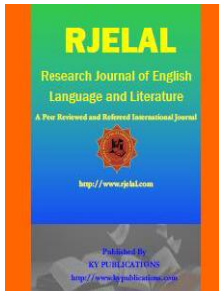**RESEARCH ARTICLE**

KANNADA VERSUS SANSKRIT: HEGEMONY, POWER AND SUBJUGATION

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the sociolinguistic struggles and conflicts which have been taken place in the context between Kannada and Sanskrit. As a result, the dichotomy of the enlightened Sanskrit and unenlightened Kannada is emerged among Sanskrit oriented scholars and philologists. This process of creating the asymmetrical relationship that exists between Sanskrit and Kannada throughout the formation of the Kannada intellectual world. This constructed dichotomy impacted on Kannada world, in such a way, without the intellectual resource of Sanskrit the development of the Kannada intellectual world is quite impossible. Which affirms Sanskrit is inevitable for Kannada in every respect of its sociocultural and philosophical formations. This is a very simple contention, due to this; Kannada has been suffering from the inferiority both in the contexts of cultural and philosophical developments. In spite of the contributions of Prakrit and Pali languages towards Indian cultural history, the Indian cultural past is directly connected to, by and large, limited to the aspects of Sanskrit culture and philosophy alone. Sanskrit language per se could have not done any domination, subjugation etc. on any of the Indian languages. But its power relations with religion and caste systems are mainly responsible for its domination on other Indian languages and cultures. Due to this sociolinguistic hegemonic structure, Sanskrit has become a language of domination, subjugation, ideology and power. This Sanskrit centric tradition created its own notion of poetics, grammar, language studies and cultural understandings. These particular thought processes reinforce the discourses of caste and religion hierarchies have entered into the mainstream Kannada intellectual world.

The present paper attempts to organize all of these different threads into a coherent picture by focusing on native distinctive sociocultural and epistemic patterns of Kannada culture and intellectual world. It means, this paper affirms the need to revisit the interconnections between Kannada and Sanskrit languages.

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I. INTRODUCTION

"The history of humanity is not only a history of socio-economic activity. It is also a history of semiotic activity". [M.A.K Halliday:2003 PP 210]

The discussions between Sanskrit and Kannada are not linear, plain and unidirectional. But they are subtle and complex both in terms of structures and functions. However, this paper does not propose to resolve these complex and subtle realities rather, to explicate the designs of linguistic

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hegemony and subjugation at one hand. At the other hand, it tackles the changing processes of power relations that have been associated with Sanskrit and Kannada. Colonial mindset and Vedic implications privileged Sanskrit and English at the expense of modern Indian languages. And they also created circuits in the relationship between Kannada and Sanskrit.

In all language related debates the issue of Sanskrit has been a site of controversy in contemporary situation of India. And a major source of contention regarding issues of identity and cultural authenticity is also connected to Sanskrit alone. At the one hand, this line of argument cannot be denied, as far as the hegemonic condition of Sanskrit over the native languages of India. No doubt about it, I will definitely subscribe with this argument. At the same time, I do contend it, because Sanskrit is merely the responsible parameter for the present linguistic conditions of India should also be taken into consideration. However, this paper is trying to highlight that how can Sanskrit be a major source for the problems that have been occurred to the native languages of India in general, and Kannada in specific.

The relation between Kannada and Sanskrit is very ancient. It is not possible to discuss that all changes, development, negotiations have been in the given relationship. Nevertheless, some important debates can be floated here.

