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Exploring the Students' Perception of ICT Integration in Indonesian EFL Classroom: A Game Changer or a Setback

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Abstract

Indonesia is a vast Southeast Asian country boasting a rich cultural and linguistic heritage, with a staggering 726 local languages. However, English is essential in Indonesian, especially in media, politics, and education. Recognizing its significance, the Indonesian government has incorporated English as a subject in the educational sector and included it in the national examination from elementary to high school levels. Despite these efforts, Indonesia's English Proficiency Index (EPI) remains low, with a score of 469 out of 502 compared to the global average. This paper investigates implementing Information and Communication Technology (ICT) in Indonesian English classes. The authors have explored the perceptions of both teachers and students concerning ICT, how they react to its presence, and the common types of technology used in these classes. The study's participants consisted of university-level students and teachers from the English department in Indonesia. Data collection was carried out through the distribution of questionnaires and conducting interviews with the teachers. The results revealed that incorporating ICT in the classroom benefits teachers and students. Interestingly, despite the technology's benefits, the teachers and students expressed confidence in their ability to perform well even without relying heavily on technology during their lessons.

Keywords: Indonesia, English learning, ICT, Technology, ELT, EFL Classroom.

Introduction

Indonesia is located in Southeast Asia, comprising more than 17,000 islands (Alcorn & Royo, 2000). With more than 280 million people, it stands as the fourth most populous country in the world. Indonesia boasts a rich cultural and linguistic heritage within this vast population, encompassing over 726 local or traditional languages. It is the second most linguistically diverse country globally, trailing only behind Papua New Guinea (Ridwan, 2018).

Despite Indonesia's immense plurality of languages, English is prominent in the nation. In fact, not only in Indonesia but in most nations, English is a required subject of study, and it is also the most widely used language online (Meirovitz et al., 2022). Various aspects of society, including media, politics, and education, commonly necessitate English usage (Lauder, 2008). Several foreign languages exist in this country despite English. However, the government has officially appointed English as the primary additional language since the decree of Indonesian independence in 1945 (Smith, 1991). Recognizing the significance of English, the Indonesian government has included it as one of the subjects in the educational sector and made it a part of the national examination curriculum, spanning from elementary to high school levels.

However, most students in Indonesia still need help to study English, as revealed by a recent survey conducted by English First. The survey places Indonesia at 81 out of 111 countries globally regarding English proficiency, with an EPI (English Proficiency Index) score of 469, while the global average stands at 502 (English First, 2022). Considering this, the enactment of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) is being explored to enhance English proficiency in Indonesia. Given that ICT is regarded as one of the strategies to promote language learning effectively (Li et al., 2019). Moreover, the use of technology in the classroom is prominent today to enhance the student's creativity (Bereczki & Kárpáti, 2021). Two advantages of technology in the classroom are that it engages pupils and helps them retain material. When ICT is employed in the classroom, students are more engaged. This is so that the same principles

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can be taught in a pleasant and exciting way using many techniques thanks to technology engaging pupils and helping them retain material (Wu et al., 2022).

In today's era, every aspect of human life has been integrated by the use of technology, and education is a part of it (Firmin & Genesi, 2013). Almost every modern class they are installed with a smartboard, projector, etc., to support the learning process (Saed et al., 2021). ICT, Ed Tech, or learning technology, refers to the ethical application of facilities that involve creating, using, and managing technology processes for learning to enhance student performance (Kaware & Sain, 2015). Additionally, ICT encompasses various tools and resources for communication, information management, and data storage, such as the Internet, radio, television, and more (Tinio, 2003). Similarly, ICTs refer to equipment that supports and strengthens educational settings to meet society's knowledge demands (Kreijns et al., 2013). Ghavifker and Rosdy (2015) state that education integrated with ICT involves leveraging computer-based information in conjunction with classroom activities. Furthermore, Bindu (2016) notes that ICT includes a wide range of tools, from FM radio to satellite communication, and goes beyond computers and the internet. Therefore, it can be concluded that ICT includes various tools that aid people in their work. It is not restricted solely to using computers, mobile devices, or the internet; it encompasses any equipment supporting human work in communication and information.

On the other hand, despite the advantages of using technology in language learning classrooms, many studies show the need for more impact of using ICT in language learning. Some voices call for reconsidering the integration of various types of technologies into the learning process, and recently, these voices have not only isolated ones (Pikhart, 2021). Some of the reasons that can be considered are the effectiveness of teachers' computer skills or the role that emotions play in accepting computers. Additionally, numerous studies have been conducted on the challenges associated with the introduction and use of computers in the classroom,

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particularly from the perspective of different expectations and attitudes (Malagón & Pérez, 2017). This paper examines the implementation of ICT in Indonesian English classes. The authors will investigate the teachers' and students' perceptions of ICT, how they react to it, and what technology is commonly used in classes. Next, the data collected is analyzed to see whether the implementation of ICT is an upgrade or a downgrade for both teachers and students.

Literature Review

ICT (Information and Communication Technology)

ICT has significantly altered many sectors of our lives (Tearle, 2003). With its influence, it would be easier for us to organize many things as it has a significant role in various aspects such as business, engineering, banking, education, etc. (Kaware & Sain, 2015). In the realm of education, the implementation of ICT stands out as one of the most significant advancements during the 21st century (Alzaidiyeen & Almwidah, 2012). Specifically, in the EFL or ESL classes, ICT is the integration of various information and communication technologies in order to make use of their ability to design, improve, and maximize better learning environments (Alobaid, 2021). The utilization of ICT in the classroom has become common in schools and other institutional educations. Numerous studies have demonstrated that ICT has brought multiple benefits to teachers and students (Shan Fu, 2013).

Moreover, implementing ICT is considered the most effective and efficient way for teachers to enhance student's learning experience since they can integrate various technologies (Condie & Munroe, 2007). Furthermore, over the past two decades, research studies have consistently shown positive trends toward integrating ICT in class (Cakici, 2016). Padulean and Margan (2009) highlighted that through ICT, students can explore a vast array of information on the internet related to the target language's culture. Additionally, they can access various reference materials, such as online dictionaries and encyclopedias, which enrich their learning experience.

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During the COVID-19 pandemic, Somer et al. (2021) conducted studies that revealed the crucial role of using ICT in maintaining students' motivation towards their language learning. Incorporating technology during this challenging period proved effective in keeping students engaged and motivated throughout the classes. Furthermore, During the COVID-19 pandemic, technology made it possible to communicate online, and it became crucial to teaching English as a foreign language (EFL) (Bailey et al., 2023). Additionally, the transition from traditional face-to-face classes to distance learning during the COVID-19 period necessitates a mastery of technology tools, the implementation of modified educational approaches, and a high level of student autonomy. In this context, utilizing new ICT in education can enhance in-person instruction and raise student learning standards globally (Outoukarte et al., 2023).

Furthermore, Khojah and Thomas's study on smartphone-mediated EFL reading for female learners in Saudi Arabian classrooms demonstrated a positive attitude toward the reading activity (Khojah & Thomas, 2021). This underscores the potential benefits of integrating ICT into the learning process.

Despite these hopeful results, further research is needed to fully understand how ICT affects both basic and complicated assignments as well as short- and long-term learning outcomes in the classroom (Cox & Marshall, 2007). As mentioned earlier, one of the most influential aspects of ICT lies in education. The following section will explore several benefits of ICT in education.

The Benefits of ICT in Education

With the development and acceptance of ICT over the past two decades, English language learners (EFL) now have chances to use online casual resources and apps to enhance various aspects of their language learning (Naghdi-pour, 2022). The technology-assisted language learning has brought some features to the traditional classroom that benefit teachers and students.

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It transforms classrooms and makes language materials accessible. Since traditional classrooms are unable to deliver authentic language input, this is especially beneficial for EFL students (Li et al., 2019). Numerous studies have consistently demonstrated the benefits of using ICT for educational purposes. It is believed that the integration of technology can help to improve students' motivation, interest, self-regulation, and collaboration (Bui, 2022). This is exemplified by the study conducted by Khojah and Thomas (2021). In their research, they focused on the application of smartphone-mediated tasks for students' reading activities in Saudi Arabian classrooms. The study participants were divided into three groups: one group was taught using the traditional Presentation-Practise-Production (PPP) method, the second group received a task-based approach, and the last group was exposed to a mobile task approach specially designed for the study.

The study's results revealed that the group exposed to the mobile task approach displayed higher motivation levels and positive trends toward their reading tasks (Khojah & Thomas, 2021). This finding suggests that integrating ICT, specifically through smartphone-mediated tasks, can significantly enhance students' engagement and performance in educational activities. Such research reinforces the importance of incorporating ICT in the educational process, as it not only motivates students but also improves learning outcomes. As technology continues to evolve, it can provide exciting opportunities for educators and students alike.

Another study conducted by Bindu (2016) about the impact of ICT in the educational sector in teaching and learning discussed a few points that the integration of ICT can enhance teaching and learning. Firstly, it has a significant role in ensuring equity in education since it can raise student achievement levels by facilitating a more learner-centered approach than the typical teacher-centered one. Moreover, it facilitates the establishment of knowledge based on contemporary curricula.

The second benefit he found was that it enhanced the accessibility of learning for every student. Education is not merely the transfer of knowledge from teachers to students inside the classroom within the guidelines of the syllabus or curriculum. It should be broader than that. As a result, there will be a borderless concept in delivering lessons to students using ICT. Because technology makes it possible for teachers to educate at any time and from any place, the third point is that ICT enhances learning motivation and the environment. It means that ICT influences teaching and learning activities by adding an element of vitality to the learning milieu. It provides much information from countless sources and from different perspectives to help promote the learning environment's credibility. Furthermore, if used wisely and effectively, it can boost learners' motivation and involvement by providing interactive task-based activities, and ICT functions as a modulator of cognitive development, enhancing the acquisition of fundamental cognitive competencies that are critical in a knowledge society because it can change learning tasks and difficulty levels.

The connection between ICT implementation and students' academic performances has been discussed in the last two decades. However, there is a lot of belief in ICT that improves students' performances compared to those students who do not use computers in their classes. This happens because of the many technology-provided facilities that can stimulate the learners, such as the use of audiovisuals. Also, by integrating ICT, students can be involved in teaching and learning activities, transforming learning into a learning-centered approach using applications or web-based learning.

The Disadvantages of ICT in Education

A few studies also found the negative aspects of the use of ICT. E-learning still faces some difficulties, even if it is the current trend in the educational sector. These challenges typically arise when the facilities teachers and students utilize are not well supported. The learner and their instructor may encounter the following difficulties when conducting online learning.

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In applying ICT to creating engaging educational activities, sometimes students or teachers might get hooked on the digital aspects rather than the discussed subject (Olaore, 2014). This will be an essential but prominent mistake in the classroom, resulting in the imperfection of knowledge transfer. Furthermore, Talebian, Mohammadi, and Rezvanvar (2014) study exposed some disadvantages of implying ICT in the educational sectors. Those disadvantages, such as access to limitless and countless information, can lead students to access erroneous information that needs to be scientifically proven. At the same time, there will be limited feedback and assessment to the students, especially in an online classroom.

Correspondingly, the study held by Raut and Patil (2016) shows similar issues. They revealed that with the help of digital advances, students will lose their spelling ability since they will always depend on automatic spelling and grammar check software. Then, students will rely more on the internet since it will be easier to get the information with minimal effort. Thus, they can study easily since everything is available online. Besides, the addiction to technology, such as social media, will cause them to lack focus and distract them from doing their task. It will later result in poor academic performance. The use of ICT in the classroom has brought many advantages for teachers and students, and it has been considered a must for the teacher to adapt to the current digital era to fulfill educational demands. Nonetheless, ICT should be applied along with its regulation to maximize its benefits and avoid unnecessary loss.

Concept of Perception

Throughout our daily lives as humans, we learn new things about our surroundings. Since the world we live in is nothing more than a collection of information that pertains to the subject. Hence, we must obtain information from our outer environment wherever we go (Demuth, 2013). We know that we receive some data, either through our visual device or any other cognitive device, but at the same time, we need to find out the process of receiving those data (Ward et al., 2010). Perception is the method through which we classify and analyze the

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information we obtain, as well as how we interpret the information from our external sources (Kondalkar, 2007). Speaking of perception, various experts have put up numerous definitions and theories (Ward et al., 2010). The following definitions of perceptions are provided.

The word "perception" comes from the Latin word "perceptio" or "percipio," which means "to collect," "to receive," or "the act of gaining possession" (Qiong, 2017). Perception is the primary cognitive skill used by humans to interact with the outside environment (Effron, 1968). He believes perception is our fundamental mode of consciousness for establishing contact with the world around us. (Demuth, 2013) is convinced that this world is a collection of information about the topic and is simply a collection of different views, ideas, and emotions. Through the theories of critical philosophy, which he takes to be a reality, he gains this understanding of perception. Additionally, since perception is the process of taking in external stimuli via our senses, it has correlated with external stimuli that one receives from the outside world (Walgitto, 2004). The process in which the perception takes place is called the process of sensory.

Furthermore, according to Qiong (2017), perception is the process by which we become aware of or comprehend the data from our senses. According to Agung (2020), on the other hand, perception is an experience of learning about an item, an event, or a connection through summarising and interpreting the message. It will explain what it means to involve memory, hope, motivation, and attention. Additionally, perception occurs when someone experiences or realizes something (Amstrong, 2009).

Several studies included both teachers' and students' perceptions toward the use of technology in language learning classrooms. Yukselir (2016) looked at how teachers felt about utilizing the Internet to teach and learn languages. The researcher made a comparison between university professors and EFL instructors. In this study, 82 instructors and trainers participated.

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Participants provided information on the various Internet resources they utilize in the classroom. Questions regarding the difficulties of using the Internet in the classroom received responses from the participants. The findings demonstrated that participants' opinions towards using the Internet for language teaching and learning are favorable. The candidate, however, was hampered by the time constraints. They also experienced harmful effects from technological facilities. The teachers were pleased, although students needed to have more confidence while accessing the Internet and pointed out the dangers of doing so.

Another study by Semerci and Aydin (2018) investigated whether certain factors, such as gender, age, teaching experience, and ICT skills, might alter teachers' attitudes. The findings demonstrated that the teachers' attitudes towards implementing this instruction in their class's learning process were favorable.

Materials and Methods

Participants

The participants for this study were 41 (forty-one) university-level students and 10 (ten) teachers from the Department of English in two private universities in Indonesia, namely Universitas Bandar Lampung and Universitas Muhammadiyah Kotabumi.

Assessments and Measures

This study used both quantitative and qualitative data collection to explore the teachers' and students' perceptions regarding the use of ICT in Indonesian EFL classrooms. Questionnaires and interviews were used to collect the data from the participants. The Motivated Strategies for Learning Questionnaire (MLSQ) consisted of two forms: students and teachers, and it was modified from the "Technology-Learning Implementation Handbook" by Kirkwood and Price (2016) to evaluate students' and teachers' perceptions toward the use of technology in

Indonesian EFL classrooms. The items on this questionnaire gauged the participants' degree of agreement on a 5-point Likert-type scale:

"strongly disagree (1)," "disagree (2)," "neutral (3)," "I agree (4)," and "Strongly disagree(5)."

The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences was used to handle and analyze the questionnaire's data (SPSS version 23). In this study, the intrinsic and extrinsic motivation of Papuan students was examined using SPSS.

The students' questionnaire contained twenty questions, while the teachers had ten questions. The students' questionnaire was divided into four consecutive parts: the practicality of technology, the student's motivation, the negative impact of technology, and the students' statements. Each aspect consisted of five questions. The questionnaires were circulated using Google form through a link via WhatsApp Messenger. After completing the questionnaire data collection, a short interview with the teachers was conducted to collect the data. The interview was done with three teachers from two different universities in Indonesia. The interviews were held using the WhatsApp audio call, and they consisted of five questions related to their perceptions of using ICT in the classroom. The results of both interviews and questionnaires were analyzed quantitatively and are discussed in the result/findings section.

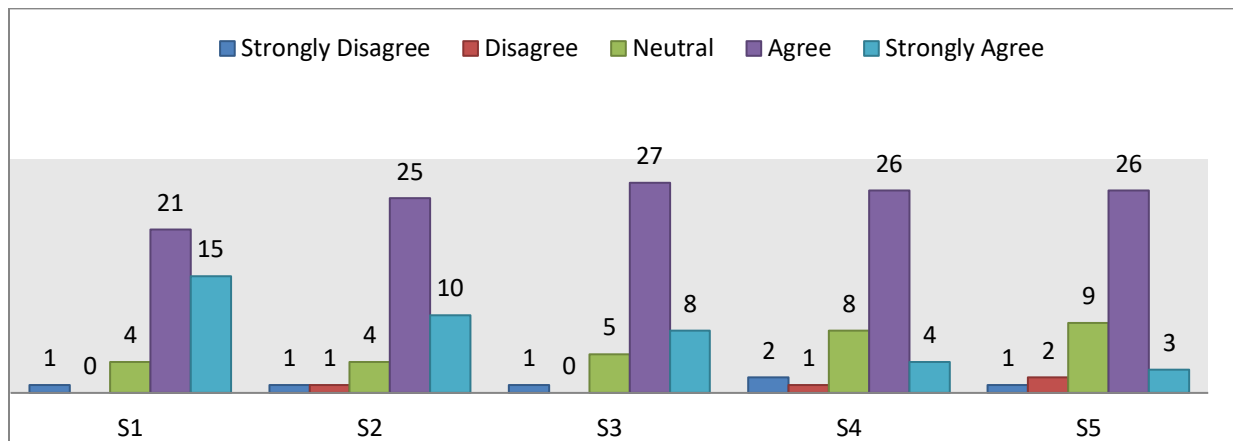
Results

Result of Questionnaire

This section presents the quantitative analysis of the student and teacher questionnaire. It also qualitatively analyses the interviews conducted with the teachers.

Figure 1

Students' Perception of the Technology Practicality



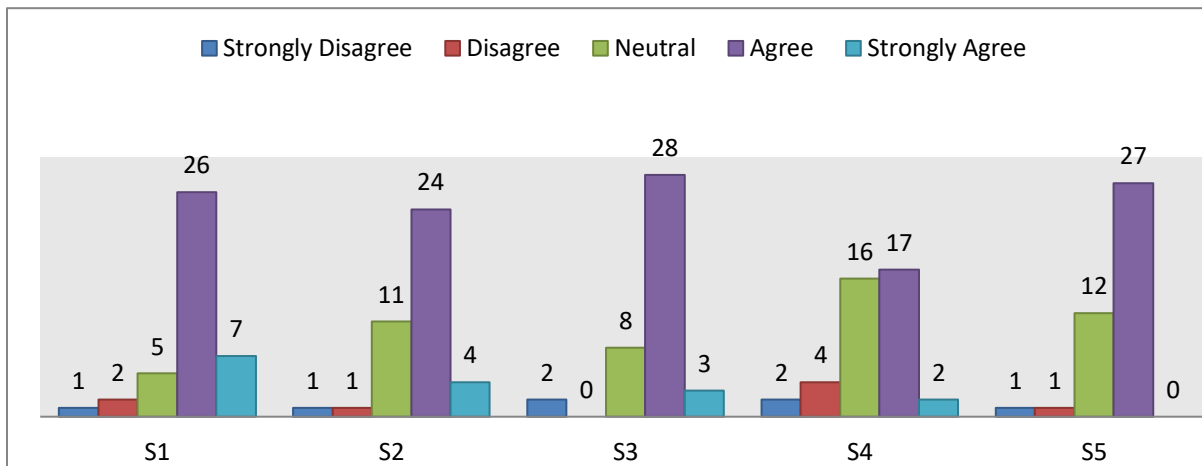
	Questionnaire's item	Mean	STD
S1	It will help me understand the subject more deeply.	4.195	0.8130
S2	It will help me get better results in my subject.	4.024	0.8212
S3	It makes completing work in my subject feel convenient.	4.000	0.7416
S4	Technology makes me feel connected to other students.	3.707	0.8730
S5	Technology makes me feel connected to the teachers.	2.317	0.7886
Valid N (listwise)		3.648	0.4399

The data gathered from the questionnaire showed a positive trend in students' use of ICT in classrooms. The following statements on the practicality of the use of ICT have more than 50% of the respondents strongly agreeing or agreeing with the statements. Only 1–2 students disagreed, and they disagreed strongly. For statements 4 and 5, the number of neutral respondents was 8 and 9, respectively. The data is figuratively represented in Figure 1. For instance, from the total of 41 respondents to the questionnaire, 21 and 15 students agreed and strongly agreed with the statement that technology helps them understand the subject more profoundly. Statement no. 3, which says that technology makes them feel convenient in completing their tasks or assignments, 27 of the students agree with this statement, and 8

strongly agree. Overall, from the use of technology, the authors can conclude that the use of technology in the classroom brings positivity in terms of practicality.

Figure 2

The result of the Questionnaire on the Impact of ICT on Their Motivation



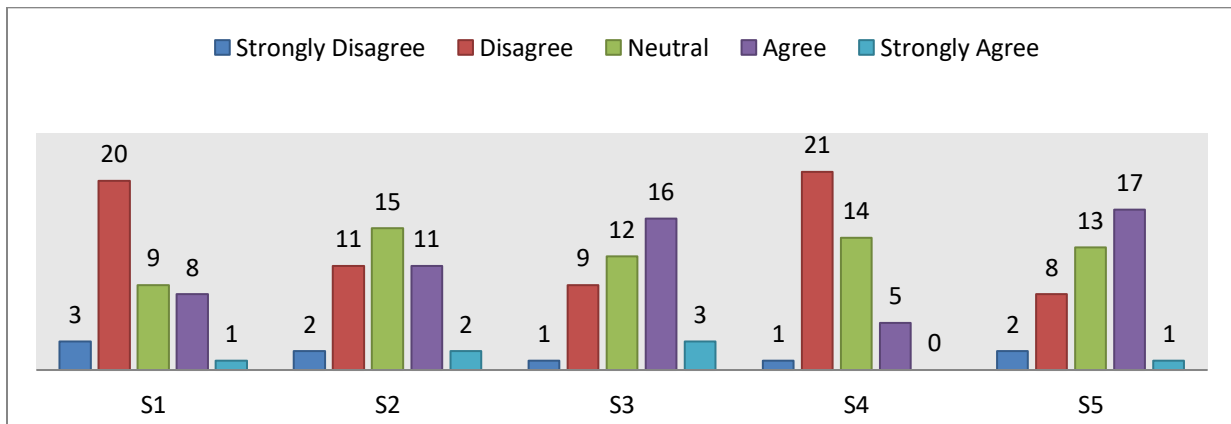
	Questionnaire's item	Mean	STD
S1	It motivates me to explore many topics I may not have seen before.	3.878	0.8425
S2	It will improve my career prospects in the long term.	3.707	0.7824
S3	I got more actively involved in classes that use technology the most.	3.732	0.8070
S4	Technology interferes with my ability to concentrate and think deeply about the subjects I care about.	2.683	0.9066
S5	Using tablets/laptops in class improves my engagement with the course content.	3.585	0.6699
Valid N (listwise)		3.517	0.4471

The result of the questionnaire discusses technology's impact on students' motivation. Like the previous one, this question consists of five statements with five response scales. The next set of statements was on the impact of ICT on students' motivation. For statement (1), we

find 1 and 2 respondents who strongly disagree and disagree, while five numbers remain neutral. However, the majority of the 33 numbers agreed or strongly agreed. Furthermore, in the third statement, more than half of the respondents responded that they would be more engaged in the classroom where the technology is implemented. As a result, the authors can conclude, based on the questionnaire's outcome, that incorporating technology-assisted learning inside the classroom has a positive impact on student's motivation to learn English. This is supported by their favorable perception that utilizing ICT in the classroom enables them to explore topics of interest, fosters increased engagement, and potentially enhances their future career perspectives.

Figure 3

Students' Responses to the Questionnaire Technological Deterioration Factors



	Questionnaire's item	Mean	STD
S1	I am more likely to skip classes when the materials for lecture courses are available online.	3.341	1.0632
S2	I am concerned that technological advances may increasingly invade my privacy.	3.000	0.9747
S3	I am concerned about cyber security (Password protection and hacking).	3.268	0.9753
S4	In class, the use of mobile devices is distracting me.	3.415	0.7062

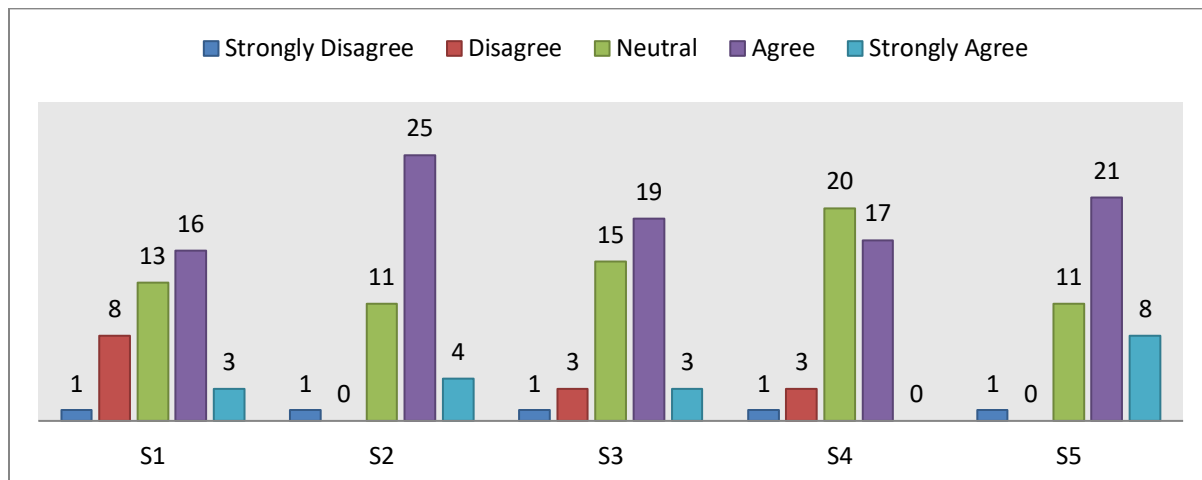
S5	Multitasking with my devices sometimes prevents me from concentrating on or doing more important work.	2.829	0.9461
Valid N (listwise)		3.170	0.4014

While the two previous sets of questionnaires ask about the positivity of using technology for learning, this question explores if there is any adverse or harmful impact that the technology might bring on their studies. Figure 3 shows that the students perceive no significant disadvantages in using ICT in the classroom. For instance, in the statement (1), there are 20 and 3 numbers of participants disagreeing and strongly disagreeing that they may skip the classes if the materials are available online. Then, only 1 in 8 students considered doing so if they could find the learning material online, and nine students remained neutral.

From four out of five statements given to the students, only one number shows the bad aspects of technology use in the classroom, which is the fifth statement. It is about multitasking while using the devices that make concentrating on what they are doing difficult. There are 17 students who agree with this statement, one student strongly agrees with it, and eight numbers stay neutral. This result shows that the improper implementation of technology and the poor management of the devices used in the classroom could badly affect students' learning. It is in line with the previous study (Jhonson et al., 2021; Egemen, 2018) that the excellent management of the use of ICT in the classroom should be well-prepared by the educational stakeholders so that the full potential of the technology can be maximal.

Figure 4

Result of the Students' Perceptions Questionnaire on the Use of ICT



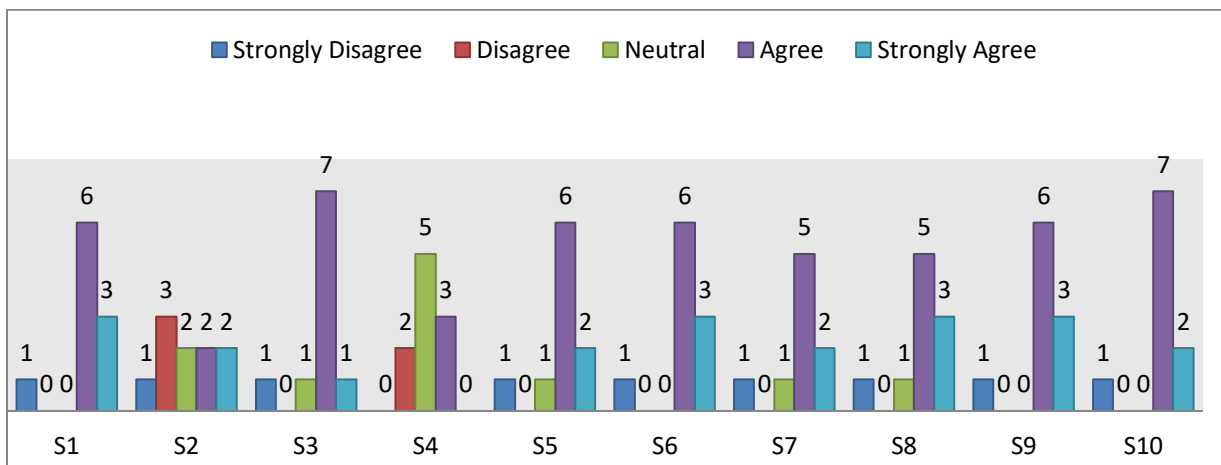
	Questionnaire's item	Mean	STD
S1	Regarding social media, I want to separate my academic and social life	3.293	0.9551
S2	I wish my teachers in the university would use and integrate more technology into their teaching	3.756	0.7342
S3	I can do my tasks well in the classroom despite having no internet	3.488	0.8403
S4	I can perform just as well in class, even without the technology involved	3.293	0.7157
S5	I have a good understanding when it comes to technology	3.854	0.8234
Valid N (listwise)		3.536	0.5682

The last set of questionnaires for students asks their perceptions regarding the application of technology in their learning and for future usage. As for the accessibility of the technology used, such as smartphones, internet, etc., almost all respondents showed that they understand the technology being used. This is in line with the education system in Indonesia, where, nowadays, students are considered natives of device usage. Thus, correctly understanding technology could make its use more efficient and effective. Nonetheless, students' responses show they still can do

well in the class even though they do not have internet (s3). There are 22 students, more than half of the total respondents, who agree and strongly agree with the statements, while 15 stay neutral. This result reveals that the students do not depend too much on their gadgets since they still can perform as well as without them. In addition, 29 students were asked to have more technological engagement in their classrooms in the future. On the other hand, the integration of technology in exams across Indonesia varies due to factors such as the policies and availability of resources in each institution. Nevertheless, there is a growing trend among educational stakeholders to incorporate Information and Communication Technology (ICT) into both coursework and examinations. This initiative has already commenced for national exams in many high schools across the country.

Figure 5

Results of the Questionnaire for the Teachers



	Questionnaire's item	Mean	STD
S1	I always use technology in my classes	4.000	1.154
S2	I can only perform well in teaching my classes with the technology used	3.100	1.370
S3	I allow students to explore the material using the internet	3.700	1.059

S4	I allow students to use their gadgets in the classroom	3.100	0.737
S5	Technology enables learning and can solve many problems in the educational field	3.800	1.135
S6	Technology enables learning and will increase my efficiency in teaching	4.000	1.154
S7	Technology enables learning and can engage students more than any other form of learning	3.500	1.433
S8	Technology-enabled learning increases the quality of teaching and learning by integrating all media forms: print, audio, video, and animation	3.900	1.197
S9	Universities should adopt more Technology-Enabled Learning for the benefit of their students	4.000	1.154
S10	Using technologies in my classes engages more students	3.900	1.100
Valid N (listwise)		3.700	1.002

The questionnaire the authors already distributed to the teachers consisted of ten statements and was circulated to various schoolteachers. This questionnaire is about the teachers' perception of the technology used in the classroom. The data collected from the questionnaire reveal the excellent course from the teachers' perceptions. Of the ten respondents, nine responses show that they always use technology while teaching in their classroom. Accordingly, almost all teachers harness technology as a medium to deliver their materials. Nevertheless, in the second statement that asks about the capability of the teachers in teaching without technology, 4 of the respondents agree that they cannot perform as well when they use ICT, four others disagree and strongly disagree, while the two respondents remained neutral. This means that there might be a possibility that teachers depend too much on devices in their teaching. On the other hand, all of the statements show that the use of technology benefits the teachers in the classroom for them to teach.

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Result of Interview

The interviews were done with three teachers from two different universities. It was done online via WhatsApp audio calls since the teachers are all in Indonesia. The description of each question is explained below.

The authors start the interview by questioning how often they use ICT for teaching in their classes. All of the teachers stated that they utilize technology in almost all of their classes, especially those that teach listening skills. The audio speaker and computer help a lot in playing the audio material or conducting the listening test activity.

“Yes, almost in every class. I usually use systems such as a laptop, projector, audio speaker, and many more to teach my classes, especially in skill classes such as listening and reading classes. Because it helps me to convey my teaching material much better”. Teacher 2.

Only when they teach theory classes sometimes do they not use any gadget as a teaching medium.

“Yes I do (using the ICT in class), but when I teach in theoretical classes such as the Introduction to Linguistics, etc. I do not think that I need any of that.” Teacher 3

Moreover, two of them teach in language laboratory classrooms where all the students are occupied with the computers. Furthermore, the authors asked about the ICT they commonly use in the classroom, and the answers were quite similar between the three. They commonly use an LCD projector, laptop, smart TV, and internet connection. Only occasionally do they use the audio speaker in quizzes or assignments related to the English listening skill test.

However, when they were asked if there was a technical problem where they could not use any technology or ICT, would they still be able to teach? The answers vary from three

respondents. One of them argues that it does not affect their teaching ability, but it will be pretty tricky in some classes that depend on technology, such as listening skills classes.

“No, I do not have any issue if the class does not facilitate me any systems to use. For me, those systems are merely tools to complement and facilitate the study, but the most important is the person who uses it.” Teacher 2

“.....It will be difficult (teaching with no ICT), especially in skill classes such as listening class.” Teacher 1

The other teachers admit that they will have no problem regarding the issues since they consider the ICT used in the classroom to be merely a tool for them to teach, but the source of the knowledge is within the person.

Then, they were asked whether they allowed their students to use their gadgets inside the classroom. Two of them allow it with their permission, while the other one only permits her students to use their gadgets for the quizzes or tests since she frequently uses Google Forms to conduct the test. Other than doing tests, they permit their students to use their smartphones to open up the internet to understand better the material given.

“Yes, I permitted them (students to use their gadgets). Because I often gave assignments in Google form so they can do (the assignments) easily.....” Teacher 3

Then, they were questioned whether they found their students deviating from their gadgets when permitted to use them or not. All of them responded similarly, saying that finding such students misusing their gadgets in the classroom is like gold dust, meaning the students are rarely.

“.....hm, not quite. I sometimes but very rarely find my students use their gadgets in the classroom to do something else (other than to study)....” Teacher 2

“Yes, there are one or two students that I find open up their social media when I don’t give much attention, but it’s just very scarce. It’s like once or twice in my experience.” Teacher 3

Hence, the students realize the usage of ICT in the classroom, and the teachers could continue their students to use their gadgets inside the classroom.

Discussion

In Indonesia, English classes commonly integrate ICT (Information and Communication Technology) to enhance the teaching and learning experience. Various forms of ICT tools and technologies play a pivotal role in this educational setting. Based on the data we have gathered, it is evident that Indonesian classrooms frequently make use of ICT resources such as LCD projectors, laptops, internet connectivity, and audio speaker systems to facilitate effective teaching and learning. Both teachers and students feel the benefits of using technology in their classes. For the teachers, it helps them deliver teaching material to their students, facilitating them with lots of media such as audio, animation, video, etc. Moreover, ICT helps the teachers conduct the quiz with less effort and go paperless, which is a benefit of the internet, and quickly share the result with the whole class. Furthermore, teachers feel they can still perform well in their classes even though no ICT is involved. It means that they do not depend on technology and devices only for them to be able to teach. However, implementing ICT in the classroom needs special attention since there are some events where the teachers find their students playing with their phones without the teachers’ consent.

