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EVIDENCE OF GRAMMATICAL CONVERGENCE IN  
DAKHINI URDU AND TELUGU

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Introduction. The interaction between Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages has been an important feature of the linguistic situation in South Asia and has undoubtedly contributed to the formation of many of the characteristics which define South Asia as a linguistic area. The processes by which semantic and syntactic structures diffuse and adapt constitute an important area of study. However, for most Indo-Aryan languages the period of active contact with Dravidian languages belongs to a very early stage of their development in South Asia.

More recent examples of the interaction between Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages can be found where large and stable communities of Indo-Aryan speakers have taken up residence among Dravidian speakers and have maintained their identity and language over long periods. This is the case with Dakhini Urdu, an Indo-Aryan language originating in North India, which has been spoken by sizeable communities throughout Southern India since the 16th, and even the 15th century. During this period Dakhini Urdu has undergone a number of changes which have resulted in a grammatical system more similar in many respects to that of the Dravidian languages with which it has been in contact. This is in addition, of course, to extensive lexical borrowings between the two languages.

For several reasons, Dakhini Urdu provides an especially fertile field within which to study the processes of interaction and transmission of semantic and syntactic structures between two genetically unrelated languages. The migration of the speakers of the antecedent of present-day Dakhini Urdu to South India is well documented in terms of time and geographic distribution. There is also literary and other evidence for the history and development of the relevant Dravidian languages. Of special importance are literary texts in early Dakhini Urdu dating from the 16th to the 18th century.

The main purpose of this paper is to bring together linguistic data to demonstrate the extent and variety of the structures which Dakhini Urdu shares with Telugu, but which are strikingly different from Standard Urdu and Hindi. The evidence is primarily of convergence of Dakhini Urdu toward the Telugu pattern, although there is some evidence of convergence in the other direction as well, particularly in certain varieties of Telangana Telugu.

Dakhini Urdu and Telugu. The language names Dakhini Urdu (DU) and Telugu (Te) denote a number of dialects which exhibit a wide range of geographic and social variation. In this paper a single variety of each has been taken as the basis for comparison. The type of language which each represents may best be described in terms of the personal backgrounds of my two informants.

The Dakhini Urdu forms represent the speech of a native of the city of Hyderabad who speaks both Dakhini Urdu and Standard Urdu (SU). His education has been in Standard Urdu and English and he is actively involved in Urdu literature and journalism. He understands Telugu well, but uses it only in very limited situations.

In any attempt to uncover possible influence or convergence between Dakhini Urdu and Telugu, it is natural to begin with that form of Telugu which is spoken in and around the city of Hyderabad. This form is called Telangana Telugu (TTe) and differs from the standard literary form of Telugu which incorporates characteristics of the coastal Telugu dialects. My main informant was from Bhongir, a town about thirty miles from Hyderabad. Although his education has been through English and Standard Telugu, by preference and conviction he speaks only his local form of Telangana Telugu even with Telugu speakers from other areas. He understands some Dakhini and Standard Urdu, but his active use of these languages is limited to occasional contacts with non-Telugu speakers.

It should be noted that there is practically no grammatical difference between Standard Urdu and Standard Hindi, so that all statements about Standard Urdu apply equally well to Standard Hindi. The material on which this paper is based was gathered in 1971-1972 in Hyderabad, India while on a Fulbright-Hays Research Grant. The following sections present some of the evidence of grammatical convergence between Dakhini Urdu and Telugu, more specifically, Telangana Telugu.

Echo Compounds. These are compounds of the form X + X', where X' is a phonetically modified form of X, the modification most often being the substitution of a fixed consonant or syllable for the initial segment of X. Echo compounds have the approximate meaning of X and those things which customarily go together with X, a meaning indicated by 'etc.' in the following examples.

In SU, the most productive process is the replacement of the initial consonant by v. For example:

SU	khaanaa vaanaa <sup>1</sup>	'food, etc.'
	caay vaay	'tea, etc.'
	mez vez	'tables, etc.'

Echo compounds in Telugu are formed by replacing the first syllable (C)V of a word with gi if V is short and by gii if V is a long vowel.

TTe	Dabbu gibbu	'money, etc.'
	illu gillu	'a house, etc.'
	maaTa giITa	'words, etc.'
	suuTu giITu	'Western-style suit, etc.'