The Politics of Knowledge: Kannada/Sanskrit

It seems to be very fascinating to talk about the politics of knowledge in the context of Karnataka. At the same time, it appears to be a problem, because "the debate about the politics of knowledge bears, as we have seen, a remarkable resemblance to recent debates about the notion and practice of development. Much of this latter debate focuses on the difference between "development from below" and "development from above", or between more localized and more globalized conceptions and standards of development. In much the same way, the debate about knowledge is characterized by a similarly polarized tension between knowledge that is more grounded in local and regional traditions and knowledge cultures, and knowledge that rather

marches to the tune of universally validated standards and prescriptions. This dual debate is by no means over, and is still at the center of much international controversy, not least over the role of universities in fostering, preserving and advancing particular kinds of knowledge" (Weiler 2006, 2009, pp 08). It may be noted that Kannada was not unable to evolve epistemologies rather knowledge systems over through the lives of its communities. When Sanskrit came into contact with Kannada, as a result, legitimization of epistemologies was problematic and crucial. Because Sanskrit was always referred to as language of literature, aesthetics and many other knowledge systems, whereas, Kannada was considered lack of all these epistemological realities. However, Sanskrit was regarded as resource of all sorts of knowledge systems such as religion, philosophy and logic. It does not mean that Kannada has not responded to this potential threat by employing a resistance mechanism. Kannada literary history provides many examples to prove the way in which it poses major challenges to Sanskrit in the contexts of literature and aesthetics. This controversy over the national and international politics of knowledge is very evident and has become a systematic critical inquiry in the present discourses politics of knowledge. The 12th century Vachanakars of Kannada composed many Vachanas [verses] refusing the Vedic hegemony and advocating a rational form of Bhakti allowing no middleman in the way of reaching the truth. This tradition prevailed throughout the literary history of Kannada right from Pampa unto the last.

Sanskrit centric fierce ideological positions imposed on Kannada were /are justified and appreciated through the ages until the twenty first century. Kannada poets-writer offer interesting insights into understanding the differences between Kannada and Sanskrit based knowledge systems. Kannada and Sanskrit were never shown as equals rather created dichotomies like superior [Sanskrit] and inferior [Kannada] languages. Over a period of time, these dichotomies have converted into social realities. Obviously these social realities have accepted by various social groups of Karnataka in terms of patronized understanding. This kind of

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make-believe has become a strategy for all dominant languages in general and Sanskrit in particular. As a result, this particular perception causes to establish cultural faith among the speakers of a given language. These arguments delineate that the way in which hegemonic structures emerge in any given speech communities across the globe. But, hegemonic structures may be perceived in different ways according to the communities' perceptions. Many a time, it is realized that this is perhaps state sponsored hegemony. However, the available historical records make it apparent that the politics of knowledge is always from above. This reaffirms stereotype that epistemology is created from above not evolved from below. Only the language that is being spoken in a community, such languages can always evolve knowledge and epistemological paradigms in a given communities.

Cultural theorists have already discussed the ways in which epistemological discourses function as a medium for social voices. That is, that knowledge discourse is the means by which notions of caste, religion and gender are structured and reproduced within society. It is necessary to reestablish epistemological discourses of Kannada from below to underscore and distinguish between Sanskrit driven knowledge systems and knowledge systems evolved from/within Kannada communities. The issues raised here are of such scope that they are the relevant discourses of native perspectives which evolved from below. "The discourses of education are also analyzed for their power to reproduce dominant/dominated relations external to the discourse but which penetrate the social relations, media of transmission, and evaluation of pedagogic discourse. It is often considered that the voice of the working class is the absent voice of pedagogic discourse, but we shall argue here that what is absent from pedagogic discourse is its own voice" (Bernstein, 1990, p. 65).

The death of Sanskrit: A continuation of sociolinguistic hegemony

From a global perspective, the trend is the same, many smaller languages are dying out due to the spread of a few world languages such as English, French, Chinese, etc. [Romaine 1989: 39] There are many pitfalls in trying to generalize on a global scale

about what causes for language attrition. As it is discussed above, there are many reasons for language shift and language death. Most studies of language shift have looked at a community's transition to the new language. But, in the case of Indian context, dealing with language endangerment is a problematic one. It is very subtle and complex phenomenon. It can't be analyzed based on western modals alone. However, it can be argued differently. The language of Cosmopolis i.e. Sanskrit [Sheldon Pollock] plays a very important role in India in the process of language shift/loss. We have always been aware of the ambience of many languages in our environment. Many languages are alive in our environment and we have always perhaps switched from one language into another unconsciously [Ananthamurthy. U. R 2009]. The 'ecologist' perspective – is a useful focus for linguists who call for measures to reverse this trend of language shift. If we value biological diversity and strive to protect it, surely it is equally important to take moral responsibility for the conservation and development of linguistic diversity.

