader.

1. *namma*   *sajkkila*   *koɲcam*   *o:rama:*   *ʋacca:*
   we+incl.   cycle + Acc.   Persu.   aside   if place
   paraʋa:illiŋka   *koɲcam*   *etaɲcala:*   *irukkuŋka*
   it is alright + Hon.Suf.   Persu.   disturbance of   it is + Hon.Suf.
   'It will be alright if (you) place your cycle aside, please, it is a little bit of disturbance'.

In the above sentence, though the requester makes the request politely, he suggests to stop the cycle at a convenient place. *ʋelila niRuttiʈʈu ʋarratuta:ne*: 'you could have stopped it outside and come' is a suggestive request made by an informant to his community leader.

9.7.2.2. Questioning the Action of a Doer

The action of doer i.e., community leader is questioned by college educated informants belonging to higher income group as follows:

ennaŋka   *ippiʈi*   *niRuttari:ŋka*
Att. Ca. + Hon.Suf.   like this   park + Pre. Con. + Hon. Suf.
pa:ttu   *koɲcam*   *o:rama:*   *talli*   *niRuttuŋka*
careful   Persu.   aside   move   park + Hon. Suf.
'Hello, why do you park (cycle) like this? Park (it) aside'

ippiʈi niRuttari:ŋka   'You park like this?' may also occur as

niRuttari:ŋkale: 'You stop like this'

ʋacciʈʈi:ŋkale: 'You keep like this'

In which the objection particle _–e_: is added to the lexical item, and thus it expresses the resent or objection of the speaker to the action of the hearer.

9.7.2.3. Expressing Difficulty

The requesters express their difficulties while making a request and seek redressal for them.

ippiṭi	_koɲcam_	_o:rama:_	_niRutti:ttiŋkanna:_
like this	Persu.	aside	park + Fut. Ten. + Aux. Comp. + Hon.Suf.

piraccane ille
no problem
'If you park (the cycle) aside there will be no problem (for me)'

The above said type of request is found among college educated students who belong to the higher income group.

9.7.3. Request to a Neighbor

The women informants and the Hindu temple priests make the polite requests such as indirect request, mentioning the reason why it should not be stopped and so on. They are already discussed elaborately in the earlier part (vide 9.5.1.2.) and hence not described here.

9.7.3.1. Suggestive Statement

If the parking of the cycle is done at a place a little bit away from the speaker's front portion of the house, it is benefactory to the speaker. This suggestion is stated by a professional, while making a request. He gives options to the hearer which is a polite way to make or persuade the hearer to do the action.

niRutturate	_koɲcam_	_talli_	_niRuttiṭṭa:_
parking + Acc.	Persu.	at a distance	stop + Aux. Comp. + If

piraccine ille
problem + no
'There will be no problem if (you) park (the cycle) a little bit away'

Similarly, young age group middle income informants make a statement as a suggestive one, by using a suggestive marker _–e:n_.

sajkkila	_koɲcam_	_o:rama:_	_niRuttuŋkale:n_
cycle+Acc.	Persu.	aside	stop + Hon. Suf. Sug. M

'(You) could stop your cycle a little bit aside'

9.7.3.2. Action Questioned

College educated, young age group informants challenge the action of the hearer in the following way:

ennaŋka	*ʋi:ʈʈukku*	*munna:la*	*koŋʈuʋṉʈu*
Att. Ca. + Hon.Suf.	house + Dat.	in front of	bring + Inf.

niRuttari:ŋka
park + Pre. Con. + Hon. Suf.
'Hello, why do (you) park (the cycle) in front of the house'

Similarly, old age group women agriculturists question the neighbor in the following way:

eʈʈak	*koŋʈupo:j*	*niruttuna:*	*enna:*	*ma:ʈu ʋarum*
away	take	if park	what	bullock will come

'Why don't (you) park (the cycle) at a distance, bullock will come (there)'

9.7.3.3. Command

College educated informants of middle age group make a commanding request to the neighbor (where the neighbor belongs to the old age lower income group).

aʈa karuppa:	*sajkkla eʈuttu o:rama:*		*niRuttu*
Att. Ca. + Per. Na.	cycle + Acc. take	aside	park

'Oh, Karuppa, take the cycle and park it aside'

This is a commanding request because no softening mechanism is used it.

Similarly lower income, old age group informants make a request to their neighbors who belong to the middle age, lower income group of the same caste authoritatively but with some politeness markers.

ʈe:j tampi	*sajkkle koɲcam*		*talli pinnukku*
Att. Ca.+Pse.Kin.Br.	cycle+Acc.	Persu.	move behind

niRuttuRa:
 park + IM
'Hey brother, move (your) cycle little bit behind (and) park'

In the above request, though the requesters use the authoritative features such as <u>*te:j*</u> and <u>*–Ra:*</u> attention callers and non-honorific suffix respectively, they also use the polite marker *koɲcam* to make it soft.

9.7.3.4. Other Features of Authority Used

The following features which express the authoritativeness of the requester are also found in the data.

9.7.3.4.1. Instruction

College educated higher income group informants make instructional requests to their neighbors. The example is as follows:

sajkkle	*naʈuʋula*	*niRutta:ma*	*o:rama:*	*niRuttuŋka*
cycle+Acc.	centre+Loc.	Park not	aside	stop+Hon. Suf.