Like the teachers’ perception, the students feel that using ICT in the classroom somehow benefits them. In practical ways, ICT helps them explore more material resources through the internet, eBooks, or other digital sources of information. Also, it makes them complete their assignment more conveniently, and they perceive that doing the test using ICT will help them get better results. Then, on the grounds of motivation, students feel more enthusiastic about

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exploring the material on the internet, improving their engagement in their class activity. On the other hand, using ICT unwisely will cause some disadvantages, such as if the students ever try to work on multiple devices at once, it will disturb their concentration, and accessing their social media while in the classroom is another improper thing to do because it may make them miss the material given. Overall, implementing ICT in English classes in Indonesia causes more benefits as a breakthrough rather than deterioration. However, proper usage and surveillance should be used in its implementation to maximize the potential of ICT.

Conclusion

Indonesia is a country that belongs to Southeast Asia. It has more than 700 local languages, making it the world's second most varied language (Ridwan, 2018). Because of historical events and local culture, English is not used in Indonesia, and people consider it a foreign language. However, English has become one of the essential languages in Indonesia because it is attached to many sectors, and the people of Indonesia consider English to be the first foreign language since several foreign languages exist in Indonesia as well (Smith, 1991). Thus, teachers have started to engage in the implementation of ICT in language learning since it has proven to have some advantages for students and teachers (Cakici, 2016). However, after decades of implementation, there are still some unanswered questions regarding how ICT affects learners (Cox & Marshall, 2007). Therefore, this study was conducted to explore the teachers' and students' perceptions regarding the application of ICT in classrooms in Indonesia and what kind of ICT they use to see whether ICT brings a breakthrough or not toward their study.

The results show that the students and teachers benefit from the ICT inside the classroom, such as teachers can efficiently deliver their material and conduct paperless tests or quizzes. Students also feel motivated to explore the material given to gain more understanding and feel more engaged in the ICT-based activity. Furthermore, most of the students argue that the use of ICT makes them score better. However, implementing the ICT should be accompanied by

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proper regulation and observation since teachers admitted that their students misbehave with their devices during the lesson, such as opening their social media.

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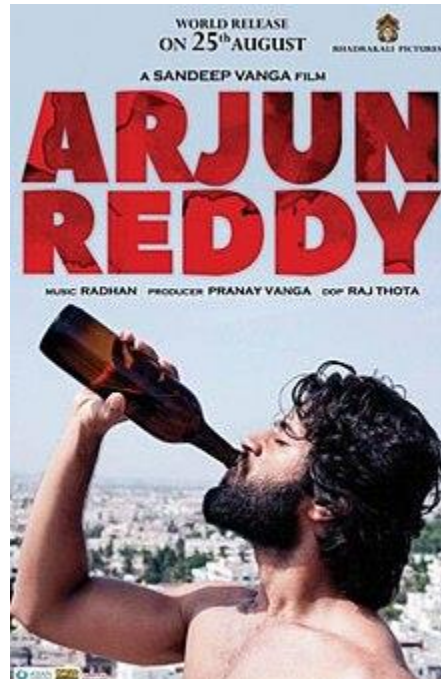
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Selling Toxic Masculinity Through Regional Cinema: A Case Study of the Film *Arjun Reddy*

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Courtesy: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arjun_Reddy

Abstract

This article explores toxic masculinity in Indian cinema through an analysis of *Arjun Reddy*. It examines how film perpetuates patriarchal norms and reinforces gender inequality. By examining the portrayal of the protagonist and society's reactions, it reveals the impact of film representations on real-life attitudes. The study highlights the need for alternative narratives that challenge traditional gender norms and promote diversity in masculinity. It advocates a critical

analysis of film discourse to promote a more inclusive portrayal of gender identities in Indian cinema.

Keywords: *Arjun Reddy*, Film studies, Indian Cinema, Toxic Masculinity, Gender studies.

Film is not an isolated art form as it inhabits a common expressive culture fed by tradition, cultural memory, and indigenous modes of symbolic representation. Hence, films and other arts are mutually implicated in the productions of meaning and pleasure, which definitely needs to be examined. (Indubala Singh - Gender Relations and Cultural Ideology in Indian Cinema).

Cinema contributes to the discourses, which canonize the ideologies that benefits the socially dominant populace in the space it is produced. It convinces the general society that the power relation is, in fact, arbitrary without any external influence acting upon to ferment it. This process of creating a power structure without the knowledge of the subordinate population is called naturalization. Without any physical force, thus, a hegemonic structure is created, as Raymond Williams (1997) explains,

It is in [the] recognition of the wholeness of the process that the concept of “hegemony” goes beyond “ideology.” What is decisive is not only the conscious system of ideas and beliefs, but the whole lived social process as practically organized by specific and dominant meanings and values.

Looking at Indian cinema from a gender perspective, many stereotypes were created and naturalized by popular commercial cinema. While their spread a misogynistic message in the minds of Indian youth, what one fails to notice is that not just women, but men are also affected by this trope. The heroes in mainstream Indian cinema have their own grammar which plants the idea that a man must be fairer, taller, with strong voice, which can ‘protect’ the female counterpart(s). With most men in India lacking these qualities, it creates an inferiority complex in them and to prove that they are equally manly, they imitate everything done by film stars on silver screen such as catcalling and eve-teasing.

In other words, looking carefully, the naturalization happened is that men who possess the qualities of a tall, fair and strong conventional macho-ness¹ have the license to be toxic or hegemonic masculine (which will be discussed in later part). This is the common discourse that has been prevailing in the Indian society for too long. Even after the rise of feminism in India and many productions of stereotype breaking cinema, the idea of being a man still helps in reasserting the gender roles² of masculinity.

Masculinity is not a fixed entity embedded in the body or personality traits of individuals. Masculinities are configurations of practice that are accomplished in social action and, therefore, can differ according to the gender relations in a particular social setting. It essentializes the character of men or imposes a false unity on a fluid and contradictory reality. Masculinity represents not a certain type of man but, rather, a way that men position themselves through discursive practices. (Cornell et al., 2005)

This paper will investigate how conforming to the gender roles as prescribed by the patriarchy will contribute to the gender inequality using the film *Arjun Reddy* as case study. *Arjun Reddy* (2018) is a film directed by Sandeep Reddy Vanga, an Indian director and screenwriter, following the traditional cinematic grammar. The film maps the life of a surgeon **Arjun Reddy** and the complication in his love story due to his anger issues.

Arjun Reddy is introduced as an absurd character that wakes up to alcohol filled with macho-ness. Arjun's workspace is then introduced where he acts kind to the patients, excelling professionally, without conforming to the log books and other rules. Returning to his trance state at home, the film uses flashback to delve into Arjun's past.

¹¹ The idea of projecting one's masculine sexuality using physical attributes such as body hairs, athletically fit physique, beard and moustache, etc., to stress that the man is more virile than others.

²*Gender roles* are the sets of behavior, roles and responsibilities attributed to women and men respectively by society which are reinforced at the various levels of the society through its political and educational institutions and systems, employment patterns, norms and values, and through the family.

Arjun is modelled to be the amalgamation of both athletic alpha and the intelligent student which is the ultimate canon the general society look up to. Arjun is shown with extreme charisma, filled with qualities of an alpha male, tall, muscular, riding a Royal Enfield bike, filled with aggressive attitude on sport. He sees Preeti, a fresher, and falls in love with her at first sight. He enters the juniors' class and threatens everyone to stay away from her. He prevents her seniors from ragging and sees it to that she is comfortable. Only when Preeti enters his life, he retorted to apologize for the first time. His acts of adding an extra seat only for her symbolizes that he submits to the dynamic changes in his life. Having both angry and tender side, he is everything a woman expects from a man, as Hacker (1957) says, “a woman wants a man to be big and strong, sensitive and tender”. The next day, he enters her class and makes her sit in the front bench of the class. He also decides whom she should take as a friend and takes her out to teach. Preeti is merely silent in these parts, but she feels loved and happy looking at the drawings on her hands, he drew to explain anatomy. Arjun dominates the space of Preeti, by curbing her freewill, but not to exploit but to keep her ‘safe’, deciding everything in her life starting from the desk position to companionship.

Later, during holi³, Arjun informs in Preeti's hostel that none should apply colours on her. When he learns that his foes molested her, Arjun fumed with anger, takes her to their place and beats them up. This episode ends up with Arjun confessing his love for Preeti and gaining her acceptance. The character takes up the role of protector and provider in this case, not just financially but socially, but also intellectually, which is a primary quality society expects from a masculine paternal figure.

The film again travels to the past where Preeti's foot gets hurt by a broken glass. Arjun takes her to beachhouse to take care of her, doing all the chores. Preeti confirms her love for him and their relationship begins on an intimate level. Looking at Arjun in the status of a lover, in the visual narrative, Preeti was shown satisfied with his sexual performance.

³ An Indian festival, where people throw colours at each other as a mark of celebration

In one sense this (lover) role strikes at the heart of the problem of masculinity. The ability to perform sexual acts has been a criterion for man's evaluation of himself from time immemorial. Virility used to be conceived as a unilateral expression of male sexuality but is regarded today in terms of the ability to evoke a full sexual response on the part of the female. Men as the dominant group feel the strains of accommodating to the changing status... and meeting the challenge presented by the sexual emancipation of women. (Hacker, 1957)

Time passes and Arjun finishes off his Master's degree. When they had to drift apart, Arjun doesn't show any emotions towards farewell. He even shows resentment towards nostalgia, stressing that he lives in the present. The rituals of the wedding of Arjun's brothers happen and Preeti calls him over to home to meet her family. As her father catches them kissing, the chance of their wedding reduces. Arjun tries again to convince Preeti's family, but her father stands stubborn in marrying her off to someone of her own caste. When Arjun is reminded of his caste identity, despite his social position as a doctor, he leaves the place denying Preeti. He gives Preeti a six-hour deadline to choose between him and her family, when she couldn't turn up in time, Arjun drugs himself and goes unconscious. The patriarchy, which acted upon his life in an indirect way, started impacting him directly which caused him to react with anger to Preeti. Despite being well off in every aspect of his gender role, he is looked down on because of his caste identity. He retorts to alcohol and sexual reliefs in other women, after Preeti leaves his life to revise his position as a man in the society as someone who is successful both professionally and personally.

Drinking issue is legitimized as an escape to heart break, which further empowers the attitude of self-destruction in young adults who go through a heartbroken phase. As Leone and Parrott (2015) describes in their article, the ability to physically consume and tolerate large amounts of alcohol without adverse reactions as being characteristic of "masculine" behavior (Peralta, 2007).

Life goes extremely downhill for Arjun, when he is forced to operate on a patient while he was drunk. Though he stabilized the patient, the case gets into the hands of Indian Medical

Council, leaving him without defense with a criminal case on him. The lawyer who was brought to handle his case mentions that Arjun is too free-spirited to be in a democracy.

Chased out of his flat, Arjun roams without money and place to stay, in the streets to be found by Shiva. He breaks the news that his grandmother passed away which makes Arjun rethink his life and return home. He goes on a trip and when he returns, he sees Preeti pregnant. They both converse only to find out that Preeti never lived with another person, and it was Arjun's child she's bearing. He takes her home and thus concludes the film.

The whole film normalized *Toxic Masculinity* by adhering to the convention framework of manhood, where Toxic masculinity is not the argument that men are toxic by simply being themselves. It is a critique of the way men are expected to adhere to certain gender roles within society at large that fit within a traditionalist framework that forces men to limit their emotional range down to pretentious indifference, lacking temper. Arjun clearly is affected by this aspect of toxic masculinity where he is driven by anger and hasty decisions. Therefore, the normalization of toxic masculinity or in other words, giving an opportunity for the Indian society to isolate unhealthy masculinity from the complicated, multi-faceted character Arjun, adds to the pre-existing stereotypes of how a man must be.

Films like *Arjun Reddy* uphold the gender ideology, while glorifying the traditional gender norms. What one must observe is when the protagonist fulfils his traditional masculine gender role; ultimately the voice of his female counterpart is subsided. In other words, when a man adheres to the gender idea, the woman, without choices, is forced to fulfill her feminine duties such as supporting a man emotionally and physically. Thus, when the idea of masculinity is left unrevised in India, the women are affected.

This is the character which is celebrated all across India, which is remade in two other languages, forming the discourse, normalizing the patriarchal dominance. When films which advocate singular masculine idea, it adds up to the preexisting notion of 'real' man, the other

masculine ideas are ultimately left out. The complex characterization of *Arjun Reddy* and making him relatable to general public is a way to make him acceptable.

This is visible in different stages throughout the film. First, by making Arjun a doctor, the film maker created a character that possesses amazing and infinite medical skills and knowledge, which saves lives on a day-to-day basis. He is an infallible hero who represents infallible masculinity (Jacobs 2003). Arjun performs an important job of saving lives which associates him with a traditional masculinity marked by hard skills and competence. Arjun meet his friend Shiva's sister's fiancé, who objectifies women, calling them "oily, hairy and fat". Arjun speaks against that, which is strategically done to distinguish Arjun from misogynists, to create acceptance.

One of the earliest models helps in understanding the idea behind the creation of such characters. *Direct-effects theory* by Livingston (1996) asserts that media texts contain certain representations and messages, which are directly, uncritically and passively absorbed by the audience. It creates a sense of "false consciousness", a Marxist term, which means that the dominant populace manipulates and creates an alternative fake reality which the majority consumes and believes.

Creation of characters like **Arjun Reddy** helps in naturalization of toxic masculine characteristics of Indian men. Starting from Royal Enfield to the alcohol issues, everything is a strong phallic symbol which boosts up the image of machoness, retelling that machoism is an important aspect of masculinity. Another important factor that must be taken into account is the economic perspective. Selling a character with toxic masculine characteristic promises more return than selling a stereotype breaking rational man, who advocates gender equity. Reversing this, it is evident that the film industry has constantly sold machoistic toxic and hegemonic masculine characters through popular media to make more money, without giving proper attention to the sociological perspective.

Arjun Reddy attempts to create acceptance towards the toxic behavior of boys and men in Indian society. The careful construction of heroism without the machoism visible gained the film the status of cult classic whereas the screenplay still remains controversial among Indian film critics.

The reception of the remake of the film *Arjun Reddy* in Hindi under the title *Kabir Singh* by the same director made it clearer that the Indian society holds the toxic behavior of men high. This endangers other qualities of masculinities that don't conform to the traditional masculine values. Therefore there emerges a necessity to create alternative cinema and critically analyzing the pre-existing cinematic discourse, by which focuses on the marginalized masculinities in Indian context, which this paper stresses on.

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Sanskrit Renaissance and the Re-construction of Socio-cultural Power in Nation: Colonial European Cultural Interactions

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Abstract

This paper aims to study the new energy of Sanskrit renaissance in Europe due to European voyages to India, followed by trade and then the construction of British India. It created a new social impetus to Sanskrit in India too, and the Indian intelligentsia, empowered by western education also began to examine texts written in the language. Interpretations came out in a pouring manner of these ancient texts, some locating them as the manufacturers of caste system, and some appreciating their contribution to science, literature, and philosophy and especially law. We have to re-understand how German intelligentsia interpreted and viewed these texts. The concept of nation in the age of nationalism, and its ideology of an imagined community with similar culture and shared beliefs has brought forth the necessity to enquire into the foundation of India's modern identity, as perhaps, constructed by Oriental scholarship and the knowledge with new developments it brought forth.

Keywords: Sanskrit Renaissance, Colonial European Cultural Interactions, Re-construction of Socio-cultural Power, Indian subcontinent

Marx's writings brought forth the tradition of historical materialism that studies "how our everyday lives are structured by the connection between relations of power and economic processes." Accordingly, it studies questions of "how specific relations of power and specific economic formations have developed historically." These relations "form the context in which the institutions, practices, beliefs, and social rules (norms) of everyday life are situated." A society evolves its "shared practices, values, beliefs, and artifacts" based on the way its economic production operates. It argues that "human societies act upon their environment and its resources in order to use them to meet their needs. Hunter-gatherer, agrarian, feudal, and

capitalist modes of production have been the economic basis for very different types of society throughout world history” (Little, et al).

In this line of thought scholars in popular culture have begun to argue that the rise of the middle classes all over the world has brought about economic and political changes. As the Catholic Church did not support the business men “they split from the old Church (Catholic), and created their own new church (Protestantism), that did not look down on money lending, and moved from Europe to America to create a republic that supported free enterprise and did not care much for inherited entitlement. In the new world order created by Americans, professionalism matters more than loyalty.” To avoid this shift from feudalism to capitalism in India, “the feudal orders were legitimised by brahmins, who helped establish new villages especially in the south, and created systems for tax collection for God’s first servant, the king.” The business class was “patronised by the monastic Buddhist and Jain orders, who looked down on violence that was integral to war and agricultural activities.” There are exceptions to this as “many trading communities embraced Brahminism such as the Gujarati Vaishnavas and the Tamil Chettiars.” Mainstream economy in India “favoured the kshatriya feudalism to market-based economies of vaishyas.” Before this period India was “a country of sea-faring merchants” and “outsourced international trade to Arabs.” After social codes began insisting on “valuing submission to authority” the economic power of India came down (Pattanaik).

This Weberian approach also hints at historic materialism, as economy is perceived to be the superior deciding factor to decide cultural preferences. A historic materialist approach would interpret India’s past culture as a supporting system to its economic and political structure; hence the contemporary economic and political structure would quite naturally bring changes in culture and worldview. Economic forces would ultimately control and operate culture and codes.

India’s social codes in written format have been established by a particular religious community, that got widespread scholarly and legal approval of the monarchy in Indian sub-continent in the earlier days, and later by the academia of the western world, and thus, one can agree to a certain extent with the current idea that colonization has created a heavy social impact on the contemporary Indian sub-continent, and continues to influence the worldview of its people. The current principle of equity across the world is supporting knowledge economy and democracy. The past is slowly losing its grip; and a transition from the old to new would involve lots of emotional responses from the agents of the past and future. At this fluid state, it would become a necessity to re-understand how the past merged into the present. Myths and interpreted texts belonging to one of the many languages negotiating with European society changed the history of India, as it is understood today. A new discourse is born examining the history in the

myths. New voices in contemporary India demand explanations for the way British Indian administration appropriated bygone codes for their political strategies and revived them.

The *Manusmriti* is an ancient legal text among the many Dharmaśāstras of Hinduism. It was one of the first Sanskrit texts translated during the British rule of India in 1794, by Sir William Jones, and used to formulate the Hindu law by the colonial government. 'Over fifty manuscripts of the *Manusmriti* are now known, but the earliest discovered, most translated, and presumed authentic version since the 18th century has been the Calcutta manuscript with Kulluka Bhatta commentary.' Modern scholarship states this presumed authenticity is false, and the various manuscripts of *Manusmriti* discovered in India are inconsistent with each other, and within themselves, raising concerns about its authenticity, insertions and interpolations made into the text in later times. (Sarkar)

The text is “variously dated to be from the 2nd century BCE to the 3rd century CE” and it has “a discourse” between Manu and Bhṛigu, and scholars perceive that it had an impact even in the kingdoms in Cambodia and Indonesia. “Eighteenth-century philologists Sir William Jones and Karl Wilhelm Friedrich Schlegel assigned *Manusmriti* to the period of around 1250 BCE and 1000 BCE respectively,” though later scholarship has not validated the claim shifting the period to “200 BCE and 200 CE.” It is argued that *Manusmriti* “was not a new document,” and “it drew on other texts” reflecting “accumulated knowledge” of the past. It defines statecraft and duties basically. “The foundational texts of *Manusmriti*” are many and “most of these ancient texts are now lost, and only four of them have survived: the law codes of Apastamba, Gautama, Baudhayana, and Vasistha” (Sarkar).

Schlegel fell in love with these Sanskrit texts, and German Romanticism identified these thoughts as the core Indian ideology.

I have already referred to Schlegel's enthusiasm for India, and then his subsequent revulsion from it and of course from Islam. Many of the earliest Oriental amateurs began by welcoming the Orient as a salutary derangement of their European habits of mind and spirit. The Orient was overvalued for its pantheism, its spirituality, its stability, its longevity, its primitivity, and so forth. Schelling, for example, saw in Oriental polytheism a preparation of the way for Judeo-Christian monotheism: Abraham was prefigured in Brahma. (Said 150)

The eighteenth century was demarked by Orientalist projects beginning with “Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1798 and his foray into Syria.” Earlier, scholars like Abraham-Hyacinthe

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Anquetil-Duperron (1731-1805) had attempted to go “beyond the comparative shelter of the Biblical Orient.” He was “an eccentric theoretician of egalitarianism, a man who managed in his head to reconcile Jansenism with orthodox Catholicism and Brahmanism, and who traveled to Asia in order to prove the actual primitive existence of a Chosen People and of the Biblical genealogies” (Said 76).

Scholars like Jones had more interest in law “an occupation with symbolic significance for the history of Orientalism.” Before Jones came to India, “Warren Hastings had decided that Indians were to be ruled by their own laws,” by laws that already existed in Persian language – translations of Sanskrit into Persian. “No Englishman at the time knew Sanskrit well enough to consult the original texts. A company official, Charles Wilkins, first mastered Sanskrit, then began to translate the Institutes of Manu; in this labor he was soon to be assisted by Jones, (Wilkins, incidentally, was the first translator of the Bhagavad-Gita.)” Bengal became the centre for Oriental research and “in January 1784 Jones convened the inaugural meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, which was to be for India what the Royal Society was for England.” Jones was its “first president of the society and as magistrate, Jones acquired the effective knowledge of the Orient and of Orientals that was later to make him the undisputed founder (The phrase is A. J. Arberry's) of Orientalism.” His goals were “to rule and to learn, then to compare Orient with Occident.” He wanted “to codify, to subdue the infinite variety of the Orient to “a complete digest” of laws, figures, customs, and works,” and “his most famous pronouncement indicates the extent to which modern Orientalism” was a “comparative discipline having for its principal goal the grounding of the European languages in a distant, and harmless, Oriental source” (Said 78).

The Sanscrit language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong indeed, that no philologer could examine them all three without believing them to have sprung from some common source. (Said 79 - quoting Jones)

Jones established the prestige of Sanskrit and put it on the world map and created a new theory of linguistics, followed by the research of a number of scholars on Indo-European languages. Similarities and agreements in languages and their words and inflectional system resulted in comparative linguistics. Branches of linguistics and this emerging science acquired a new impetus.

Edward Said studies the four elements of Orientalism: “expansion, historical confrontation, sympathy and classification.” Particularly, it was a narrow “religious scrutiny by which it had hitherto been examined (and judged) by the Christian West. In other words, modern Orientalism derives from secularizing elements in eighteenth-century European culture.” This had an impact on European worldview too: it expanded “the Orient further east geographically and further back temporally loosened, even dissolved, the Biblical framework considerably.” A kind of global picture emerged in the academia and the “reference-points were no longer Christianity and Judaism with their fairly modest calendars and maps, but India, China, Japan and Sumer, Buddhism, Sanskrit, Zoroastrianism, and Manu” (Said 120).

Orientalism enhanced the understanding of Europe’s religious outlook from a different perspective. It helped the European academia notice the different types of religions and their longevity and sustainability from a different perspective. It reviewed established concepts and renewed itself with a new unleashed oriental energy. Oriental scholarship began locating the culture of the orient as well as the occident.

The most common sort of lie is that by which a man deceives himself...Now, this will not, to see what one sees, this will not, to see it as it is, is almost the first requisite for all who belong to a party of whatever sort: the party man becomes inevitably a liar. For example, the German historians are convinced that Rome was synonymous with despotism and that the Germanic peoples brought the spirit of liberty into the world: what is the difference between this conviction and a lie?... Kant...was on the same road: this was his practical reason. There are questions regarding the truth or untruth of which it is not for man to decide; all the capital questions, all the capital problems of valuation, are beyond human reason.... To know the limits of reason—that alone is genuine philosophy.... Pagans are all those who say yes to life, and to whom “God” is a word signifying acquiescence in all things.—The “law,” the “will of God,” the “holy book,” and “inspiration”—all these things are merely words for the conditions under which the priest comes to power and with which he maintains his power,—these concepts are to be found at the bottom of all priestly organizations, and of all priestly or priestly-philosophical schemes of governments. The “holy lie”—common alike to Confucius, to the Code of Manu, to Mohammed and to the Christian church—is not even wanting in Plato. (Nietzsche)

Unintentionally and quite spontaneously perhaps, Nietzsche places Sanskrit and its racial hegemonic codes on par with religions that operated with a prophet and his teachings. German philological ideology viewed Sanskrit texts as phenomenal development of human mind and its

supreme perfection – the symbolic superman – the highest form of human evolution – a natural leader with the complete power to dominate and to practice hegemony. The pyramid model of the organization of societies makes humanity perform better, it argued. It compared the ideology of egalitarianism proposed by its monotheistic, organized religion with the polytheistic, materialistic, hierarchic ideologies codified in Sanskrit. It could not study its advantages and the other’s disadvantages. It viewed itself narrow and viewed the other as broad in its bold celebration of inequality and oppression of fellow beings. As it did not actually ‘see’ the practices and did not ‘live’ the inequality order, it could not grasp the nuances of caste system and its implications and outcome. European colonialism intervened with the Indian written ideologies and reinforced them with a rigorous academic force and that gave a new energy to Sanskrit. Its academic system and its emotional attributes received an impetus from the western academia that institutionalized its classicism.

The nation called India began to be identified with this academic language that was pan Indian in a selected academic system and religious order which had Gurus or teachers of the highest order in their academic world who were revered, and the disciples were and still are trained not to question the ancient texts. The language was carefully preserved by a community and hence, its texts to a certain extent were preserved, just like the way the monasteries preserved Greek texts.

Stories have been constructed that Sanskrit is the language of the Gods, and hence any text associated with its usage acquires the status of godliness. Comparative language studies ultimately ended in comparing religions and societies in European academia, and placed Sanskrit as a language that produced intellectual texts of a high order. We have a proverb in Tamil – “Ikkaraikku akkarai pachai” – the other side land looks greener – and it is this principle which might help explaining the German interpretation of Sanskrit texts. The occidental philologist worked within this law.

The fact that, in Christianity, “holy” ends are not visible is my objection to the means it employs. Only bad ends appear: the poisoning, the calumny, the denial of life, the despising of the body, the degradation and self-contamination of man by the concept of sin—therefore, its means are also bad.—I have a contrary feeling when I read the Code of Manu, an incomparably more intellectual and superior work, which it would be a sin against the intelligence to so much as name in the same breath with the Bible. It is easy to see why: there is a genuine philosophy behind it, in it, not merely an evil-smelling mess of Jewish rabbinism and superstition,—it gives even the most fastidious psychologist something to sink his teeth into. And, not to forget what is most important, it differs

fundamentally from every kind of Bible: by means of it the nobles, the philosophers and the warriors keep the whip-hand over the majority; it is full of noble valuations, it shows a feeling of perfection, an acceptance of life, and triumphant feeling toward self and life—the sun shines upon the whole book.— All the things on which Christianity vents its fathomless vulgarity—for example, procreation, women and marriage—are here handled earnestly, with reverence and with love and confidence.... I know of no book in which so many delicate and kindly things are said of women as in the Code of Manu; these old grey-beards and saints have a way of being gallant to women that it would be impossible, perhaps, to surpass. “The mouth of a woman,” it says in one place, “the breasts of a maiden, the prayer of a child and the smoke of sacrifice are always pure.” In another place: “there is nothing purer than the light of the sun, the shadow cast by a cow, air, water, fire and the breath of a maiden.” Finally, in still another place—perhaps this is also a holy lie—: “all the orifices of the body above the navel are pure, and all below are impure. Only in the maiden is the whole body pure.” (Nietzsche)

Nietzsche saw Manu’s codes as a “book of laws” that epitomized “the experience, the sagacity and the ethical experimentation of long centuries.” The purpose of these codes was “to lay before a people the possibility of future mastery, of attainable perfection” as it would permit them “to aspire to the highest reaches of the art of life.” Accordingly, “the order of castes, the highest, the dominating law, is merely the ratification of an order of nature, of a natural law of the first rank, over which no arbitrary fiat, no “modern idea,” can exert any influence.” *Manusmriti* is a natural response to the structure of universe and the highest is the “intellectual,” and the next “are marked by muscular strength and temperament,” whereas the third are people of “mediocrity, and finally “the great majority” who are located as the last in social order. “The superior caste” has “the privileges of the few,” and “only the most intellectual of men have any right to beauty, to the beautiful; only in them can goodness escape being weakness.” Similarly, “indignation is the privilege of the Chandala; so is pessimism.” The intellectual views the world as perfect “who says yes to life.” Intellectuals are the most positive people and “the most intelligent men, like the strongest, find their happiness where others would find only disaster.” They take delight in “self-mastery; in them asceticism becomes second nature, a necessity, an instinct. They regard a difficult task as a privilege; it is to them a recreation to play with burdens that would crush all others.” To them knowledge becomes “a form of asceticism” and “they are the most honourable kind of men.” They are ruling “not because they want to, but because they are.” They are “the guardians of the law, the keepers of order and security” (Nietzsche).

The order of castes, the order of rank, simply formulates the supreme law of life itself; the separation of the three types is necessary to the maintenance of society,

and to the evolution of higher types, and the highest types—the inequality of rights is essential to the existence of any rights at all.—A right is a privilege. Everyone enjoys the privileges that accord with his state of existence. Let us not underestimate the privileges of the mediocre. Life is always harder as one mounts the heights—the cold increases, responsibility increases. A high civilization is a pyramid: it can stand only on a broad base; its primary prerequisite is a strong and soundly consolidated mediocrity. The handicrafts, commerce, agriculture, science, the greater part of art, in brief, the whole range of occupational activities, are compatible only with mediocre ability and aspiration; such callings would be out of place for exceptional men; the instincts which belong to them stand as much opposed to aristocracy as to anarchism. (Nietzsche)

The majority of people are made into “intelligent machines” and “to the mediocre mediocrity is a form of happiness; they have a natural instinct for mastering one thing, for specialization.” A profound intellect has to accept “mediocrity in itself.” The exceptional man will handle the mediocre man with “more delicate fingers than he applies to himself or to his equals, this is not merely kindness of heart—it is simply his duty.” The people who speak of equality, the “socialists, the apostles to the Chandala” actually “undermine the workingman’s instincts, his pleasure, his feeling of contentment with his petty existence.” Evil refers to “all that proceeds from weakness, from envy, from revenge” (Nietzsche).

Hegel viewed Sanskrit knowledge as theocratic. “The several powers of society” that “appear as dissevered and free in relation to each other” though “the different castes are indeed, fixed,” and from the perspective of “the religious doctrine that established them, they wear the aspect of natural distinctions.” India practiced “theocratic aristocracy” and “despotism.” The social structure distinguished “between the spiritual consciousness and secular conditions.” The religion conceived a “purely abstract unity of God” that was complemented with “the purely sensual powers of nature.” The two are connected, constantly changing, “hurrying from one extreme to the other” restlessly in “a wild chaos of fruitless variation, which must appear as madness to a duly regulated, intelligent consciousness” (Hegel).

India Proper is the country which the English divide into two large sections: the Deccan – the great peninsula which has the Bay of Bengal on the east, and the Indian Sea on the west – and Hindostan, formed by the valley of the Ganges, and extending in the direction of Persia... The peninsula of the Deccan presents a far greater variety than Hindostan, and its rivers possess almost as great a sanctity as the Indus and the Ganges ... We call the inhabitants of the great country which we have now to consider Indians, from the river Indus (the English call

them Hindoos). They themselves have never given a name to the whole, for it has never become one Empire, and yet we consider it as such. (Hegel)

Hegel paid attention to the diversity and perceived the limitations of European perception which viewed the Indian sub-continent as an empire. We can assume that European academia viewed Indian sub-continent as a similar continent - linked by one worldview – Jewish Greek.

“Hindoostan” was not one empire with one mainstream culture, and it was too vast, Hegel realised. This fine understanding is ambiguous in it and emerges as vague, as he also refers to the Sanskrit codes of law as superior to the Chinese model: “With regard to the political life of the Indians, we must first consider the advance it presents in contrast with China.” India has an essential advance over those “independent members ramify from the unity of despotic power.” India practiced “distinctions” that “imply” that it is “referred to Nature.” Hegel attacks the theocratic ideologies of ancient India and argues that sub-continent created servants on a large scale leading to “spiritual serfdom” (Hegel). There are many types of perceptions about India in his mind - one contradicting with the other.

Instead of stimulating the activity of a soul as their centre of union, and spontaneously realizing that soul – as is the case in organic life – they petrify and become rigid, and by their stereotyped character condemn the Indian people to the most degrading spiritual serfdom. The distinctions in question are the Castes. In every rational State there are distinctions which must manifest themselves. Individuals must arrive at subjective freedom, and in doing so, give an objective form to these diversities. But Indian culture has not attained to a recognition of freedom and inward morality; the distinctions which prevail are only those of occupations, and civil conditions. (Hegel)

The masses have been divided theoretically which “influences the whole political life and the religious consciousness.” While “examining the idea of a State and its various functions,” one recognizes the “first essential function as that whose scope is the absolutely Universal; of which man becomes conscious first in Religion, then in Science.” India permits the “highest class” as “the one by which the Divine is presented and brought to bear on the community – the class of Brahmins.” The written record prove that not only the second caste that represented “subjective power and valor” like “Warriors and Governors – the Cshatriyas” but “Brahmins often become governors” (Hegel)

But equality in civil life is something absolutely impossible; for individual distinctions of sex and age will always assert themselves; and even if an equal

share in the government is accorded to all citizens, women and children are immediately passed by, and remain excluded. The distinction between poverty and riches, the influence of skill and talent, can be as little ignored – utterly refuting those abstract assertions. But while this principle leads us to put up with variety of occupations, and distinction of the classes to which they are intrusted, we are met here in India by the peculiar circumstance that the individual belongs to such a class essentially by birth and is bound to it for life. All the concrete vitality that makes its appearance sinks back into death. A chain binds down the life that was just upon the point of breaking forth. The promise of freedom which these distinctions hold out is therewith completely nullified. What birth has separated mere arbitrary choice has no right to join together again: therefore, the castes preserving distinctness from their very origin, are presumed not to be mixed or united by marriage. (Hegel)

Hegel interprets caste system as “peculiar” and compares it to a “chain” that “binds” without offering freedom to human spirit. Similar Hegelian discourses have gathered force and power in contemporary India questioning the ancient laws of social stratification that has divided the people in their worldview.

Colonial education has empowered the masses, and this has broken the myth of genetically operated intellectual powers, believing in genealogy-based talents. Women’s schools and colleges have brought women to the centre of knowledge economy in a globalised economy, and women now study even the Vedas, which was denied to them traditionally. Arya Samaj broke away from the Establishment initially and now as a nation founded on democratic principles, India continues its social negotiation with the past and present. The ancient laws have been built on the principle of polygamy, patriarchy and selective social mobility, and have been written in a self-protective mode by the writers. These codes have to be re-understood as laws that were created thousands of years ago to suit the political and legal needs of those ages. Each age will have to adapt to the changes and requirements and create fresh laws for itself. Realism has taken over in Indian writing styles, and equity, access and sustainable development have become the national goals.