"The status of Sanskrit is an instance of this – for close to a thousand years, this prestigious language was the chief vehicle of the (exclusionary and undemocratic) transmission of knowledge; however, today it is this language, rather than the less prestigious Prakrits, that is dead. As Sanskrit-speaking ruling classes could only capture the public domain, the centuries of its dominance had no permanently crippling effect on the less prestigious Indo-Aryan, Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian languages that flourished alongside it" [Ayesha Kidwai 2008]. This Sanskrit is still alive implicitly spreading across India into the languages and cultures. So Sanskrit did not die. It grew, it developed and it gradually split into Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati, and the other Indo-Aryan languages, to some extent, Dravidian languages too, and it is still with us under those guises. There's something a bit odd about lamenting the death of Sanskrit language when it has in fact taken off like this. Given the existence of modern Indo-Aryan, why be upset that Indians don't speak Sanskrit? Speaking Indo-Aryan pays homage to their Hindu-Vedic heritage, without requiring them to have frozen their culture as it was in one place and

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time. Thus, language shift involves bilingualism [often with Diglossia] as a stage on the way to monolingualism in a new language. E.g. Hindi has got several dialects, Bhojpuri, Maithili, Awadhi so on so forth. The fact is, these varieties of Hindi have never been used in the domains like education, administration, mass-media, literature [there may be some exceptions] and other public domains. The Sanskritized Hindi i.e. Khariboli took over their place. This new avatar of Sanskrit is the revitalization of old Sanskrit. It also rejects the claim that Sanskrit is the dead language. Standardization is nothing but Sanskritization of the Indian languages, it is not a new practice, and it has been there throughout the history i.e. sanskritizing the nation. In my opinion, when Mahatma Gandhiji suggested, making Hindustani as an official link language, instead of Hindi, there was a lot of resistance to it. Hindustani is a combination of Hindi and Urdu, in which Sanskrit had no place. It would have been a definite move to dehegemonizing the Sanskrit.

Sanskrit established a clear-cut dichotomy among Indian languages like 'Marga' [The world of Sanskrit] and 'Deshi' [Indigenous Languages]. This can be dealt with reference to Kannada. Unfortunately these dichotomies are used as the qualifying characteristics of a standardized variety of languages, which results in the creation of vernaculars [i.e. Native Languages] and Cosmopolis [i.e. Sanskrit]. Ananthamurthy. U. R [2009] describes it in an optimistic way, Vernacular has always had its advantage and use despite the power of the language of Cosmopolis – Sanskrit in the past and English in our times. It is very evident that, it is a kind of prevailing sociolinguistic hegemony on Kannada language and culture. It can't be considered as an advantage.

There has been a strong resistance throughout the history of Kannada language and culture in order to dehegemonizing Sanskrit. As a result, the sociolinguistic hybridity has been developed by our various poets through their works, for example, great Kannada poets like Pampa, Andayya, Nayashena, Kumaravyasa and Vachanakaras [mystic poets], by combining, marga and deshi, is also a kind of resistance to the Sanskritized Kannada. The concept of 'hybridity' is important in understanding the multiplicity of language practice. "This concept is inspired by the work of Bakhtin [1981] on the hybridity of the dialogue of languages, by Anzaldu'a [1987] on the hybridity of being the 'borderlands' and by Bhabha [1994] on the hybridity of the postcoloniality" [Ofelia Garci'a 2009:33]. As in views of Mohanty, "it is precisely this hybridity of language practices that is responsible for the maintenance of the many languages of the Indian subcontinent" [2009]. This fluidity in multilingual interaction demonstrates that different cultures have different ideas about the integrity of their own group in relation to outsiders. If speakers of minority language manage to find an ecological niche in the majority community which is conducive to language maintenance, they may have a better chance of survival.