'Park your cycle aside and do not park at the middle (of the way)'

9.7.3.4.2. Negative Request

College educated professionals of middle income group (informants) instruct the neighbors to dump the garbage in some other place in the following manner:

inta ma:tiri	*kuppejella:m*	*iŋka po:ʈa*	*ʋe:ɳa:m*
like this	garbage-all	here put	don't
ma:mi:	*ʋe:reŋkaja:ʋatu*	*po:ʈuŋka.*	*iŋka po:ʈʈa:*
aunt	elsewhere	put	here put-if
kocuʋella:m	*ʋarum.*	*atana:la*	*po:ʈa ʋe:ɳa:m*
mosquito-all	will come	so	put don't

'Mami, (you) don't dump garbages here, like this, dump somewhere else! If (you) dump them here, mosquitoes will come. So don't put (here)'.

9.7.4. Request to a Friend

Authoritative requests are of different kinds. The various types of authoritative requests used among friends are discussed below:

9.7.4.1. Questioning the Action of Hearer

The hearer's action is challenged by the speaker by questioning his act. The following examples are selected from the data:

e:ɳʈa:	*sajkkla konʈa: ntu*		*ippiʈi*
Att. Ca + IM	cycle + Acc.	having brought	like this
niRuttrije:	*talli*	*ʋajʈa:*	
park + Pre. Ten. Inter.	move	place + IM	

'Hey, why have you parked the cycle like this, park it away'

The above request is made by a young age group informant belonging to the high income group.

9.7.4.2. Intermediate Intimacy Marked Request

The requester does not want to use the authoritative features because of the requestee's higher status in age, education, or caste. Thus, a lower income group informant of the backward community makes a neutral request to his friend who belongs to higher income group of other caste as follows:

ennappa:	*sajkkila*	*koɳcam*	*o:rama:*	*ʋajjappa:*
Att. Ca.+IIM	cycle + Acc.	Persu.	aside	park + IIM

'Hello, park your cycle aside, please'

9.7.4.3. Other Authoritative Features

After challenging the action of the hearer, speaker gives an authoritative instruction such as:

1. *koɳcam   eʈuttu   appiʈi   niRuttu*
     Persu.   take   along that side   park
     'Park (the cycle) along that side, please'

2. *o:rama: ʋajta: ʋaliʋittu*
     aside   park + IM   leaving path
     'Park (the cycle) aside leaving space for path'

Thus there are some requests made authoritatively and this shows the exercise of authority through linguistic means. It may also be noted that whenever authoritative features are used excessively, in order to make it soft the politeness markers are also used simultaneously to reduce the harshness. In friends' circle also, though authoritative requests are made to them, the politeness markers are also added mostly to soften the requests.

9.7.5. Request made to Colleagues

When a request is made to colleagues, one may notice that informants from the organized and unorganized behave in different manner, and this influences the speech behavior of the informants also. Those two are working in the government institutions and other organized sectors (the so called white collars) generally tend to use address terms and honorific suffixes to their colleagues while making a request, whereas the informants belonging to unorganized institutions (the so called blue collars) generally tend to use non-honorific address terms.

9.7.5.1. Action Questioned

The action of the doer is questioned by the speaker in the following manner:

ennaŋka	*naʈuʋula*	*koɳʈuʋanʈu*	*niRuttiʈʈi:ŋka*
Att. Ca. + Hon.Suf.	Centre+Loc.	Having brought	parked+Aux.Comp+ Hon.Suf.

koɲcam	*talli*	*niRuttuŋka*
Persu.	move	stop+Hon.Suf.

'Hello, why have (you) parked the cycle in the middle, park it away please'

The above request was made by old age group informants of the middle income group. Though they resent the action of the doer, they use honorific suffix –*ŋka* to the requestee.

Similarly the college and school educated informants make polite request to their colleagues. The professionals use address terms such as *sa:r*, ʈ*i:ccar*, etc., while making a request to their colleagues to show politeness to them. The professionals and educated informants mutually use –*ŋka* honorific suffix to each other. Besides these, *koɲcam* the persuasive adverb is also sued most often by them.

9.7.5.2. Solidarity Features Used in Unorganized Sectors

The young age group unorganized workers such as priests, agricultural laborers, agriculturists and so on use –*Ra*: intimacy marker to their colleagues while they converse with each other. However, among the agricultural laborers, this feature is found in all the age groups viz., old, middle and young, whereas in other unorganized sectors it is found only in the young age group. The middle and old age group use only <u>neutral request</u> to teach other.

9.7.5.3. Authoritative Features

Different kinds of informants used the following authoritative features in their language use while making a request. They are presented below:

1. *talli*   *ʋajʈa*:   'Park (it after) a move'
   move   park + PM

2. *o:rama:* *niRuttu*   'Park (it) aside'
   aside   park

3. *o:rama:* *ʋaccukka*   'Park (it) aside'
   aside   park

4. *ʋacciṭṭup*   *po*:   'Go after parking'
   park+Aux.Comp. go

5. *eppiṭi*   *po:Ratu*   *ʋarratu*   'How can one go and come' (move)
   how   go go   to come

6. *nakatti*   *ʋacciruŋkappa*:   'Park it away'
   move   park+Aux.Comp.+
               Hon.Suf. + PANM

7. *ʋalila*   *ʋacciṭṭup*   'You are going after parking it on the path'
   path+Loc. Place + Aux. comp.
   po:Ri:ŋkale:
   go+Pre.Ten.+Hon.Suf. + Voc.

9.7.6. Request Made to Superiors

When a request is made to the superiors not to park the bicycle in front of the requester's house, extensive politeness markers have been added by the informants. However, in the earlier part of the study these strategies have been described elaborately and hence they have not been discussed here to avoid repetition. In this part, those features which are found to be deviant from the earlier strategies alone are discussed.