A Brahmin, e.g., is allowed three wives from the three other castes, provided he has first taken one from his own. The offspring of such mixtures originally belonged to no caste, but one of the kings invented a method of classifying these casteless persons, which involved also the commencement of arts and manufactures. The children in question were assigned to particular employments; one section became weavers, another wrought in iron, and thus different classes

arose from these different occupations. The highest of these mixed castes consists of those who are born from the marriage of a Brahmin with a wife of the Warrior caste; the lowest is that of the Chandâlas, who have to remove corpses, to execute criminals, and to perform impure offices generally. The members of this caste are excommunicated and detested; and are obliged to live separate and far from association with others. The Chandâlas are obliged to move out of the way for their superiors, and a Brahmin may knock down any that neglect to do so. If a Chandâla drinks out of a pond it is defiled, and requires to be consecrated afresh. (Hegel)

Next part of Hegel’s argument elevates caste system to the Greek ideologies presented by Plato. Though Hegel seems to disagree with the principles of caste hierarchy, he is indirectly acknowledging and accepting the intellectual contribution of these texts from India, it can be pointed out. It might be apt to refer to the renewed interest in Sanskrit as a rebirth or renaissance of the language in India.

“Plato, in his Republic, assigns the arrangement in different classes with a view to various occupations” in which “a moral, a spiritual power is the arbiter.” The caste system India operates in a manner, imitating nature – one thriving on the other. Hegel does not agree with this system that is not moralistic in nature as he puts morality on a higher pedestal that imitating nature. “But this natural destiny need not have led to that degree of degradation which we observe here, if the distinctions had been limited to occupation with what is earthly – to forms of objective Spirit.” He is disappointed at the servitude and servility created by caste system. “But by the fact that in India, as already observed, differences extend not only to the objectivity of Spirit, but also to its absolute subjectivity, and thus exhaust all its relations – neither morality, nor justice, nor religiosity is to be found” (Hegel).

To gain a more accurate idea of what the Brahmins are, and in what the Brahminical dignity consists, we must investigate the Hindoo religion and the conceptions it involves... for the respective rights of castes have their basis in a religious relation...If a Brahmin is asked what Brahm is, he answers: When I fall back within myself, and close all external senses, and say dm to myself, that is Brahm... But among the Hindoos it holds a negative position towards all that is concrete; and the highest state is supposed to be this exaltation, by which the Hindoo raises himself to deity. The Brahmins, in virtue of their birth, are already in possession of the Divine. (Hegel)

Hegel refers to Brahminical consciousness and its followers as Hindoos: “However pusillanimous and effeminate the Hindoos may be in other respects, it is evident how little they hesitate to sacrifice themselves to the Highest – to Annihilation.” He compares “another instance of the same” which refers to “the fact of wives burning themselves after the death of their husbands.” There is an account of a woman burning herself after she lost her child. (Hegel)

Sometimes twenty women are seen throwing themselves at once into the Ganges, and on the Himalaya range an English traveller found three women seeking the source of the Ganges, in order to put an end to their life in this holy river. At a religious festival in the celebrated temple of Juggernaut in Orissa, on the Bay of Bengal, where millions of Hindoos assemble, the image of the god Vishnu is drawn in procession on a car: about five hundred men set it in motion, and many fling themselves down before its wheels to be crushed to pieces. The whole seashore is already strewn with the bodies of persons who have thus immolated themselves. (Hegel)

Greeks and Catholic friars are remembered in the course of Hegel’s analysis of Hindoos.

“This elevation which others can only attain by toilsome labor is, as already stated, the birthright of the Brahmins. The Hindoo of another caste, must, therefore, reverence the Brahmin as a divinity; fall down before him, and say to him: “Thou art God”” (Hegel).

It can be noticed in India even now some senior Brahmins referring to each other as ‘Swami’ – God. This profound consciousness that was carefully created amidst the community was authorized and valorized by the constant discussion about it by European academia. This mental structure of considering itself superior and believing it sincerely is the empirical proof of the power of the ancient codes and their longevity. The codes located the writers above any political system and even above the legal system.

The Brahmin possesses such a power, that Heaven’s lightning would strike the King who ventured to lay hands on him or his property. For the meanest Brahmin is so far exalted above the King, that he would be polluted by conversing with him, and would be dishonored by his daughters choosing a prince in marriage. In Manu’s Code it is said: “If anyone presumes to teach a Brahmin his duty, the King must order that hot oil be poured into the ears and mouth of such an instructor. If one who is only once-born, loads one who is twice-born with reproaches, a red hot iron bar ten inches long shall be thrust into his mouth.” (Hegel)

Hindoos do not have a sense of history like the Chinese, argues Hegel. “Though the recent discoveries of the treasures of Indian Literature” have records of “Geometry, Astronomy, and Algebra” and “Philosophy” and have a fully developed grammatically structured language called Sanskrit, “the department of History” is “altogether neglected, or rather non-existent” (Hegel).

The diversity of the sub-continent is sensed by Hegel, and he had tried to navigate through the nuances of various sects and religions in the land.

The wars of the sects of the Brahmins and Buddhists, of the devotees of Vishnu and of Siva, also contributed their quota to this confusion. – There is indeed, a common character pervading the whole of India; but its several states present at the same time the greatest variety; so that in one Indian State we meet with the greatest effeminacy – in another, on the contrary, we find prodigious vigor and savage barbarity. ... Among the Hindoos... Diversity is the fundamental characteristic. Religion, War, Handicraft, Trade, yes, even the most trivial occupations are parcelled out with rigid separation – constituting as they do the import of the one will which they involve, and whose various requirements they exhaust. (Hegel)

One can perceive that Occidentalism faced the knowledge it received via Orientalism, and it could not understand how in the sub-continent one of the classical languages that had records of fine spirituality and philosophy recommended rigorous and hegemonic materialism. It bound agreeable royalty and controlled populations using methodologies to create large numbers of workers and slaves. It began justifying Sanskrit texts-based worldview.

In India, on the contrary, distinctions made themselves prominent; but the principle of separation was unspiritual. We found incipient subjectivity, but hampered with the condition, that the separation in question is insurmountable; and that Spirit remains involved in the limitations of Nature, and is therefore a self-contradiction. Above this purity of Castes is that purity of Light which we observe in Persia; that Abstract Good, to which all are equally able to approach, and in which all equally may be hallowed. The Unity recognized therefore, now first becomes a principle, not an external bond of soulless order. The fact that everyone has a share in that principle, secures to him personal dignity. (Hegel)

Anyway, either by appreciating, or by critiquing, European intelligentsia located Sanskrit in the world linguistic map as a very important language of superior grammatical structure and

literary works, philosophy, and the sciences. Only its construction of the pyramid caste system that created slavery in a civil society and its lack of historicity and its lack of realism were the major weaknesses of this language and its religious framework, they argued. Nevertheless, for Sanskrit, it was a renaissance. Just as W.B. Yeats from England imagined that he would prefer to sail to Byzantium in search of art, denying the sensuousness of his generation, Heinrich Heine from Germany imagined that he would prefer to leave Berlin to India, celebrating Indian religion and its stories, as he understood from the new knowledge of the Orient that surrounded the German intelligentsia. The poem “Frederica” raises Sanskrit’s India to a supreme position aesthetically and culturally.

“Leave Berlin,” he says, which has “thick-lying sand.” Here people drink “weak tea” and there are “men who seem so much to know” that they understand “both God” and “themselves, and all below” with the help of “Hegel’s reason.” Whereas India is a “sunny land” in which “flowers ambrosial their sweet fragrance throw” and there “pilgrim troops on tow’rd the Ganges go / With reverence, in white robes, a festal band.” There are “palm-trees” that “wave, the billows smile, / And on the sacred bank the lotos-tree / Soars up to Indra’s castle blue” (Heine in “Frederica”).

The Ganges is roaring and “amid the foliage” one can “see / The sharp eyes of the antelope, who springs / Disdainfully along; their colour’d wings.” There are “peacocks” that move around showing their haughtiness. The Orient is lovely with sweet smelling flowers, and is a place for fantasy and romantic love: “Deep from the bosom of the sunny lea / Rises a newborn race of flowers, sweet things; / With yearning-madden’d voice Cocila sings” (Heine in “Frederica”).

The Cocila, the cuckoo is singing and the God of Love, Cama, has blessed the girl with sensuality:

Yes, thou art fair, no woman’s like to thee!
God Cama lurks in all thy features fair,
He dwells within thy bosom’s tents so white,
And breathes to thee the sweetest songs he knows.
Upon thy lips Vassant has made his lair,
I find within thine eyes new worlds of light,
In my own world no more I find repose.” (Heine in “Frederica”)

Vassant, the God of spring, dwells on the girl’s lips and Heine is attracted to the Orient for its sensuality and passion (Heine in “Frederica”).

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Dr. S. Sridevi

Sanskrit Renaissance and the Re-construction of Socio-cultural Power in Nation: Colonial European Cultural Interactions

Heine fantasizes and dreams of a land that is filled with natural beauty, peaceful life undisturbed by rational thinking, and innocence that pervaded the atmosphere. It is a visual treat to the reader to relish the way the European imagination perceived India. Indian Sanskrit speaking Gandharvas, celestial beings, play the western guitar in his mind. Sanskrit ruled the fantasy world of European top brass, and as suggested earlier, it gave an impetus to study this language in India just as in Europe and America. It created a new caste-based energy too, as this language was the academic, spiritual, philosophic, scientific and theological language of the learned people from one caste and a few members of royalty of certain kingdoms.

The Ganges roars; the mighty Ganges swells,
The Himalaya glows in evening's light,
And from the banyan-forest's gloomy night
The elephantine herd breaks forth and yells.
O for a type to show how she excels!
A typo of thee, so lovely to the sight,
Thee the incomparable, good and bright,
So that sweet rapture in my bosom dwells.
In vain thou see'st me seek for types, and prate,—
See'st me with feelings struggle, and with rhyme,
And, ah, thou smilest at my pangs of love!
But smile! For when thou smil'st, Gandarvas straight
Seize on the sweet guitar, and all the time
Sing in the golden sunny halls above. (Heine in "Frederica")

Heine redefines the devil now, after the advent of Oriental knowledge into Europe. "He is not ugly, and is not lame, / But really a handsome and charming man." The devil is a "man in the prime of life" and "obliging." He is "a man of the world, and civil" and a "diplomatist" who is "well skill'd in debate" who "talks right glibly of church and state." The devil is an intellectual, in perhaps Judaic fashion, who did not accept the Establishment and asked questions, delving into the unknown. "He's rather pale, but it's really not strange, / For his studies through Sanskrit and Hegel range" (Heine in "Pictures of Travel: The Return Home. 1823-4").

Unlike in Christianity, a devil is "charming" and "handsome," and human – a new perspective to Europe.

Gottfried Herder, the Schlegel brothers, Herman Hesse, Schopenhauer and many others were either influenced or impacted by Sanskrit texts. India came to be viewed by Europe as a country whose language was Sanskrit.

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Sanskrit is considered to be the richest language in the world, due to its literary contents. Some Western scholars may be put on the first rank, to bring it into the light of the world, who translated Sanskrit texts in various foreign languages. Contributions to Vedic Literature: Fredric Rozane, was a German Scholar, who edited and translated some parts of the *Rigveda* into German in 1830. S.A. Longlois, of France, translated the whole text of the *Rigveda* into French, which was published in Paris, during 1848-51. Friedrich Max Muller (1823-1900) lived in England, sacrificed his own life in the study of the Vedas, and edited the whole *Rigveda* with its Sayanabhashya that was published by East-India Company. He published his "Vedic Hymns" on famous Suktas of the *Rigveda*, under the *Sacred Books of the East*. Theodar Benfey (1909-81), translated 130 Suktas of 1st Mandala of the *Rigveda* into German. He also translated the whole text of the *Kauthuma Shakha* in German that was published with illustrations and lexicons in the year 1848. Hermann Grassman (1809-77), was a German Scholar, who made a poetic translation of the *Rigveda* and a Lexicon of the *Rigveda* in German titled, *Wortbruchzum Rgveda*. Alfred Ludwig (1832-1911), belonged to Germany, was a Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Prague. He prepared the German translation of the *Rigveda*, titled *Der Rigveda* with 230 important Suktas of the *Atharvaveda* translated into Germany. Harace Hymen Wilson of 19th Century A.D. belonged to England and lived in India for a long time. He edited and translated the text of the *Rigveda* with the Sayana Bhashya into English. R.T.H. Griffith 1828-1906, was the first and the last after H. H. Wilson, who translated the whole text of the *Rigveda* into English. He has also published his poetic translation of the *Yajurveda*, the *Samaveda* and the *Atharvaveda*. A. Weber (1805-1901), was very famous among those who contributed to Vedic literature. He was a French Missionary. He translated the *Shukla Yajurveda Samhita's* Ninth and Tenth Chapters into Latin and its 16th chapter into German. He also translated the *Atharvaveda* into German, published under the title *Indische Studien*. A.B. Keith, was the student of McDonnell, who translated the *Taittiriya Samhita* into English, that was published under the *Harward Oriental Series* in 1914 in America. (Central Sanskrit University)

There are various schools of thought in contemporary India about the relevance of Sanskrit religious codes in the Indian sub-continent. It is popularly argued that this ancient language wrote the codes for its community, and it came to be adopted, maybe in an ad hoc manner, by kingdoms that accepted its ideology and hence, some of the codes dripped into society as social customs. It is also said and believed that the sub-continent was never one empire, and it never practiced Sanskrit codes as a constitution or legal book till the advent of the

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British. The diversity of India never permitted one single set of codes to create a mono-ideology – sections of intelligentsia continue to argue. The eminent Sanskrit authors as described by the Central Sanskrit University in India are Valmiki, Vyasa, Kalidasa, Bhasa, Harsha, Panini, Patanjali, Adi Shankaracharya, Kalhana and Jaideva.

The law in Sanskrit is known by the name of Dharmashastra i.e. the science of ordinance but the scope of Dharmashastra is more extensive than what is denoted by ‘law.’ Dharma can be defined as ordinance, duty, right, justice, morality, virtue, religion, good actions etc. *Kalpasutras* are the Primary source of ‘dharma’. These ‘Dharmashastras’ contain rules of conduct and rituals, duties of people at various stages of life. They discuss purification rites, forms of hospitality, daily oblations and judicial matters. After Dharmashastra, smritis define ‘dharma’. Although there is mention of eighteen smritis yet *Manusmriti* compiled by Manu in about 200-300 BC is the most authentic and popular. It has 2694 verses divided into twelve chapters. It deals with various topics such as cosmogony, dharma, initiation and Vedic study, the eight forms of marriage, hospitality, dietary, law, rights and duties of four castes and four stages of life (varnashramas) etc. Its influence has been enormous. Medhatithi Govindraja and Kulluka Bhatta wrote their commentaries on *Manusmriti* which are very popular. After *Manusmriti* comes the *Yajnavalkya Smriti*. It is related to the *Paraskara Grihya Sutra* of white (Shukla) *Yajurveda*. It has 1013 verses which have been distributed under the three headings of good conduct (achara), Law (vyavahara) and Repentance (pryashchitta). As compared to *Manusmriti* it is more progressive in thoughts and has been written in more systematic manner. Of all the commentaries, the commentary of Vignaneshwara written by the name of Mitakshara became more accepted. Besides these two smritis, the smritis of Narada, Brihaspati, Ushna, Harita, Katyayana, Parashara, Gautama, etc. are also well-known. The *Mahabharata* is one of the accepted texts of Dharmashastra. It is to be noted that the Smriti texts have been binding the Indians together till date. (Central Sanskrit University)

Indian academia claim that *Manusmriti* texts “have been binding the Indians together till date,” which may not reflect reality and lacks historicity, as narrated in the above mentioned passage. *Manusmriti* insisted on authoritarian model of social order, much celebrated by certain German academia, and it strongly insisted on patriarchy in public and private sphere and the worship of mother in the domestic space alone.

An Acharya is ten times greater than Upadhyaya. (Upadhyaya is one who teaches Vedas and Vedangas for a living; Acharya is one who performs the Upanayanam and initiates the disciple into Vedas and rituals along with their secrets.) The father is ten times greater than Acharya; but the mother is a thousand times greater in glory than father. (2:145) (*Manusmriti* 11)

The male scholar had to undergo rigid training. He had to be an ascetic and conduct himself with nobility.

The brahmachari, while living in the Gurukula, must observe these rules (of discipline) and have the senses restrained in order to enrich his self. (2:175) He must abstain from use of liquor (or honey), flesh, fragrant substances, garland, women and vinegar (substances remaining tasty over long periods of time) and never engage in violence to living creatures. (2:177) He must abstain from oil-bath, applying collyrium in eyes, use of footwear and umbrella; he should keep himself away from lust, anger, greed, dance and vocal and instrumental music. (2:178) He must abstain from gambling, meaningless gossip, talking of others' faults, indulging in falsehood, gazing at and embracing women and harming others. (2:179) (*Manusmriti* 12)

A student has to stand up in front of a senior in age or scholarship, offer his seat to him and go at the back of the senior when he leaves, as a mark of respect. The rigid discipline is like the one practiced in centres.

On the arrival of a person, senior in age or learning, the vital airs of the junior (who is seated) tend to go up and leave the body. He gets back the vital airs by standing up and paying obeisance to the senior (2:120). One should pay obeisance to elders (who visit him) and offer his seat to them; he should sit close to them with folded hands and follow them behind when they leave (4:154). (*Manusmriti* 19)

Mother is established as the supreme power in the domestic sphere. She must have been the head of the domestic economic system, though physically she had to be protected by her sons.

The household economy is about how certain forms of labour get divided within the household (a group of people who live together and share a common life). The most basic tasks are childcare, food preparation, and especially in temperate climates, the cleaning, heating, lighting and maintenance of dwellings, and the provision and cleaning of clothes. In the pre-industrial world, there's also a strong overlap between domestic work, various agricultural tasks and textile production for the market. The household economy is also concerned with who

controls (financial) resources within the household and who receives any additional support coming from outside (government or charities etc). (Stone)

Patriarchy is constructed well as an economic unit at the macro and micro levels. As the man of the family takes care of the macro aspects, the mother has to take charge of the micro level economic aspects.

The sisters of one's father and mother and one's own elder sister should all be treated like one's own mother. However, of them all, mother is supreme (2:133). Wealth, relative, seniority in age, superiority in action and higher learning are all to be honoured. Of these, the latter shall be regarded as superior to the former (2:136). The father protects a woman in her childhood till she is married; husband protects her in youth after marriage; sons protect her in old age; woman should not be allowed freedom (9:3). One should not marry a bride who is grey-haired, has extra limbs, is diseased, has no hair or too much of hair on the body, is too loquacious and yellow-eyed (3:8). (*Manusmriti* 20)

The race has to be sustained and hence marriages are alliances of groomed bodies. Forms other than the ones prescribed were marginalized and perhaps excluded from mainstream life. A woman's form has to be pleasing and charming and gentle.

The girl should not bear names of stars, trees, rivers, ill-cultured, mountains, birds, serpents, servants, nor terrifying names (3:9). One should marry a girl, free from handicaps, having pleasing name, attractive gait of swan and elephant, thin hair on body and head and thin teeth and soft limbs (3:10). The gods rejoice in the homes where women are honoured. Where they are not honoured, all rites (including Vedic yagas) are fruitless (3:56). (*Manusmriti* 21)

World cultures have limited the role of women in society and in India even in her house. She is not given any power in the domestic space. "In childhood, a female should remain under the control of her father; in youth, her husband; when the husband dies, she must be under the control of her sons. She should not be allowed independence" (5:148) (*Manusmriti* 22). She need not follow any rituals like men. She cannot have the physical freedom of men. "By serving her husband well she is adored in Swarga (5:155). A woman, cohabiting with someone other than her husband, is vilified in this world and suffers from miserable diseases of sin; she is reborn as a jackal" (5:164) (*Manusmriti* 23).

After the death of her husband, the woman should live on sacred flowers, roots and fruits, thinning down her body; she should not even utter the name of another

man (5:157). Till her death a widow should observe forgiveness and chastity with discipline and desire to follow the supreme rules of dedication to her dead husband's memory (5:158). The eldest son alone shall inherit the entire parental property (on their death); the younger sons should depend on him in the same manner in which they were depending on their father so far (9:105). Every brother should give a portion from their share to his sister. Any brother failing to give one-fourth of his share to his sister shall have fallen from dharma (9:118). (*Manusmriti* 25)

Family life and hospitality are integral for the strengthening of social systems. A householder has to protect women who need nourishment as every civilization puts forth human values as benchmarking.

A householder should not himself consume food, which has not been served to the guest. Entertaining guest respectfully leads to attainment of wealth, fame, long life and also heaven (3:106). Newly married women (daughters, daughters-in-law), unmarried girls, sick persons, pregnant women - these should be fed prior to the guests without second thoughts (3:114). (*Manusmriti* 28)

Cleanliness and hygiene are emphasized as marks of a well-managed household. People will have to aim at living a longer duration, and food has to be consumed with care and not become a kind of an unhealthy passion to which one should not become a victim.

One should not give remnants of eaten food to anyone. One should not eat between meals (the two meals eaten in morning and evening). Overeating should not be done. One should not go anywhere without washing properly after meal (2:56). Excessive eating is unhealthy and opposed to longevity and religious merit and is condemned by people. Hence that should be shunned (2:57). (*Manusmriti* 34)

These ideologies slowly controlled the monarchic systems and established themselves as rule books. With great difficulty the western colonizer acquired this language and began translating the cultural works and codes into European languages and arrived at theories of philology, linguistics, anthropology, philosophy and even themes and styles for literary works.

William Jones came to India in 1783 appointed as a judge in the Supreme Court. He wanted to produce a "collection of fundamental works in Indian jurisprudence." He translated "*Al Sira-jyiah* or *The Mohammedan Law of*

Inheritance” in 1792, and “*The Laws of Menu*” in 1796. “*A Digest of Hindu Law*” was written by his successor “judge H.T. Colebrooke” in 1801. After Jones established the genealogical linking of Indian and European languages” he began “linking Menu to Roman law, with the suggestion that like European and Indian languages, they all shared some common primordial revelatory source (Haldar 2007: 118–19)” (Young).

Jones begins the Preface to *The Laws of Menu* with two sentences that take up a page apiece. In the first, he writes: It is a maxim in the science of legislation and government, that *Laws* are of no avail without manners, or, to explain the sentence more fully, that the best intended legislative provisions would have no beneficial effect even at first, and none at all in a short course of time, unless they were congenial to the disposition and habits, to the religious prejudices, and approved immemorial usages, of the people, for whom they were enacted; especially if that people universally and sincerely believed, that all their ancient usages and established rules of conduct had the sanction of an actual revelation from heaven: the legislature of Britain having shown, in compliance with this maxim, an intention to leave the natives of these Indian provinces in possession of their own *Laws*, at least on the titles of contracts and inheritances, we may humbly presume, that all future provisions, for the administration of justice and government in India, will be conformable, as far as the natives are affected by them, to the manners and opinions of the natives themselves; an object, which cannot possibly be obtained, until those manners and opinions can be fully and accurately known. (Young)

Jones interpreted *Manusmriti* as “a system so comprehensive and so minutely exact, that it may be considered as the Institutes of Hindu Law” and this remark transformed the “identity of Menu at a stroke into the systematic form of a European legal text (Brine 2010).” Jones wished that the law had “to be systematized further, beyond *Halhed’s Digest*” and suggested: “introductory perhaps to a Code, which may supply the many natural defects in the old jurisprudence of this country, and, without any deviation from its principles, accommodate it justly to the improvements of a commercial age (Jones 1796: 75–6)” (Young).

Thus, British India categorized religion and caste during the nineteenth century.

W.R. Cornish, who supervised census operations in the Madras Presidency in 1871, wrote that “regarding the origin of caste we can place no reliance upon the statements made in the Hindu sacred writings. Whether there was ever a period in

which the Hindus were composed of four classes is exceedingly doubtful." Similarly, C.F. Magrath, leader and author of a monograph on the 1871 Bihar census, wrote, "that the now meaningless division into the four castes alleged to have been made by Manu should be put aside." Anthropologist Susan Bayly writes that "until well into the colonial period, much of the subcontinent was still populated by people for whom the formal distinctions of caste were of only limited importance, even in parts of the so-called Hindu heartland... The institutions and beliefs which are now often described as the elements of traditional caste were only just taking shape as recently as the early 18th Century." (Chakravorty)

Historians are doubtful if "caste had much significance or virulence in society before the British made it India's defining social feature." It is argued that official records in royal courts and "traveller accounts" that have been "studied by professional historians and philologists like Nicholas Dirks, G.S. Ghurye, Richard Eaton, David Shulman and Cynthia Talbot show little or no mention of caste." Scholars opine that "social identities were constantly malleable" as "slaves and menials and merchants became kings; farmers became soldiers, and soldiers became farmers; one's social identity could be changed as easily as moving from one village to another." Historians argue that "there is little evidence of systematic and widespread caste oppression or mass conversion to Islam as a result of it. All the available evidence calls for a fundamental re-imagination of social identity in pre-colonial India." The sub-continent has had "astonishing diversity." British India read and interpreted written texts and institutionalized them as a mainstream culture. The administrators tried to "frame all of that diversity through alien categorical systems of religion, race, caste and tribe." The bureaucracy collected census data and simplified categories. The middleclass officials, trained by a monotheistic culture, constructed an Indian social identity out of the diverse social identities. Their purpose was to create "a single society with a common law that could be easily governed." British administration simplified a "large, complex and regionally diverse system of faiths and social identities" and created "new categories and hierarchies" and "flexible boundaries hardened" (Chakravorty).

Nietzsche's response to Sanskrit texts is explained by scholars as a reaction to monotheism.

Nietzsche's superman represents the highest principle of the development of humanity and the affirmation of man's full potentialities. He posits the superman as a critique on Christian religion and the crisis of modernity. This is because, according to him, the Christian morality stifles the development, freedom and creativity of humanity/man, as well as making him dependent on faith.

Consequently, he advocates for the total rejection and abolition of the Christian moral ideals in order to make way for the freedom of humanity/man and consequently the emergence of super-humanity. (Ojimba et al)

Periyar addressed the Sanskrit intervention into Indian socio-politics during the rule of Britain in a straightforward manner and challenged its hegemonic principles. Brahmins influenced British India to bring Manu's codes into action; henceforth, Hindu law was equivalent to Manu's law, he argues.

After the advent of the British rule, which succeeded the Tamil kings, the Brahmins permitted only the Criminal Acts to be changed on the lines of western countries. For all civil matters, Hindu law based on Manu's code alone was brought into force. Can there be a law like Manu's law that provides a very favourable position only to one particular community? How could it be tolerated with the authority of our own law of the land? How can we permit the courts and judges to base their judgement on Manu's code? (Periyar 86)

Without much research and analyzing the reality, the government began to follow the laws of Manu, Periyar argues. They took an obsolete code and revived it to rule the people, he says.

Today our high courts are giving judgments based on the Hindu Law. As the justice is given to all taking into consideration mainly what the Manu law, rishis and devas have said sometime long ago, I am telling you all these things for deep consideration. So far as the Hindus are concerned, where there is a problem to be decided, the dharma sastras are deemed to be the main basic rock of determination. Of all, the Manu code is the most important one. The Privy Council has categorically stated about the Manu code thus: "However obsolete and out of date it might be, judgments based on it are final." Not only this, the Constitution of India is also laid down according to the Manu law. The very fact that the measures taken by the Government of Tamilnadu to enable all communities to do the job as priests in temples were nullified by the Supreme Court of India clearly demonstrated that the Manu's law is still under full sway. The Act passed by the elected representatives of the people in Tamilnadu Assembly has been set aside as derogatory and against Manu law. Now let us further see what are the laws contained in the Manu's code and how far they are just and fair. The Courts decide matters strictly conforming to the laws laid down in the Manu's code, forgetting the fact that the Manu's code is mainly intended to make a particular community (Brahmins) prosperous. (Periyar 92)

Periyar “announced a struggle in 1970 demanding that all communities should be allowed to work as temple priests, he called the discrimination a thorn in his heart.” The “government asked Periyar not to go ahead with the protests and passed a law” and “in 1972, the law was challenged in the Supreme Court, which ruled against it.” Later “when passing the order in 2006, the chief minister M. Karunanidhi famously said that the thorn in the heart of Periyar was finally removed” (Muralidharan).

The codes were written to suit monarchy and the laws were supposed to be a secret, so that it would not be questioned by the common man. The king and the Brahmin were protected under this law, Periyar argues.

Brahma is the creator of the Manu Dharma. Later it was strictly disclosed by him to rishis. (Chap.1.S.59)

Atheists Vedas and Dharma Sastra should not be questioned or debated. He who does so will be considered an atheist. (Chap.2.S.11)

Such an atheist who blames the vedas will be considered as accuser of god. (Chap.2.S.11)

Brahmins should not disclose this Manu Dharma Sastra to any other people. (Chap.1.S.103)

A King’s duty is to excommunicate the gamblers, actors, musicians, bad elements, those who defy the vedas and rituals, those who change their trades, and those who are found to consume intoxicating drinks. (Chap.9 S.226)

Division By Birth To Safeguard the world, Brahma, created the Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras from his face, shoulders, thighs, and feet respectively and evolved different duties and responsibilities for each section separately. (Chap.1.S.87) (Periyar 93)

Complete freedom was given to one caste, Periyar says, that oppressed the rest of the people. He has analysed how Brahmins are similar to other communities in India, and practiced similar cultures, though socially considered superior for no particular reason.

A Brahmin could eat any living being every day for the sake of his health. There is no sin attached to brahmins eating the flesh of living beings. (Chap.5.S.30)

Particulars are given in the Manu Sastra, to please the dead forefathers by offering meat. Flesh of different birds and animals were also offered by Brahma to please God for different periods! Here are the details:

1. Paddy, rice, water, black gram, roots and fruits satisfy the dead for one month.

2. Fishes please the dead for two months.
 3. Stag's flesh pleases the dead for 3 months.
 4. Goat's flesh pleases the dead for 4 months.
 5. Bird's flesh pleases the dead for 5 months.
 6. Whitegoat's flesh pleases the dead for 6 months.
 7. Reindeer's flesh pleases the dead for 7 months.
 8. Black stag's flesh pleases the dead for 8 months.
 9. Kalaiman flesh pleases the dead for 9 months.
 10. Flesh of Porcupine, pig, bison, pleases the dead for 10 months.
 11. Flesh of rabbit, tortoise pleases the dead for 11 Months.
 12. Cow's milk, curd, ghee, pleases the dead for 1 year.
 13. A male goat's flesh pleases the dead for 12 years.
 14. With vegetables grown in the season, a fish variety 'Valai', flesh of a red coloured lamb, rice grown in forest lands, please the dead eternally. In the month of 'Purattasi' after the full moon on the 13th day, if honey, and Payasam are offered to the dead, that offering gives them full satisfaction. (Chap.3.S.267 to 273)
- If the Brahmin refuses to eat the flesh offered at the ceremonies he will be born as a cow 21 times. (Periyar 94-95)

The age-old codes have to be kept aside and new laws have to be enacted, Periyar suggests.

After the advent of Europeans, the "search for indigenous histories of early India began in the late eighteenth century." The "European scholars, familiar by this time with historical writing as a distinct category of literature, looked for the same in the Sanskrit articulation of what came to be called Hindu/Indian civilization, and were unable to find it." The "philologist William Jones suspected that there might be history in the myths and legends of the Puranas" and historians did not accept this view. (Thapar 556)

The officers of the East India Company, primarily interested in law and religion to assist them in administering their Indian colonies, derived information from their Brahman informants. Inevitably, the texts of Vedic Brahmanism, such as the Vedas, setting out ritual and belief, and the Dharmasastras, the codes governing caste and social obligations, had priority. Other systems of knowledge, especially the Buddhist and the Jaina, were assessed as inferior branches of Hinduism, particularly since they were regarded as deviant by brahman as there was little attempt at placing texts in a wider discourse of alternative systems of knowledge.

In Europe, German Romanticism made much of what came to be called the Oriental Renaissance. (Thapar 556)

Western scholars created “an influential theory of language, race, and culture—that of the Aryan race. Applied to India it became the explanation for the Aryan origins of Indian civilization, and this in turn was equated with the Brahmanism of the Vedas” (Thapar 556). William Jones referred to “itihāsas and purānas” as under the power of the British. “Lord Curzon saw the intellectual discovery of the Orient as the necessary furniture of the empire. The collection of manuscripts and artefacts for the reconstruction of history became an avid activity.” This search for manuscripts ignored “the oral compositions of the bards, collected and written about by James Tod and L. P. Tessitori” which “were generally bypassed by historians.” Historians began describing the “Orient as ‘the Other’ of Europe.” For example, “Karl Marx emphatically denied the existence of a sense of history in India.” Also, “Max Weber attributed the lack of transition to capitalism—as a manifestation of Otherness—to a failure of economic rationalism” (Thapar 557).

Contemporary voices have taken up Marxian and Weberian criticism into their discourses. Devdutt Pattanaik’s narratives reflect these ideologies.

The European mind struggled to locate this colossal and all encompassing multiculturalism - with thousands of Gods, thousands of tribes or clans, thousands of systems of religious worship that thrived gleefully with two distinct races, two classical languages and ancient literatures, multiple unwritten languages and their literatures - and understood India through the lens of a particular coding system, unconsciously looking at it as an equivalent to the entire Christian world with one ideology. It can be claimed that the nineteenth century concept of Hinduism is a child of European translation of Sanskrit texts into European languages. Extensive research is required in these areas by experts to grasp the pyramid formation with its impact, highly eulogized by Nietzsche in his interpretations of Indian culture.

Uma Chakravarti aims at understanding study caste and gender hierarchies from the perspective of ancient Indian social order.

Caste hierarchy and gender hierarchy are the organising principles of the brahmanical social order and are closely interconnected... Notions of the excessive sexuality of women were not unique to brahmanical literature and were widely prevalent in the Buddhist texts too, indicating the permeable boundaries of the two textual traditions... A marked feature of Hindu society is its legal sanction for an extreme expression of social stratification in which women and the

lower castes have been subjected to humiliating conditions of existence. Caste hierarchy and gender hierarchy are the organising principles of the brahmanical social order and despite their close interconnections neither scholars of the caste system nor feminist scholars have attempted to analyse the relationship between the two. (Chakravarti)

Other scholars have begun to view the way migrations had intervened Hindustan maybe even before 5000 years. The emerging perception is that the land has become highly heterogeneous over thousands of years. It has produced thinkers who have constantly risen above hierarchical ideologies and religious theories. There is a lot more about India that we have to explore – the rationalism of the south that lived healthily along with the revival of religions, the Sufi mysticism, the political strategies exemplified in Northern epics, the construction of the pyramid model of society – about Indian thinking practices. No one ideology could bring the sub-continent under its hold completely, as it did in Europe. This diversity is its innate nature, and experts have to delve into these areas of thought as we are confronted with the fact that no one ancient text could control the mind of these diverse people completely. One is reminded of Kabirdas:

Tell me, Brother, how can I renounce Maya?
When I gave up the tying of ribbons, still I tied my garment about me:
When I gave up tying my garment, still I covered my body in its folds.
So, when I give up passion, I see that anger remains;
And when I renounce anger, greed is with me still;
And when greed is vanquished, pride and vainglory remain;
When the mind is detached and casts Maya away, still it clings to the letter.
Kabīr says, "Listen to me, dear Sadhu!
The true path is rarely found." (Kabirdas V.1.63 translated by Tagore)

Kabir breaks away from the bondage of ideas and aims at living a life, liberating from the present or past – a life that is closely connected to the universe, just relishing the act of living. Wandering ascetics and minstrels sang songs like this across the country, building parallel thought processes, and encouraging people to connect directly with the universe. The western system of thought has branded this as Oriental mysticism, but it is much more than that. It is a symbol of Indian independent mind that strives to live on its own and that resists any kind of mono-ideology at all. There are only various groups or communities with their private religions or group religions, food habits, rituals, and practices. If one chooses to call it Hinduism for the sake of convenience, perhaps for writing purposes, it might help us. As Romila Thapar continues to insist, we have to arrive at other methods of examination and interrogation to re-understand Indian thought and practices.