Dakhini Urdu follows the Telugu pattern

DU	khaanaa giinaa	'food, etc.'
	caa gii	'tea, etc.'

suuT giit	'Western-style suit, etc.'
basaaN gisaaN	'buses, etc.'
xaraz giraz	'loans, etc.'

Both Dakhini Urdu and Telugu also have a construction in which the negative is repeated with each member of the echo compound to make an emphatic negative construction.

TTe	paisalu giisalu	'money, etc.'
	paisal leev giisal leev	'There is no money whatsoever.'
DU	caa gii	'tea, etc.'
	caa naiN gii nahiN	'There isn't tea or anything.'

The parallel expression \*caay nahiN vaay nahiN does not occur at all in Standard Urdu. It appears, then, that Dakhini Urdu has not only adopted the phonetic pattern on which echo compounds are formed, but has also taken over a syntactic pattern involving these compounds.

First Person Plural Pronouns. In Dakhini Urdu a distinction is maintained between an exclusive and an inclusive first person plural pronoun, a distinction found in Dravidian languages and some Indo-Aryan languages, but not Standard Urdu and Hindi.

exclusive 'we'	DU	ham logaaN	TTe	meem
inclusive 'we'	DU	apan logaaN,	TTe	monam
		apal logaaN		

Possessive Pronominal Adjectives. In SU there is a reflexive possessive adjective apnaa which refers to the subject of the clause in which it occurs. For example:

SU	maiN <u>apni</u> kitaabeN becuuNgaa	'I will sell <u>my</u> books.'
	vo <u>merii</u> kitaabeN becegaa	'He will sell <u>my</u> books.'
	vo <u>apni</u> kitaabeN becegaa	'He <sub>1</sub> will sell his <sub>1</sub> books.'
	vo <u>uskii</u> kitaabeN becegaa	'He <sub>1</sub> will sell his <sub>2</sub> books.'

In Dakhini Urdu and Telugu no separate reflexive possessive adjective exists for the first and second persons. In Dakhini Urdu the third person reflexive does occur, but it can always be replaced by the non-reflexive uskaa even when referring to the subject. The Telugu tana 'his own, her own' functions in much the same way.

DU	maiN <u>mere</u> kitaabaaN becungaa	'I will sell my books.'
	une <u>apne</u> kitaabaaN becingaa	'He <sub>1</sub> will sell his <sub>1</sub> books.'
	une <u>uske</u> kitaabaaN becingaa	'He <sub>1</sub> will sell his <sub>2</sub> (his <sub>1</sub> ) books.'

Gender Contrast. In Telugu, as in other Dravidian languages, adjectives do not show gender or number agreement with the noun they modify. Verbal agreement, however, does show a distinction between masculine and feminine in the singular, but between human (masculine

and feminine) and non-human in the plural. For example:

TTe	vaad occinDu	'He came.'
	aam occindi	'She came.'
	vaall occinru	'They (m. and/or f.) came'

In SU, the masculine/feminine contrast is maintained in both the singular and the plural.

SU	vo aayaa	'He came.'
	vo aaii	'She came.'
	vo aae	'They (m.) came.'
	vo aaiiN	'They (f.) came.'

In Dakhini Urdu, the masculine/feminine contrast is maintained only in the singular; in the plural a single form refers to both masculine and feminine nouns. This applies to verbal agreement as well as attributive and predicate adjective agreements. For example:

DU	une aaya	'He came'
	une aaii	'She came.'
	bacce aae	'The boys came.'
	bacciaaN aae	'The girls came.'
	meraa ghar	'my house'
	merii kitaab	'my book'
	mere gharaaN	'my houses'
	mere kitaabaaN	'my books'

The loss of gender contrast in the plural may have other explanations than direct influence from Telugu, but the fact that Telugu has a gender contrast between masculine and feminine only in the singular may be a significant factor.

Demonstrative Pronouns and Adjectives. In SU, the same form functions both as a demonstrative pronoun and as a demonstrative adjective. In Dakhini Urdu and Telugu, demonstrative pronouns and adjectives always have separate forms.

SU	vo kitaab	'that book'
	vo aayaa	'He came.'
DU	vo kitaab	'that book'
	une aayaa	'He came.'
TTe	aa pustakam	'that book'
	vaad occinDu	'He came.'