9.7.6.1. Politeness Requests

The extensive polite requests such as applying prolonged pause, using address terms such as *sa:r, sa:mi, appu* 'sir, lord, brother' etc., repeating the sentence twice, mentioning the reason to the request and minimizing the imposition are some of the strategies adopted by the informants while making a request not to park the bicycle, to the superiors. (They have been discussed din 9.5.1.5.)

9.7.6.2. Suggestive Politeness Marker

When a lower income group informant makes a request to his superior, he uses a suggestive politeness marker *te:ʋala* 'better' which expresses the speaker's politeness.

koŋcam   *sajkkila*   *talli*   *niRuttuna:*   *te:ʋale*
Persu.   cycle+Acc   move   park+if   better
'It is better if you park the cycle little bit away'

The other lexical item *paraʋa:lle* 'it is better' is also used in this sense.

The lower income, middle age group informants belonging to scheduled community suggest to their landlords to stop the cycle outside the house instead of bringing it inside.

e:nuŋka	*ʋelila*	*niRuttiʈʈu*	*ʋarala:mlaŋka*
Att.Ca.+Hon.Suf	outside+Loc.	Park + Aux.Comp.	come+Sug.+Hon.Suf.

sajkkla
cycle + Acc.
'Hello, you could have come after parking the cycle outside the house'

9.7.6.3. Inclusive Plural

Lower income group informants belonging to the backward community while making a request to their superiors i.e., landlords use the possessive inclusive plural pronoun.

namma	*sajkkla koɲcam*	*o:rama:*	*ʋacca: paraʋa:lli:ŋka*
our	cycle+Acc. Persu.	aside	if park it is better + Hon.Suf.

'It is better if (you) keep <u>our</u> cycle aside'

Thus the imposition of requesting to park the cycle aside has been minimized by the use of inclusive pronoun.

9.7.7. Request to Subordinates

While making a request to subordinates the following factors are observed. In the case of forward and backward community informants we find,
1. dropping of –ŋka, the honorific suffix and
2. using neutral or power language effectively

9.7.7.1. Deliberate Questioning of the Action

e:ŋʈa:ɖe:		*iŋka*	*konʈuʋanʈu*	*niRutture*
Att.Ca.+PM		here	having brought	park + Pre.Ten. + II PT

o:rama:	*niRuttakku:ʈa:tu*
aside	park don't

'Hey, why have (you) brought and parked (your bicycle) here, why don't you park it aside?'

The above request is made by middle age group forward community informants to low income scheduled community informants which consists of authoritative markers such as non-honorific address term, elements that deplore the action and question the action. Similar requests

are found to be used by young age group agriculturists also while they speak to scheduled community laborers.

9.7.7.2. Declining Permission

Forward community, old age, middle income group informants decline permission to a subordinate to park the cycle in their house and ask him to park it somewhere else in the following manner:

iŋka   *ʋaɳʈu*   *eʈam rompa*   *kaʈʈaja:*   *irukkutappa:*
here   [gap filler]   space very   minimum   is + PANM
ni: *ʋe:Ra*   *eʈattula*   *niRuttikka*
you   some other   place+Loc.   Park + Sug.
'There is very less space available here, you park (the cycle) at some other place'

In the above request, in addition to declining the permission, power avoidance neutral marker *–ppa:* is also used. Similarly middle age informants directly resent the action of dumping the garbage by the sweepers and use the suffix *–mma:* 'power avoidance neutral marker' to them.

However, college educated high income group professionals of scheduled community use *–ŋka* honorific suffix to subordinates.

iŋkella:m   *atak*   *koʈʈa:ti:ŋka*
here   that   dump-don't
'Don't dump that here'

This shows that some informants use honorific suffix to sweepers also and someother informants use power avoidance neutral suffixes to them.

9.7.7.3. Use of Non-Honorific Suffix

The middle and young age group lower and middle income group informants use non-honorific suffix to the menials.

sajkkla   *talli*   *ʋajʈa:*
 cycle+Acc.   move park+PM
'Park the cycle aside'

Similarly, the lower income old age group backward community informants use *–Ra*: suffix to menials. Other informants of forward, backward and scheduled communities use neutral suffixes *–ppa:* to the subordinates. Most of the old age informants except lower income group use *–ppa*: suffix.

9.7.7.4. Power Avoidance Neutral Marker

The professionals and educated middle and old age group irrespective of the communities viz., forward, backward and scheduled communities tend to use the power avoidance neutral suffix *–ppa*: to their subordinates.

ennappa:	*ippiʈi*	*niRutti:ʈʈaje:*
Att.Ca.+PANM	like this	stop + Aux. Comp. + I PT + Voc.
ʋarraʋuŋkalukku		*eʈaɲcala:*	*irukkume:*
come + Pre.Con.Hon.Suf.+Pl.Suf.+Dat.		inconvenience	it is
o:rama:	*nakatti*	*ʋaj*
aside	move	park

'Hey, why (you) have parked (your cycle) like this. It will cause inconvenience to the coming (persons). Move it aside and park'.

9.7.7.5. Exercise of Power Language

Agricultural laborers of scheduled community use power language to a village menial who also hails from the same community.

ennaʈa:	*ippiʈi*	*koɳʈu ʋanʈu*	*ʋa:cappaʈijila*
Att. Ca.+PM	like this	having brought	footsteps + Loc.
niRuttura	*koɲcam*	*talli*	*niRuttura:*
park + Pre.Tex.	Persu.	move	park + PM

'Hey, (you) brought (the cycle) and park (it) at the footsteps like this, move a little bit and park (it)'.