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Dr. S. Sridevi

Sanskrit Renaissance and the Re-construction of Socio-cultural Power in Nation: Colonial European Cultural Interactions

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Malayalam Text-to-Speech Conversion: An Assistive Tool for Visually Impaired People

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Abstract

The discourse on Malayalam Text-to-Speech (TTS) Conversion emphasizes its crucial role as an assistive tool for the visually impaired, addressing the challenges they face in accessing printed and digital content. By enabling synthesized speech, Malayalam TTS technology enhances accessibility and inclusivity, allowing visually impaired individuals to engage with digital content independently. The flexibility of Malayalam TTS, including language preference and pacing options, facilitates efficient information consumption for users. Its applications in education and professional environments illustrate its role in levelling the playing field for visually impaired individuals. However, challenges such as adoption and usability persist, necessitating improvements in TTS quality and compatibility, alongside efforts to promote accessibility standards. Ultimately, Malayalam TTS serves as a means of empowerment, providing equitable access to information and fostering personal and professional development for the visually impaired community.

Keywords: Text-to-Speech Conversion, Visually Impaired People, Assistive tool, Malayalam.

Introduction

Nowadays, digital communication and the exchange of information play an ever-growing role, ensuring accessibility for everyone, including individuals with visual impairments, is absolutely essential. For speakers of Malayalam, a language with a rich cultural heritage, accessing digital content can pose significant challenges. Malayalam is a Dravidian language spoken predominantly in the Indian state of Kerala and some parts of

neighbouring states. However, the development of Malayalam text-to-speech (TTS) conversion technology offers a transformative solution, serving as a powerful assistive tool for visually impaired individuals. In this article, we explore the role of Malayalam TTS conversion in enhancing accessibility and inclusivity for the visually impaired community. This technology offers customizable speech settings, improving comprehension and efficiency in information consumption. It also supports multi-modal interactions, benefiting education and workplace applications, and promotes inclusivity by levelling the playing field for visually impaired individuals. However, challenges remain, such as enhancing TTS quality and compatibility with digital platforms, necessitating efforts to raise awareness and promote accessibility standards for broader adoption.

Review of Literature

Text-to-speech (TTS) systems play a crucial role in aiding visually impaired individuals by converting text from images into audio format for easier comprehension [1] [2]. These systems utilize technologies like Natural Language Processing (NLP) for accurate text-to-speech conversion [3] [4]. The aim is to provide a cost-effective and easily accessible solution for the visually impaired to read and understand text from various sources like newspapers or posters [5]. By employing machine learning algorithms and OCR tools, these TTS systems help in extracting text from images, processing it, and converting it into speech, thereby enhancing the daily lives of visually impaired individuals by enabling efficient text reading through audio output.

Arun Gopi et al. discusses the shift towards concatenative synthesis in text-to-speech (TTS) development, highlighting its advantages over parametric synthesis for higher quality output. It introduces the Epoch Synchronous Non-Overlap and Add (ESNOLA) technique for Malayalam TTS on the Android platform, utilizing diphone-like segments as basic units for concatenation from a database of 1500 partnames. The implementation covers database generation, Android platform modifications, database access, and Malayalam character display. Additionally, the paper presents a Newsreader application design. The TTS system achieves a Mean Opinion Score (MOS) of 3.2 in perceptual tests, indicating satisfactory user perception[6]. For text to speech conversion the data provided for each language in IndicTTS is insufficient to effectively train more advanced neural-network-based TTS systems. This limitation was highlighted by Srivastava et al. in 2020 when they introduced IndicSpeech, a more extensive corpus specifically aimed at training neural TTS systems for three Indian languages[19].

Interestingly, Srivastava et al. observed differences in the performance of TTS models trained on different language corpora within IndicSpeech. Specifically, they found that the mean opinion score (MOS) obtained for the TTS model trained on the Malayalam corpus was lower compared to those trained on Hindi and Bengali corpora[20]. They attributed this discrepancy to the inherent characteristics of Malayalam, such as the morpho-phonemic changes that occur during word formation, which can pose challenges for TTS synthesis.

Architecture of Malayalam Speech Synthesiser

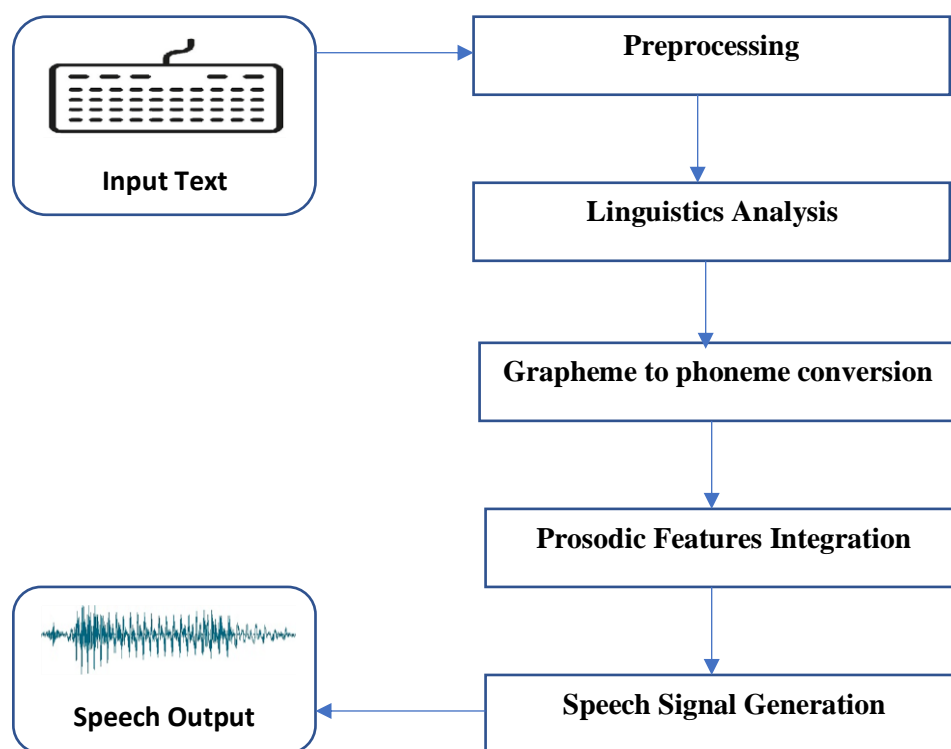


Figure 1 Architecture of Proposed System

The input console of the speech synthesizer system allows users, including those with visual impairments, to enter text using standard keyboard input or alternative methods such as speech recognition or braille keyboards. This console, whether part of the synthesizer application or integrated into other commonly used software like word processors or email clients, facilitates seamless text entry for visually impaired individuals. The system ensures accessibility by accommodating diverse text entry preferences and needs.

Text-to-speech (TTS) synthesis encompasses several pre-processing steps crucial for producing natural and comprehensible speech. These steps include text normalization, ensuring consistent pronunciation; tokenization, breaking text into smaller units for analysis; and part-of-speech tagging [14][15][16], assigning grammatical tags to aid in pronunciation and prosody determination. Linguistic analysis is integral in TTS synthesis, involving the examination of syntactic and semantic structures to grasp the text's meaning and context. This process entails parsing sentences, identifying grammatical dependencies, and resolving any ambiguities present. Another vital step is text-to-phoneme conversion, where words are mapped to their corresponding phoneme sequences, the fundamental units of speech sound. This conversion facilitates accurate pronunciation during synthesis by leveraging the phonetic content of the input text. These processes collectively ensure the production of natural and intelligible speech output in TTS systems.

Speech signal generation in a Text-to-Speech (TTS) system begins by converting text input into audible speech signals. This process entails concatenating selected phonemes to form larger speech units like diphones or triphones, ensuring natural transitions between speech sounds. Subsequently, signal processing techniques are applied to adjust parameters such as pitch, duration, and spectral characteristics, enhancing the naturalness of speech and minimizing distortion [11]. These processed speech units are then synthesized into a final speech waveform, representing the acoustic signal to be played back to the user. Finally, the synthesized speech waveform is converted into an audio format, such as PCM, and delivered through speakers or headphones, enabling the user to perceive the synthesized speech. Overall, this process involves converting text into processed speech units and synthesizing them to create natural-sounding speech for the user.

A Text-to-Speech (TTS) system comprises several modules to convert text into spoken speech seamlessly. It initiates with text processing, handling punctuation, formatting, and special characters, followed by passing the processed text to the speech synthesizer module. This module employs diverse techniques, such as generating phonetic representations, selecting speech units, and applying prosody, to produce natural-sounding speech [12]. Key components include the Text Analyzer Module for linguistic analysis, the Natural Language Processing (NLP) Unit for understanding text meaning and structure, the Synthesizer Module for generating speech based on phonetic representations, and the Partname Database containing speech sound units for synthesis. These modules collaborate seamlessly to transform text input into synthesized speech, preserving naturalness and quality throughout the process.

Prosodic Features Integration

In linguistics, prosodic features refer to aspects of speech such as intonation, stress, rhythm, and tempo. These features play a crucial role in conveying meaning, emotion, and emphasis in spoken language. Adding prosodic features to a text involves annotating or tagging the text with information about these features. This annotation can be done manually or through automated processes using computational linguistics techniques [7]. Various methods exist to incorporate prosodic features into text. Speech processing algorithms are utilized to analyze audio recordings, extracting elements like pitch, intensity, duration, and rhythm. Text analysis focuses on linguistic features within the text itself, such as punctuation, word choice, and sentence structure, to infer prosodic patterns. Machine learning models are trained on annotated datasets to predict prosodic features directly from textual input. Natural language processing techniques delve into syntactic and semantic cues within the text that correlate with prosodic features [8]. Additionally, rule-based systems are developed to encode linguistic rules governing prosody, enabling the annotation of text accordingly. These approaches collectively facilitate the integration of prosodic information into text for various applications, ranging from speech synthesis to sentiment analysis.

Text	IPA	Tagset
കൊല്ലം	k	'plosive', 'voiceless', 'unaspirated', 'velar'
	o	'v_sign'
	l	'lateral', 'alveolar', 'virama'
	l	'lateral', 'alveolar'
	a	'inherentvowel'
	m	'anuswara'

Table 1: Represent Syllble classes in Malayalam Language

prosodic features play a significant role in conveying emotions in speech. By incorporating prosodic features such as intonation, stress, rhythm, and tempo into text, it becomes possible to add emotional nuance to written language. For example, variations in pitch and rhythm can convey excitement, while changes in tempo and stress may indicate tension or urgency. Additionally, prosodic cues can help convey subtler emotions such as sarcasm, empathy, or uncertainty. Integrating prosodic features associated with different emotional states enriches the expressiveness of text and enhances its ability to evoke appropriate emotional responses from readers or listeners. This integration is particularly important in applications such as dialogue systems, virtual assistants, and text-to-speech synthesis, where conveying emotions accurately can significantly improve user experience and communication effectiveness.

Speech Synthesiser

The synthesizer module in the Text-to-Speech (TTS) system identifies segments for concatenation based on phonetic strings representing actual pronunciations [17]. Token generation rules are applied to generate tokens used for identifying partnemes in concatenation [18]. These rules, which vary by language, guide token generation from preceding and succeeding phones. Tokens correspond to indexing of segmented partneme voice signals in the speech database header [9][10]. An offset calculation method is employed to determine byte information for segment retrieval, enhancing database search efficiency. Spectral smoothing is performed at concatenation points to reduce spectral disturbances, achieved through proper windowing of the output signal. The window for spectral smoothing is defined mathematically to ensure minimal distortion at concatenation points, facilitating smooth speech synthesis.

The token generation rules dictate the generation of tokens used for identifying partnemes in the concatenation process. These rules, which are language-specific, define how tokens are generated based on the configuration of preceding and succeeding phones. The provided token generation rules specify different patterns and configurations:

$$\text{CVCV} \dots \text{C} + \text{CV} + \text{V} + \text{VC} + \text{C} + \text{V} + \text{Vout} \quad (1)$$

$$\text{VCV} \dots \text{Vin} + \text{V} + \text{VC} + \text{C} + \text{CV} + \text{V} + \text{Vout} \quad (2)$$

$$\text{CVYV} \dots \text{C} + \text{CV} + \text{V} + \text{VY} + \text{YV} + \text{Vout} \quad (3)$$

CVV .. C + CV + VV + Vout (4)

C1C2V .. C1 + C2 + C2Vin + V + Vout (5)

1. For the pattern "CVCV," the token is generated by concatenating the preceding consonant (C), followed by a consonant-vowel pair (CV), another vowel (V), followed by a vowel-consonant pair (VC), another consonant (C), and finally, another vowel (V) as the output (Vout).
2. For the pattern "VCV," the token starts with a fade-in vowel (Vin), followed by a vowel (V), then a vowel-consonant pair (VC), a consonant (C), another consonant-vowel pair (CV), another vowel (V), and finally, the output (Vout).
3. For the pattern "CVYV," the token comprises a consonant (C), followed by a consonant-vowel pair (CV), a vowel (V), a vowel glide (VY), another glide-vowel pair (YV), and finally, the output (Vout).
4. For the pattern "CVV," the token consists of a consonant (C), followed by a consonant-vowel pair (CV), a double vowel (VV), and finally, the output (Vout).
5. For the pattern "C1C2V," the token is formed by concatenating two consonants (C1 and C2)

The offset calculation for tokens corresponding to vowels and consonants follows the given formulas:

1. For vowel tokens:

$$\text{offset}_{\text{vowel}} = (\text{offset}_{\text{vi}} - \text{offset}_{\text{n}}) \times (\text{S} + \text{I} + \text{V}) \times \text{B}$$

$$\text{offset}_{\text{vowel}} = (\text{offset}_{\text{vi}} - \text{offset}_{\text{n}}) \times (\text{S} + \text{I} + \text{V}) \times \text{B}$$

2. For consonant tokens:

$$\text{offset}_{\text{consonant}} = (\text{offset}_{\text{ci}} - \text{offset}_{\text{n}}) \times (\text{S} + \text{I} + \text{C}) \times \text{B}$$

$$\text{offset}_{\text{consonant}} = (\text{offset}_{\text{ci}} - \text{offset}_{\text{n}}) \times (\text{S} + \text{I} + \text{C}) \times \text{B}$$

Where:

- $\text{offset}_{\text{vi}}$ and $\text{offset}_{\text{ci}}$ represent the byte positions corresponding to the i^{th} vowel and consonant in the database, respectively.
- offset_{n} is the starting byte position of data.
- SS, II, and VV (or CC) represent the starting byte of data, vowel (or consonant), and consonant (or vowel) in the speech database, respectively.
- B denotes the byte size for each data.

These formulas are used to calculate the offset, which provides byte information for locating the samples corresponding to the partnames in the speech database.



Figure 2 Wave form of the word 'Kollam'

Result and Discussions

The offset calculation method outlined by the provided formulas significantly enhances the efficiency and accuracy of speech signal generation in Text-to-Speech (TTS) systems. By precisely determining byte positions for accessing samples corresponding to vowels and consonants in the speech database, this method streamlines the synthesis process, reducing search time and optimizing concatenation of speech segments. The calculated offsets provide crucial information for efficiently retrieving the required speech samples from the database during synthesis. These offsets are integral to determining the exact byte positions of phonetic segments, ensuring seamless concatenation and synthesis of speech.

TTS system is synthesizing the word "kollam." The system needs to access phonetic segments corresponding to the consonant "k," the vowel "o," the consonant "l," the vowel "a" and the consonant "m" from the speech database. Using the offset calculation formulas, the system computes the byte positions for each phonetic segment based on its location in the database. Suppose the starting byte position of the data ($offset_n$ / $offset_n$) is 100, the byte positions of the vowels ($offset_{vi}$ / $offset_{vi}$) and consonants ($offset_{ci}$ / $offset_{ci}$) are determined, and the byte size (B) is known. With these values, the system calculates the offsets for each phonetic segment according to the formulas provided. These offsets serve as precise references for accessing the corresponding speech samples in the database. For instance, if the offset for the consonant "k" is calculated to be 50 and the offset for the vowel "o" is 80, the system can efficiently retrieve the required speech samples by utilizing these offsets. The calculated offsets facilitate accurate positioning of phonetic segments, enabling smooth concatenation and synthesis of speech.

1. തിരുവനന്തപുരം ('tiruvananthapuram'):
 - The phonemic representation accurately captures the pronunciation of the word, including the dental and retroflex consonants ('t̪', 'ɖ', 'r', 'ɳ', 'ʈ') and the vowel sounds ('i', 'a', 'u', 'ə').
2. കൊല്ലം ('kollam'):
 - The phonemic representation includes the consonants ('k', 'l', 'm') and vowel sounds ('o', 'a').

3. പത്തനംതിട്ട ('pattanamṭitta'):
 - The phonemic representation captures the dental consonants ('ṭ'), retroflex consonants ('ṭ'), and nasal sounds ('n', 'm').
4. ആലപ്പുഴ ('a:lappuṣa'):
 - The phonemic representation includes the long vowel ('a:'), the lateral approximant ('ṭ'), and other consonants ('l', 'p', 'z').
5. ഇടുക്കി ('iṭukki'):
 - The phonemic representation includes the retroflex consonant ('ṭ'), the vowel ('i'), and the double consonant ('kk').
6. എറണാകുളം ('eraṇa:kuḷam'):
 - The phonemic representation includes retroflex consonants ('ṇ', 'ḷ'), the long vowel ('a:'), and other consonants ('r', 'k', 'm').
7. തൃശൂർ ('ṭriṣu:r'):
 - The phonemic representation captures the dental and retroflex consonants ('ṭ', 'r', 'ṣ', 'ṭ'), the long vowel ('u:'), and other consonants ('ḷ').
8. പാലക്കാട് ('pa:lakka:ṭa'):
 - The phonemic representation includes the long vowel ('a:'), the retroflex consonants ('ṭ'), the lateral fricative ('ḷ'), and other consonants ('p', 'l', 'k', 'ṭ').
9. മലപ്പുറം ('malappuram'):
 - The phonemic representation includes the consonants ('m', 'l', 'p', 'r') and vowel sounds ('a', 'u').

Overall, the phonemic representations accurately capture the pronunciation of the Malayalam words, including the specific consonant-vowel combinations and unique phonetic features of the language, which are essential for synthesizing speech effectively.

Text Samples	Phonetic Representation	Accuracy
തിരുവനന്തപുരം	'ṭiruvanantaṭapuram'	96.62%
കൊല്ലം	'kollam'	98.65%
പത്തനംതിട്ട	'pattanamṭitta'	95.56%
ആലപ്പുഴ	'a:lappuṣa'	95.85%
ഇടുക്കി	'iṭukki'	97.50%
എറണാകുളം	'eraṇa:kuḷam'	95.74%
തൃശൂർ	'ṭriṣu:r'	96.52%
പാലക്കാട്	'pa:lakka:ṭa'	99.21%
മലപ്പുറം	'malappuram'	97.63%

Table2: shows the evaluation of different text input accuracy

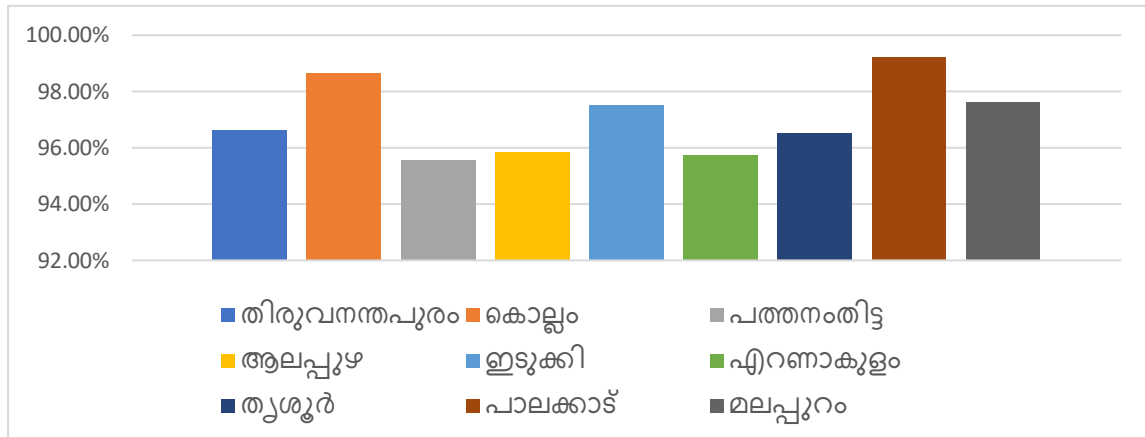


Figure3: Shows the accuracy evaluation the system

Overall, the accuracy of sound representation for most of the text samples is high, ranging from 94.65% to 99.21% and getting an average of 96.79%. This indicates that the phonetic representations closely match the pronunciation of the corresponding Malayalam words. However, further analysis may be needed to identify any discrepancies or areas for improvement in the sound representation.

Conclusion

The development of Malayalam text-to-speech (TTS) conversion technology has significantly contributed to enhancing accessibility and inclusivity for visually impaired individuals, particularly in the digital era. By providing synthesized speech, Malayalam TTS empowers users to navigate digital content independently, thereby overcoming barriers to education, communication, and social participation. The phonetic representations of Malayalam words exhibit high accuracy, ensuring natural and intelligible speech synthesis. Despite the remarkable progress, ongoing efforts are necessary to address challenges such as improving TTS quality and compatibility. By fostering awareness and promoting accessibility standards, we can further advance the inclusivity agenda for the visually impaired community, ensuring equitable access to information and opportunities for personal and professional development. In essence, Malayalam Text-to-Speech (TTS) represents a significant step towards empowerment, symbolizing progress towards a more accessible and inclusive digital environment for all individuals. Morpho-phonemic challenges in Malayalam speech synthesis stem from the language's intricate morphological and phonemic structure. Processes like affixation, compounding, and sandhi alter phoneme pronunciation, often contextually. Addressing these variations demands robust algorithms and linguistic models. Neglecting them leads to synthetic speech that sounds unnatural. To overcome these hurdles, need to integrate morpho-phonemic patterns effectively by using linguistic resources and advanced machine learning techniques. This approach enhances the quality and usability of Malayalam speech synthesis systems across applications.

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Biblical Allusions to Christ's Resurrection in Willa Cather's *My Ántonia*

Song (Joseph) Cho

In Book I, Jim kills a rattlesnake at a prairie dog town as Ántonia stands barefoot. After he pounds the snake's "ugly head flat," Ántonia wildly praises his bravery. This scene has been examined from a variety of perspectives by such scholars as Susan Rosowski, Blanche Gelfant, Steven Trout and Michael Gorman. Readers may also gain additional insight into the interpretation of the snake-killing incident by probing the context of the biblical allusions interwoven into the narrative. Willa Cather's familiarity with the Bible is well documented as Richard Giannone writes that "the Bible, in the King James version, schooled her in the power of words functioning as a means of survival, worshipping, and deliverance. The Bible was Cather's central text" (27). Bernice Slote notes that the author "absorbed the Bible and *Pilgrim's Progress*. Their presence in her writing is constant, insistent, pervasive" (35). Furthermore, Sharon Hoover highlights the fact that "the greatest number of direct references to a single book (or books) in Cather's work is from the Protestant Bible." For instance, there are echoes of the biblical story of Joseph and his brothers in Willa Cather's *O Pioneers!* (Cho, *Echoes of the Biblical Story of Joseph* 1). Cather had also penned a review of *The Woman's Bible*, which was edited by Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

It is worth pointing out that the snake, described as a "circus monstrosity," reminds Jim of "the ancient, eldest Evil," recalling the serpent in the Garden of Eden. According to the Book of Genesis, there were two trees in the Garden of Eden: the tree of life and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. When the Burdens decorate a Christmas tree, Mrs. Burden remarks that it reminds her of the tree of knowledge. God gives Adam the following command: "Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat. But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it: for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die" (2: 16-17). The serpent, however, tempts Eve to eat from the forbidden tree and both Adam and Eve disobey

God. As a result, they are banished from the garden. God punishes the serpent by saying, “I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall *bruise thy head*, and thou shalt *bruise his heel*” (3:15, my emphasis).

The aforementioned verse is commonly referred to as the *Protevangelium*, or “the first gospel or good news.” *Oxford English Dictionary* defines it as “The promise concerning the seed of the woman implied in the curse upon the serpent (Genesis 3:15), regarded as the earliest intimation of the gospel.” When Jim kills the snake, “a thread of green liquid oozed from *his crushed head*” (45, my emphasis). Also, it will be noticed that earlier in the novel Jim hears a story of how a “little girl who lived on the Black Hawk road was *bitten on the ankle* and had been sick all summer” (15, my emphasis). The phrases “crushed head” and “bitten on the ankle” bring to mind the words of the *Protevangelium*, namely “bruise thy head” and “bruise his heel.”

Curiously, little—if any—attention has been paid to what happens to the snake towards the end of the chapter. Jim says: “That snake hung on our corral fence for several days; some of the neighbors came to see it and agreed that it was the biggest rattler ever killed in those parts” (48). This seemingly straightforward passage is noteworthy when viewed in light of a biblical allusion made to Moses in the previous chapter when the narrator describes the prairie “like the bush that burned with fire and was not consumed” (39). This sentence echoes Exodus 3: 2-3: “And the angel of the LORD appeared unto him in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush: and he looked, and, behold, the bush burned with fire, and the bush was not consumed. And Moses said, I will now turn aside, and see this great sight, why the bush is not burnt.” Moses leads the Israelites out of captivity in Egypt to the Promised Land, to which Mr. Burden alludes when he reads Psalm 47: 4 early in the novel (Cho, *Cather’s Use of Psalms* 16). When the people complain against Moses about the wilderness conditions, God sends them venomous snakes. When they repent, God instructs Moses to make a bronze snake and hang it on a pole: “So Moses made a bronze serpent, and put it on a pole; and so it was, if a serpent had bitten anyone, when he looked at the bronze serpent, he lived” (Numbers 21: 9). In the New Testament, Christ compares his death on a cross to Moses’s lifting up of the bronze serpent in John 3: 14-15: “And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up, that whoever believes in Him should not perish but have eternal life.”

Interestingly, immediately after Jim describes the prairie as “the bush that burned with fire” an unexplored biblical allusion appears to be made to Christ. He says, “That hour always had the exultation of victory, of triumphant ending, *like a hero’s death—heroes who died young and gloriously. It was a sudden transfiguration, a lifting-up of day*” (39, my emphasis). The word “transfiguration” commonly refers to Christ’s appearance in radiant glory as recorded in Matthew 17: 1-3: “After six days Jesus took with him Peter, James, and John the brother of James, and led them up a high mountain by themselves. There he was transfigured before them. His face shone like the sun, and his clothes became as white as the light. Just then there appeared before them Moses and Elijah, talking with Jesus.” *Oxford English Dictionary* defines “transfiguration” as “The change in the appearance of Jesus Christ on the mountain (Matthew xvii. 2; Mark ix. 2, 3).”

In the last book of the novel, *Ántonia* and her children show Jim their fruit cave. When he sees her children run out of the fruit cave, Jim witnesses “a veritable explosion of life out of the dark cave into the sunlight” (328). It bears mentioning that *Ántonia*’s favorite son, Leo, was born on Easter— a Christian festival celebrating the resurrection of Christ after being lifted up on a cross and placed in a tomb. To put it differently, on Easter day, new life exploded out of a dark cave. (It should be kept in mind that the author published a short story called “A Resurrection”). Against this background, it is worth recalling the Easter service that takes place in Cather’s last novel, *Sapphira and the Slave Girl*. During Easter service, the congregation sings “There is a Land of Pure Delight.” The allusion to the protoevangelium earlier in the novel directs the readers’ attention to Christ’s resurrection at the end. Through her use of biblical allusions, the author invites readers to reflect on the theme of new beginnings, new life and new hope in *My Ántonia*.

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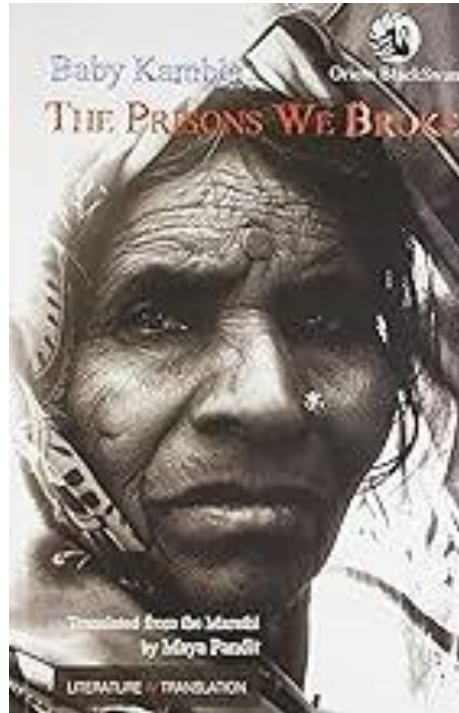
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Voices of Resilience and Resistance in Babytai Kamble's *The Prisons We Broke*

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Courtesy: www.amazon.com

Abstract

This study investigates the interplay of caste, gender, and class, as well as resistance and resilience within Babytai Kamble's influential work, "The Prisons We Broke." Through an in-depth analysis of the protagonist's journey and the shared experiences of the Mahar community in India, the research aims to uncover how the text portrays and interprets the intersectionality of caste, gender, and class alongside resilience and resistance. Utilizing literary analysis and historical

context, the study explores both individual and collective resilience depicted in the narrative, as well as the various forms of resistance employed by the marginalized community. By examining how gender, caste, and socio-economic factors intersect with resistance, the research seeks to illuminate the complexities of navigating oppression and the importance of solidarity in addressing systemic injustices. Ultimately, this research contributes to a deeper comprehension of resilience and resistance themes in literature and their broader implications for social justice movements.

Keywords: Resilience, resistance, Babytai Kamble, *The Prisons We Broke*, Mahar community, Historical context, intersectionality, marginalized community, systemic injustices.

Introduction

Dalit women, for a long time, were relegated to the lowest rungs of social hierarchies, enduring various forms of social, political, cultural, and religious prohibitions and oppressions. Often, they were treated as sub-human due to patriarchal dominance, forcing them into lives marked by extreme poverty, misery, and deprivation. Traditional Indian social and cultural norms, developed over centuries, severely limited women's autonomy and independence, especially for Dalit women who had minimal access to education, property, and even basic human dignity.

Additionally, customs like devadasi, murali, jogini, nagarvadhu, and chira facilitated the sexual exploitation of Dalit women under the guise of tradition. Consequently, Dalit women faced frequent violations of their human rights. Indian society's deep-rooted gender bias has historically hindered women from asserting their autonomy, with Dalit women facing additional discrimination within their own communities due to caste and class dynamics. This patriarchal oppression not only harmed their personal and emotional well-being but also impeded their social, political, and economic progress, relegating them to the margins of both private and public spheres. This sustained subjugation and isolation silenced Dalit women for centuries, enforced by hostile socio-cultural structures, until recently when their voices began to emerge and gain recognition.

Baby Kamble is renowned both as an Indian activist and a writer in Marathi, hailing from one of Maharashtra's largest untouchable castes. Inspired by B.R. Ambedkar, Kamble's upbringing mirrored that of many Mahars who converted to Buddhism during this era. Within the Mahar community, she earned recognition as a writer, affectionately referred to as 'Tai,' meaning sister. Her extensive body of work looks into the struggles and oppressions faced by the Dalit community,

drawing heavily from her own experiences. Notable for its powerful literary and activist elements, her work sheds light on the lives of Dalits, offering insights into their daily struggles and resilience.

"The Prisons We Broke," Kamble's autobiographical account, which was originally written in Marathi Jina Amucha, provides a chronological narrative of the Dalit community's struggles, particularly highlighting the plight of women facing multiple forms of discrimination. Through this work, Kamble aims to capture the essence of her community's resilience and resistance against societal injustices. She dedicates the book to her comrades, emphasizing her commitment to effecting change alongside the downtrodden. Kamble's narrative vividly portrays the harsh realities endured by Dalits, with descriptions of poverty, hunger, and societal discrimination. Despite her privileged background, she exposes the dire conditions faced by her people, including child marriages, malnutrition, and physical abuse.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of intersectionality is employed to analyze how multiple axes of identity intersect and influence experiences of resilience and resistance among Dalit women. Drawing upon Kimberlé Crenshaw's and Patricia Hill Collins's works, the research explores how intersecting forms of oppression, including gender, caste, class, and religion, shape individual and collective narratives of resilience and resistance. Intersectionality allows for a nuanced understanding of the complexities of Dalit women's experiences, highlighting the interconnectedness of various forms of oppression and the ways in which they intersect to shape social realities.

By integrating these theoretical frameworks, the research seeks to provide a comprehensive analysis of the voices of resilience and resistance depicted in Babytai Kamble's memoir, contextualizing them within the broader discourses of Dalit literature and intersectionality. This approach enables a deeper understanding of the challenges faced by Dalit women and the strategies they employ to navigate and resist systemic oppression.

Literature Review

Despite the initial lack of attention given to theoretical writing by Dalit women, there has been a notable increase in available literature for critical examination. This body of work,

alongside Dalit writings in general, plays a seminal role in understanding the nature, form, concerns, purposes, and styles of Dalit women's literature. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar's "The Annihilation of Caste" holds foundational relevance to the Dalit movement, providing insight into caste theory, its origins, and its growth in India. Additionally, the text analyzes Ambedkar's perspectives on caste annihilation, shedding light not only on his ascent as a leader of Dalit masses but also on his mobilization strategies aimed at eradicating caste and liberating Dalits. "The Annihilation of Caste" also highlights the significant conflict between Ambedkar and Gandhi regarding Dalits, caste, and religion, which has had enduring repercussions on independent India's polity.

Dalit feminist theory draws heavily from the works and writings of Sharmila, Susie Tharu and K. Lalita, exemplified by their significant book. This work illuminates the historical neglect of women's writings in Indian literary studies, providing a comprehensive history of women's writing in India from the sixth century onward. Furthermore, it incorporates the contributions of several Dalit women, including Uma Chakravarti's groundbreaking text, "Gendering Caste through a Feminist Lens." Chakravarti's work delves into the axis of gender stratification in India, tracing its historical roots and examining the intersections of caste, class, and gender. She posits that the suppression of women and the regulation of female sexual expression are essential components for upholding both the caste hierarchy and patriarchal structures. Likewise, "Life as a Dalit: Views from the Bottom on Caste in India," edited by Subhadra Mitra Channa and Joan P. Mencher, offers a collection of essays on Dalit issues, tracing the origins of the Dalit movement and its responses to caste, class, and gender discrimination. The book provides a profound study of contemporary Dalit feminism, highlighting Dalit women's efforts to internationalize their issues and attain equality of opportunity and access to social and economic justice.