Only in SU do demonstrative adjectives and pronouns have separate oblique forms with postpositions.

SU	ye kitaab	'this book'
	is kitaab meN	'in this book'

DU	ye kitaab	'this book'
	ye kitaab meN	'in this book'
TTe	ii pustakam	'this book'
	ii pustakam la	'in this book'

Form of Subject Noun Phrase. In SU the subject in participial or nominal constructions is either deleted or obligatorily marked by a postposition, usually the possessive kaa/kii/ke.

SU	gopaa <u>l</u> <u>kii</u> likii huii kitaab	'the book written by Gopal'
	aap <u>kaa</u> kiaa huaa kaam	'work done by you'
	us <u>ke</u> aane tak	'until he comes (until his coming)'
	un <u>ke</u> jaate hii	'as soon as they went'

In both Dakhini Urdu and Telugu, however, the subjects of such clauses are retained in their nominative (non-oblique) forms without a postposition.

DU	<u>maiN</u> likhaa so kitaab	'the book written by me'
	<u>aap</u> kie so kaam	'work done by you'
	<u>haamid</u> aae talakkaa	'until Hamid comes'
TTe	<u>neen</u> raasina pustakam	'the book written by me'
	<u>miir</u> jeesina pani	'work done by you'
	<u>haamid</u> occe daaka	'until Hamid comes'

Parallel Construction. In Dakhini Urdu many constructions appear to be modelled almost exactly on the Telugu patterns. The equation of the DU conjunction kii 'that' with the Telugu enclitic -oo is a particularly interesting example which results in widespread restructuring within Dakhini Urdu. This will be discussed in detail following examples of several other constructions.

DU vaisaa corresponding to TTe aTtu. In Dakhini Urdu there is a construction involving vaisaa 'like that, as' which occurs as the predicate of the verbs hai 'is', thaa 'was', dikhnaa 'to seem' or maalum honaa 'to seem, appear'. Before vaisaa the verb occurs with the suffix -e, the entire construction meaning 'it seems that...'. Several examples are:

DU	paanii paRe vaisaa hai	'It looks like it will rain.'
	une fel hue vaisaa dikh raae	'It appears that he'll fail.'

The Dakhini Urdu construction has an exact counterpart in Telugu with the element aTtu corresponding to vaisaa. The first sentence above in Telangana Telugu is:

TTe vaana occeT aTTu goDtunnadi  
'It looks like it will rain.'

The Standard Urdu equivalent of such constructions would involve a complement marked by the conjunction ki 'that' to the right of the main verb.

DU une paas hue vaisaa dikh raee  
SU aisaa lagtaa hai ki vo paas ho jaaegaa  
'It appears that he will pass.'

Contrary-to-Fact Sentences. In Telangana Telugu, but not Standard Telugu, a form of the verb consisting of the imperfective suffix plus the definite past occurs in both a past habitual sense and in the 'then' clause of contrary-to-fact sentences. For example from the stem kalus- 'to meet' may be formed kalustunTi 'I used to meet' or 'I would have met' as illustrated by these two sentences:

TTe prati roozu neen vaanni galustunTi  
'Every day I used to meet him.'  
neen aaDiki voote, vaanni galustunTi  
'If I had gone there, I would have met him.'

In both SU and DU a verb form consisting of the imperfective suffix -taa plus the past thaa has a past habitual meaning. For example, SU and DU maiN detaa thaa 'I used to give'.

This form is also used in Dakhini Urdu for the 'then' clause of contrary-to-fact sentences, something which never occurs in Standard Urdu. An example is:

DU agarce une ye kaam kartaa to maiN us kuu das ruupie  
detaa thaa 'If he had done this work, I would have  
given him ten rupees.'

In Telangana Telugu there is another verb form consisting of the imperfective participle plus the pronominal base which also shares these two meanings and uses. For example:

TTe occeTooDu 'he used to come/he would have come'

It seems reasonable to suppose that in Dakhini Urdu the verb form -taa thaa which originally only meant 'used to do' came to be used in contrary-to-fact sentences on the pattern of Telangana Telugu which has a single verbal form in both cases.

Correspondence of DU kii with TTe -oo. The conjunction kii 'that' is a complementizer in both SU and DU with similar functions.