Middle income group government servants ask the low income group scheduled community informants not to park the cycle in the following manner:

e:mpa:	*onakku*	*aRiʋu*	*illa*	*iŋka*
Att. Ca.+PANM	you+Dat.	knowledge	don't	here
koɳʈuʋanʈu	*sajkkila*		*niRutture*	
Having brought	cycle + Acc.		park + Pre. Ten. + I PT	

'Hey, don't you have sense? Why do (you) bring (your) cycle and park it here?'

Thus the government servants exercise power and authority in their linguistic behavior while interacting with those of the low income group individuals.

9.7.7.6. Softening Features in Authoritative Requests

Though the request is made in an authoritative way, there are some linguistic features which convert the authoritative request into polite request. Some of such features are listed out here:

1. *iŋka*   *niRutta*   *ʋe:ɳa:m*   *koɲcam*   *talli*   *niRuttu*
   here   park   don't   Persu.   move   park
   'Don't park here, park aside, please'

2. *koɲcam*   *o:rama:*   *niRuttiru*
   Persu.   aside   park
   'Park aside please'

In the above two statements, the persuasive adverb *koɲcam* is added in the request which ultimately makes the request a soft one.

9.7.8. Use of Authoritative Features

The use of authoritative features in verbal interaction have been divided into seven categories, namely, (1) command and instructive (2) questioning the action (3) deploring the action (4) using power avoidance neutral marker (5) using intermediate intimacy marker (6) using power marker and (7) using intimacy marker. The percentage of occurrence of the above seven features in the three communities is presented in the following three charts. The same is presented in the form of bar diagrams also.

FORWARD COMMUNITY: AUTHORITATIVE FEATURES

Forms	Community Leader	Neighbor	Friend	Colleague	Superior	Subordinate
Command and Instructive	-	4.2	-	-	-	12.5
Action Questioned	-	-	-	-	-	8.3
Action Deplored	4.2	-	4.2	-	4.2	4.2
PANM	-	-	-	8.3	-	8.3
IIM	-	-	-	-	-	-
PM	-	-	-	4.2	-	16.6
IM	-	-	20.8	-	-	-

Forward Community
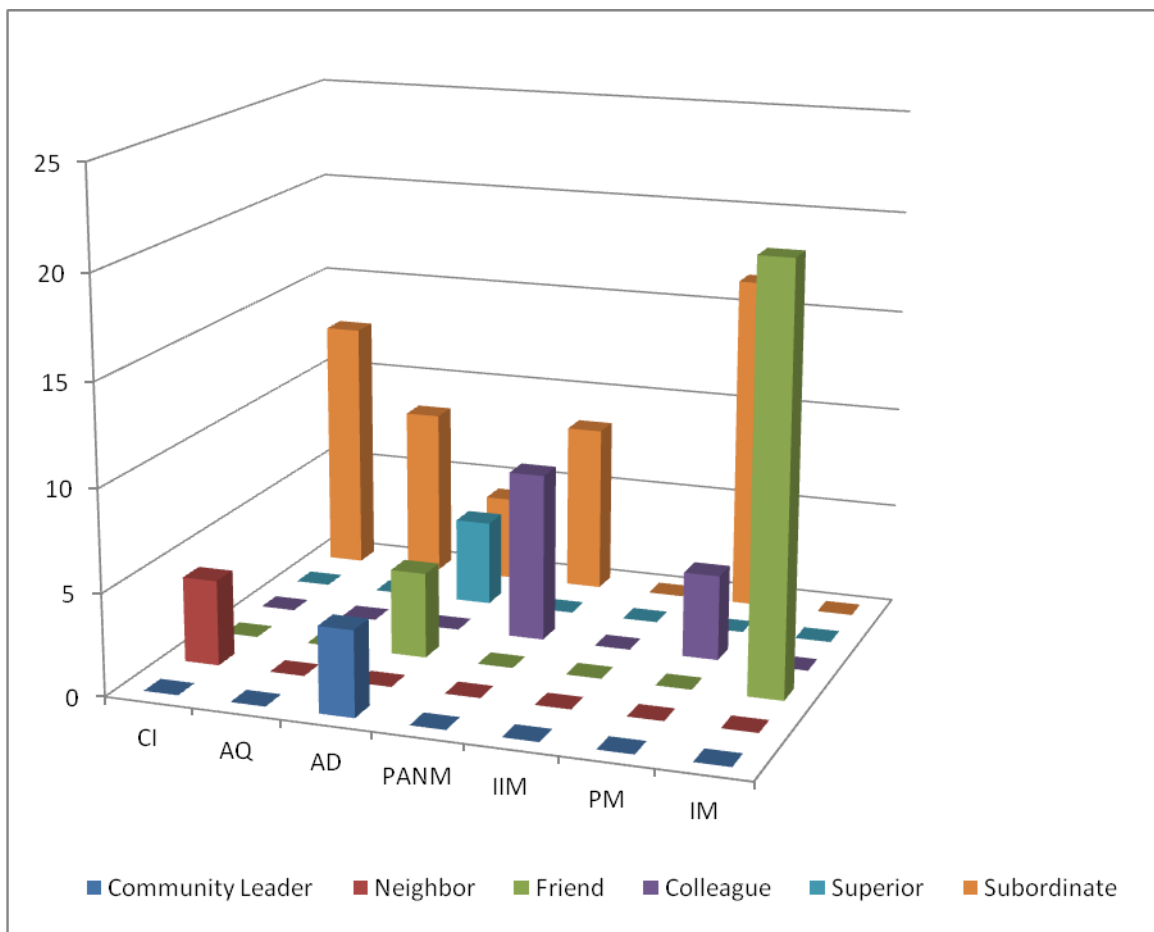
Authoritative Features

(in Percentage)