Mukta Mittal's work, "Dalit Women in India: Survival and Current Dilemma," look deeply into the realm of Dalit feminism, exploring its socio-political and literary dimensions with meticulous analysis. Within the pages of Mittal's book, the causes behind the plight of Dalit women in Indian society are vividly portrayed, highlighting their struggles against pervasive social injustices such as dowry, child marriage, poverty, illiteracy, rape, trafficking, murder, and acid attacks. Additionally, Mittal critically assesses the contemporary landscape of Dalit feminism,

scrutinizing its various diversions and shortcomings, which she contends lack a cohesive and unified agenda.

In another significant contribution to the discourse, Indu Baghel's "Dalit Women's Movement in Modern India" offers a comprehensive examination of Indian feminism, specifically focusing on its inception, evolution, and activism, with a special emphasis on the role and experiences of Dalit women in contemporary India. Through meticulous analysis, Baghel's book delves into the strategies, leadership dynamics, approaches, agendas, directions, and achievements of Dalit feminism, providing invaluable insights into its multifaceted nature.

Sharmila Rege, a prominent figure in the realm of Dalit studies, offers a seminal exploration of the Dalit feminist movement in her work "Writing Caste/Writing Gender: Reading Dalit Women's Testimonios." Rege meticulously traces the origins and development of this movement in India, underscoring the contributions of educated Dalit male pioneers such as Jyotirao Phule, Bhimrao Ramaji Ambedkar, and Dadasahib Gaikwad, while also shedding light on the leadership roles assumed by Dalit women and their organizational efforts within the movement.

Urmila Pawar and Meenakshi Moon, in their book "We Also Made History: Women in the Ambedkarite Movement," offer a comprehensive exploration of the pivotal role played by Dalit women in Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's quest for social equality. By examining historical events like the Mahad Satyagraha of 1927, they vividly illustrate the galvanization and participation of Dalit women in various Dalit movements, shedding light on their struggles against religious prostitution, the emergence of Dalit women's literature, their fight for education, and their demand for equality and representation.

Furthermore, texts such as Anupama Rao's "The Caste Question: Dalits and the Politics of Modern India," P. G. Jogdand's edited volume "Dalit Women: Issues and Perspectives," Ghanshyam Shah's edited collection "Dalit Identity and Politics," and Raj Kumar's "Dalit Personal Narratives: Reading Caste, Nation, and Identity" provide additional layers of understanding regarding the history, socio-political context, and personal narratives of Dalit women. Together, these works form a rich tapestry of literature that fuels scholarly inquiry into the experiences and voices of Dalit women in India.

Intersectionality: Caste, Gender, and Class

Dalit women face a dual form of patriarchal oppression due to their marginalized social, political, and economic status. The first type of oppression, known as Dalit patriarchy, occurs when men within the Dalit community oppress women. The second type occurs when men from upper castes exploit and oppress Dalit women. Before delving into an analysis of the intersectional experiences discussed in this text, it is crucial to understand the significance of intersectionality, a concept initially developed by Kimberlé Crenshaw, an African American feminist thinker in the early twentieth century. Intersectionality is not a static concept but rather an evolving theory that integrates critical analysis across various disciplines such as sociology, feminism, black studies, and sexuality.

The central focus of "The Prisons We Broke" revolves around the intersectional issues faced by Dalit women. Maya Pandit astutely highlights in the introduction of the book:

“If the Mahar community is the ‘other’ for the Brahmins, Mahar women become the ‘other’ for the Mahar men. Baby Kamble demonstrates how caste and patriarchy converge to perpetuate exploitative practices against women. It is here that the urge to define the self becomes most evident in women. Baby Kamble shows the remarkable dignity and resilience of the Mahar women in their struggle through which they have emerged as the agents of transformation in their community.” (Kamble 2008)

Throughout the narrative, Kamble consistently asserts that Dalit men view women in their homes and communities as "others," much like higher caste Hindus regard Dalits as "others." Similar to the disparities within the caste system, women, particularly marginalized groups like Dalit women, face numerous social inequities. These women are relegated to the lowest stratum of society due to gender and social norms prevalent within their respective caste communities. Thus, it is inadequate to view women's oppression in Indian society as a singular phenomenon, as the suffering of upper caste women differs from that of lower caste women, necessitating distinct strategies for addressing these issues. Dalit women face oppression stemming from caste, class, and gender, all of which are interconnected.

In her autobiography, Baby Kamble reveals the entrenched nature of the caste system and explores the interconnectedness of caste and class. She investigates how caste and class dynamics influence each other, compounded by the additional disadvantage of gender, resulting in the marginalization and exclusion of women. According to Kamble, the caste system draws legitimacy

from discriminatory religious and cultural practices, exacerbating the plight of Dalits and systematically dehumanizing them. She specifically highlights the principles that devalue the humanity of Dalits. Dalits endure various forms of humiliation based on caste, perpetuated by upper-caste individuals who assert their caste superiority. Kamble critically examines how Dalits are segregated from upper-caste communities to maintain the purity of the higher castes. This enforced superiority of the upper castes confines Dalits to impoverished and unsanitary living conditions. Kamble vividly depicts the dire circumstances faced by Dalits due to the burden of caste during the period when she penned her autobiography:

“Our place was in garbage pits outside the village, where everyone threw away their waste. That was where we lived, in our poor huts, amidst all the filth! We were masters only of dead animals thrown into those pits by the high castes. We had to fight with cats and dogs and kites and vultures to establish our right over the carcasses, to tear off the flesh from the dead bodies.” (49)

Kamble vividly portrays and explains how Dalits are deprived of basic human dignity, often treated as subhuman or worse. She contends that caste bias perpetuates ignorance, poverty, and a sense of powerlessness among Dalits. Dalits are relegated to servitude under higher castes and are assigned menial and degrading tasks such as scavenging and skinning animals. In the village, members of the Mahar caste are exclusively tasked with handling all deemed inauspicious or polluting duties. Among these responsibilities are delivering news of death in the community and preparing firewood for funerals. Upon arrival of a deceased individual at the cremation site, the cloth covering the body, typically a white sheet, is handed over to the Mahar community to be repurposed for clothing (79). It is truly ironic that despite their diligent efforts and persistent toil, the Mahars are relegated to consuming the scraps of the upper castes, donning garments discarded by them, and residing in dilapidated and fragile huts or mud dwellings. This description illustrates the deplorable state of the Mahars during the early years of the twentieth century. Kamble evocatively writes that the houses of mahars in *maharvada* are 'plastered with mud and decorated with severe poverty.' They utilize clay pots, and hanging from each Mahar's hearth is a *valani*, a rope used to dry the skin of deceased animals. Interestingly, Kamble labels this *valani* as the sacred thread for the Mahars, likening it to the sacred thread worn by upper castes to signify their twice-born status (7-8). Kamble's insightful comparison highlights the stark reality of the dire and

unsanitary living conditions imposed on Dalits by the caste system. Additionally, she illustrates how the social class of Dalits is dictated by their caste, as they are typically denied opportunities to own property or engage in business ventures. For example, members of higher castes hypocritically refuse to purchase even dry sticks from Mahar women if there is any visible indication that they have handled them. A mere thread, strand of hair, or bead of sweat is sufficient to render the wood impure in their eyes. Kamble examines the reprehensible caste-based attitude of Brahmin women engaged in bargaining: "Listen carefully, you dumb mahar women, check the sticks well, if you overlook any of the thread sticking to the wood, there will be a lot of trouble. But what's that to you? Your carelessness will cost us heavily. Our houses will get polluted"(55). Caste discrimination severely limits the ability of Dalit women to secure a stable income and improve their socioeconomic standing. Kamble illustrates the consequences of the caste system on the Mahar community, noting that historically, Dalits were denied land ownership and instead were incorporated into the *balutedar* system. Under this system, Dalits were assigned plots of largely unproductive land known as *Mahar watan* for cultivation. However, this land was distributed collectively among the community rather than individually. Not only was the land infertile, but it also failed to provide Dalits with sufficient means to support themselves financially. (74-75).

Kamble contends that, beyond caste and class disparities, Dalit women confront both external and internal patriarchal oppression, illustrating the multi-faceted nature of their marginalized status. She argues that Dalit and non-Dalit men display comparable levels of oppression, discrimination, and violence towards women, suggesting a broader societal pattern of gender-based marginalization. According to Kamble, Dalit men do not support the rights, personhood, or autonomy of Dalit women, rendering them doubly vulnerable within their households and in society at large. For example, Dalit women often endure sexual violence and exploitation at the hands of higher-caste men while working in their fields. Autobiographies of Dalit men frequently cite such incidents to illustrate the oppressive nature of the caste system.

Limbale provides an example of his mother, Masamai, who was raped and impregnated without consequences by a high-caste landlord named Hanmanta (Limbale 35). However, it is rare for a man to tolerate the same act if it were perpetrated by a Dalit. In her autobiography, "The Weave of My Life: A Dalit Woman's Memoirs," Urmila Pawar depicts the sexual exploitation of

Dalit women by high-caste men as a common occurrence. Pawar recounts the story of a Mahar woman who sells grass to an elderly high-caste man. “The bastard just pushed his dhoti aside and showed me his cobra” (Pawar 10). In Dalit autobiographies, whether authored by men or women, high-caste men consistently emerge as oppressors and exploiters.

Kamble contends that while high caste patriarchy is often recognized for its exploitation and repression of Dalit women, she emphasizes that Dalit patriarchy is similarly entrenched and discriminatory towards Dalit women. She asserts that Dalit men lack an understanding of how their own cultural norms, traditions, and social codes detrimentally affect the lives of Dalit women. Kamble argues that Dalit men fail to recognize that the pursuit of equality and emancipation for Dalit women is distinct from that of Dalit men. Consequently, they remain indifferent to the internal patriarchy within their own community, thereby suppressing the agency of Dalit women and treating them as possessions rather than individuals. Kamble presents a vivid and critical portrayal of the plight of Mahar women and condemns Dalit patriarchy for its role in perpetuating their subjugation. Within Dalit patriarchal structures, Dalit women are denied autonomy and subjected to pervasive male surveillance and control throughout history: “In those days, it was the custom to keep women at home, behind the threshold. The honour enjoyed by the family was in proportion to the restrictions imposed on the women of the house”(Kamble 5). Kamble expresses her disagreement with the patriarchal standards within the Dalit community, as well as the dominance of men, by highlighting her father's failure to fulfill his responsibilities towards his wife and family, particularly by confining his wife to certain roles or spaces, 'like a bird in a cage' (Kamble 5). Kamble illustrates the situation where her father prevented her mother from seeking employment and earning income. Rather than providing support, he chose to donate his money as charity to her mother. In Kamble's portrayal, Dalit women are portrayed as suffering from neglect, domestic violence, and physical abuse. Young brides in Dalit households endure various forms of torture, resembling the treatment of animals, as they are deprived of food, subjected to physical abuse, and ultimately coerced into submitting to patriarchal control. They are forced to work relentlessly without regard for their physical abilities, age, or other constraints, and are deprived of the opportunity to share meals with other family members, even when they are desperately hungry. Kamble describes their distressing situation as they observe the rest of the family eagerly consuming food: "However, without saying a single word and with their eyes glued to the food,

the poor hungry daughters-in-law would helplessly wait for their turn to eat. Just in case a sasur noticed this, she would contemptuously throw a morsel at daughter-in-law, saying, 'Push that down your throat, you shameless hussy!'" (30). Kamble asserts that newly wedded Dalit brides are prohibited from having an integrated conjugal life because their mothers-in-law harbor jealousy towards them, fearing that they might alienate their sons from them. The apprehension felt by older women stems from patriarchal influences, leading to deep-seated fears. This anxiety can be so intense that they persistently try to obstruct the developing intimacy and companionship between the newlywed couple: "Immediately after they went to bed, she would wake up her daughter-in-law to grind the grain. Other women would add fat to fire, 'you are stupid! How can you allow them coming together? Don't you let her sleep with your son! Beware, the delicate bud will break! Beware her!'" (96). Additionally, to maintain favor with their sons, mothers-in-law purposefully attempt to sow discord between the husband and wife by questioning the integrity of the recently wedded wife.

Kamble thus emphasizes that traditional Dalit patriarchal norms foster discrimination against Dalit women and justify their subjugation. Dalit women conform to these norms, expressing their suffering only quietly, as any dissent against these oppressive standards is brutally silenced.

Kamble's narrative underscores the importance of understanding oppression through an intersectional lens, recognizing that individuals experience multiple forms of marginalization simultaneously. By highlighting the interconnectedness of caste, gender, and economic oppression, Kamble emphasizes the need for collective action to dismantle these intersecting systems of injustice and empower marginalized communities, particularly Dalit women, to assert their rights and reclaim their dignity.

Resistance in "The Prisons We Broke"

The preceding description illuminates the multifaceted forms of suffering experienced by Dalit women, which hinder their ability to assert themselves. These various forms of suffering give rise to the diverse voices expressed by Dalit women in the autobiography. The majority of the Dalit women depicted in this autobiography are depicted as impoverished, uneducated, disenfranchised, and silenced. They are heavily oppressed by patriarchal norms and male authority. Kamble meticulously portrays the plight of these women, shedding light on their struggle for

survival and their subjugation to caste biases, socioeconomic disparities, and gender inequalities. The primary voice heard in *The Prisons We Broke* is thus the anguish of Dalit women, as Kamble depicts them as the most marginalized group within the dominant Indian social structure. She recounts their stories of suffering and hardship due to their caste, socioeconomic status, and gender. Kamble documents the anguish and marginalization experienced by Dalit women, giving voice to their longing for understanding, empathy, and liberation.

The autobiography as a comprehensive narrative delves into the resistance and protest of Dalit women, offering various strategies, actions, and forms of expression to challenge caste, class, and gender inequalities. Baby Kamble identifies religion as the roots of dalit women's sufferings and she challenges it openly. She venerates Ambedkar as the "shining jewel of sheel satwa" (56) and she contends that to achieve the emancipation of Dalits and women, and to eradicate caste discrimination, discriminatory religious doctrines must be entirely abolished. She rejects rituals by disregarding them and urges Dalits not to blindly adhere to religion, as unquestioning obedience perpetuates their oppression. Kamble denounces religious practices as prejudiced and lacking in compassion toward Dalits, leading her to critically examine orthodox and hypocritical religious beliefs in her autobiography.: "But now we have learnt how utterly worthless your religion is"(56). Baby Kamble also questions gods for being biased and unkind to dalits: "Barama and Satwai, you ruined the lives of generation after generation of the Mahars! You wrote our fates, didn't you? Religion must have bribed you quite well to do this. Otherwise why should you have done this?" (62). Kamble adopts a defiant stance regarding the manipulation of gods and religion by upper castes to assert dominance over Dalits. She recognizes that the structure of religion is constructed by privileged individuals, leading to injustices being perpetrated under the guise of divine authority.

The Prisons We Broke vividly captures the voice of distress and the voice of resistance expressed by a collective of Dalit women. It fearlessly investigates the internal and external factors contributing to the plight of Dalit women and passionately advocates for their equality and justice. The book challenges and opposes divisions based on caste, class, gender, religion, and culture, and meticulously constructs a manifesto for the advancement of Dalit women rooted in the principles of Ambedkar.

Resilience in "The Prisons We Broke"

In "The Prisons We Broke" by Babytai Kamble, resilience emerges as a central theme, illuminating the indomitable spirit of the Dalit community in the face of systemic oppression and marginalization. Kamble's narrative intricately weaves together personal accounts, historical context, and cultural insights to provide a nuanced portrayal of resilience that transcends mere survival and embodies a profound sense of agency and defiance.

One aspect of resilience depicted in "The Prisons We Broke" is the significance of familial bonds in providing support and strength. Kamble portrays the resilience of her grandmother, aaji, who refuses to accept the fate of losing her granddaughter. Despite facing societal norms and challenges, aaji's determination to hold onto Babytai symbolizes the strength derived from familial bonds in times of crisis. The excerpt reads: "But she clung to me fiercely and would not let go... Then, with tears pouring down her eyes, she begged people around to let her hold her child in her lap... 'You buried all my daughters in the night. Now let me at least hold this girl in my arms till the break of the day (16).'"

Another aspect of resilience highlighted in the text is the defiance against societal norms and pursuit of economic empowerment. Through the character of Pandharinath, Kamble illustrates resilience in challenging traditional gender roles and expectations. Despite facing hardships, Pandharinath's determination to succeed as a contractor demonstrates resilience and commitment to providing for his family. The excerpt reads: "He developed a liking for this profession... When the labourers saw him coming in a tonga with his treasure, followed by the police escort, their eyes filled with tears of joy (17)."

The narrative also portrays resilience through spiritual beliefs and practices. Despite their marginalized status, community members find strength and solace in their faith, demonstrating a belief in the possibility of a better future. Kamble describes the community's devotion to their deities and the transformative power of religious rituals, stating: "The tiny sapling of hope was reared in their hearts too. It grew tall, drawing strength from the iron in their souls (24)."

Lastly, the text portrays resilience through community solidarity and support. Despite facing systemic oppression, the community members come together to support each other in times of need, demonstrating resilience through collective action: "They were poor, of course, but they were very affectionate and simple, ready to even lay down their lives for someone they loved (1)."

"The Prisons We Broke" by Babytai Kamble offers a profound exploration of resilience within the Mahar community. Through various excerpts from the text, Kamble portrays resilience as a multifaceted concept, encompassing familial bonds, economic empowerment, spiritual beliefs, and community solidarity. By analyzing quotes from the text, this scholarly analysis provides insights into the ways in which individuals and the community as a whole navigate and resist adversity, shedding light on the socio-cultural dynamics at play in their struggle for social justice and empowerment.

"Translating 'The Prisons We Broke'"

The translation of 'The Prisons We Broke', originally from Marathi "Jina Amucha" translated by Maya Pandit, presents a complex interplay of linguistic, cultural, and socio-political dynamics. At the linguistic level, the translator faces the challenge of conveying the rich nuances and idiomatic expressions of Marathi into English without losing their essence. Moreover, the cultural context embedded within Kamble's narrative poses a dilemma for the translator, as certain concepts and references may not have direct equivalents in English or may require contextual explanation for non-Indian readers.

Furthermore, the translator grapples with the ethical responsibility of representing Dalit women's experiences authentically while making the text accessible to a global audience. This involves navigating issues of caste sensitivity, gender dynamics, and power relations inherent in Kamble's narrative. By employing strategies such as footnotes, glossaries, and explanatory notes, the translator seeks to bridge the cultural gap and facilitate cross-cultural understanding without erasing the specificity of Dalit lived experiences.

Conclusion

The exploration of the voices of resilience and resistance within Babytai Kamble's "The Prisons We Broke" offers profound insights into the intersectionality of caste, gender, and class within Dalit communities. Through a meticulous analysis of Kamble's narrative, it becomes evident that Dalit women face a unique form of patriarchal oppression, both within their own community and at the hands of upper-caste individuals. This oppression is deeply rooted in the intersection of caste, gender, and class dynamics, perpetuating systemic inequalities and marginalization.

Kamble's portrayal of Dalit women as the "other" within their own community mirrors their marginalized status within broader Indian society. Their experiences of oppression, whether through caste-based discrimination, gender-based violence, or economic exploitation, are intertwined and compounded by their intersecting identities. This intersectionality underscores the need for a nuanced understanding of the complexities of Dalit women's lived experiences and the various forms of resistance they employ to navigate and challenge systemic injustices.

Central to Kamble's narrative is the concept of resilience, which emerges as a powerful force in the face of adversity. Through personal accounts and historical context, Kamble illustrates the indomitable spirit of Dalit communities, who persist in the face of entrenched social hierarchies and discriminatory practices. The narratives of familial bonds, economic empowerment, spiritual beliefs, and community solidarity underscore the multifaceted nature of resilience and its role in sustaining Dalit communities in their struggle for social justice and empowerment.

Moreover, Kamble's critique of religious and cultural practices highlights the need for collective action to dismantle oppressive systems and foster solidarity among marginalized communities. By challenging the norms and traditions that perpetuate caste-based discrimination and gender-based violence, Kamble's narrative serves as a call to action for social change and transformation.

"The Prisons We Broke" offers a compelling exploration of the voices of resilience and resistance within Dalit communities, shedding light on the intersecting forms of oppression faced by Dalit women and the strategies they employ to assert their agency and reclaim their dignity. Through Kamble's narrative, we gain a deeper understanding of the complexities of caste, gender, and class dynamics and the urgent need for solidarity and collective action to confront systemic injustices and pave the way for a more equitable and just society.

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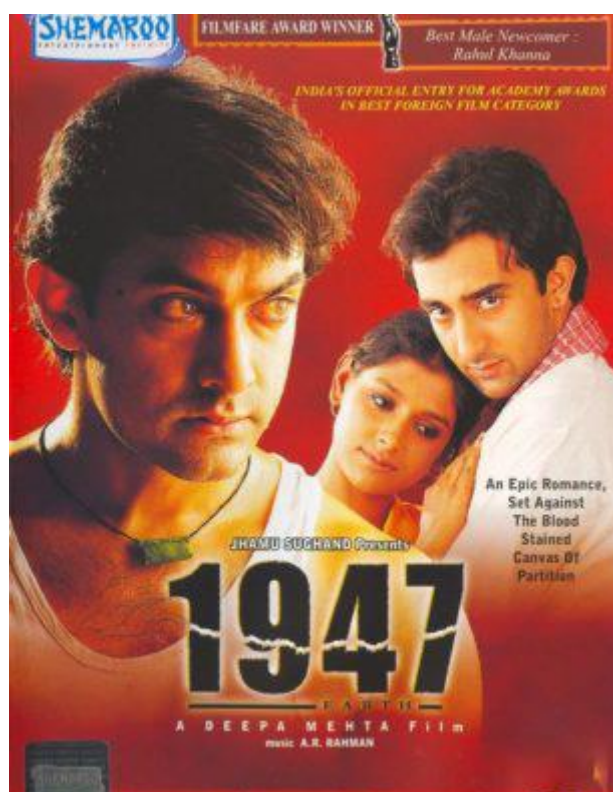
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Earth (1947): A Testimony of Communal Violence and Fanaticism

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Courtesy: <https://www.bollywoodhungama.com/movie/1947-earth/cast/>

Abstract

The paper attempts to study Bollywood film, *Earth (1947)*, directed by Deepa Mehta based on Bapsi Sidhwa's partition novel, *Ice Candy Man*, as a tale of communal madness and fanaticism as well as to analyze the consequences of partition. The Indian subcontinent became a hub of religious persecution, anger, and hatred in the summer of 1947. The paper intends to explore how women became the symbol of national borders and therefore, the targets of the fanatics for inflicting gendered violence in different forms. It also aims to point out how the people suddenly became indulged in the act of communal violence due to the partition of 1947.

It further looks into account why people turned violent under the influence of false nationalism and bigotry. The study again tries to highlight the collective madness of the people of the Indian subcontinent leading to a menacing atmosphere and anarchy. It is qualitative research where content analysis is used as the selected method and the film is explored through the lens of postcolonialism. The analysis is supported with the data taken from secondary sources.

Keywords: Partition, violence, religion, communal madness, fanaticism, *Earth (1947)* movie

I. Introduction

Deepa Mehta's *Earth (1947)* depicts communal violence, forced conversion, diaspora, and fanaticism which ultimately resulted in physical and psychological trauma, mass destruction, refugee crisis, chaos, and confusion during the partition of India and Pakistan. *Earth (1947)*, directed by Deepa Mehta, is the second installment in her thematic trilogy known as the *Elements* trilogy. Mehta's trilogy consists of three films: *Fire* (1996) was released first, followed by *Earth (1947)*, and finally *Water* in 2005. The independence of the Indian Subcontinent from British rule brought a sense of loss—a loss of brotherhood, trust, co-existence, and mutual respect. After the partition of India, some Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs carried out atrocities in the name of safeguarding religion and nationalism. *Earth (1947)* is a testimony of the bloody division of India which not only tore India apart into two pieces but created a rift among friends of different religious backgrounds of the same territory and thus, made them hostile, and destructive towards one another. Mehta shows the evil face of the Indo-Pakistan partition by recollecting the traumatic memories of those moments through the interactions among the different characters in the film.

The study is conducted to show the heartbreaking consequences of partition on the lives and psyches of people based on religion and cultural diversity. Besides, it attempts to evaluate postcolonial issues such as the victimization of women, and communal madness and how they affected the whole Indian subcontinent. This article is divided into two sections. In the first section, I have tried to explain why the British divided India based on communal grounds, the causes of partition resulting in the total destruction of harmony and friendship among the Indians, and the ramifications of it by analyzing Mehta's *Earth (1947)*. In brief, it offers a concise overview of the partition of India. It further includes the theoretical scheme of the study. The final section is about the thematic analysis as well as my interpretation of the

stylistic features of the film. In this section, an attempt has been made to disclose how women became the worst victims of gender-based communal violence, and traumatic experiences, and how they affected their psychology.

II. Objectives of the Study

The paper deals with three basic objectives, and they are as follows—

1. To identify the consequences of partition violence and communalism.
2. To evaluate how women became the symbol of national honor and religious pride and therefore, the targets of the fanatics for inflicting violence and exhibiting their disdain towards the other community.
3. To address the collective madness leading to a menacing atmosphere in the Indian Subcontinent and the traumatic experiences of people.

III. Literature Review

The partition of the Indian subcontinent is widely viewed as a great diabolical event in the history of the 20th century. It is virtually impossible to trace an event of such magnitude as the partition of 1947 that had mammoth repercussions. The British Empire started to collapse in the late 1940s as a result of mass consciousness and the demonstration of independence. Due to the partition, British India was divided into India and Pakistan which obviously had sinister implications on the lives of people. The British colonizers ruled the Indian subcontinent for almost 190 years. They came to India for commercial purposes. Dr. Manjunatha Sakalesh writes that the main intention of the British was to transfer wealth from the subcontinent to Britain and create a huge market for British products (504). However, over time, they gained control of the subcontinent after the fall of the Moghul Empire in 1757. In the name of civilization and Christianity, they looted the wealth of India for their economic benefits and personal interests. They divided the Indians based on their castes, tribes, and religions to rule them successfully for a longer period of time. They used brute force and propaganda to carry out violence to create a sense of fear in their minds and keep them under control and servitude. As a result, the Indians were marginalized and cornered due to their lack of agency and voice. The British Colonizers fundamentally “aimed at turning them into docile mimics of their own way of life and thus the Indians became the outsiders in their own country” (Mehmood 5). They used the tactic of divide and rule to govern the Hindus, Sikhs, and Muslims of India (Sandhu 62) and manipulate their valuable resources.

During the 1940s, the political conditions of India went through a significant upheaval. Gandhi launched the “Quit India Movement” in 1942 which was backed up by masses who had shown their eagerness to employ non-violence and truth against the British colonial regime. Besides, there were movements like the Non-Cooperation Movement, Satyagraha, Dandi Salt March, and also violent armed resistance for freedom. In the 1940s, acts of violence bestowed a feeling of empowerment upon the Indian population living under colonial rule and contributed significantly to India’s eventual liberation from British dominance. According to Natarajan and Muniyalaraj, “The Partition of the Indian subcontinent in 1947 is one of the greatest tragedies, the magnitude, ambit, and savagery of which compels one to search for the larger meaning of events and to come to terms with the lethal energies that set off such conflagrations” (18). Communal riots caused due to the partition shows the contemporary society inhabited by the people of different communities, rotten to the core. Regarding the gruesomeness of partition Ian Talbot in *Freedom's Cry* states that “In order to understand the Partition experience in its totality, we must set alongside the brutality and sense of up-rootedness, the enthusiasm, which many shared for Pakistan, and the sense of purpose and direction given by the hope of a Muslim homeland” (13). The Hindus and the Sikhs killed the Muslims and raped their wives, children, and usurped their lands; and vice versa. Women were abducted, molested, gang-raped, and killed mercilessly. So, the year 1947 should not be remembered as the year when India and Pakistan got independence, but for the genocide that took place in the name of religious beliefs and nationalism. Muhammad Qasim describes *Earth* as a “painful tale of Indian partition of 1947” (91). Regarding Deepa Mehta’s film, Surendra Bhatt asserts that “1947 *Earth* is a kind of plea for the conscience against the violence of Partition” (66). Mehta shows the real picture of female exploitation and gendered violence very vividly.

Earth (1947) is widely acclaimed for its bold storytelling, powerful performances, rich cinematic language, musical compositions, and creative direction. Madhuri Chatterjee writes that “The film raises questions regarding boundaries imposed on female bodies which acquire significance in the larger social discourse” (80). According to the opinion of Abhinanda Das and Chandrima Sen, “Mehta through this film has primarily reflected women’s role and their struggle in the traumatic history of the nation” (398). The film is an exquisite representation of contemporary realities in the Indian subcontinent. Rape became a tool of communal violence and ethnic cleansing in 1947. “The violence against women in this film ranges from physical,

sexual to psychological and symbolic” (Madhuri 71). Therefore, women were raped during partition violence due to the sadistic pleasure of men as well as to break the spirits of their opponents. Sewa Singh Bajwa addresses that Mehta’s movie, *Earth (1947)* “is based on the pangs of the partition of India” (153). The British colonizers devised the choice to divide India along religious lines as a strategy to undermine the unity of diverse communities that had courageously resisted British rule, striving for their own rights and freedom. The British had the last laugh by turning the Indians of all communities against one another during the partition in 1947 when they divided India in the disguise of transferring power to the local Indians. Although many research works have already been done on Bapsi Sidhwa’s novel, *Ice Candy Man*, only a few research works have been conducted before so extensively on *Earth (1947)*. Therefore, through this study of the film, an effort is made to shed light on the terrible outcomes of partition and the nasty picture of communal atrocities and violence inflicted upon women.

IV. Theoretical Framework

Earth (1947) is explored critically in this study by using the theory of postcolonialism to get the desired objectives. Postcolonialism is the criticism of colonialism and is associated with the inheritance of colonialism, colonial agenda, and thought process. Pramod K. Nayar defines the term “post-colonialism” as “the theoretical wing of postcoloniality. It refers to the mode of reading, political analysis, and cultural resistance/intervention that deals with the history of colonialism” (17). It serves as a means to contest colonial governance and structures, aiming to restore the agency of individuals who endured oppression and hardship during different manifestations of European colonialism and imperialism—an extension of colonialism itself. Aime Cesaire points out the devilish outlook of European colonialism that results in racism, class system, slavery, and discrimination in *Discourse on Colonialism*. Frantz Fanon talks about the effect of colonial racism on the colonized in *Blacks Skin, White Masks* that causes an inferiority complex in their minds. Homi K. Bhabha discusses hybridity and mimicry in his works. The colonized develop a hybrid identity by imitating the colonizers and their language, culture, and appearance after denouncing their own identity and language. As a result, they experience a lot of physical and psychological problems.

Colonialism is exploitative in nature which results in an identity crisis, mimicry, cultural hybridity, ambivalence, and inferiority complex in the minds of the colonized. Decolonization is the transfer of power to the local authority. Ideal decolonization is a complete

break up from the colonial aspects in terms of colonial legacy or inheritance. The ideas of decolonization are not realistic as they are completely illusive in nature. There was bloodshed, racism, inflation, political assassinations, communal riots, and violence toward one another which were the legacies of colonialism. If there was no colonialism in the Indian subcontinent, there would never be such things.

V. Methodology

The current research is qualitative in nature where the content analysis method is used to interpret the themes, symbols, dialogues, and the contents of *Earth* (1947). It utilizes the theory of postcolonialism as its theoretical framework to achieve the desired objectives of the study. The primary source of the study is *Earth* (1947). It is well-structured and the analysis is backed up with the data taken from reliable secondary sources.

VI. Discussion

Earth (1947) is not only about the portrayal of partition-related events but also their ominous outcomes on the lives of people from different religious groups and ethnicities. It highlights the jaw-dropping legacies of colonialism such as communal violence, rapes, forced diaspora, and other atrocious activities after the independence of India and Pakistan. The film is set in the colonial period in Lahore, Pakistan. It represents the political events of the Indian subcontinent when it was going through the process of potential division based on religious backgrounds. Losing their sanity, people targeted their friends of different religious sects. The motto of their violent acts was, “An eye for an eye”. They ended up cutting one another's throats without showing any mercy. Millions of people became homeless all at once and were forced to leave their birthplaces. The depiction of the conflicts and their disastrous impacts on the subcontinent during the days of partition in *Earth* (1947) is presented from the perspective of a handicapped girl, Lenny. She views various events around her very minutely and addresses them to the viewers thoroughly. She discovers the absolute truth about human nature as good friends turn into the worst enemies while the city of Lahore is set aflame.

Mehta has proved her creative brilliance in terms of dialogues, storytelling, music, and other cinematic issues while writing the script and directing *Earth* (1947). Following the 1947 partition of India, a surge in nationalism and a sense of supremacy emerged among the people, driven by communal fervor, superstitions, and misguidance from political and religious leaders. Religious and cultural differences became the bone of contention among people. Most of the

male characters in *Earth (1947)* are shown as communal and they foster ill feelings and hatred in their minds. These incidents of communal violence were the direct outcome of British colonialism. Mehta gives detailed descriptions of events occurring just before, and during the early days of the partition. It shows how the relationships among human beings change with the passage of time due to their differing religious beliefs. Lenny interacts with other characters of different religions such as Dil Navaz, Imam Din, Shanta, Hari, Hassan, Totaa Ram, Moti, Sher Singh, Surindar Singh Mikha, her cousin Adi, and her parents Bunty and Rustom Sethi, as well as Mr. and Mrs. Rogers to name a few. Her interactions with them allow her to gather many ideas and experiences about the way of the world regarding how human love and friendship change abruptly because of partition and turn into hatred and suspicious feelings. She learns about the gruesome lessons of religious intolerance leading to mob rule, brutal rapes, betrayal, and murder of friends, and near and dear ones. Regarding the partition of India, Lenny announces that “Two hundred and fifty years of the British Empire ended in 1947, but what's there to show for it, except a country, divided? The massacres, kidnappings, vendettas, and more violence, was it all worth it?” (01:34:59-01:35:28). Lenny belongs to an ethnic minority group living in Lahore and they somehow escape much of the communal violence around them. However, they are the eyewitnesses of those vicious crimes that have profound effects on Lenny's upbringing. Lenny's parents maintain good relations among all classes of people and try to help them when they need it.

Mehta portrays unity, the celebration of different cultures, diversity, and respect for every community in the film before the partition took place. During the marriage ceremony of Papoo, Dil Navaz, Shanta, and others sing and dance to enjoy the occasion and bless the newlyweds. Hassan and Shanta fall in love with each other and decide to get married. Friends provide their opinions regarding partition in the course of their meetings and begin to talk about their superiority over the others on communal ground. When a Muslim friend and Sher Singh debate over religion, Hassan reminds them about communal harmony stating that “The holy Quaran lies in their Golden Temple in Amritsar. In fact, the Sikh faith came into existence for the sake of creating Hindu-Muslim harmony. So, why fight amongst friends?” (39:36-39:50). Hassan calls for unity among different religious groups when they engage in a war of words regarding their own religious identity and supremacy. Colonialism provokes the colonized to be vindictive and bitter towards themselves. Therefore, friends become very communal and attempt to prove their religion over the other.

Mehta exhibits how communal violence and superstitious beliefs create a rift among the people. Due to communal violence, the characters forget their past friendship and respect for one another. Tota Ram suffers from one kind of identity crisis, unhomeliness, and existential threat to his religious identity within his friend zone as their minds become the mecca of violence, the ultimate legacy of colonialism. Decolonization creates a lot of chaos, confusion, and death. After acquiring freedom, a former colony turns into a total wasteland where government officials and politicians of the newly independent country use the same violent measures of the colonizers to dominate their own people. India has to experience the same fate.