DU mere kuu naiN maalum kii une kyaa bolaa  
'I don't know what he said, lit. to me  
it is not known that what he said'

In Telugu, indirect questions like this take the complement marker -oo.

TTe    naak erkaleedu                    'I do not know.'  
       vaaD een jeppinDu                'What did he say?'  
       vaaD een jeppinD-oo naak erkaleedu  
           'I don't know what he said.'

The DU sentence above has an alternate form in which the typical Indo-Aryan complement structure kii S has been replaced by the Dravidian pattern S kii.

DU     une kyaa bolaa kii mere kuu maalum naiin  
           'I don't know what he said.'

This is only the first piece of evidence that the complementizer kii of DU is to be equated with Telugu -oo. Consider these 'whether-or-not' indirect questions:

DU     mere kuu naiin maalum vo logaaN aae kii naiin kii  
 TTe    vaall occinr-oo leed-oo naak erkaleedu  
           'I don't know whether they came or not.'

The form of the 'whether-or-not' sentence is identical in both languages:

DU     aae        kii        naiin    kii  
 TTe    occinr- oo        leed-    oo  
           'came    or        not        or'

The occurrence of kii...kii in Dakhini Urdu corresponding so closely to the Telugu -oo...-oo suggests again that the Dakhini Urdu construction has been patterned on that of Telugu. In Standard Urdu the second occurrence of kii is completely ungrammatical.

One of the characteristic expressions of Dakhini Urdu is the phrase kyaa he kii which translates 'perhaps, maybe, I'm not sure.' It turns out to be an exact equivalent of the Telugu eemoo which has the same meaning and usage. These forms consist of the interrogative 'what' (TTe eem and DU kyaa) plus the complementizer (TTe -oo and DU kii). In DU the verb 'is' is included in the form he for hai. The forms TTe eemoo and DU kyaa he kii may therefore be analyzed as indirect questions and paraphrased as 'I don't know what it is'.

An exact parallel can also be seen in pairs such as these:

DU     une aaya kii kyaa he kii  
 TTe    vaaD occinD-oo eem-oo  
           'I wonder if he came or not.'

Indefinites and Interrogatives. In all three languages, there is a systematic relationship between interrogative pronouns and indefinite pronouns. In SU, indefinite pronouns are formed either by

the addition of the exclusive particle hii or ii to the interrogatives or they are reflexives of earlier such forms. In Telugu, the indefinites are regularly derived from interrogatives by the same enclitic particle -oo which forms indirect questions. Dakhini Urdu, not surprisingly, shows the Telugu pattern and forms indefinites from interrogatives by the addition of kii. The corresponding forms in all three languages are as follows:

TTe	eem	'what'	eemoo	'something'
DU	kyaa		kyaa kii	
SU	kyaa		kuch	
TTe	evaru	'who'	evaroo	'someone'
DU	kaun		kaun kii	
	kis		kis kii	
SU	kaun		koii	
	kis		kisii	
TTe	ekkaDa, eeDa	'where'	ekkannoo	'somewhere'
DU	kaaN		kaaN ki	
SU	kahaaN		kahiiN	
TTe	eppuDu	'when'	eppuDoo	'sometime'
DU	kab		kab kii	
SU	kab		kabhi	

The elements -oo and kii are not as closely bound to the interrogative as is the corresponding formative hii/ii in SU. This is clearly shown when the indefinite form is followed by a postposition, in which case the postposition occurs between the interrogative and the enclitic.

TTe	evariki	'to whom'	evarikoo	'to someone'
DU	kis kuu		kis kuu kii	
SU	kis ko		kisii ko	
TTe	ekkannunci	'from	ekkannuncoo	'from somewhere'
DU	kaaN se	where'	kaaN se kii	
SU	kahaaN se		kahiiN se	

Verbs of Saying. Perhaps the first thing which strikes a speaker of Standard Urdu or Hindi when hearing Dakhini Urdu for the first time is the frequency and variety of constructions involving the verb bolnaa 'to say, speak, talk' and its related forms bolke 'having said' and bole to 'if one says/asks'. The DU verb bolnaa corresponds not only to SU bolnaa 'to speak, talk' and kahnaa 'to say', but often to socnaa 'to think' and caahnaa 'to want' as well.