BACKWARD COMMUNITY: AUTHORITATIVE FEATURES

Forms	Community Leader	Neighbor	Friend	Colleague	Superior	Subordinate
Command and Instructive	2.9	-	-	13.9	-	10.1
Action Questioned	-	2.9	-	-	-	5.7
Action Deplored	2.9	-	-	2.9	-	2.9
PANM	-	5.7	-	8.3	-	16.6
IIM	-	-	-	-	-	-
PM	-	-	-	-	-	5.7
IM	-	-	19.5	-	-	-

Backward Community

Authoritative Features

(in Percentage)

SCHEDULED COMMUNITY: AUTHORITATIVE FEATURES

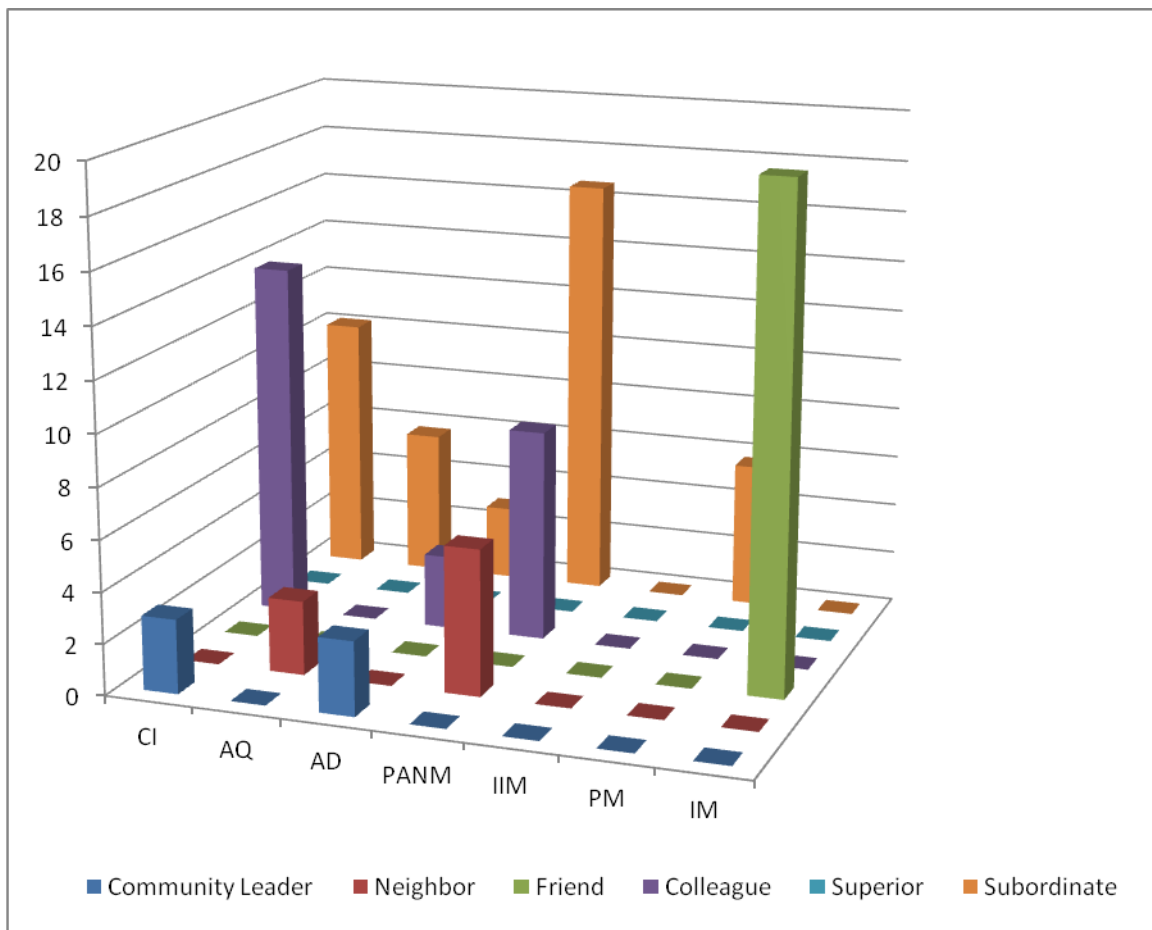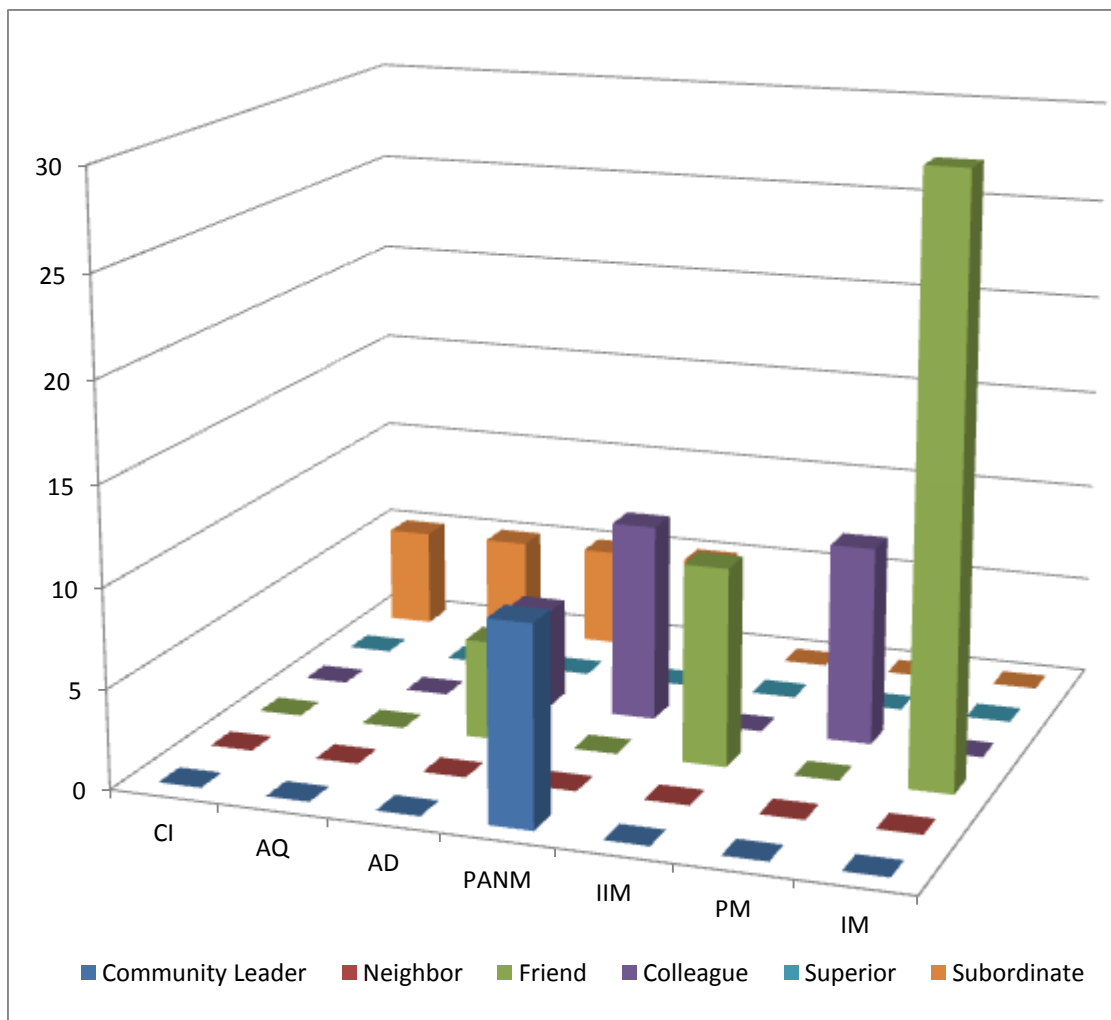| Forms	Community Leader	Neighbor	Friend	Colleague	Superior	Subordinate
Command and Instructive	-	-	-	-	-	5
Action Questioned	-	-	-	-	-	5
Action Deplored	-	-	5	5	-	5
PANM	10	-	-	10	-	5
IIM	-	-	10	-	-	-
PM	-	-	-	10	-	0
IM	-	-	30	-	-	-