Mehta highlights the communal tensions found in different communities through a sense of insecurity, fear, and uneasiness of the Parsee family for their status as a religious minority in Lahore. They take a neutral position to escape violence. Before the partition of India, they were in favor of the British Raj as they talked about how the British helped India by building roads, and railways, introducing the postal system for rapid communication, and most importantly, by giving them their beautiful language, English. They praise the actions of the British and their rule in India. When the country goes through the traumatic phase of partition, they suffer mentally and psychologically, thinking about their future as a minority group. Mr. and Mrs. Sethi are compelled to abide by the rules and customs of those who rule Lahore after the division of India. They feel the fear of being wiped out from Lahore and the fear of being converted at gunpoint. For them, the independence of India is nothing more than the exchange of one set of rulers for another. They develop a hybrid identity for cross-cultural exchange by imitating the fashion, language, and culture of the British to enjoy benefits and maintain a good rapport with them.

Mehta depicts the tensions and mistrust in the movie when friends lock horns over trivial matters and racially profile one another. A Muslim friend pokes fun at the food habits and customs and pictures of the Gurus of the Sikhs and compares the Sikhs to the swords of the Hindus who can use them against the Muslims. They debate whether Lahore should be in Pakistan or in India. The Muslim friends indicate that Lahore will be in Pakistan as most of the people in Lahore are Muslims. On the other hand, Tota Ram opines that Lahore should be in India as most of the businesses in Lahore are run by the Hindus. Sher Singh finds himself in a

dilemma as he is neither Muslim nor Hindu. Dil Navaz states that the Hindus and the Sikhs will be in India and the Muslims will be in Pakistan.

The tensions among the Sikhs, Muslims, Hindus, and the British can be seen during the first half of the movie when Mr. and Mrs. Rogers, Mr. and Mrs. Sethi, and Mr. and Mrs. Surinder Singh Mika have their dinner together. In the course of their discussion during the dinner, Mr. Rogers and Mr. Surinder Singh Mika engage in a verbal confrontation about the presence of the British in India. He blames the British for the political turmoil in India. He asserts self-rule and tells the British to quit India. However, Mr. Rogers informs Mr. Singh regarding the potential political calamities after the British leave India. He states taking the side of the British that “If we quit India today, you bloody well, follow each other's throats. Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs will jockey for power. Wait and see! What about the Parsees! If you jump into the middle of this bloody mess, you will be mingled into chatni” (06:26-06:38). Mehta vividly exposes how superstitious beliefs and rumors mislead people. There is a comical scene in the movie where Dil Navaz acts like a Sufi who can connect with Allah using the telephone. He does this as the easiest way to earn money by exploiting the opportunities of their blind faith. Although he deceives people for their lack of knowledge in religion, his statement regarding partition riots turned out to be true later. Surindar Singh Mika is forced to leave his ancestral land for a new life in Amritsar. He is very reluctant to go and blames the British for the division of India saying that “They break my country into two pieces and hand it to us and say, 'Happy Independence'” (47:32-47:44). The same thing happens in India where the Muslims become the targets of fanatics. In the film, Kirpa Ram escapes from Lahore to Amritsar leaving his guineas and money behind in an attempt to escape from being butchered by the extremists. He stands for the victims of partition who lose their belongings and become refugees in their own country. Lenny becomes aware of the religious and cultural differences that exist in society and remarks in grief, “One day everybody is themselves-and the next day they are Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians. People shrink, dwindling into symbols. Lahore is suddenly emptied of yet another hoary dimension: there are no Brahmins, with caste marks or Hindus in dhotis with bodhis. Only hordes of Muslim Refugees” (Sidwa 175). Mehta depicts the traumatic experiences that partition brings upon the lives of the characters in the film. Lenny goes through a lot of psychological traumas. She witnesses the killing of a man near the house of Dil Navaz. This incident has a lasting impact on her life. She tears her doll into pieces in the same fashion. She also witnesses the mutilated body of Hassan lying on the street. Lenny’s

innocence and heart-wrenching perspicacity lead the viewers through these momentous events, revealing the irrationality of adult behaviors and manners as the fragile unity of a nation teeters on the cusp of historic change. Lenny states that “And that day, in 1947 when I lost Ayah, I lost a part of myself” (01:35:30-01:35:38). Dil Navaz wants to marry Shanta who loves Hassan. He is consumed with hatred when he becomes aware of the killings of the Muslim men and women in Gurdaspur, Amritsar where his sisters live.

The instance of communal hatred and violence is nicely depicted when a train from Gurdaspur arrives in Lahore carrying the dead bodies of the Muslims. The narrator describes that “A train just arrived from Gurdaspur city filled with dead bodies, all the Muslim men in it butchered, and four sacks filled with women's breasts” (52:50-53:13). Dil Navaz's sisters are among the dead bodies. This event is so horrific that it causes him to lose his conscience. His anger is visible when he says to Shanta and Hassan that “I've thrown grenades at the Hindus, Sikhs, whom I've known all my life. I want to kill someone for each breast they cut off my sisters” (01:13:41-01:13:50). He proposes to Shanta to marry him to keep the beast inside him in control. However, after being rejected by Shanta, he cannot restrain it any longer. Dil Navaz “gives into the forces of bloodthirsty cruelty and brutality inherent in general human nature and brought onto the surface by forces of communalism and religious bigotry or other animal instincts” (Singh 70). The beast symbolizes his suppressed soul. Regarding communal violence and madness in Lahore, he tells Shanta that “It's not about Hindus and Muslims. It's about what's inside us. Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, we are all bastards, all animals, like the lion in the zoo that Lenny-baby is so scared of. He just lies there, waiting for the cage to open. And when it does, then God help us all. Shanta, marry me, then the animal that's within me will be controlled” (01:02:03-01:03:03). He also tells her to convert to Islam to save herself from being targeted. However, she respectfully declines his proposal and engages in a romantic relationship with Hassan, who is willing to embrace Hinduism and accompany her to Amritsar, seeking sanctuary and embarking on a fresh chapter in their lives. The instance foils his hatred towards Hassan and Shanta. When the dead body of Hassan is found, it is assumed that Dil Navaz killed him for being rejected by Shanta for Hassan as well as for his conversion to Hinduism.

Mehta displays when a Muslim village is attacked, women, and children are not spared from such violence. In the film, Lenny and her brother, Adi, encounter a little Muslim boy who

witnesses the atrocities of the Sikhs and Hindus. He somehow manages to save his life by hiding under the corpses. But his family members cannot survive the deadly assault of the rioters. He discovers his mother's naked dead body hanging on the ceiling fan of a mosque after two days. He even hesitates to speak with Adi and Lenny before knowing their religious identity.

Mehta associates India's division with the physical abuse and psychological trauma of women. Shanta takes shelter in the house of the Parsee family to save herself. Dil Navaz leads the mob giving various slogans like "Allahu Akbar", "Pakistan Zindabad", "Hindustan Murdabad" etc., while searching for the Hindus hiding in the Parsee house. He tricks Lenny to know about the hiding place of Shanta. He orders to capture Shanta and throws her into the mob. Shanta is a representative of those women who were brutally tortured during the partition of 1947 by fanatics. Her feelings are only expressed through the perspective of Lenny. Her sufferings illustrate untold distress, and silence of the colonized people in different colonies of the world upon being tortured. The communal mob led by Dil Navaz views her as nothing more than an object of sexual appetite. "Shanta represents the condition of a minority Hindu woman in a Muslim majority Lahore and all minority women in the partition affected India in general" (Singh 64). Lenny's plight upon losing Shanta represents the loss of her country, culture, and her own identity.

In the movie, Hari converts to Islam from Hinduism and shaves his bodhis. He is circumcised to prove his new identity as a Muslim. He changes his name to Himmat Ali, changes his dress code, and memorizes the kalma. He finds himself in the middle of a great dilemma regarding his colonial and postcolonial identity. Therefore, he is left to suffer psychologically due to his identity crisis and mental trauma. His condition resembles the mental state of the colonized people in different parts of the world. Moti also undergoes a conversion to Christianity and adopts the name David. Postcolonialism results in fear, inferiority complex, servitude, and dependency syndrome in the minds of the colonized. There is hardly any sign of justice and humanity. The colonized remain in a state of uncertainty and danger of being persecuted. Therefore, they attempt to imitate the colonizers by rejecting their roots, values, and desire for the status of the colonizers. Hari and Moti do the exact same thing. When the mob attacks the Parsee house, they especially look for Hari, Shanta, and Moti. Hari is forced to utter kalma to prove his identity as a Muslim. They undress him to check his penis

which is a marker of his identity. The fate of Shanta remains unknown. It is supposed that she might be sold in a brothel, married to Dil Navaz, or sent to Amritsar. The incidents that occurred around Lenny left a scar on her mind and affected her psychologically. In short, Deepa Mehta is very successful in representing partition violence and exploitation of women and children through different characters and events in the movie.

VII. Major Findings

The film represents a society turned upside down from good to worse due to its barbaric atrocities as a result of communal hatred and anger of one community over the other and all kinds of manifestations to prove their legitimacy and superiority over the others. Upon adopting communal identities, individuals who previously used to coexist peacefully began regarding the 'other' as their adversary. As a result, they suffered physically and mentally. Though the Indian subcontinent got independence from British rule, it came in exchange for a lot of suffering. In the name of independence, the British rulers destroyed the harmony of all communities by sowing the seeds of religious hatred in their minds and ideologies.

Mehta at the beginning of her movie shows harmony and mutual respect before the partition among the different characters of different religious beliefs. They live amicably for years and help one another at the time of their distress and during different functions. There is a sense of Indianness among them. There are many instances of solidarity and mutual co-existence among the different characters in the film. Dil Navaz, Hassan, Shanta, Sher Singh, Tota Ram, and others used to meet in the maidan to chat on various topics ranging from personal issues to the ongoing political upheaval in India as well as to cut nasty jokes on one another's religious faith. They are even seen taking food at a restaurant together although their tastes, food habits, and religion are different. Shanta takes Lenny with her wherever she goes. Shanta has many admirers like Dil Navaz and Hassan. Both of them love her despite being Muslims. So, there is inter-faith love among the people. Makar Sankranti, the kite flying festival, is observed by all irrespective of their religious identity. Dil Navaz teaches Shanta how to fly a kite. Lenny and Imam Din also enjoy the festival as the sky of Lahore is filled with Kites of various sizes, and colors. The kites indicate the peaceful coexistence of people of different religions in Pakistan.

In her film, Mehta uses some monumental symbols to point out the political riots and religious intolerance that resulted from the partition of India. At the beginning of the movie,

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we can see some beautiful flowers cut from the flower garden. It symbolizes the impending disaster of India. Unbroken India is like that beautiful flower garden that is full of various kinds of flowers. They reflect the non-communal consciousness and fraternity of the Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, and people of other religious faiths. At the beginning of *Earth* (1947), it is seen that a plate falls to the ground from Lenny's hand and breaks into pieces. It is a significant event hinting at the division of the whole of India, and the rift in Hindu-Muslim unity and relations. In another important scene, Lenny's mother, Mrs. Sethi, is seen sewing clothes with the needle. But the sound of gunfire disrupts her work and her fingers become bloody from the blow of the needle. The incident symbolizes the impending bloody India having religious and political tensions arising from the tragedy of partition.

Mehta highlights the issue of forced child marriage against the will of the girls in the movie. There is a scene of the marriage ceremony of Moti's daughter, Papoo, with an older Christian. It also suggests that at the age when the girls are supposed to play with puppets, they become puppets in the hands of others. Moreover, it points out the deplorable status, and passivity of women who have to conform to the code of conduct and activities imposed upon them by patriarchal society and religion.

The character of Hassan is a replica of Mahatma Gandhi to some extent who preaches the messages of unity of all Indians irrespective of their caste and creed. He is eager to convert to Hinduism to marry Shanta and shifts to Amritsar. It shows that his love for her is more important than his religious identity. He is portrayed as a secular individual who does not hesitate to take the risk of his own life for the safety of his friend, Sher Singh, and his family amidst the communal riots.

Mehta shows the gradual metamorphosis of Dil Navaz in the film. He is shown as a friendly figure and a gifted poet who loves Shanta at the beginning of the film. However, due to the partition, he changes to a great extent and becomes indulged in communal violence and atrocities. Dil Navaz represents those people who in the name of religious honor engaged in communal violence and madness. He uses the same violent tactics of the colonizers to create frenzy and hatred.

Mehta portrays how people's clothing and circumcised penis became the symbols of their religious identity in 1947. Many non-Muslims like Hari and Moti, living in Muslim-

dominated areas go through the process of circumcision and conversion to save their lives from the attack of the extremists. They change their dress code and appearance to look like the Muslims. They also memorize the Kalma and some important verses from the Holy Qur'an to prove their new identity.

In *Earth* (1947), women go through a plethora of psychological and physical trauma. Many of them committed suicide not only to protect their honor but also the chastity of their community. Brass writes that “Women are boundary markers” (94). Violence against women was used as a hallmark for men to regain their masculinity. Women are also subjected to brutal exploitation by their own community. Bigots engage in acts of rape and disfigurement against female bodies to shame their male counterparts. At times, women become the victims of honor killings. By inflicting torture upon women, men try to prove their authority over them and their firm possession over their bodies. Communal violence, often incited by extremists, disproportionately impacts women. During the 1947 violence, women endured horrific atrocities—breast mutilation, vaginal burning, and the tearing apart of wombs, leading to agonizing deaths. Many were coerced into prostitution or compelled to marry their abductors. In the film, Shanta symbolizes the traumatized women who underwent psychological trauma and distress due to their harrowing experiences in 1947, representing an allegory for India torn apart by British colonization. Mehta sheds light on the psychological and physical trauma of gender-specific violence upon women and their defenseless state in *Earth* (1947).

VIII. Conclusion

Deepa Mehta's *Earth* (1947) delineates a harrowing narrative of communal violence, religious intolerance, and victimization of women. The violence spans across communal lines, involving conflicts and various forms of aggression. The partition of 1947 exposes religious mindedness and superstitious beliefs within the diverse population of the Indian subcontinent. Innocent women, exemplified by Shanta, became targets of extremists, with their bodies symbolizing national borders and religious pride, used to assert dominance and masculine aggression. Even children like Lenny suffered psychological consequences from the partition. Extremists not only engaged in radical practices but also compromised their own religion by inflicting torture upon women for their own interests. Postcolonial conditions in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh still grapple with issues such as hunger, extreme poverty, famine, gendered violence, price hikes, forced conversion, madness, and religious riots. The enduring

impact of colonialism persists across different sectors and societal structures. Just as the British colonizers are responsible for partitioning the whole Indian subcontinent apart, so are the religious sentiments and sectarianism of all communities. In essence, the partition serves as a parting blow from the British, shattering the harmony among Indians by manipulating them into conflict under the facade of religion. Deepa Mehta's film *Earth (1947)* demonstrates her expertise as a filmmaker in respect of addressing very complicated and sensitive subjects like communal madness, cultural tensions, gendered violence, and bigotry during the partition of 1947 with profound depth, compassion, artistic vision, detailed storytelling technique, accurate depiction of the events, and their physical and emotional impacts on the characters.

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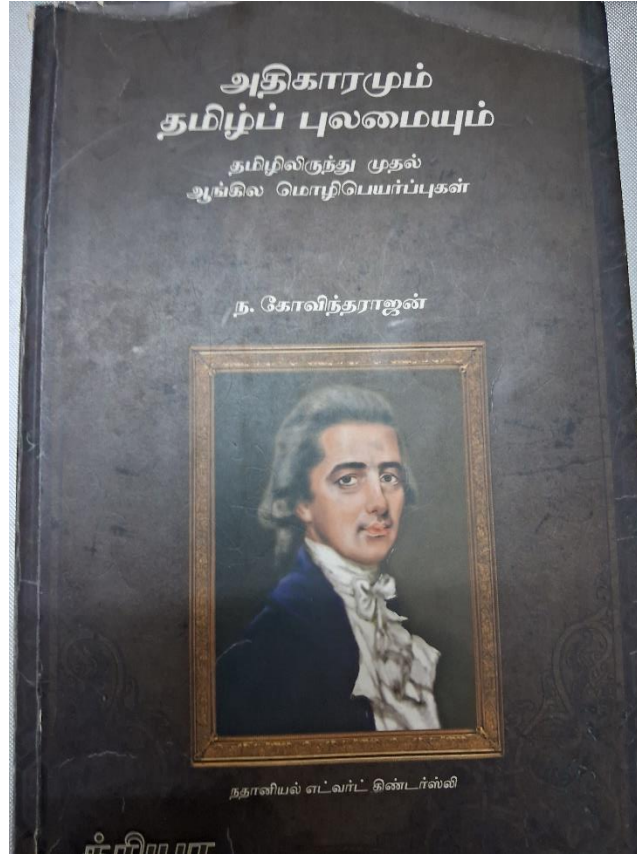
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Book Review:

Adhikaramum Tamil Pulamaiyum by N. Govindarajan

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Adhikaramum Tamil Pulamaiyum by N. Govindarajan has been published in February 2016 by Cre-A publishers, Thiruvanmiyur, Chennai, Tamilnadu. It introduces the reader to the

massive work done by the British officials by writing down the Indian legal system and culture, as they understood from their Persian and Sanskrit texts. Govindarajan has written the life story of Kindersley, analyses the selected translations Kindersely has done on *Thirukkural* and Nala story. There is an extensive discussion on the way languages were operated and manipulated by the British and a little bit of disappointment that Tamil texts were not studied by British officials in detail in that period, hinting at the partial view of Orientalism that perceived only a part of India and its religions.

Historical research on contemporary India cannot be undertaken without delving into the mercantile, political, legal and cultural interventions by East India Company. Nathaniel Edward Kindersley (1763 – 1831) was an English civil service officer to the Company, known for being the first translator of selected verses of Thirukkural into English in 1794. One of the Kural verses was quoted in a novel published in England in 1796: *Translations of the Letters of a Hindoo Rajah* by Elizabeth Hamilton (1756-1819). This quotation was taken from *Specimens of Hindoo Literature* written by Kindersley in 1794, wrote Hamilton.

Kindersley joined East India Company in 1779; he was appointed as the collector of South Arcot in 1792; his book had translations of a few chapters from Thirukkural and the story of Nalan, the King. Govindarajan in his book questions why there have been no discussions on the contribution of Kindersely in society. Scholars in administration began translating Indian texts into English during the eighteenth century, and Kindersley's was also published at that period, and still it did not become a major subject for mainstream arguments and discussions. Most of the discussions on India were dealing with languages like Persian and Sanskrit only, and Tamil did not become a focal point of discussions.

The British emphasized on writing everything they encountered in India in the form of letters, reports, translations of texts and books. They created a written world. Writing helped East India Company to define itself and also define the land it was trading with. The company took all efforts to understand India and its officers used Persian and Sanskrit texts for the purpose. Hence, Kindersley's translation become significant as it was the only one that brought out south

Indian culture to the world map initially. The eighteenth century played a major role in intervening with India through its translations of Indian texts.

What was the course of British translations of Indian texts in British India? What were the contributions of Kindersely and Francis Whyte Ellis (1777–1819) who was in the Madras Presidency as an officer? How did a British officer choose a text for translation? What were the criteria?

In the process of choosing a text, the first criterion was locating a scholar who knew the regional language in a proficient manner. Secondly, the British official had to negotiate with him, initiating the project of translation as it was he who had to take up the work and involve the expert from the regional land who knew the text thoroughly with a command of the language with its nuances and grammar. During such collaborations the translator's respect for the subject expert will surely increase gradually. He starts talking about the greatness of the subject expert and his language command and the language itself and the meaning of the text. That is, the British officials developed a lot of respect of Persian and Sanskrit in the processes involved in translating these texts into English. They carried this respect back to their European friends and family. Selection of texts and connecting with the culture in the texts being translated are two processes that were involved in eighteenth century translations. This was a kind of collaboration.

In selection of texts, which language was opted by the translator? When we examine this aspect of the eighteenth century textual negotiations between Britain and India, we realize that Kindersley chose a very different path completely. Other officials were accepting and acknowledging one particular language as the main and authorized language of India; Kindersley took another language and its literature to the centre of academic discussions, though it did not gain momentum. If we analyse this nodal point, we would be able to locate the position he had in translations. He differed from the rest of Europeans in his choice of selection of a different language and texts.

Europeans chose Persian and Sanskrit scholars as subject experts to help in the process of translations. They rejected other works which did not involve similar processes. Alexander Dow,

another Orientalist and army officer in the East India Company who wrote *History of Hindostan* claimed that his book was better written, as he had interviewed and got authentic information from a Hindu who held an important position in his office. We have to remember that Dow came to India before William Jones. Dow recommended that such knowledge must be received only from Persian and Sanskrit scholars and not from other sections of the society. Orientalism relied only on Persian and Sanskrit scholarship.

William Jones was a scholar who knew many languages esp. Persian; still he chose Sanskrit texts for translation, though he did not know the language. The Sanskrit scholars did not want to teach him the language, as he was a foreigner, a *milecha*, an inferior. Anyway, he learnt Sanskrit in just three years from pundits. He fell in love with Sanskrit and its literature and myths. His translation of *Bhagavad Gita* acknowledged that it was translated from an ancient language. Jones rejected the translation of *Ramayana* by the Italian scholar Marco della Tomba (1726-1803), as inferior because it was translated from the Hindi version written by Tulsidas. Lord Wellesley (1760-1842) started a college in 1800 that taught Sanskrit, Persian, Marathi, Kannada, Bengali and Telugu, so that East India Company officials can master major Indian languages. It is at this point Kindersley decided to translate Tamil texts into English.

Govindarajan is very particular that we understand the political and linguistic background in which Kindersley chose to translate a Tamil text. His selection and collaboration processes deviated from the practices of mainstream Orientalism. Tamil texts emphasized on human values; Sanskrit texts taught monarchic legal systems. One has to investigate into the reasons for the popularity *Sakuntalam* gained in Europe, he argues. Kindersley knew Persian; in spite of this, he selected *Thirukkural* verses to be translated into English. He has identified *Thirukkural* as a secular text, value based in content. Similarly, instead of working on the scholarly preferred *Sakuntalam*, he has selected the local legend of the story of Nalan to be translated into English.

Govindarajan points out sadly that Francis Whyte Ellis (1777–1819), who wrote a detailed commentary on *Thirukkural*, did not mention Kindersley. Even Robert Caldwell (1814-1891) had not discussed Kindersley in detail except in his preface. Ellis came to Madras

Presidency in 1798, four years after the publication of Kindersley's book in 1794. Kindersley returned to England only in 1800. Govindarajan seeks for extensive research to find out the reasons for the rejection of Kindersley by Ellis.

Why did Orientalism miss out on Tamil texts? *Thirukkural* was conceived to be a Jain text and perhaps, Europeans were not so familiar with Jainism, as they were with Islam and Brahminism, Govindarajan suggests. Jains had reading sessions for people that were inclusive in nature, and both educated and uneducated people listened to reading sessions, Govindarajan comments. The Jain tradition integrated oral and written traditions, and Europeans were more comfortable with written traditions.

There is a quest in Govindarajan that re-locates the way we understand Orientalism which reflected European ideologies of writing on Indian culture, and selected works that shared similarity in processes. Just as Jones began a system of thought in the north, Ellis begins a new system of thought in the south. Alexander Duncan Campbell who wrote the grammar for Telugu has argued that the Dravidian languages have common features. Ellis argued how Dravidian languages were different from Sanskrit-Latin-Greek model. William Jones translated only a commentary of *Manusmriti*; Ellis translated *Thirukkural* directly, mastering Tamil thoroughly, in a superior manner than Kindersley who could not tackle the verse format of the couplet. The *Thirukkural* translation by Ellis was published in 1819. It did not have a preface. As a translation with a sound grasp of the couplet form and with a critical commentary mentioning other texts, Ellis' work is much superior to the work of Jones, and it is Ellis who emerged as a Tamil pundit, says Charles Gower.

Govindarajan's book plays a very important role in understanding Dravidian ideologies and the identity construction of the Deccan in India. The questions he has put forward have to be taken up by researchers who are proficient in both Tamil and English.

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Taste Terms in Bangla: A Cognitive Semantic Study

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Abstract

This paper explores the metaphorical usage of taste-terms in Bangla. It discusses how Bangla speakers perceive taste-terms and conceptualise them in our everyday life. The paper is divided into three main sections. The first section provides an introduction to the subject of discussion, the second section talks about the prototypical usage of taste-terms in Bangla, in which the taste-terms are divided in terms of natural food and man-made food. Edible substances such as fruits, vegetables, etc. are natural food items, whereas food prepared by the combination of natural food is man-made food. The third section analyses the data using Lakoff and Johnson's Conceptual Metaphor Theory, with respect to the metaphorical usage of taste terms in Bangla. The fourth section provides a conclusion. This is the first attempt to work on Bangla since there isn't any work on Bangla in the Cognitive Semantic framework.

Keywords: Bangla, taste-terms, conceptual metaphors, Conceptual Metaphor Theory, prototypicality

1. Introduction

Taste is one of the five main senses. All humans perceive taste through taste cells that are located on the surface of our tongue, and some in the sensitive parts of the mouth, including the pharynx and soft palate (Backhouse, 1994; pp. 01). The terms, mainly adjectives and nouns, that are used to describe these various tastes of food items are called taste-terms. Different languages have different numbers of basic taste-terms. English has four main taste-terms namely, sweet, sour, bitter,

and salty. Gujarati has seven main taste-terms namely, *mithu* [miṭʰũ] “sweet” (also *galyu* [gəljũ] and *madhur* [məḍʰur]), *kadvu* [kəḍvũ] “bitter”, *tikhu* [ṭikʰũ] “spicy”, *туру* [ṭurũ] “astringent”, *khaatu* [kʰaṭũ] “sour”, *moru* [moũ] “tasteless”, and *khaaru* [kʰarũ] “salty” (Wakhale and Sarvaiya, 2021). Hindi has five main taste-terms namely, *meethaa* [miṭʰa] “sweet”, *kadva* [kəṽva] “bitter”, *tikhaa* [ṭikʰa] “spicy/hot”, *khataa* [kʰəṭa] “sour”, and *phika* [pʰika] “tasteless” (Kumari and Sarvaiya, 2021). This paper discusses the basic taste-terms in Bangla. The basic taste-terms in Bangla are *mishti* [miṣṭi] “sweet”, *teto* [ṭeṭo] “bitter”, *jhaal* [dʒhal] “hot”, and *aaluni* [aluni] “tasteless/bland”. Wakhale and Sarvaiya, (2021) and Kumari and Sarvaiya (2021) use the term ‘spicy’ to describe both hot tastes, and the rich taste of Indian cuisine which results due to the use of many spices. In Bangla, there are two separate terms for each of these tastes. The first one is *jhaal* which refers to the hot taste, be it of natural food or man-made. The second one, which is used for any preparation that contains a lot of spices, is *karaa* [kəṽa] “spicy”. This kind of cuisine may or may not be *jhaal* in taste, but it does contain a lot of spices, giving it a flavourful, rich taste. Since it is not a basic taste-term, this paper refrains from including *karaa* in the discussion. The other term, *aaluni* refers to the absence of any taste whatsoever in the food. This taste comes about as a result of very little to no salt in the food which makes it very bland in taste. Since Indian cuisines are largely dependent on salt, the absence or presence of salt makes a huge difference, resulting in *aaluni* being one of the main taste-terms. Hence, Bangla has four main taste-terms – *mishti* [miṣṭi] “sweet”, *teto* [ṭeṭo] “bitter”, *jhaal* [dʒhal] “hot”, and *aaluni* [aluni] “tasteless/bland”. Collection of data primarily includes consulting native Bangla speakers. Furthermore, A.T. Dev’s *Bangla to English dictionary*, and Rabindranath Tagore’s *Gitabitan* are also used for more data.

All of these terms have been analysed based on the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Kövecses 2010; Lakoff 1993; Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999). “The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another” (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003:6). In the cognitive linguistic view, metaphor is defined as understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain (Kövecses, 2010). The conceptual domain that is used to understand another conceptual domain is called the source domain. Metaphorical expressions are drawn out of the source domain to understand another conceptual domain which is called the target domain. So, in metaphorical lexical expressions such as “*raw facts*, *half-baked ideas*, and *warmed-over theories*”, *facts*, *ideas*, and *theories* are compared to the food terms *raw*, *half-baked*, and *warmed-over* (Kövecses 2010:6). In other words, ideas are explained through terms usually used to describe food.

The metaphor that emerges from these examples would be IDEAS ARE FOOD (Kövecses 2010:6). In this final metaphor, IDEA is the target domain, and FOOD is the source domain.

In this paper, metaphorical linguistic expressions concerning tastes are explored and analysed.

2. Prototypical Usage

This section deals with the prototypical usage of the taste-terms in Bangla. This is explained using the examples of food items which are natural and those which are man-made.

The first taste term is *mishti* [miʃti] “sweet”. This term has another variant – *madhur* [moḍʱur] “sweet”, which has a more ornamental usage since it is a word borrowed from Sanskrit. Natural edible substances that have *mishti* “sweet” taste are fruits like mango, apple, banana, etc. This is used for naturally sweet substances, for example, *mishti aapel* [miʃti apel] is “sweet apple”, *mishti kolaa* [miʃti kɔla] is “sweet banana”, and *mishti aam* [miʃti a:m] is “sweet mango”.

The next taste-term, *teto* [tɛto] “bitter” has two variants – *katu* [koʈu] “bitter” and *tikta* [tikto] “bitter”. This taste is found in natural food items like bitter gourd, neem leaves, coffee beans, citrus peel, and so on.

Jhaal [dʒʱal], as mentioned previously, refers to food items that are hot in taste, not necessarily having spices in them. Natural food items that are *jhaal* in taste are hot chilli peppers, black pepper, clove, etc. Any dish that is prepared using these ingredients can be considered *jhaal* in taste. For example, *maachher jhol* [maʃʱer dʒʱol] “fish curry”, which doesn’t have many spices in it, but if made with extra chilies or black peppers, a burning sensation can be felt in the mouth which refers to the *jhaal* taste.

The last taste-term that this paper discusses is *aaluni* [aluni] “tasteless/bland”. This is a taste-term that is based on the absence of salt in the cuisine. In some cases, though, the presence of negligible amounts of salt also gives out *aaluni* taste. There are natural food items that have *aaluni* or bland taste, such as chia seeds, raw broccoli, raw cauliflower, raw potato, etc. Man-made food items that have *aaluni* taste are oats, steamed rice, boiled eggs, or simply any cooked or baked food item that does not have any salt in it.

An interesting point to note here is that the term *aaluni* sounds similar to *aaloo* [alu], the Bangla word for ‘potato’, which might lead to a false conclusion that *aaluni* is derived from the taste for *aaloo*, but that is merely a coincidence. In a variety of Bangla, *lun* [lun] refers to ‘salt’. Adding a negation marking prefix to *lun*, it becomes *aalun* [alun], meaning ‘no salt’. Finally, to make it an adjective, the adjectival suffix ‘-i’ is added at the end of the word.

3. Non-prototypical or Metaphorical Usage

Taste-terms are typically used to describe various tastes of different food items, but there is an extended meaning that these terms hold. This meaning is the metaphorical or non-prototypical meaning. This section discusses the taste-terms according to their metaphorical meaning.

I. PERSONALITY IS TASTE

Personality is the set of psychological traits and mechanisms within the individual that are organised and relatively enduring and that influence his or her interactions with, and adaptations to, the intrapsychic, physical, and social environments (Larsen & Buss, 2010:4). These traits and mechanisms are referred to as attributes that every human being possesses. Each individual’s personality/demeanour makes them stand out amongst the others around them. This attribute is described using terms of taste in many languages; Bangla is the language-in-focus of this paper.

Personality includes a number of traits, such as a person’s nature, their speech, their behaviour or body language, and so on. To describe someone’s personality, Bangla often uses different taste-terms, providing a flavour to the description of the personality.

The taste term *mishti* [miʃti] is used to describe a “sweet” or pleasant demeanour of a person. It can be used to describe someone’s demeanour as a whole or an aspect of their demeanour, like their smile, voice, speech, etc. This way of describing someone’s demeanour represents folk model of personality:

1. *mishti bhaashi* [miʃti bʰaʃi] “sweet speaker/one who speaks sweetly”

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| 2. <i>madhur bhaashi</i> [moḍḥur b ^h aʃi] | “sweet speaker/one who speaks sweetly” |
| 3. <i>katu bhaashi</i> [koṭu b ^h aʃi] | “bitter speaker/one who speaks sweetly” |

In the noun phrases above, the taste (*mishti/madhur* and *katu*) is the SOURCE and the personality (or disposition) of someone is the TARGET. The first two expressions refer to a person who speaks in a very eloquent manner, is polite and respectful. These expressions have a variation, *mishti baadi* [miʃti baḍi] and *madhur baadi* [moḍḥur baḍi] “sweet speaker”. *Mishti* and *madhur*, both mean “sweet”, *madhur* holding a more literary sense to it. It comes from the word *madhu* [moḍḥu] “honey”, and it literally means “honey-like”. Like *bhaashi*, *baadi* also means “speaker/one who speaks”. In many cases, *mishti* and *madhur* can be used interchangeably, but it is important to note that this is not always the case. In the third expression, someone who always seems to be less polite in their speech is considered to have a bitter tongue. This refers to the harsh way of talking and thus compared with the bitter taste which is usually disliked.

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| 4. <i>mishti galaa</i> [miʃti gəla] | “sweet throat” |
| 5. <i>mishti aaoaaj</i> [miʃti awaḍʒ] | “sweet sound/voice” |
| 6. <i>madhur aaoaaj</i> [moḍḥur awaḍʒ] | “sweet voice” |
| 7. <i>madhur dhvani</i> [moḍḥur ḍ ^h oni] | “sweet sound” |

Sound of someone’s voice is described in terms of taste(s). This phrase is used to describe speech. For a clearer reference, a voice that is clear, soft for the ears to hear, has a consistent tone, flows smoothly, can be referred to as a sweet voice.

In the examples 5 and 6, *aaoaaj* is a borrowed term from the Hindi/Urdu word *aawaaz* “sound/voice” which is used as a term for both “sound” as well as “voice”, whereas *dhvani* only refers to “sound”. On the other hand, *galaa* refers to “throat”. This is used as a metonymy in a part-whole relationship where “throat” stands for (a person’s) voice. It is interesting how a metaphor can consist of a metonymy in it!

From example 4 through example 7, taste is the SOURCE and someone’s disposition, portrayed through their way of speaking, is the TARGET.

8. *mishti meye* [miʃti me:]

“sweet girl”

In Bangla, *mishti meye* is an adjective used to describe a girl who has a good demeanour, suggesting that she is polite, soft spoken, helps people in need, respects elders, and so forth. This phrase is only used for the feminine gender. An older person may use this phrase to describe someone younger than them. Note that for a male, a form like *mishti chhele* [miʃti tʃhele] “sweet boy” isn’t used in Bangla. To describe a boy who has a sweet personality, the form *bhaalo chhele* [bʰalo tʃhele] “good boy” is used.