In many [minority] languages, there are competing pressures towards (re) vernacularization and (re) standardization, which have their origin in the competition between the school and home varieties. There has always been tension between standard dialect and other regional/caste dialects. The standardization and modernization, these two tendencies which are greatly affected indigenous languages in terms of their structural and functional loss. Bernadett Biro and Katalin Sipocz, are identifying language shift in two types of linguistic processes such as; functional loss and structural loss. Language shift can involve loss of function as well as structural loss; the former means a decrease in the domains of language use, later refers to changes in the structure of the language occurring in the process of language shift. Due to the linguistic hegemony and cultural dominance of Sanskrit on Indian languages, all our indigenous languages are suffering from both functional loss and structural loss. The attitudes of Sanskrit towards the other Indian majority/minority languages can also play a decisive role in language shift. As far as functional language shift is concerned, a necessary condition for the survival of the indigenous languages would be the decrease of their functions. As far as the structural side of language shift is concerned, we can only sketch tendencies based on data provided by some case studies [e.g. B P Pandit, Sourashtrasi in Tamilanadu, D N S Bhat's on Kannada].

As if, the provincial languages are conspiring against the India unity [U N Shing 1992], Suniti Kumar Chatterji [1943] made a statement such as, "we feel that we ought to have a common language for the whole of India as symbol of common Indian Nationality". It is also of the opinion, very clearly felt by the language planning commission in a 1957, it was discussed by Sumathi Ramaswamy [2007] in her paper, "It is clear, however, from the report submitted by the Commission a year later on November 1957, that it saw its task as being more than just pedagogical, for at stake was the very survival of the emerging nation. The Commission was fiercely anxious about 'the growing fissiparous tendencies and linguistic parochialism which are jeopardizing the political unity of the country and are rocking the very foundations of our freedom'.' A decade of linguistic jealousy and bitterness had marred the joys of independence; there had been much squabbling within the nation over state boundaries and territories; and Hindi, the proposed official language of India, had been found unacceptable by large numbers of its people. Everywhere, 'regionalism' and 'linguism' were on the rise. The Commission's solution to these problems was clear-cut: to put Indians on a good and steady diet of Sanskrit by making its study compulsory in schools, and by instituting it as the official language of the nation. Sanskrit was ideally suited for this role, for it was the 'Supreme Unifier' (p. 201) and the 'Great Unifying Force' (p. 81). 'The Indian people and the Indian civilization were born ... in the lap of Sanskrit' (p. 85). It is 'in our blood' (p. 81). It is 'the breath of our nostrils and the light of our eyes' (p. 87). Mixing its metaphors, the Commission also variously described Sanskrit as 'the bedrock' of Indian existence, the 'main thread which runs through the entire fabric of the cultural life of an Indian' (p. 102), and the anchor that keeps the youth of India from losing their 'cultural moorings' (p. 51). 'If the binding force of Sanskrit [is] taken away, the people of India would cease to feel that they were part of a single culture and a single nation' (p. 70). So, by restoring Sanskrit back to its citizens, the nation, too, would be restored, and its troubled waters calmed. In Sanskrit, it was declared, brings a 'symphony to our life' (p. 84)." These views signify the linguistic chauvinism and fanatical attitudes towards Sanskrit and its religion. In my opinion, they are merely slogans and emotional bursts. It is quite true; they are also conspiring to establish the hegemony of Sanskrit with the sanction of India constitution. Even otherwise, the continuity of Sanskrit is spread over across the other Indian languages and cultures in terms linguistic structure, functional usages and imbibed in cultural practices. This is to be considered a greater damage to all the indigenous languages of the Indian subcontinent.