The Verb kate. The DU verb form kate appears to be the only remnant of the verb stem kah 'to say' which has been retained in the language. It is a third-person present tense form meaning 'they say,

it is said' and its presence in a sentence implies that the speaker is relaying information heard from others and thereby disavows any responsibility. Again, an exact parallel is found in the Telugu form aTa.

DU       une aaya kate  
TTe      vaad occinD aTa     'He came (so they say)'

Equivalence of DU bole to and TTe anTe. The TTe verbal form anTe is the stem an 'say' plus the conditional suffix -te with the sandhi n + t > nT. The meaning of anTe is therefore 'if one says then...'. The DU form bole to is a precise parallel to anTe since it is composed of the third person singular subjunctive/conditional of bol 'say' and the conjunction to which links the conditional clause with the result clause in both SU and DU. With the formal identity of bole to and anTe established, several parallel constructions in Dakhini Urdu and Telugu may be noted.

In all three languages there is a close relationship between the interrogative 'why' and the form meaning 'because'.

TTe	enduku	'why'	enduk anTe	'because'
DU	kaaekuu		kaaekuu bole to	
SU	kyoN		kyoNkii	

In both Dakhini Urdu and Telugu these forms occur with embedded imperative sentences, with or without a concluding clause. An example of the first case is:

DU       karo bole to naiN karaa  
TTe      ceyyam anTe jeeya leedu  
          '(Even though) he was told to do it, he didn't.'

Imperative verb forms occur with bole to and anTe without a concluding clause have a meaning of insisting or urging that action.

DU	dekho	'look'
	dekho bole to	'come on, have a look'
TTe	suuDu	'look'
	suuDum anTe	'come on, have a look'

In both Dakhini Urdu and Telugu, sentences which express a definition, A is defined to be B, are expressed with bole to and anTe.

DU	bhot duur bole to kittii duur
TTe	caana duuram anTe enta 'How far is "very far"? , lit. when one says "very far", how much is it?
DU	šer bole to jangal kaa baašaa
TTe	peddapul anTe aDvi-ki raazu 'The lion is the lord of the jungle, lit. if one says "lion", it is the lord of the jungle'

The Quotative bolke. In form and in many of its functions, bolke corresponds to Telugu ani, the quotative particle or participle which is characteristic of all Dravidian languages. The DU form, like Telugu ani, Tamil enru, etc., is the perfective non-finite form of the verb 'to say'. Compare the Standard Urdu sentence with the complementizer kii with the Dakhini Urdu and Telugu sentences:

DU    maiN ye kaam karaa bolke bolaa une  
TTe    neen ii pani jeesinn an jeppinDu  
SU    us ne kahaa kii maiN ne ye kaam kaaa  
      'He said that I did this work.'

DU    une ye kaam karaa bolke mere kuu maalum hai  
TTe    vaaD ii pan jeesinD an naak erkee  
SU    mujh ko maalum hai kii us ne ye kaam kaaa  
      'I know that he did this work.'

Causal Use of 'bolke'. The quotative participle in all Dravidian languages also occurs in a number of cases with a clear causal meaning. In Dakhini Urdu the meaning of bolke has been extended so that it is now the chief means for expressing the relationship of cause and result. A bolke B therefore means 'because A, then B' or 'A, therefore B'.

DU    une vaaN naiiN hongii bolke maiN naiiN gayaa  
TTe    aam aaD unDaa ani neem boo leedu  
      'She wouldn't be there, therefore I didn't go.'  
      'I didn't go because she wouldn't be there.'

Onomatopoeitic Use of bolke. An extension of bolke parallels the use of ani in Telugu to report sounds accompanying certain actions.

DU    taT bolke lakRii tuuTii  
      'The stick broke with a "taT"  
TTe    paTm ani kaTT irgindi  
      'The stick broke with a "paT"

These are but a few of the pervasive parallels and similarities which can be shown to exist between Dakhini Urdu and Telugu. Such examples provide particularly clear evidence for the modification and accommodation of Indo-Aryan grammatical structures in the direction of Dravidian patterns within relatively recent times.

1 In representing Urdu and Telugu forms, a double vowel letter indicates the corresponding long vowel, except for Urdu e and o which are always long; N represents nasalization of the preceding vowel; T D R are retroflex stops.