Scheduled Community

Authoritative Features

(in Percentage)

As far as the use of authoritative features to the community leaders is concerned, we find only low frequency of occurrence. In the forward communities the strategy of deploring the action is the only feature attested in the interaction with their community leader whereas in the backward communities apart from the strategy of deploring the action, commanding features are also attached strikingly. Among the scheduled caste informants only the power avoidance neutral marker is used in this context. Thus, this trend shows the nature of the role played by community leaders in their respective societies.

Among the scheduled caste members, no instance of using authoritative features either to their neighbor or to their superior is attested. However, among the backward and forward communities the technique of deploring the action and using power avoidance neutral markers are attested.

In all cases, authoritative features have been used while interacting with the subordinates. However, we find certain differences in the frequency distribution of different techniques expressing authority. Among forward community informants' use of power markers is prevalent while among the backward community informants it is the use of power avoidance natural markers quite often and among the scheduled community informants we find he use of four techniques, namely, (1) commanding (2) questioning (3) deploring the action and (4) using power avoidance neutral marker are equally distributed.

10. Conclusion

10.1 <u>General</u>

This chapter consolidates the results and findings of the study and also discusses about the future perspectives of research in this field of study.

10.2 <u>Use of Pronouns</u>

A general conclusion about the use of pronouns is that the selection of a particular pronoun is made in relation to an individual's socio-economic status, literacy level and age. Moreover, the relationship existing between the addresser and addressee does control the selection of an apt pronoun. The specific findings of this study are listed below:

1. Individuals of lower socio-economic status working in unorganized sectors due to their group solidarity tend to use the singular non-honorific pronoun <u>ni:</u> 'you-sg.' among themselves.
2. The high income peer groups address each other by using the honorific pronoun <u>ni:ŋka</u> 'you-pl.'. The formal relationship found among the addresser and addressee also conditions the use of the pronoun <u>ni:ŋka</u>.
3. The power of authority based on caste or occupation makes the addresser to use the non-honorific second person pronoun <u>ni:</u> even to the elders.
4. Intimacy nullifies the use of deferential pronoun <u>ni:ŋka</u> between the friends and kinsmen.

10.3 <u>Use of Pronominal Terminations</u>

An analysis of the use of pronominal terminations in the kin and social network levels shows that education, socio-economic status and age play a vital role over the choice of an appropriate pronominal termination in a given context. Given below are the specific conclusions of this study:

1. Illiterates and individuals of lower socio-economic status tend to use non-human pronominal terminations to their kin relations like father and mother.
2. Cutting across all the social groups, mother is addressed with non-human pronominal termination. This use of non-human pronominal termination to human individuals indicates the lower social status of women in this area.
3. Educated individuals tend to use honorific pronominal terminations to their mothers in formal as well as informal situations. While referring to wives in formal situations they tend to use honorific pronominal terminations.
4. Husbands are referred to by using honorific pronominal terminations.