Standardization, Modernization and Diglossia: the status of linguistic diversity

Tribal languages and other minority languages do not institutionally support for their communicative functions. And also, they have no written literary tradition and no access to technology and science. In any of these domains, equal potential and access does not extend to them. Language revitalization and maintenance are and have always been political actioned. Because, Language policies are always discriminatory, favoring to some privileged class/communities. It is quite true that constitutional support and rights are extended to them in order to maintain their languages. Practically, they are not in favor of minority languages. The possibility of recasting the communities' interests and perspectives is never taken into consideration in order to achieve their aspirations. "The processes at work in standardization and hierarchies of styles and genres also give rise to what Bourdieu calls legitimization and authorization. Both these turn on how language is socially evaluated. Legitimacy is accorded to selected ways of speaking or writing in that they are recognized by other producers, by the dominant classes and by mass audiences" [Bourdieu 1993, 331; Garnham 1993]. Differences in social and economic position tend to be reproduced in unequal knowledge of legitimate language, which in turn reinforces constraints an access to power. However, Censorship, authorization, and the reinforcement of the dominant languages are all traceable to the pervasive effects of power [Gal & Irvine 1997, Lind storm 1992].

Standardization and modernization are a politicized discourse. "Standardization of languages can be regarded as a legitimizing activity expanding its institutional order through a 'programmed course' in socialization" [Berger and Luckmann, 1966, quoted by U N Singh 1992].According to Fishman [1974], "the social context of language modernization is most commonly discussed in terms of (a) the growing identification with the standard version of the national language on the part of the general public, (b) the increased accessibility of all varieties within the speech community, (c) the more rapid diffusion of linguistic innovations and status markers, resulting in repertoire continuity rather than discontinuity across classes". This linguistic inequality leads to the mismatch between home and school languages. This tendency reinforces to neglect the mother tongues of the tribe and minorities as well. As a consequence, linguistic assimilation takes place, in turn; this forces the tribal/ minority children into subtractive language learning in a form of submersion education in the dominant language. Institutions like education must promote mother tongue education in the multilingual situation.

Fishman [1971] divides all the multilingual developing nations into three clusters: nations with several Great Traditions, nations with one Great Tradition and nations with none [Quoted by Dua. H.R: Hegemony of English]. Sanskrit took-over every tradition into its account, considering that there is only one great tradition in India [i.e. Sanskrit]. As a result, Sanskrit is considered the only language of knowledge, philosophy, literature, great tradition and resource of vocabulary. Due to its monistic attitude, it imposed its monistic realities on all other indigenous languages. As a consequence, linguistic homogeneity was developed instead of sociolinguistic heterogeneity. It is another way of leveling the diversities and nullifying them in the domains of socio-cultural milieus. The knowledge systems and intellectual diversity were also integrated into Sanskrit tradition.

Characterizing linguistic codes in terms of 'High' and 'Low' is another way of differentiating sociolinguistic and cultural hierarchy. This dichotomy is linguistically called as Diglossia. It is not just a linguistic reality, it is a sociolinguistic attitude. Primary speech varieties with localized or restricting domains as 'Low' [i.e. colloquial Kannada] and superposed varieties enjoying access wider or enlarging domains as 'High' [i.e. Standard Kannada]has led many investigators to attribute ad hoc values to diverse codes available in a community. Such studies focusing on language attitudes generally rate primary speech as conceptually 'deficient* and sociologically as 'deprived'. This raises certain issues of fundamental nature, such as how does language structure reality. How far do the differences in speech behavior reflect differences in adequacy as opposed to acceptable variation! In what manner does the 'high brow' values of speech - uniformity, precision, elegance, purity of form, allegiance to literary tradition, elaboration of language through coining of new terms - actually meet with the demands of adequacy and effectiveness in everyday life communication in a society? (Khubchandani 1981).