9. *mishti chhuri* [miʃti tʃhuri]

“sweet knife”

Here, the sharp edge of a *chhuri* “knife” is used as a metaphor for the negative disposition of a person, which is the TARGET. One might be under the impression that since *mishti* is used here, it might refer to something positive or pleasant but that is not the case. This is an idiom. The employment of the SOURCE *mishti* here is mainly to show the irony between the delivery of speech and the implication of meaning behind it. Usually, when the delivery of speech consists of a lot of sweet-talk along with a negative intention, the person using such a manner of speech is described as a *mishti chhuri*. This negative aspect in the speech is compared with the sharp edge of a knife since it is known that a knife can hurt someone. This makes *mishti*, a taste, the source concept, and the negative demeanour or character, the target concept. This idiom in Bangla is borrowed from the Hindi form *mithi chhuri* [mi:tʰi tʃuri] with the same meaning.

10. *aaluni swabhaav* [aluni ʃɔbʰab]

“tasteless/bland personality”

11. *mishti swabhaav* [miʃti ʃɔbʰab]

“sweet nature/personality”

12. *madhur swabhaav* [modʰur ʃɔbʰab]

“sweet nature/personality”

When describing a personality that is boring such that the person might not enjoy indulging into activities that are otherwise considered “fun” by the majority, *aaluni* is used to describe it. To describe a person who is soft-spoken, respectful, and jolly, *mishti/madhur swabhaav* is used. Here, the tastes like, *mishti/madhur* and *aaluni* are the SOURCE and personality is the TARGET.

13. *tikta man* [tikto mon]

“bitter mind”

14. *tikta hriday* [t̪ik̪t̪o (h)riɖəj] “bitter heart”

In the examples above, taste is the SOURCE and *man* “mind”, *hriday* “heart”, or disposition is the TARGET. Here, “mind” and “heart” metonymically refer to the person whose personality is being described—a part for the whole. Both *tikta man* and *tikta hriday* are used when one has a grudge towards someone. When we eat bitter gourd, our tongue gets bitter and the taste lingers there for a long time even after having sweet food over it. This idea is applied in this metaphor to show how a grudge towards someone makes the person’s disposition bitter towards the others and the grudge lingers in their mind/heart for a long period of time, sometimes even forever.

15. *madhur drishti* [moɖ̪ʱur ɖ̪riʃ̪ti] “sweet sight”

A “sweet sight” refers to the way of looking at a person affectionately, mostly used in a romantic sense. This way of looking at someone in a loveful manner portrays the person’s positive disposition towards the other person. The example above is one of the exceptions where *mishti* cannot be used interchangeably with *madhur*, which means that a form like *mishti drishti* [miʃ̪ti ɖ̪riʃ̪ti] is not used.

Thus, in the metaphor PERSONALITY IS TASTE, PERSONALITY is target domain, TASTE is source domain. This metaphor is also found in Hindi and Gujarati (Kumari and Sarvaiya 2021, Wakhale and Sarvaiya 2021) respectively.

II. APPEARANCE IS TASTE

Bangla also conceptualises a person’s appearance as taste. This remains specific to pleasant appearance only. As discussed earlier, sweet taste is again used here for showing the pleasantness of appearance.

16. *mishti mukh* [miʃ̪ti muk̪ʰ] “sweet face”
17. *madhur roop* [moɖ̪ʱur ru:p] “sweet appearance”
18. *mishti roop* [miʃ̪ti ru:p] “sweet appearance”

In example 16, taste is the SOURCE from which the features of sweetness are attributed to the appearance of a person, the TARGET. An innocent face or a pretty face is referred to as *mishti mukh* in Bangla. This form is also used more commonly for females rather than males, except for very young boys. Just like *mishti meye*, this form is also used by the older people for the younger ones. There is an idiom that has a similar form but totally unrelated meaning – *mishtimukh karaa* [miʃʈimuk^h kəra] “to eat something sweet” (Lit. sweet-mouth to-do), which is used on special occasions, since in Indian culture, any auspicious occasion is celebrated by eating sweets.

In examples 17 and 18, *madhur* and *mishti*, i.e. taste is the SOURCE and appearance is the TARGET. Similar to *mishti meye* in example 8, *mishti/madhur roop* refers to a person’s pleasant appearance.

III. ACTION IS TASTE

In Bangla, ACTIONS are perceived to be either positive or negative. Taste-terms like *mishti* [miʃʈi] or *madhur* [moɖ^hur] “sweet” are used to describe actions that have a positive connotation while *tikta* [ʈikʈo] or *katu* [koʈu] “bitter” are used to describe actions that have a more negative connotation. Bangla compares different ACTIONS to various TASTES according to the level of positivity in the actions.

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| 19. | <i>mishti byaabohaar</i> [miʃʈi bæbohar] | “sweet behaviour” |
| 20. | <i>madhur byaabohaar</i> [moɖ ^h ur bæbohar] | “sweet behaviour” |
| 21. | <i>katu byaabohaar</i> [koʈu bæbohar] | “bitter behaviour” |

Here, the TARGET is action, and the SOURCE is taste—*mishti* “sweet” and *katu* “bitter”. *Mishti* marks the sweet or positive behaviour, while *katu* stands for the bitter or unfavourable behaviour or intention. The mapping between them is based on how the behaviour is. When one’s actions are unpleasant in a way that they cause hurt or pain to someone else, or they are rude, it draws upon the characteristics of the bitter taste since it isn’t a taste that is generally much enjoyed. On the other hand, pleasant actions or actions that are done in someone’s favour, to help them, draw upon the characteristics of the sweet taste since it is a taste that is enjoyed and considered auspicious by the majority.

22. *katu uttar* [koʈu uʈ:or] “bitter reply”

In the above example, giving a bitter reply means giving a harsh or rude reply, often without any plausible reason. Evidently, taste is the SOURCE, and the action of answering is the TARGET.

23. *mishti kathaa* [miʂti kəʈʰa] “sweet words/speech”
 24. *madhur vaakya* [moɖʰur bak:o] “sweet sentence”
 25. *tikta kathaa* [ʈikʈo kəʈʰa] “bitter words/speech”
 26. *katu kathaa* [koʈu kəʈʰa] “bitter words/speech”
 27. *katu vachan* [koʈu bəʈʃon] “bitter words/speech”
 28. *katu bhaashan* [koʈu bʰaʂon] “bitter speech”

The examples above show how Bangla conceptualises WORDS and TALKING through taste-terms. *Kathaa* [kəʈʰa] and *vachan* [bəʈʃon], both refer to “speech/words”, while *vaakya* [bak:o] means “sentence” and *bhaashan* [bʰaʂon] stands for “speech”. Thus, the action of speaking is the TARGET whereas the taste terms, *tikta* [ʈikʈo]/*katu* [koʈu] “bitter” and *mishti* [miʂti]/*madhur* [moɖʰur] “sweet” are the SOURCE. According to Bangla, someone’s speech or way of talking can be sweet (or polite) or bitter (or rude). “Sweet” refers to a pleasant way of talking and “bitter” refers to an unpleasant way of talking. It is interesting to note here that in Bangla, *mishti kathaa* [miʂti kəʈʰa] “sweet words/speech” has a positive connotation, but a simple reduplication of *mishti* “sweet” would assign a negative connotation. So, *mishti mishti kathaa* “sweet, sweet words” takes the meaning of sweet-talk as a result of the reduplicated form. This can be compared with the case of *mishti chhuri* discussed in example 9 under PERSONALITY IS TASTE section. Wakhale and Sarvaiya (2021), under their discussion of this metaphor, give a similar example of *mithi vaato* [miʈʰi vaʈo] “sweet talks” which is an equivalent of *mishti kathaa* [miʂti kəʈʰa] “sweet words/speech” in Bangla.

Again, the employment of *madhur* is much less in regular conversation than is the use of *mishti*. Of course, this does not imply that *madhur* is not used at all in speech. Its usage is more prominent in the ornamental way of speaking or writing.

IV. EXPERIENCE IS TASTE

In daily life, one goes through numerous emotions based on their experiences. These experiences can be mental/emotional or physical. Be it feeling happy and excited while attending a favourite artist's concert for the first time or trying out bungee jumping for the first time, experiences can be of any kind that make us go through a range of different emotions. Based on which experience yields what emotion, Bangla employs various taste-terms to describe different experiences.

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| 29. | <i>mishti abhigyataa</i> [miʃti obʱig:ɔʈa] | “sweet experience” |
| 30. | <i>madhur abhigyataa</i> [moɖʱur obʱig:ɔʈa] | “sweet experience” |
| 31. | <i>tikta abhigyataa</i> [tikʈo obʱig:ɔʈa] | “bitter experience” |

Bangla conceptualises EXPERIENCE as either good or bad where a good experience is conceptualised as “sweet” and a bad experience is conceptualised as a “bitter” experience. *Mishti abhigyataa* [miʃti obʱig:ɔʈa] and *madhur abhigyataa* [moɖʱur obʱig:ɔʈa] refer to a pleasant experience and *tikta abhigyataa* [tikʈo obʱig:ɔʈa] refers to an unpleasant or bad experience. In the case of describing experience, unlike the interchangeability of *mishti* and *madhur* for “sweet”, for “bitter”, *katu* cannot be used interchangeably with *tikta*.

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| 32. | <i>mishti rod</i> [miʃti roɖ] | “sweet sunlight” |
| 33. | <i>madhur rod</i> [moɖʱur roɖ] | “sweet sunlight” |
| 34. | <i>mishti sakaal</i> [miʃti ʃɔkal] | “sweet morning” |
| 35. | <i>madhur aalo</i> [moɖʱur alo] | “sweet light” |
| 36. | <i>mishti aalo</i> [miʃti alo] | “sweet light” |

In the above examples, the experience of *rod* [roɖ] “sunlight”, *sakaal* [ʃɔkal] “morning”, and *aalo* [alo] “light” is the target domain and taste is the source domain.

There are two kinds of lights that human eyes can perceive – natural and artificial. Natural lights include the sunlight and the moonlight, and artificial lights include the light bulbs and tube lights that are human made. Despite these differences Bangla perceives them all in an equal manner where the light that is soft for the eyes to look at and for the skin to feel are perceived as sweet. In the examples given above, *rod* specifically refers to “sunlight” and *aalo* refers to “light” in general –

man-made or natural. *Sakaal* “morning” is grouped with *rod* and *aalo* since *sakaal* is related to “light” and “brightness”.

Mishti rod “sweet sunlight” refers to the kind of sunlight that has very less intensity and doesn’t feel too hot when it falls on the skin. It can also be called ‘soft sunlight’ since it falls softly on the surface as the intensity is very low. Usually, the sunlight in the winter season and the evening sunlight can be described as *mishti rod* or *madhur rod*. The opposite of this in Bangla is not described using a taste-term yet for a reference, it is *karaa rod* [kəɾa roɖ] “strong sunlight” which refers to a rather intense sunlight, usually experienced in the noon or afternoon of summer season in the Western and Southern regions of India.

Experience of sleep is also conceptualised in terms of taste in the following examples:

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| 37. | <i>mishti ghum</i> [miʃti gʱu:m] | “sweet sleep” |
| 38. | <i>madhur ghum</i> [moɖʱur gʱu:m] | “sweet sleep” |
| 39. | <i>mishti swapna</i> [miʃti ʃɔpno] | “sweet dream” |
| 40. | <i>madhur swapna</i> [moɖʱur ʃɔpno] | “sweet dream” |

Here, the experiences of *ghum* “sleep” and *swapna* “dream” are the target domains and taste terms like *mishti* and *madhur* are the source domains since the concepts of sleep and dream are compared with sweetness. “Sweet sleep” and “sweet dream” refer to good sleep and pleasant dream respectively. Since the sweet taste has generally been accepted as something very pleasant, it is used to describe pleasant experiences as well. However, in Bangla, there is no conceptualisation of a nightmare or a bad dream with a taste-term. It is simply referred to as *khaaraap swapna* [kʰarap ʃɔpno] “bad dream”. Same is for *khaaraap ghum* [kʰarap gʱu:m] “bad sleep” as well.

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| 41. | <i>mishti baataash</i> [miʃti baʈaʃ] | “sweet breeze” |
| 42. | <i>madhur baataash</i> [moɖʱur baʈaʃ] | “sweet breeze” |

In Bangla, experiences based on the sensation of touch are expressed in terms of tastes. Thus, the experience of soft, slow, cool breeze is conceptualised as sweet, since such a breeze feels pleasant. Here, the experience of breeze is the target domain which is said to have a certain sweetness in it, a

taste, which is the source domain. As mentioned in earlier sections, *madhur* is again an ornamental adjective but can be used in regular conversation as well.

43. *mishti chumban* [miʃʈi tʃumbɔn] “sweet kiss”
44. *madhur chumban* [moḍʰur tʃumbɔn] “sweet kiss”

Just like many of the previously discussed experiences, Bangla also conceptualises the experience of kiss using the taste-term *mishti/madhur*. A sweet kiss, full of love and care, like that of a mother’s kiss to her child is what is referred to here. Experience of kiss is the TARGET and the taste *mishti/madhur* is the SOURCE.

Bangla also conceptualises the experience of memory as taste.

45. *mishti smriti* [miʃʈi smriʈi] “sweet memory”
46. *madhur smriti* [moḍʰur smriʈi] “sweet memory”
47. *tikta smriti* [ʈikʈo smriʈi] “bitter memory”

Memories may be good or bad, conceptualised by using the taste-terms *mishti/madhur* and *tikta*. It is evident that *mishti* or *madhur* are used to describe a pleasant memory and *tikta* is used to describe an unpleasant memory. Here, the experience of memory is the TARGET and taste terms like *mishti/madhur* and *tikta* are the SOURCE.

Thus, the metaphor EXPERIENCE IS TASTE is used where EXPERIENCE is the TARGET which is described by the source domain of TASTE. Kumari and Sarvaiya (2021) and Wakhale and Sarvaiya (2021) also provide an extensive discussion of EXPERIENCE IS TASTE in their papers.

V. EVENT IS TASTE

Like actions, some events are also conceptualised by using taste terms in Bangla. The event of marriage, specifically, is conceptualised as a sweet taste.

48. *madhur milan* [moḍʰur milɔn] “sweet meet”

In the example above, taste is the SOURCE and the event of marriage is the TARGET. *Madhur milan* is used in the context of marriage. It refers to the celebration of the union of two people in the wedlock. Generally, in a marriage, the participants involved are happy and content with the decision, even excited, thus making it a pleasant union, and hence the employment of *madhur* (“sweet”) for *milan*. It also refers to the good feeling after having a pleasant meeting with one’s friends or family members in a family gathering, and the like.

VI. FILM IS TASTE

Bangla conceptualises films in terms of tastes. Bangla only conceptualises an uninteresting movie in terms of taste. Movies that are captivating are described simply as “good film/movie” instead of “sweet film/movie”.

49. *aaluni cinema* [aluni sinema] “tasteless/bland movie/film”

In the example above taste is the SOURCE and film is the TARGET. The phrase refers to a tasteless or uninteresting movie. Since *aaluni* refers to the absence of salt, the presence of which is the most important segment of Indian cuisine, it is also used to describe other domains when the most important aspect of that domain is missing. According to different genres of movies the essence that adds the flavour to the movies vary. For example, in a comic movie, the timing of the delivery of jokes and the body language of the actors is important. If these things fail to be present, it becomes uninteresting or boring and *aaluni* or tasteless. Thus, the phrase, *aaluni cinema*.

VII. SITUATION IS TASTE

Various kinds of situations may also be described using taste terms in Bangla.

Similar to the case of films, Bangla conceptualises only a certain kind of situation – unfavourable situations. As the bitter taste is generally not liked by people, unfavourable situations are conceptualised as bitter situations as in the following example:

50. *tikta paribesh* [tik̪to̪ poribeʃ] “bitter situation/context/environment”

In the example above, taste is the SOURCE and the situation one might be in is the TARGET. Bitter situation/environment refers to an unfavourable condition or an unfavourable environment. An example can be a child’s bringing up in a negative environment consisting of financial difficulty or issues in the family that hinder the child’s growth. Another example can be of a struggling artist who has to go through a lot of criticism on a daily basis while also struggling to survive alone in the industry. These situations are filled with difficulties which share the feature of unpleasantness with the taste-term, *tikta* “bitter”, thus the phrase, *tikta paribesh*.

VIII. MUSIC IS TASTE

Bengali culture has always been deeply involved with music. There are many forms including *Baul* [baul], *Rabindra Sangeet* [robindro ʃoŋgit̪], and *Nazrul Geeti* [nodʒrul giṭi:], which are some of the very integral parts of the culture.

Some of the examples in the discussion of the metaphor PERSONALITY IS TASTE like *mishti galaa* [miʃti gɔla], *mishti aaoaaj* [miʃti awadʒ], *madhur galaa* [mod̪ʱur gɔla] can also be included here especially when they refer to music or are used in the context of music. Other examples are:

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| 51. | <i>mishti sur</i> [miʃti ʃur] | “sweet melody” |
| 52. | <i>madhur sur</i> [mod̪ʱur ʃur] | “sweet melody” |
| 53. | <i>madhur sangeet</i> [mod̪ʱur ʃoŋgi:t̪] | “sweet song” |
| 54. | <i>mishti gaan</i> [miʃti gan] | “sweet song” |
| 55. | <i>madhur kantha</i> [mod̪ʱur kəŋt̪ʰo] | “sweet throat” |

Since music holds an important place in Bengali culture, there are more positive connotations that are associated with it than negative. All of the examples that have been discussed in this section have made use of *mishti* and *madhur* only. It is found that in Bangla, particularly for criticism of a piece of music that doesn’t sound pleasant to the ears, there is no use of taste-term. There is only literal use of words, for example, “bad lyrics”, “bad song”, “not good melody” and so on. Along with this, Bangla also uses the sweet taste to describe the melodious singing voice of a person. Example

55 shows the usage of *kantha* [kənʈʰo] “throat”, which stands for a person’s voice, specifically singing voice. Here again there is a metaphor that contains a metonymy inside it. This example can be compared with the example 4 of *mishti galaa* “sweet voice” under the section of PERSONALITY IS TASTE. Apart from Bangla, Gujarati and Hindi also conceptualise music in terms of taste. A discussion on this has been provided by Kumari and Sarvaiya (2021) and Wakhale and Sarvaiya (2021) in their papers on Hindi and Gujarati taste terms respectively.

In the examples above, music is the target domain that is explained by the source domain of taste. In this, “sweet” taste refers to the pleasantness of the melody or the song.

IX. RELATION IS TASTE

Relationships hold a very important place in any culture. It is evident that Indian culture values the give and take in all kinds of relationships and as a result, the Bengali culture values them too. Hence, Bangla employs some taste-terms to describe different relationships.

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| 56. | <i>mishti samparka</i> [miʃʈi ʃəmporko] | “sweet relationship” |
| 57. | <i>madhur samparka</i> [moḍʱur ʃəmporko] | “sweet relationship” |
| 58. | <i>tikta samparka</i> [ʈikʈo ʃəmporko] | “bitter relationship” |

Bangla conceptualises relationships to be either positive or negative. A positive relationship or *mishti/madhur samparka* refers to a stable relationship, be it among a family or a parent and child or between friends or a married couple. A stable relationship where both the parties that are involved are understanding and accepting can be called a *mishti samparka*. On the other hand, a *tikta samparka* refers to an unstable relationship or a disturbed relationship where all or one of the participants is unable to adjust with the others. This results in frequent unresolved conflicts, which is compared with the taste-term *tikta* “bitter” and makes a *samparka tikta*.

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|-----|----------------------------------|--------------|
| 59. | <i>madhur prem</i> [moḍʱur prem] | “sweet love” |
| 60. | <i>mishti prem</i> [miʃʈi prem] | “sweet love” |

In the above examples, taste is the target domain and the relation of love is the source domain. The concept of love has always been portrayed to be a very pleasant one, be it movies or reality. It may be parents' love for their child/children or amongst friends or the love between a couple. Regardless of what kind of love it is, it is always considered to be something very pure in its true nature. This fact seems to account for the usage of only *mishti/madhur* for description of the concept of love in Bangla.

In these examples, RELATION is TARGET and TASTE is SOURCE, which gives the metaphor RELATION IS TASTE. This metaphor has also been discussed by Kumari and Sarvaiya (2021) and Wakhale and Sarvaiya (2021) in their papers on Hindi and Gujarati taste terms respectively.

X. SEASON IS TASTE

Bangla conceptualises SEASON, the target domain, as well, through TASTE, the source domain. Just like in English, the Spring season is considered to be the best season in Bangla as well. Many of the poems by Rabindranath Tagore (1961) and many other Bangla songs have been based on the theme of the celebration of Spring's arrival.

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|-----|--|----------------|
| 61. | <i>madhur basanta</i> [moḍ ^h ur bəʃonɔ] | “sweet Spring” |
| 62. | <i>madhu ritu</i> [moḍ ^h u riɽu] | “sweet season” |
| | or | |
| | <i>madhur ritu</i> [moḍ ^h ur riɽu] | “sweet season” |

Here, season is the TARGET and taste is the SOURCE. It is important to note here that among all the other seasons, only the Spring season is described using a taste-term, particularly *madhur* “sweet”. This could be due to the known fact that Spring is widely accepted and favoured due to the pleasantness of the environment that comes around with it and flower blossoms as well. In this case as well, *mishti* cannot be used interchangeably with *madhur*. Other seasons aren't specifically attributed to the traits of any of the taste-terms. If the need arises to describe a season, other than Spring, as a pleasant season, the general phrase *madhu/madhur ritu* “sweet season” will be used for it.

XI. EXPRESSION IS TASTE

There are various types of expressions among which facial expressions are focused on in this section. Facial expressions are the looks on a person's face which show what emotion they might be feeling, with each of the expressions having their own specific characteristics that make them different from the rest. Expressions like happy, sad, angry, fearful, surprised, disgusted, and so on.

Despite the existence of so many expressions, Bangla conceptualises only the happy face as a taste, which includes smiling or laughing.

63. *mishti haashi* [miʃʈi haʃi] “sweet smile”
64. *madhur haashi/haasya* [moḍʰur haʃi/haʃ:o] “sweet smile”

The phrase “sweet smile” refers to a pretty smile. The attributes of the sweet taste are transferred to the beauty of a smile. A pretty smile is considered *mishti haashi*, whereas a smile that gives a kind of warm feeling to the one who looks at it is described as *madhur haashi* or *madhur haasya*. The smile of a baby or a mother's smile towards her baby is a good example for *madhur haashi/haasya*. *Haashi* and *haasya* both refer to “smile” but *haasya* has a more ornamental or decorative usage than *haashi* and is thus more frequently used with *madhur* than *mishti*. In this metaphor, EXPRESSION is the target domain and TASTE is the source domain.

XII. TRUTH IS TASTE

Some truths and some facts are important to be told even though they might be really painful to hear and difficult to accept. Bangla conceptualises this kind of truth as a bitter taste.

65. *tikta satya* [ʈikʈo ʃoʈ:o] “bitter truth”

Here, *tikta* is the target domain and *satya* is the source domain. The phrase used above is found in and is common across many languages. The concept of “bitter truth” or *tikta satya* is widely accepted and used in many languages including Gujarati (Wakhale and Sarvaiya, 2021) and Hindi (Kumari and Sarvaiya, 2021). The phrase *tikta satya* refers to the kind of truth that is difficult to

accept yet remains a fact nevertheless or that is hard to believe and often said to be “indigestible” because of the hardship that comes with it.

XIII. LIFE IS TASTE

In the following example, LIFE is the target domain while TASTE is the source domain. The metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY is commonly known across most of the languages. Bangla conceptualises some aspects of LIFE as a TASTE.

66. *aaluni jivan* [aluni dʒibon] “tasteless/bland life”

It has already been mentioned that since salt is such an important component in Indian cuisine, its absence creates monotony. Similarly, if the most important element of life – new events and new experiences – are absent in life, it will be an uneventful life and thus boring, resulting in the metaphorical use of *aaluni* for LIFE. Salt is what gives the taste and flavour to a dish, likewise, new experiences and constant changes in life are those that provide the flavour to it. No matter how much one despises it, change is important and a constant in everyone’s life and without it, life would be *aaluni*.

4. Conclusion

With the help of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, this paper serves to illustrate how Bangla conceptualises PERSONALITY, APPEARANCE, ACTION, EXPERIENCE, EVENT, FILM, SITUATION, MUSIC, RELATION, SEASON, EXPRESSION, TRUTH, and LIFE on the basis of its basic taste-terms. Clearly, there are a lot of similarities between Bangla and other languages in terms of using certain taste-terms for the description of specific conceptual domains discussed in this paper. It is also distinctly visible that the term *mishti* [miʃti]/*madhur* [moɖʱur] “sweet” is broadly used to convey a positive meaning throughout the language, except for the ironical usage of *mishti* in the phrase *mishti chhuri* [miʃti tʃʱuri] “sweet knife”. In the same way, *tikta* [tikto]/*katu* [koʈu] (variations of *teto* [teʈo] “bitter”) are widely used to convey a negative meaning of the concepts in question, whereas *aaluni* [aluni] “tasteless/bland” takes on a more neutral approach towards the notions discussed in the paper. For the term *jhaal* [dʒʱal] “hot” there aren’t many metaphorical adjectives as there are idioms which

restricts the discussion from including them in the paper, although one of the examples are *gaayer jhaal metano* [gaer dʒʰal meʃano] “satisfying one’s grudge” (Lit. “of-body spice satisfying”) where GRUDGE is compared to *jhaal*. Here, *jhaal* is used to describe a negative emotion and this metaphor conveys the idea of doing something against a person to satisfy one’s grudge, due to which it can be included under the metaphor of ACTION IS TASTE. In addition to this, Bangla makes use of the terms *mishti* [miʃti]/*madhur* [moɖʰur] “sweet” and *tikta* [tikto]/*katu* [koʃu] “bitter” the most since sweets, bitter gourd, and neem leaves are the food items that are consumed widely in the culture. It is also apparent that as frequently as *mishti* and *madhur* are used interchangeably, *tikta* and *katu* aren’t used so often. This is followed by the observation that for “bitter”, the term *teto* itself isn’t used in the language for describing concepts, instead, its variants (*tikta* and *katu*) are.

In view of the fact that there are no previous attempts made to discuss the various metaphorical extensions of taste-terms in Bangla, this paper takes the first step in this area with the hope to contribute further with similar works.

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Growth and Development of Odia Dictionaries: An Introductory Study

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Abstract

The history of Odia lexicography is not as old as the history of Odia language or Odia literature. Lexicographical developments in a language imply that the standardization of the same language is seen as the first initiative towards giving an identity to a language and is considered as the first sign of a developing language linguistically. The history of Odia lexicographical initiatives dates back to 18th century. This paper is an introductory study of the growth and development of Odia dictionaries.

Keywords: Odia, Language, Dictionary, Lexicography.

Introduction

In modern times, Odia is the sixth Indian language to be nominated as a classical language in 2014. Odia originated from the Eastern Magadhi Apabhramsa, and it is a member of Indo-Aryan language family. It is a modern Indian language that has its own script, linguistic convention, literature and culture. The development of the Odia language entails the development of writing tradition in Odia. In the development of the writing tradition of a language, the field of lexicography contributes a lot. The formation of Utkala Sahitya Samaja in 1903 was a very significant step in highlighting the Odia language and literature in India. The Rajas and Jamindars of Odisha took a very prominent role in this respect (Dash 2015). We find three major Odia language movements that have taken place in Odisha. We all know that language movements take crucial roles in the development of a language. One could witness

the influence of Sanskrit language on Odia historically just as Sanskrit has influenced other modern Indian languages.

Before the British period, the preparation of the Dictionary in Odia could be seen from the 18th century. Upendra Bhanja's *Gitabhidhana* ("Gita" means song in Odia, and "Abhidhan" means dictionary) is considered as the first Odia dictionary though not technically. This was written around 1710 but printed in 1870. The exceptional feature of this dictionary is that it is written in a poetic style as Upendra Bhanja belongs to **Riti Juga** ("Between Dhananjaya Bhanja in the middle of the 18th century and Abhimanyu Samantasinghar in the middle of the 19th century, Odia ornate poetry's Golden Age also known as Riti Yuga or Alanakar Yuga began. and writing in a poetic style is a recurring and popular style in Riti Juga") https://www.google.com/search?q=Riti+Juga&rlz=1C1UEAD_enUS1086US1086&oq=Riti+Juga&gs_lcrp=EgZjaHJvbWUyBggAEEUYOTIHCAEQABiABDIHCAIQABiABDINCAMQABiGAXiABBiKBTINCAQQABiGAXiABBiKBdIBCji2OTIzajBqMTWoAgiwAgE&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8

Gitabhidhan is a rhyming dictionary that lists the words ending with similar letters to help in composing rhyming poetry. We can find the influence of Sanskrit in this dictionary because the author Upendra Bhanja had thorough training in Sanskrit classical literature. He had an excellent command over Sanskrit dictionaries such as *Amarakosha*, *Trikanda Kosha*, and *Medini-Kosha*. Upendra Bhanja had lost many handwritten articles because at that time there were no printing presses available in Odisha. We can consider this as an earlier development of Odia dictionaries.

In 1811, Mohunpersaud Thakoor prepared the first printed dictionary of Odia titled *A Vocabulary of Oriya-English* for the use of students. It was a collection of Odia words arranged by subjects along with English meanings and pronunciation of the Odia words. In this dictionary, English synonyms of Odia words were written in the Roman script, as for example "ଇଶ୍ଵର- Eshworo-God". This was perhaps done to help the English speaker to know the Odia pronunciation of the word and reproduce it. This dictionary contains 204 pages. (Takoor 1811).

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With the coming of missionaries to Odisha, there was a huge change in the education system in Odisha. The missionaries realized that without providing education, their message could not reach to the people. Between 1822 to 1823, missionaries started the first English medium school for both boys and girls to overcome the communication gap between English and Odia. Missionaries wanted to spread their religion and educate *Bible* to the native speakers of Odisha. In these circumstances, missionaries started printing textbooks, and religious books for schools and started teaching them to the local people of Odisha. In this connection, the holy *Bible* was translated into Odia and the Odia translation of the holy *Bible* is the first English to Odia translation. Simultaneously, they started bringing out newspapers, journals, and other manuscript materials. For creating materials in Odia, they felt the need for dictionaries that would help them to educate the natives as well as to understand them so as to influence them to achieve their goals. In this manner, the notion of the bilingual dictionary came into focus.

Scientifically, the first standard dictionary in Odia was compiled by Amos Sutton and Bobaunanund Niaya Alankar and it was “An Oriya Dictionary in three Volumes” during 1941-43 (<https://odiabibhaba.in/>). Amos Sutton was an English General Baptist Missionary to Odisha. He published the first Grammar of the Odia language written English and books like History (1839) and Geography (1840), additionally a translation of the *Bible* (1842-45). He also composed a hymn to the tune of "Auld Lang Syne": "Hail, sweetest, dearest tie, that binds" and wrote a history of the mission to Orissa: the site of the temple of Juggernaut (1835) (Wikipedia). This dictionary became a cornerstone of the modern standard Odia dictionary.

Sutton’s dictionary was in three volumes: 1) Vol.1- has an introductory grammar of the Odia language. This is an abridgment of the grammar published by the author ten years ago. 2) Vol. 2 is an English and Oriya dictionary. As stated in the prospectus the author had not thought it necessary to take the whole mass of words found in Johnsons' dictionary and attempt to supply synonyms or definitions in Odia, but he made a selection of the most useful words and presented those words according to their various acceptations. 3) Vol. 3 has an appended list of official terms (including money, weights, and measures) as used in the public offices in Odisha.

An English and Oriya Dictionary was published in 1873 by Rev. W. Miller. This dictionary was prepared for the use of European and native students and schools. In this dictionary, head entries are in English, and their Odia synonyms are given in Odia. It is in English alphabetical order. In the last part of the dictionary, the author discussed about money, weights, measures, time, days of the week, Hindu month names, directions for commencing and addressing letters to persons of rank etc. It was published by Orissa Mission Press, Cuttack (Miller 1873).

Towards the later part of the 19th century, there came a renaissance to develop Odia as a distinct language and use Odia as a subject in schools and colleges. The Odia language movement played an important role in standardizing the Odia language. It started with a cultural movement and then slowly it became a political movement. At that time, there were also attempts to de-categorize Odia as a distinct and unique language. Some Bengalis tried to abolish Oriya language and gave opinion for re-placement of Oriya by Bengali medium of instruction in the school of Orissa (Barik, 2006). In the year 1870 Kantilal Bhattacharya, a teacher of Balasore Zilla School, published a book named "Odiya Ekta Swatantra Bhasanoy" (ibid.). In that book, he argued that Odia was not a language, but a variant of Bengali. But such attempts were interrogated by Odia writers like Fakir Mohan Senapati, Madhusudan Rao, Radhanath Ray. Fakir Mohan Senapati & Madhusudan Rao wrote many Odia books for learners, and Radhanath Ray, who was a school Inspector, wrote books on all subjects. Bichhanda Charan Patnaik and Gouri Shankar Ray also wrote school textbooks during that period.

The history of the Odia Movement progressed democratically through petitions, memoranda, group discussions, mass meetings, etc. Various factors like the establishment of the printing press, the publication of newspapers and periodicals, the spread of Western education, and the birth of Odia nationalism were attributed to it. Such movements also caused the development of print materials in Odia. Dictionary making was one of the initiatives that strengthened the standardization of Odia, and it became an object of promoting Odia language

and Odia identity. Many scholars/writers engaged themselves in dictionary making, although the early attempts were by English scholars/writers.

In 1873, Rev. W. Miller published one more dictionary named *An English and Oriya Dictionary*. This was for the use of European and Odia students. This was published by Orissa Mission Press. In this dictionary, the head entry has been given in English and their equivalents are given in Odia (Miller 1837). In 1874, William Brooks showed a big improvement in this regard. He compiled a dictionary titled “An Oriya and English Dictionary”. This dictionary was designed for the use of European and Odia students and schools and printed by the Odisha Mission Press. This dictionary was much more standardized. It shows a distinct move towards the language variety that formed part of the print culture and academic diction (Brooks 1874).

An Odia dictionary with Odia synonyms, titled “Sabdanidhi” Vol 1 and II was compiled by Chaturbhuj Patnaik and Sibnarain Nayak in 1883. In this dictionary, the total number of head entries is 17,127 with their meanings and grammatical categories. Because of some technical issues, it was published twice: first volume [‘ଅ’ (a) to ‘ନା’ (na)] in Calcutta Baptist Mission Press and the second volume [‘ପା’ (pa) to ‘ହା’ (ha)] in Cuttack: Published by Bhgawan Chandra Das, 1883. Printed at the Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta and the Orissa Mission Press, Cuttack (Patnaik and Nayak 1883).

In 1889, The Dwivasi (Bilingual) dictionary was published by the Cuttack Printing Press. Apart from English equivalents, this dictionary provides (the third column) the pronunciation of English words in Odia. Definitely, it was meant to help the Odia speakers pronounce the English words appropriately. In this dictionary English translation of nearly two thousand useful Odia words on various subjects and the pronunciation of English words together with an English proverb and its idiomatic Odia translation on each page. Further, this dictionary gives English proverbs on every page and provides their local equivalent - often in Odia and sometimes in Sanskrit. This again is a definite indicator of richer and more active linguistic exchange with the local words.

Gradually educated people of Odisha realised the importance and need for compiling dictionaries. In 1891, Jagannath Rao compiled Utkal Abhidhan. This is an Odia to Odia comprehensive dictionary. In this dictionary there are 22,000 head entries with Odia meaning has been given. Jagannatha Rao adopted Willson Saheb's Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Bangal Prakrutibada, Amarathradidhiti, Sabdarthprakashika, Sabdathramuktabali, and Odia Gitabhidhana to give meaning to Sanskrit words.