5. Classmates are referred to by using intimate pronominal terminations.
6. Service Caste people and servants are all referred to by using non-honorific pronominal terminations.
7. The temple priest of a local deity tend to be referred by using non-honorific pronominal terminations while their counterparts of major deity command honorific usages.
8. In dubious cases where a clear-cut decision on the use of an appropriate pronominal termination cannot be made, the individuals tend to sue the pronoun –a:ple which avoids the use of a pronominal termination.
9. Strangers are highly deferenced and honoured.
10. Of the six types of pronominal terminations, the honorific form of PT is used mostly in all the three communities.
11. Less frequency of use of power marked pronominal termination among the individuals of scheduled community reflects their lower social status.

10.4 Use of Kinship Terms

Due to the spread of telecommunications, mass media has flourished and as a result of this, the variations found in the use of kinship terms are losing their significance. The specific conclusion about the analysis of the data related to the use of kinship terms shows the following trends:

1. The use of kinship terms such as _anna_: 'father', _cinnaŋŋa_: 'elder brother', _cinnamma_: 'aunt', shows a declining trend. Standard forms like _appa_: 'father', _citti_ 'aunt', etc., have gained popularity among the individuals.
2. The term _a:tta_: to refer to mother's mother is gaining higher frequency of use among the youngsters of this region (as against equivalent words like _amma:ji_ or _a:ja_:).

10.5 Use of Address Terms

The choice of an appropriate address term is made according to different factors in the inter-personal relationship between the addresser and addressee. Social situation does have a role to play in the selection of a proper address term. The following conclusions describe the use of address terms in this area:

1. The choice of an address term depends upon the socio-economic status, literacy level, age group and the relationship found in the inter-personal level.
2. Individuals of lower socio-economic status tend to use honorific address terms to their superiors.

3. Old and young age group individuals of lower socio-economic status receive non-honorific pronouns only from young but socio-economically higher individuals.

4. Classmates tend to be addressed by their names, and intimate pronominal terminations are used while referring to them. However, if they are placed in a higher position in the society, they command honorific forms.

5. The village headman of each caste is addressed using honorific forms.

6. The hotel servers and individuals of service castes are addressed by using either the neutral or non-honorific address forms. However, the educated informants tend to use honorific forms to them.

7. Land holding which is indicative of an individual's higher economic status decides the choice of an address term.

10.6 Semiosis of Address Terms

The status inconsistency found between the addresser and addressee controls the speech behavior of the individuals. Their non-verbal behavior is also controlled by the above factors. Proximity, eye sight, facial expressions, gesture, remaining silent etc., are some of the semiotic features co-occurring with speech. The findings of semiotic analysis are presented below:

1. The settlement pattern closely correlates with the social hierarchy.

2. The space between the addresser and addressee is indicative of the social distance between them.

3. Individuals of inferior or lower status tend to avoid establishing eye contact with their superiors

4. The misuse or improper use of address terms spoils the relationship between the interactants.

10.7 Mode of Request and Exercising Authority

10.7.1. Request Patterns

When individuals of unequal status interact with each other the language use that takes place between them varies. The variation may be in the construction of sentence patterns, choice of address/reference terms, etc. An analysis of the request pattern gives the following results:

1. Penta marked requests are sparingly used.

2. Single and double marked request constructions are prevalent among friends, colleagues and neighbors indicating their close relationship.

3. Strangers and superiors are given due respect.

4. While interacting with subordinates, the informants of forward and backward communities use less number of treble, tetra and penta marked request constructions whereas the individuals of scheduled community use them in higher frequencies.

5. Power marked requests are directed towards subordinates while intimacy marked requests are directed towards friends. The instances of occurrences of the power marked requests are higher among the forward and backward communities while they are lower among the scheduled community informants.

10.7.2. Politeness Features

The findings of the analysis on the use of politeness features in the social network level are listed below:

1. Using time adverbials, repeating the sentence and pausing between words are the three important strategies employed as a means of expressing politeness.
2. Of all the politeness expressing strategies employed, the strategy of using the persuasive adverbial *koɲcam* has a higher frequency.
3. Requests made to subordinates consist mostly of power language and power avoiding neutral marked request.

10.7.3. Authoritative Features

1. Authoritative features of request are used in less frequency to community leaders.
2. The individuals of scheduled community never use authoritative features to their superiors.
3. The individuals of forward and backward communities employ the technique of deploring the action more frequently.
4. In all, four types of strategies of expressing authority have been attested namely, (1) Commanding (2) Questioning (3) Deploring the action and (4) Using the power avoidance neutral markers.

10.8 Future Perspectives

The present study has chosen a rural setting as its geographical setting. The contrast between rural and urban settings is a well-known one. Due to factors such as opportunities for higher income, higher education, transportation, recreation, etc., we find a large gap between the rural and urban people. Therefore, an attempt can be made to undertake a similar study in an urban setting. The fall of the joint family system in the urban area has given rise to the setting up of nuclear families. This situation is a bi-product of the economic independence and upheaval among the younger generation of the present day society. Dependency, be it economic or otherwise, does control the choice of the address terms, reference terms etc. Therefore this parameter should also be taken into consideration while studying the urban situation.

We quite often come across instance where the use of improper, impolite and unparliamentarily forms has resulted in the breakdown of social and other relationships among individuals. Similarly a number of instances can be quoted where a proper use of language has promoted and strengthened the relationship found among the individuals and has brought out a cordial situation. Hence, an attempt can be made to study how the proper or improper use of language fosters or hampers the social relationship in the Tamil situation. In situations like negotiations and discussions, the findings of above study could be used to promote cordial human relationship.