The relationship between Kannada-Sanskrit and Kannada-English is also a Diglossic situation. The former is dealing with standardization whereas later one is dealing with modernization. The hegemony of both Sanskrit and English is imposed on Kannada. As a consequence, Kannada has to struggle with both Sanskrit and English in order to retain its structural and functional usages. In the formalized communication, and in the domains like literature, criticism and other discursive writings Standard Kannada [i.e. Sanskritized Kannada] is preferred. On the other hand, English is preferred in the domains like Science, Technology and Law. The similar situation can find in Hindi, which interface with Sanskrit alone, "those bilingual speakers belonging to the North-Central region (characterized as the Fluid Zone, cf. Khubchandani 1 972a 1978) who retain their regional or caste dialects either of Western Hindi or of altogether different languages of the region (such as Pahari, Lahnda, Panjabi, Rajasthani, Awadhi, Chhatisgarhi, Bihari) for informal communication within their speech group, but prefer to use Khariboli (standard Hindi) for formalized communication. In this diglossia situation, these speakers think of Khariboli as having a more prestigious role than their native speech,

which has a casual use. They regard their native speech habits as mere substandard variations of the all-powerful standard Hindi [Khubchandani 1981].

The distinctions between Standardized Kannada [i.e. Pure, high, powerful, elegant and standard variety] and Dialects [i.e. Impure, low, powerless, non-standard, corrupted variety, substandard] is big split. As a result, caste/regional dialects are at the tip of extinction. It leads not merely ironing-out the dialects alone; it also leads to the cultural loss.

Sanskritization: Representation versus Misrepresentation

This part of paper is trying to highlight that how can Sanskrit be a major source for the problems that have been occurred to the native languages of India in general, and Kannada is in specific. This whole linguistic process is called as Sanskritization. Sanskritization can be discussed in three broader perspectives;

    i. Structural linguistics
    ii. Sociolinguistics
    iii. Diglossic Situation [it is a phenomenon of both structural and sociolinguistics].

Sanskrit language has highly influenced on Kannada structure from sound to sentence. Due to this influence, Kannada has borrowed sounds, lexical items, sandhi rules and their written representation from Sanskrit, Ex. Aspirated sounds like; Ph, bh, kh, gh, chh, jh [ಫ್, ಬ್, ಖ್, ಘ್, ಟ, ಝ್]

vowels like R[ಋ] aI[ಐ] and[ಔ] etc. Therefore, Sanskrit is very prevalent and predominant in the context of high variety of Kannada which leads to linguistic discrimination among Kannada speakers. Due to the process of Sanskritization, the real usage of Kannada is restricted to a very limited domain. At the same time, the Sanskritized Kannada is not associated with the common people.

The pro-Sanskritization lobby is preparing an artificial Kannada that is highly Sanskritized and only literary would able to gain knowledge and information, restraining those who are illiterate from accessing information and knowledge. This language [low variety] can be used for interaction, and these languages are also the medium of knowledge dissemination and information sharing among common people. Pro-Sanskritization lobby

pushed Kannada on an exactly opposite route, and excluded Kannada and other regional languages from the realm of education, journalism, literature and all other academic discourses. Instead of the common people's language is being encouraged, the Sanskritized Kannada is promoted. Sanskrit has become an ultimate necessity of all the functional domains [education, literature, media, technology and social science]. But still, neither Sanskrit nor the lexicon of Sanskrit are protected by the common people in their day to day interaction. Further, this became a hurdle in acquiring knowledge and information.

II.

Renowned linguist and cultural critic K. V. Narayana from Karnataka proposes an alternative model to understand the relationship that exists between Kannada and Sanskrit in contemporary situations. The following tenets are the basic assumptions of his modal:

Kannada and Sanskrit: A Readjustment

The relationship between Kannada and Sanskrit is very ancient. This paper does not intend to understand the process of this relation. However, this focuses the following aspects to explicate the relation between Kannada and Sanskrit;

1. Sanskrit has highly influenced Kannada [linguistic] sound system; as a result Kannada adopted many of its phonemes and their written representation.

2. Sanskrit did influence on Kannada lexicon in a great manner. Kannada has borrowed lexicon directly from Sanskrit and also through Prakrit. The so called standardized variety of Kannada borrowed Sanskrit vocabulary probably more than fifty percentages.

3. Some of the Word formational aspects of Kannada were highly influenced by Sanskrit. Consequently, many examples are available in the context of morphophonemic structures and compound formation of Kannada language.

4. Due to the influence of Sanskrit on Kannada in some of the functional domains that created diglossic situation in Kannada. The prominence of Sanskrit lexicon is more in a higher stratum of social groups of Kannada and its standard dialect, whereas, the prominence of native

lexicon is more in the lower stratum of Kannada groups.

These structural influences of Sanskrit on Kannada are the basis to understand the issues of standardization of Kannada.

While determining the standard variety of Kannada, that form should be taken care to be remained in the modal of Sanskrit. Most probably, all sounds of Sanskrit are considered as Kannada sounds. Those phonological variations and diversities take place in Kannada are never legitimized in this particular determination of standardization. In the sense, the only written variety of Kannada is being considered as standard form. Even there is a standardized spoken variety [pronunciation], it must be legitimized by written variety. However, sound structure and lexicon structures of Sanskrit dictate the standardization of Kannada. More or less, in various discourses of Kannada, the use of standard variety is more prominent. Thus, even in the present situation, Sanskrit still continues its dictation and domination on Kannada in its various functional domains.

It is possible to examine the relationship between Kannada and Sanskrit from one more angle. Aspirated sounds and fricative sounds like Ś/Ṣ [ಶ/ಷ] are less prevalent in oral performance, whereas, these sounds are more prominent and prevailing without any gap in written Kannada. But in the process of neologism or in coinage of new words, Kannada violates the relation with Sanskrit in many respects. This practice could be seen among grammarians of old Kannada. Such practices in the process of new coinage are generally considered *Arisamasa* [i.e. compound but hybridized]. We don't see any hesitation among speakers while using such hybridized [Kannada and Sanskrit] forms which take place in Kannada. As well as, in these new constructions of Kannada and Sanskrit, the rules of word formation and morphophonemic [sandhi] processes are used together. Let's see a sandhi rules in word formation like *Bh:ugaLLa* [Land Thief]. There is a mere Kannada and Sanskrit word alignment in the given formation. But morphophonemic rule of this alignment is Kannada (i.e. **bhu:+kaLLa =bhu:gaLLa, k>g**). This is how, while combining both Kannada and Sanskrit words into Kannada, in such

morphophonemic process Sanskrit rules are more prevalent. The most prominent compound word in Kannada i.e. **u:To:pacha:ra** in this particular combination, **u:Ta** (Kannada) and **upacha:ra** (Sanskrit) are incorporated. But Sandhi rule is Sanskrit (i.e. guNasandhi). In this way, Kannada has developed its own structural designs to mix with Sanskrit structure. According to these structures, Sanskrit Kannadization (Samskrutada Kannadikarana) seems to be a strategy. That is why; common people cannot make out Sanskrit words that they regularly use hundred of them in their routine communication; they simply consider them as Kannada words. At the same time, when Kannada borrows words, sounds from other languages, especially from English language, people think that Kannada loses its purity. Thus, we need to determine that Sanskrit linguistic aspects internalized into Kannada which are very much transplant and visible.

Not only this, for many times, Sanskrit lexicon and word rules are the main resources for many new morphological structures in Kannada. But such new word-formation happens only in Kannada. New words which are not practically used in Sanskrit, basing the same language, Kannada makes use of them. This is the best example for signifying creative practice in the context of language contact. As expanding the domains of Kannada use, this unique relationship with Sanskrit facilitates Kannada to get new word formations enormously possible.