Society is constituted of individual members who have certain specific roles to play. Depending upon the nature of the role/part played by an individual in the society, he or she enjoys higher or lower status in the society. Those who enjoy higher status in the society are addressed and referred to using honorific forms in the normal day-to-day interactions, and those who are in lower status addressed generally with non-honorific forms. But human relationship exists in respecting the feelings of even those who are in lower status in the society. The services rendered by people in the lower strata are as important as those rendered by the higher, enjoying the higher status in the society. Therefore, the use of honorific forms of address and reference is an indication to the effect that the services rendered by them are also significant and essential for the existence and development of a society. Thus, the use of honorific forms not only helps the smooth functioning of society but also helps to foster human relationship. This type of study will help a lot to understand the consequences of the use of well-formed or ill formed address terms, reference terms, etc.

Attempts can also be made to formalize the modes of request in the different situations and contexts, the results of which could be used in language teaching both in the L1 and L2 levels. If formalization of request patterns in Tamil situation could be accomplished, it could serve several purposes apart from language teaching. Transactional analysis, for instance, could draw heavily from this type of study.

Machine understanding of language (artificial intelligence), parsing of natural language structure could also be benefitted much if attempts are made to formalize patterns of request, address, reference, etc.

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APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE

I.   Social Background of the Informant

1. Name   :

2. Present Address   :

3. Status of the place   : Village / Town / Panchayat

4. Age   : Young/Middle/Old

5. Sex   : Male/Female

6. Religion   :

7. Caste   :

8. Occupation   :

9. The places where the informant
    lived earlier   :

10. Particulars about the lands and properties owned:

    1. Two wheelers/four wheelers
    2. Agricultural land
    3. House (s)
    4. Television
    5. Refrigerator
    6. Phone
    7. Personal Savings
    8. Other Properties

11. Monthly / annual income   : High/Middle/Low

12. Educational Qualification :   Illiterate
        Primary education
        School education
        Collegiate education

13. Availability of school (s)
   in the village   : Yes/No

14. Availability of cinema
   theatre(s) in the village   : Yes/No

15. Is there any association
   for your caste   : Yes/No

16. Mother tongue   :

17. Other languages known   :

II. Reference and Address Terms in the Kin Network level

Please specify the reference and address terms used to the following kins who are identified as important in the kin network level. (It has to be mentioned here that the questions were not put directly to the informants. They were asked to speak a few sentences about the concerned kins and from their speech the pronouns, address terms and reference terms used to refer to that particular kin have been gleaned).

1. Male parent

2. Female parent

3. Sibling : male : elder

4. Sibling : male : younger

5. Sibling : female : elder

6. Sibling : female : younger

7. Life Partner

8. Children

9. Paternal sibling : male : elder

    (a) His wife
    (b) Sons
    (c) Daughters

10. Paternal Sibling : male : younger
    (a) His wife
    (b) Sons
    (c) Daughters

11. Paternal sibling: female : elder
    (a) Her husband
    (b) Sons
    (c) Daughters

12. Paternal Sibling : female : younger
    (a) Her husband
    (b) Sons
    (c) Daughters

13. Maternal Sibling : male : elder
    (a) His wife
    (b) Sons
    (c) Daughters

14. Maternal Sibling : male : younger
    (a) His wife
    (b) Sons
    (c) Daughters

15. Maternal Sibling : female : elder
    (a) Her husband
    (b) Sons
    (c) Daughters

16. Maternal Sibling : female : younger

     (a) Her husband
     (b) Sons
     (c) Daughters

17. Father's father

18. Father's mother

19. Mother's father

20. Mother's mother

21. Elder brother's wife

22. Younger brother's wife

23. Elder sister's husband

24. Younger sister's husband

25. Wife's elder brother

26. Wife's younger brother

27. Wife's elder sister

28. Wife's younger sister

29. Wife's father

30. Wife's mother

31. Husband's father

32. Husband's mother

33. Husband's elder brother

34. Husband's younger brother

35. Husbands' elder sister

36. Husband's younger sister

37. Son's son

38. Sons' daughter

39. Son's wife's father

40. Son's wife's mother

41. Daughter's husband's father

42. Daughter's husband's mother

43. Daughter's son

44. Daughter's daughter

45. Daughter's husband

46. Wife's elder/younger sister's husband

47. Grandson's wife

48. Granddaughter's husband

49. Children of grandson

50. Children of granddaughter

III.   Reference and Address Terms in the Social Network Level

Please specify the reference and address terms used to the following individuals who are identified as important in the social network level. (It has to be mentioned here that the questions were not put directly to the informants. they were asked to speak a few sentences about the concerned kins and from their speech the pronouns, address terms and reference terms used to refer to that particular kin have been gleaned).

1. Classmate

2. Classmate in school/college but placed in high position now

3. Hotel server

4. Colleague

5. Head man of the caste

6. Owner of the concern/superior

7. Manager/supervisor

8. Barber

9. Dhoby

10. Sweeper

11. Grocery shop-keeper

12. Priest of a major deity

13. Priest of a minor deity

IV.   Explicating Politeness by Language Use

Please specify how a request can be made to a (1) stranger, (2) neighbor, (3) friend, (4) colleague, (5) superior, and (6) subordinate to get the following items:

1. News paper

2. Match box

3. Lime and

4. Change for some amount of rupees

Exercising Authority by Language Use

Please specify how you would make a request to a (1) community leader, (2) neighbor, (3) friend, (4) colleague, (5) superior, and (6) subordinate not to do the following activities:

1. Parking the cycle in front of your house and

2. Dumping the garbage in front of your house.