With this linguistic assistance of Sanskrit, Kannada formed new words, if not always, many times these Sanskrit forms replace Kannada lexical items that are constantly use in routine communication or they are also simultaneously used along with these Sanskrit words. For example, one can see that both *anna* and *ku:Lu* are in practice in Kannada. In this way, instead of the words or compounds have already been made available in Kannada, the words which we get from Sanskrit, between these two structures a unique relationship established between Kannada and Sanskrit. It means, Sanskrit words attain positive connotation whereas Kannada words attain negative/derogative connotation. Words like *anna* and *ku:Lu* are the best instances for this reality. The word *anna* in Sanksrit

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has a broader meaning *a:ha:ra* (i.e. food) that reduced to *akki* (i.e. rice) in Kannada. Similarly, the word *ku:Lu* has a same connotation like a:ha:ra that most probably prepared with the same ingredients, but now this word has got a negative and derogatory meaning. Nonetheless, if Sanskrit forms are given more privilege and legitimation, Kannada forms remain very informal in the functional domains. In such situation, if there are no differences as for as meaning are concerned, but there would be restrictions in their usages. However, Sanskrit forms get a prominent place in writing practices, whereas, Kannada words remain in oral practices alone. Due to the intrusion of English lexicon, the consequences of diglossia are getting more complicated.

Cultural and Political status of Sanskrit and its support uncovered another face between the relationship of Kannada and Sanskrit in language politics. Sanskrit is there in the list of languages which should be studied during schooling. It is found, as mother tongue/ first language speakers of Kannada generally learn Sanskrit instead of Kannada during their schooling. This tendency seems to be confined to cities. And its impact is not that serious at the surface structure. Still, there is an option between Kannada and Sanskrit. There are no tendencies that because of Sanskrit, except Kannada, no other languages are sacrificed. Alternative syllabuses like central and autonomous those are in practices have kept Kannada outside the education. Because Sanskrit is a classical language, therefore provisions are made to learn this language in school. This is how; there has been a constant conflict between Kannada and Sanskrit. One can notice that many turning-points took place in the movement which related to Gokak Report After 1982. In this movement, the kind of conflict was being attempted between Kannada and Sanskrit at one hand. On the other hand, one could see the several moves which marginalized the issue thinking that this wouldn't that important. This problem has not yet resolved in our schooling system, this still prevails. As a result, there is a possibility to not using the secondary skills like reading and writing for Kannada children. This becomes the major hindrance for the progress of Kannada.

But it is necessary to observe here one more aspect. While teaching Sanskrit as a classical language, one of the practicing written languages in a given situation is being used in the process of teaching this particular language. For example, even though students learn Sanskrit, but they write it in Kannada scripts. Even in the examinations, about Sanskrit poetry and related such texts and questions on them are only being answered in Kannada. This modal is very predominant in Karnataka. It seems to be a strategy to stabilize this modal. Those who wish to learn Sanskrit, they learn it through Kannada. Indirectly, they learn the secondary skills, *reading* and *writing* of Kannada. If Kannada is their mother tongue, the primary skills, speaking and listening are already known to them. In this way, the problem doesn't arise that students will not be deprived by learning Kannada.

As such Kannada has made used the impact of Sanskrit to strengthen itself. This is again regarded as a strategy. The structures of Sanskrit enter into Kannada; they never appear to be alienated. It is necessary to have knowledge of Kannada scripts and writing system to read and write Sanskrit. Therefore, it has become possible for Kannadigas to preserve the skills of Kannada to being with Sanskrit. By adopting this model into our pedagogy very systematically, it is possible for us to develop a cordial relationship with Sanskrit. As a result, linguistic coexistence between Kannada and Sanskrit becomes quite possible.

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