During the period of 1892 to 1915 many dictionaries were published in Odia. Odia to Odia dictionaries enriched the Odia language for future compilation. Odia scholars like Madhusudan Rao, Artatrana Satpathy, Mrityunjaya Ratha, and Gopinatha Nanda took up the work of preparing Odia to Odia dictionary seriously and tried to show the etymology and usage of concerned words in their dictionaries. *Sukha bodha abhidhan* (1912) by Madhusudan Rao, *Mula shabdabodha bodhini* (1914) by Mrityunjaya Ratha, and *Shabdatatwa bodha abhidhana* (1916) by Gopinatha Nanda Sarma, *Apabhhransa bodhini* (1928) by Artatrana Satpathy, *Mulasabdabodhika* (1901) by Shri Mrutyunjaya Ratha, *Koshankura* (1921) by Sri Swapneswara Das, *Kabibhushana*, The Medical Dictionary (1909), *Sukha Bodha Abhidhan* (1912) by Madhusudan Rao, *Biparitarthabodhini* (1913) by Sri Sridhara Gargabatu, *Mula Shabdabodha Bodhini* (1901) by Shri Mrityunjaya Ratha, *Mugdhabodha Abhidhana* (1915) by Shri Gobinda Ratha and *Shabdatatwabodha Abhidhana* (1916) by Gopinatha Nanda Sarma, *Shabda Sindhu* (2008) by Natabar Satapathy were such dictionaries.

The Concise Oriya-English Dictionary was compiled by Rev. R.J. Grundy (2nd edition) in 1916. This is a new compilation based on those of Rev. Amos Sutton and Mr. William Brooks. This dictionary is designed for the use of European and Indian students and schools. In the 1st edition, many new words were introduced. In giving the English equivalents of the Odia words, an attempt has been made to put the one mainly used in the first place, those following being in the order of importance, as far as possible. In some cases, the root meaning of a word may be given the last place. This plan has been adopted so that non-Oriyas consulting the book may be able to know which one is in common use, with some amount of certainty, when several equivalents are given for one Odia word.

In 1916, J. G. Pike, Gordon S. Wilkins compiled *A Comprehensive English-Oriya Dictionary*. It is designed for English head entry, grammatical category, and meaning of the head entry. Some abbreviated symbols were given on the front page. This is a big-volume dictionary. Pike originally tried to show in italics the pronunciation of unusual words, but owing to the lack of italicised type, this has not been possible (J.G. Pike 1916).

In this connection, the most important dictionary is *The Purnachandra Odia Bhashakosha* by Gopal Chandra Praharaj. It is a monumental 7-volume work of about 9,500 pages published between 1931 and 1940. Briefly, the *Purnachandra Odia Bhashakosha* is an Odia language lexicon listing some 1,85,000 words and their meanings in four languages - Odia, English, Hindi, and Bengali. In addition, it is replete with quotations from wide-ranging classical works illustrating the special usage of various words. It also contains much-specialised information like the botanical names of many local plants, information on asterisms and constellations, and includes many long articles on various topics as well as biographies of personalities connected with Odisha's history and culture. Overall, it is an encyclopedic work touching upon various aspects of Odia language and Odisha and upon many topics of general interest (source: <https://odiabibhaba.in/>). Till now this is the largest dictionary in Odia. It took thirty years for completion.

New and Revised Edition in 1937 of *An English – Oriya Dictionary* (Originally prepared in 1873 by Rev. W. Miller) was published. It was designed for the use of European and Indian students and schools.

In 1942, a piece compiled by Damodar Mishra and Pramodchandra Deb of Talcher royal house published a dictionary called *Promod Abhidhan*. It is a serious and comprehensive work in Odia language. In this dictionary, the total number of headwords is 1,50,000. This is an Odia-Odia dictionary. It was a post-*Bhashakosha Odia dictionary* that tried to maintain the extensiveness of word coverage found in the *Bhashakosha* while condensing the explanations to limit its size for easy usability. The resultant dictionary spanned about 3000 pages and contained some 150,000 words.

Various publishers and organizations and experts have compiled bilingual dictionaries from 1950 till the present. To cite a few, Pandit Krushna Chandra Kar compiled a dictionary titled Taruna Sabdakosh which was published in 1966, Ajanta Advanced Learners' Dictionary by Prafulla Kumar Panda, The New Dictionary by Satrugna Natha. There were attempts to prepare English Odia dictionaries by Govt of Odisha. One such attempt was Bureau's English–Odia Dictionary by the Odisha State Bureau of Text book Preparation and Production. This dictionary contains over 40,000 words along with synonyms and uses. In this dictionary words and their equivalents have been given for various dialects or parts of Odisha. For example, In standard Odia English word “Balloon” used as “ବେଲୁନ” but in western part of Odisha for “Balloon” the word “ଫୁଲ” used as equivalent. So in this dictionary both the words have been given to the users. After each head entry grammatical category has been given. In Some possible places, usage of proverbs has been given for the head entry.

Oxford University Press published the Oxford English-English-Oriya dictionary. It is compiled by B. K. Tripathy & K.M. Pattanaik. Considering the needs of students, professionals, and general readers this comprehensive dictionary is compiled. This dictionary includes 40,000 headwords and derivatives along with related phrases. Also, this dictionary provides easy-to-understand pronunciations for difficult words. It contains detailed grammatical information, especially on irregular nouns, verbs, and adjectives, and gives you clear and precise meanings as also synonyms in English and Oriya, with a wide coverage of patterns of practical usage. It covers variant spellings and incorporates useful appendices on irregular verbs, numbers, metric measures, Roman numerals, SI units, chemical elements, and family relationships (Tripathy & Patnaik 2004).

Collins *My First English-English-Oriya Dictionary* and Collins *Cobuild Pocket English-English-Odia Dictionary* by Collins Editorial Board. This dictionary was published in 2011. In the last part of the dictionary list of Odia to English Index words has been provided for better reference. This bilingual dictionary is mainly used for Odia-speaking users of English. There are Odia translations at every sense to give users extra support in their own language.

Definitions are written in full sentences to make the meaning clear; this is one of the main features of the dictionary. Natural English definitions and examples show the use of language.

Longman-NTM-CIIL English-English-Oriya Dictionary was published in 2012 by Dorling Kindersley. This dictionary is based on British National Corpus. The Longman-NTM-CIIL bilingual dictionary is perhaps one of the best tools for a community of learners, teachers, and translators. In this dictionary, we found over 12,000 words and phrases, as used in the Longman Basic English Dictionary picked out of the British National Corpus. This dictionary focuses on colloquialisms and spoken language in both source and target languages. It emphasizes on the use of Odia equivalents of English words and sentences, thus facilitating learning. Thousands of authentic examples in both English and Odia show how these words are used in our language.

Conclusion

The main objective of the study is to show the development of the Odia dictionaries from the early to modern period. The development of Odia dictionary can be traced back to the 18th century which can be categorized as pre-missionary period. It was the missionary period that gave the technical shape to Odia dictionary. In other words, the Odia dictionary in its technical sense developed in Odia as a part of missionary activities. Then there was a series of movement and attempts to compile Odia dictionary as an asset or tool, for examples, Odia language movement and formation of Odisha state, use of Odia as a medium of instruction so on and so forth.

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Proverbs in Fables

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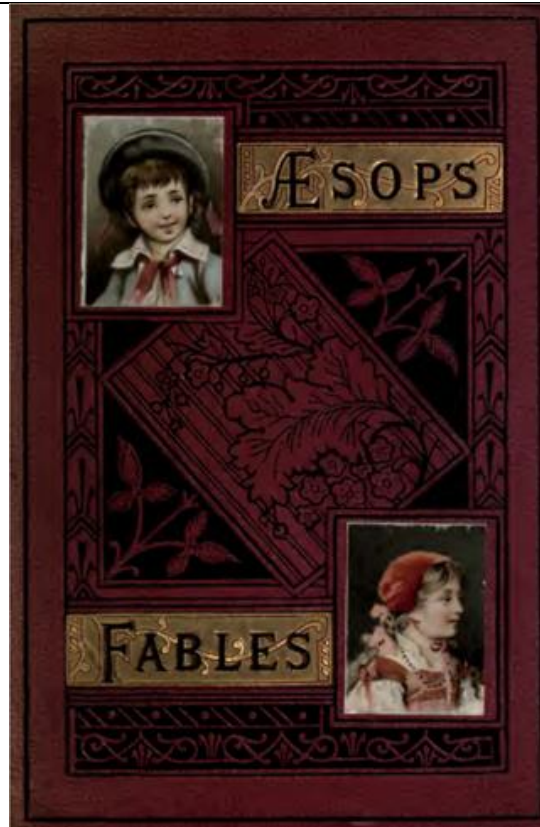
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Three Hundred Aesop's Fables by George Fyler Townsend

Courtesy: https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Three_Hundred_%C3%86sop%27s_Fables

Abstract

I would like to present an analysis of proverbs in the select fables of **Aesop**. The specific steps of analysis start with identifying the proverb stated in the fable and describing the context of the fable in which the proverb is used; hence the contextualization of proverbs is pointed out by commenting on it. The third step comments on the proverbiality of the proverb statements. It

presents the different constituents that make them stand out as proverbs. Whether the elements in the proverb relate to mythological, cultural, traditional, environmental, or religious aspects is stated. The final step presents the implications that proverbs convey through the fables. What is expressed through the fables and proverbs is interpreted to arrive at a universally applicable moral lesson.

Keywords: Aesop, Fables, Moral Lesson, Proverbs

Selection of Proverbs for Analysis

I selected the Proverbs in the select fables based on the various contexts they refer to. These contexts are mythological, social, ecological, and religious. They represent each story about mythical, cultural, traditional, environmental, or religious aspects of society and the overall effect of proverbs on the story.

The method of analysis of proverbs in Aesop's select fables applies the following steps.

Step one includes the identification of the proverbs stated in the fables. There are some fables where proverbs are not explicitly stated, and there are certain fables in which proverbs are mentioned at the end. The stories having clearly stated proverbs are taken for analysis. This step uses different context criteria to identify the proverbs.

Step two describes the contextual fable in which the proverb is used; hence the contextualization of proverbs is pointed out by commenting on it.

The **third step** comments on the proverbiality of the proverb statements. It states the different constituents that make proverbs. Whether the elements in the proverb relate to mythological, cultural, traditional, environmental, or religious aspects is mentioned.

The **fourth step** states the implications that proverbs convey through the fables to arrive at a universally applicable impact of the proverbs and the stories.

Fables

Fables are brief stories that have a moral message towards the end. The origin of the term *fable* can be found in the Latin word *fabula*; a word derived from the word *fari*, which implies the meaning "to talk". The description in the fable ordinarily incorporates animals that behave like people to exhibit the irrationalities among humans through a narrated story. A moral message is

expressed towards the end of the tale as an explanation that makes a logical impact on the story and the readers.

Proverbs frequently demonstrate their creativity while making a context-oriented effect on the story's readers. Therefore, investigating proverbs from fables gives us a profound understanding of the relevant incorporation of linguistic capabilities of both -- the author and the reader. Moreover, proverbs in the fables improve the overall literary effect of the story.

The proverbs utilized in Aesop's fables teach ethics with the help of the story narrated before them. An effort is made to point out the overall effect the fables achieve with the use of proverbs in them. I also investigate how the use of proverbs in the story enriches the literary qualities of the fables.

Two books are selected for the analysis of the stories of Aesop. The books include similar stories, yet their English translations provide different effects. The books include *Three Hundred Aesop's Fables* by Fyler Townsend and *Aesop's Fables* from planet ebook.com. However, in this article, fables from the volume *Aesop's Fables* by Fyler Townsend are used as the data. I hope to present additional fables from the source *Aesop's Fables* from <https://www.planetebook.com/> in my next article.

Proverbs from *Three Hundred Aesop's Fables*

“The tyrant will always find a pretext for his tyranny” (Townsend 32).

The above proverb finds its place at the end of the tale *The Wolf and the Lamb*. The tale portrays the narrative of a devilish wolf and an unfortunate lamb. A wolf found a lamb in the forest. The wolf wanted to eat the lamb, but he could not find a reason to form the grounds on which he could devour him. Thus, he states a few reasons which made him eat the lamb. He informs the lamb that he was offended last year by him. The lamb tells him that he was not yet born at that time. The wolf states one more reason by saying that the lamb nibbled on his property, to which the lamb said he had not tasted the grass as he had been fed on his mother's milk. The wolf again

said that he drank the water from his well, to which again the lamb explained to him that his mother had fed him on her milk.

Although giving such honest explanations, the wolf ate the lamb, saying that regardless of how true the lamb was, he could not stay empty stomach.

The proverb relates to the mythical context. The constituents which make it a proverb are “a tyrant”, “a pretext”, and “the tyranny”. The proverb suggests that regardless of how honest you are, a despot will continuously find excuses for your honesty. Subsequently, the proverb proposes that it is futile to give legitimate explanations to a tyrant because no reason saves the remorselessness of a dictator.

“Fine weather friends are not worth much” (Townsend 35).

The proverb is from *The Swallow and the Crow*, which tells the story of a swallow and a crow arguing over their feathers. The crow ended their argument by saying that the feathers of a swallow are good in spring, but his feathers protect him against the winter.

The proverb used in the story is made out of two parts - “fine weather friends” and “worth nothing”. It suggests that the person who accompanies you only during your good time is not worth making a friend as s/he leaves as soon as the hard time begins.

The proverb is related to the story in the sense that the crow announces his supremacy over the swallow by stating that his feathers protect him against the winter as if the feathers of the swallow don't. The proverb uses an environmental setting to suggest the message.

“The loiterer often imputes delay to his more active friend” (Townsend 36).

The story, *The Traveller and his Dog*, uses the above proverb. The story starts with a traveller getting ready to embark on a journey. As he was about to go out of his house, he saw his dog stretching out outside the home. He scolds his dog for not being ready to go out. The dog tells him that he is already prepared and waiting for him to get prepared.

The proverb aptly creates an effect instantly correlating the things like the loiterer with the traveller and the more active friend with the dog. “The loiterer”, “attribution of delay”, and “more active friend” are the constituent parts of the proverb. It suggests that the person who wastes most of the time always blames others for the delay. The proverb makes the story memorable as it directly correlates with the story’s characters. The proverb relates to social context.

“If you were foolish enough to sing all the summer, you must dance supperless to bed in the winter” (Townsend 36).

The proverb is used at the end of the story *The Ants and The Grasshopper*. In winter, the ants ate the dry grains gathered in summer. The grasshopper came to them requesting some food. The ants asked him why he didn’t gather food in summer to survive in winter. The grasshopper explained to them that he was busy spending his energy singing all the time in summer. The ants told him that he was fool enough to waste his time singing throughout the entire summer, and now there was no food to survive on.

The proverb is associated with the ecological context as it helps us understand that we must be ready for harsh times well ahead of time. The components of the proverb are “to sing in the summer”, and “be supperless in winter”. It gives us the ethical illustration that we ought to be ready for times of need. It suggests that we should be prepared for future hardships well in advance; otherwise, we may have no other choice than to express our regret.

“Like will draw like” (Townsend 38).

The story of *The Charcoal-Burner and The Fuller* makes use of the above proverb. The charcoal burner proposes the fuller to be his neighbour as their expenses will be reduced if they live together. The fuller rejected the idea by saying that his work is to make the clothes white, and the charcoal burner’s work is to burn charcoal which makes everything around black. Hence, the arrangement will be impossible.

The use of the proverb at the end of the story passes on the message that in the company of a charcoal burner, we expect only soot of the charcoal to be spread all over. The proverbial

elements of the proverb are “like” and “draw” which denote the profession of charcoal burner and its results.

The proverb suggests that a person’s company gives the same experiences to people in the accompaniment. In the story’s context, the proverb explains that the charcoal burner and the fuller cannot stay together as the black dust of charcoal puts a black stain on the fuller’s clothes. As a result, the story cites the proverb.

The overall impact of the proverb in the background of the story denotes that a man is known by the company he keeps. It contradicts the idea that opposite poles attract each other. It symbolically states that charcoal dust is the result of charcoal burning. Similarly, things have the same results.

“Self-help is the best help” (Townsend 40).

Hercules and The Waggoner is the fable that uses the above proverb. The tale expounds on the story of a carter who was driving his waggon in a village when a wheel of his waggon sank in the furrow. Looking at the wheel, the carter cried for help and appealed to Hercules. Hercules appeared before him and told him to put some effort into getting the rotation of the waggon out of the furrow. He further advised him to help himself rather than ask for someone else’s help. If he fails to help himself, he has nothing but to cry for help in vain. The proverb uses the elements “self-help” and “the best help”.

The proverb belongs to the mythological context as it mentions the name of Hercules. In the context of the fable, the carter is advised to help himself rather than to ask others for help. In a general context, the proverb suggests that one must help himself rather than expect others to help. As the proverb suggests, the story includes the message that the carter must start helping himself rather than calling others as it is the best way to get help. At the story’s backdrop, the proverb suggests that beginning to help ourselves is the best way to solve the problem. It refers to the other proverb-charity begins at home.

“No arguments will give courage to the coward” (Townsend 42).

The proverb is exemplified at the end of the story *The Fawn and his Mother*. There was a baby deer and his mother grazing in the forest. The baby deer asked his mother for what good reason she was so scared of dogs even though she was bigger, quicker, and more used to running faster than any of the dogs, and also had the horns for her safety. She told her child that whatever he said was true, yet she became afraid of the simple bark of the dogs.

The proverb is associated with the mythical context. The components that make this proverb are “the arguments”, “the courage”, and “the coward”. A weakling, however aware of his powers, remains a coward. However, it reminds us that a weakling is powerful enough to fight others and remains a coward forever.

“Pleasure bought with pains, hurts” (Townsend 42).

The proverb is used in the fable *The Flies and The Honey Pot*, which tells the story of a honey jar that was upset in the house and the flies attracted to it. The flies could not help themselves and started cramming honey down but forgot that their feet got stuck in the honey. They tried to free themselves, but they could not free themselves and suffocated to death. They regretted that they were foolish to put their life at risk just for the sake of some honey. The proverb is made of social elements “pleasure”, “pains”, and “hurting”.

The story and the proverb match each other exactly as the attraction of flies to honey explains the pleasure of honey accompanied by the resulting pain which leads to their death. The story’s context and the proverbial explanation leave a literary impact on the story. The proverb suggests that seemingly pleasurable things might result in painful experiences. As the sweetness of honey made the flies happy, they forgot the danger of being trapped in the sticky honey.

“The value is in the worth, not in the number” (Townsend 42).

The fable of *The Lioness* makes use of the above proverb. There was a dispute among the animals in a forest as to who deserved the credit for giving birth to the most significant number of babies at birth. All the animals went to a lioness to settle the dispute and asked her how many babies she gave birth to at one time. On hearing this question, the lioness laughed and said she gave birth to only one cub, but he was far superior to other animals in the forest.

The story indicates that quantity does not matter, but quality does. The same message is reflected in the above proverb, which uses a mythical context.

The proverb is made of three essential components- “the value”, “the worth”, and “the number”. The proverb correlates appropriately with the story’s context as the importance of value is compared in terms of worth rather than number. No doubt, the lion is far superior to any other animal in the forest. Similarly, the proverb highlights the significance of value over number in this fable and proverb.

“The greatest benefits will not bind the ungrateful” (Townsend 43).

The story of *The Farmer and The Snake* makes use of the above proverb as the backdrop of the story. The farmer found a snake stiff with cold in the winter season. Upon seeing the snake stiff, the farmer took pity on him and took him into his house. After getting warmth, the snake showed his nature and bit the farmer with a fatal wound, of which the farmer died. He repented that he had received the price of being nice to a crook as the snake bit him at his death.

The proverb relates to the social context in which people come across such people who are ungrateful to the person who helps the most. The proverb is made of “the greatest benefits”, “bind”, and “the ungrateful”. The environmental context of the story makes the proverb fit into the story. The story shows the relationship between the benefits the snake got from the farmer and the ungratefulness shown by the snake. Similarly, the fable points out that ungrateful people will never remember the favours they received. The context of the story and the proverb depict the message.

“One story is good, till another is told” (Townsend 43).

The proverb is taken from the fable *The Man and The Lion*. The man and the lion were travelling together, and soon, they began boasting about their respective superiorities. They passed by a statue that showed a man strangling a lion as they walked. Looking at the statue, the man boasted his strength as the man in the statue strangulated the lion. On this, the lion said that a man like you makes the statue, and if we had the skills to make the statue, it would have been the other way. The man would have been under the lion’s paw.

The proverb takes the context of a general social situation to match the message with the story. The statue is compared with a story representing one side of the situation. The proverb is made of “one story”, “good”, “another story”, and “told”.

There is a reference to two stories in the proverb, what the statue in the story shows is one story, and what the lion proposed is another. In this context, the co-relation of the first part of the proverb sounds acceptable to the man in the story; when the lion explains the other story to the person, it explains the proverb’s meaning. Until the second story is told, the first story seems good.

The proverb creates an impact through the context of the story. The proverb becomes a miniature story in itself.

“Birds of a feather flock together” (Townsend 44).

The proverb is from the fable *The Farmer and The Stork*, in which a farmer harvested his farm for new crops and laid down a net to stop the birds from picking up the seeds. He caught a few cranes and a stork. The stork begged the farmer to release him as his leg was broken, and his feathers were different from the crane’s feathers. He implored the farmer that he loved his parents and requested them to release him. But the farmer laughed at this and refused to release the stork. He said that the stork came along with these cranes, and he was caught, so he could not release him.

The proverb used at the fable’s end fits into the story’s context. Whether you are a crane or a stork, you will all be the same. The proverb is made of “birds”, “feather”, and “flock together”. In the context of the story, the proverb suggests that it is the nature of birds to pick up the seeds irrespective of their differences. So, the farmer refused to release the stork merely based on the difference between him and the cranes. They all came there to pick up the farmer’s seeds.

The proverb suggests the message through the story that people with the same intention gather together irrespective of their differences.

“Don’t make much ado about nothing” (Townsend 44).

The proverb is associated with a short fable called *The Mountain in Labour* which tells the story of a disturbed mountain. It made great noises and grumbled. All the people in the area feared

a tremendous natural calamity, but a tiny mouse came out of the hill to their surprise. The proverb is made of “don’t make”, “much ado”, and “nothing”.

The proverb fits into the story’s context as the mountain was restless just because of a tiny mouse. All the people feared a great calamity, but the mountain’s overexcitement resulted from a little mouse. It suggests that overreaction to small things is not appropriate. The mountain was grumbling just because of a small rat. The proverb affects the story’s context as the mountain exaggerates something tiny. Overall, the proverb suggests that we should not make issues of more minor things.

“Look before you leap” (Townsend 46).

The fable of *The Fox and The Goat* makes use of the above proverb. The fable tells the story of a fox who fell into a well. A goat came to the well in search of water and saw the fox trapped at the bottom of the well. The goat asked the fox whether the water in the well was good enough to drink or not. The cunning fox praised the water in the best possible manner, which lured the goat into getting into the well. Then the fox revealed the difficulty they got into. The fox made a plan to get out of the well. He asked the goat to put her front legs on the wall of the well, and he would climb on her and get out of the well. Then, he would help her to get out. The thoughtless goat agreed with the fox’s idea, and the fox climbed out of the well and ran away. When the goat asked him to get her out of the well, the fox made fun of her and told her that she should have thought of a way of getting out of the well before entering it.

The proverb is made of “look before”, and “you leap”. It relates to the story appropriately, as the goat should have thought before getting into the well. In the context of the story, the fox got into the well without thinking of getting out of it. In the same manner, the goat got into the well. It is a cautious reminder that we should think before we try something. The proverb becomes significant in the context of the story and in general.

“Change of habit cannot alter Nature” (Townsend 46).

The story of *The Raven and The Swan* illustrates the above proverb. The fable tells the story of a raven and a swan. The raven desired to have the colour of a swan; hence, he changed his house to that of the swan, thinking that the swan might be washing himself in a different kind of

water to have the white colour. He left his place where he got his food and started living near a pond where the swan lived. He washed himself in the water many times, but nothing changed his colour. The raven perished in the attempt to become as white as the swan.

The proverb is made of “change of habit”, and “cannot alter nature”. In the story’s context, the raven tried to change his habits but failed to change his colour to the swan’s. The proverb suggests that the change in habit does not bring the desired change in the true nature. The correlation between the proverb and the story brings out the above message.

“Zeal should not outrun discretion” (Townsend 46).

The above proverb is taken from the fable *The Thirsty Pigeon*. The pigeon was very thirsty. She was so dehydrated that she saw a painting of a goblet of water and flew towards it very fast. She dashed against the picture so hard that she fell on the floor with a broken wing. Later she was caught by a bystander. The proverb aptly relates to the story as the pigeon was very zealous to get the water, but her zeal made her make a wrong decision, and a person caught her in addition to an injury. The proverb is made of “zeal”, and “outrun discretion”. The pigeon’s zeal for water blocked her thought process as she could not recognize the painting of the water goblet.

Thus, the proverb suggests that well-thought-out enthusiasm helps us make the right decision, and overenthusiasm makes us make wrong decisions. The correlation between the proverb and the story creates an effect mutually as the proverb explains the message in short, and the fable helps us understand the proverb in its context.

“Those who suffer most cry out the least” (Townsend 47).

The fable of *The Oxen and The Axle-Trees* uses the above proverb. A team of oxen dragged a cart in a village lane when the axle trees made a loud noise. The oxen turned to the axle trees and asked why they were making so much noise as they were shouldering all the axle tree’s burden. The oxen said that they should cry out loud and not the axle trees. The proverb makes use of “those”, “who suffer most”, and “cry out the least”. The proverb is associated correctly with the story’s context as the oxen laboriously drag the load in the cart, and they do their job silently, but the axle trees make most of the noise. The oxen suffer most in the story, and they make no noise. The story also suggests another proverb that those who suffer less cry out the most. The proverb

explains the message of the story in brief. Once the story is heard and the proverb is quoted, the complete meaning of the proverb gets explained; on the other hand, the proverb's message becomes clear from the story.

“Misfortune tests the sincerity of friends” (Townsend 49).

The proverb is quoted at the end of the fable *The Bear and The Two Travellers*. The fable tells the story of two fellow travellers going through a forest, and suddenly they saw a bear coming towards them. One of the travellers quickly climbed a tree, and the other could not climb a tree. As the other person saw the bear approaching nearer, he slept flat on the ground like a dead man. The bear came near him but thought that the man must be dead and did not touch him. He sniffed his body near his ears and went away. When the bear went far away, the other person climbed down from the tree and asked the person lying on the ground what the bear said in his ear. The other person answered that the bear warned him not to travel with a friend who deserts him at the time of danger. The proverb is made of “misfortune”, “tests”, and “the sincerity of friends”.

The proverb fits into the context of the story as the misfortune of the travellers revealed the sincerity of a friend. The bear approached the travellers, and one of them deserted the other fellow traveller. The approaching bear became the test of the honesty of the person who could climb a tree. The proverb passes on the message through the fable that difficult situation reveals the genuineness of other persons.

“Harm seek, harm find” (Townsend 50).

The proverb belongs to the fable called *The Wolf in Sheep's Clothing*. The story of the fable is about a wolf who chooses to get his meal every day by disguising himself under the skin of a sheep. The wolf used to go in the herd of sheep, and the shepherd could not notice this. One evening the wolf was closed along with the sheep. The shepherd came in the night to arrange the food for the next day and picked up the wolf instead of the sheep. The wolf was killed, and thus the proverb above mentioned became realistic.

The proverb is made of “harm seek”, and “harm find” which means that the one who intends to harm others gets harmed in turn. The proverb in the story's context indicates that the wolf intended to harm the sheep, but he received harm in return as the shepherd killed him by

assuming that it was a sheep. The proverb becomes a one-sentence explanation of the fable as it becomes parallel to the story. The readers associate the proverb and the story immediately after reading both. In this way, the proverb and the fable become complementary.

“Do not attempt to hide things which cannot be hidden” (Townsend 50).

The Goat and The Goatherd's fable uses the above proverb. The fable tells the story of a goatherd who has to bring a goat back to his herd. He sounded the horn in his hand, but it was of no use. As a result, he threw the horn, and it broke. He told the goat not to tell the master about the broken horn. The goat said that the horn itself was enough to inform the master about its damaged condition even though she remained silent. The proverb warns that truth cannot be hidden for too long.

The proverb is made of “attempt to hide things”, and “which cannot be hidden”. The proverb correlates appropriately in the context of the story as the goatherd tried to hide the broken condition of the horn and the goat told him that it cannot be hidden from the master. Even though the goat remains silent about the state of the horn, the master will know about it by looking at it. The proverb correspondingly reiterates the story briefly.

“No one truly forgets injuries in the presence of him who caused the injury” (Townsend 54).

The above proverb finds its place at the end of the tale *The Labourer and The Snake*. A snake made a hole close to the yard of a house. The son of the man living in the house died of the snake's bite. The person made up his mind to kill the snake when it came out. When the snake came out, the man attacked the snake's head in the furry but missed his target and cut down its tail. Frightened by the injured snake, the man put crumbs of bread and salt before the snake's hole as a token of harmony between them; however, the snake disproves that they may not find harmony among themselves and says that when they see one another, they would recall their losses. Thus, there would be no peace between them, and the story closes with the above proverb.

The components in the proverb are “the injured”, “forget the injury” and “the injurer”. The proverb is correlated with the social context. It conveys that nobody forgets the loss when the person responsible for it is encountered.

“Little liberties are great offences” (Townsend 54).

The fable of *The Lion, The Mouse, and The Fox* uses the above proverb. It tells the story of a lion sleeping in his den when a mouse ran over his body, waking him up. In a rage, the lion started searching for the mouse in every corner of the den. When a fox saw this, he said to the lion that he was such a giant lion and afraid of such a tiny mouse. Upon hearing this, the lion said that he was not afraid of the mouse but became angry with his familiarity and ill-breeding.

The proverb used in the fable is made of “little liberties”, and “great offences”. In the story, the lion gave little liberty to the mouse, and the lion became irritated. Hence, it suggested that providing little independence may become problematic. In the context of the story, the liberties enjoyed by the mouse became troublesome for the lion.

“Honesty is the best policy” (Townsend 55).

The above proverb is taken from the fable *The Horse and Groom*. A groom used to currycomb and regularly rub his horse but stole its oats and sold them for personal benefits. On seeing this, the horse said that if he wished to keep him in good condition, he should groom him less and feed him more.

The proverb used above is made of “honesty”, and “best policy”. The groom happened to be dishonest to the horse by stealing the oats and showing that he took utmost care by currycombing and rubbing him down. The groom was double-crossing the horse. On the one hand, he was currycombing and rubbing down the horse the whole day, and on the other hand, he was stealing his oats.

The proverb reflects the dishonesty of the groom towards the horse and the horse’s statement focuses on the hidden message of the proverb.

“Do not be in a hurry to change one evil for another” (Townsend 57).

The proverb is taken from the fable *The Oxen and The Butchers*. The fable is about the oxen who once decided to destroy all the butchers as they thought they were the destroyers of their race. All oxen were gathered to prepare for the task. Among all the oxen was one very old ox who said to others that it is true that the butchers kill them, but they do so very skillfully without causing

any unnecessary pain. If they kill all these butchers, there would be other unskillful butchers who may cause them real pain. Hence, he proposed to cancel the plan of destroying the butchers.

The above proverb corresponds to the fable as the oxen tried to kill the butchers but listened to the advice of the oldest ox. The proverb is made of “be in a hurry”, “to change one evil”, and “for another”. The oxen were in a hurry to kill the butchers, and the oldest ox told them that if they killed these butchers, there would be some worse butchers who would cause more trouble. The proverb advises not to change the current situation otherwise it would be terrible for them later. The proverb and the fable correspond to each other appropriately, as reading both the fable and the proverb gives a clear sense of understanding.

“There is no believing a liar, even when he speaks the truth” (Townsend 58).

The proverb is used at the end of a notable story called *The Shepherd’s Boy and Wolf* also called *The Boy who Cried Wolf*. A shepherd boy used to take his herd of cattle to the forest near his village. He enjoyed enticing others through lies. Whenever he grazed his cattle, he yelled for help as though a wolf was killing his cattle. In this manner, he ridiculed the people who came for his help ordinarily. However, there came a real wolf in the pack on one occasion. On checking out the wolf, he screamed for help. However, nobody believed him, and the wolf ate goats from his pack. The story’s message is cited as a proverb that nobody believes a frequent liar despite telling the truth.

The proverbial components in this proverb are “the liar”, “non-belief”, and “speaking the truth”. These three components make this proverb. The proverb is associated with the social context. It suggests that a liar is rarely believed even when he speaks the truth. Therefore, one must not make fun of people through lies; otherwise, no one extends a helping hand in their hour of need.

“Notoriety is often mistaken for fame” (Townsend 59).

The fable of *The Mischievous Dog* makes use of the above proverb. The story is about a dog who used to bite people’s heels without giving them any hint of his presence. The dog’s owner, being troubled, tied a bell to his neck to make people aware of his presence. The dog became proud of his bell and roamed all over the place. One of the old dogs asked him if he felt great about a bell

tied to his neck as it is not a thing to exhibit but a mark of dishonor. His owner has put this bell to his neck so that others avoid him as a bad dog.

The above proverb fits the context of the story as the dog assumed that the bell was a mark of honour and became proud of it, but he was mistaken about his assumption as the old dog revealed to him the actual purpose of the bell in his neck. The proverb is made of “notoriety”, and “mistaken for fame”. The bell on the neck of the dog was a mark of dishonor, and he assumed it was the symbol of popularity, but in reality, it was an alarm for others that the ill-mannered dog was there. Thus, the fable and the proverb in its context complement each other. The proverb runs parallel to the fable and vice versa.

“Old friends cannot with impunity be sacrificed for new ones” (Townsend 60).

The fable *The Goatherd and The Wild Goats* uses the above proverb. The story is about the goatherd and the wild goats who mixed up with the goats of the goatherd while being in the pasture. The next day there was snow, so the goatherd did not take the goats to the field but fed them in the fold. He offered little food to his old goats, but he provided more food to the wild goats to tempt them to stay. The next day when the goatherd took them to the meadows, the wild goats ran away. The goatherd reproached them for their ingratitude as, during the snow, he fed them more than his goats, but the wild goats said that if other goats come to the pack, he will do the same thing he did to his old goats. The proverb corresponds to the story as the goatherd forgot his goats and took extra care of the new ones.

The proverb is made of “old friends”, “cannot be sacrificed”, and “for new ones”. In the context of the story, the goatherd forgot the old goats as he tried to lure the new goats into staying with his herd. The goats understood his intentions and left the pack. The goatherd would have done the same to these goats when he had new goats in his herd. In short, the proverb gives a concise but complete sense of the story.

“Those who seek to please everybody please nobody” (Townsend 60).

The fable of *The Man and His Two Sweethearts* uses the above proverb. The story is of a middle-aged man who courted two women. One was younger than him, and the other was older than him. The older woman was ashamed to be courted by a younger man, so she decided to pick

up the black hair when he visited her. The younger woman was also enthusiastic about removing every gray hair from his head. In pleasing both women, a day came when the man had no hairs left on his head. The above proverb, in short, describes the man's condition.

The proverb is made of "attempt to please everybody", and "pleasing nobody". The man in the story tried to please both the women and, in the end, he failed to satisfy both of them as he has become bald. Thus, in the story's context, the proverb explains the fable in short.

"Evil companions bring more hurt than profit" (Townsend 61).

The proverb is taken from the fable *The Sick Stag*. It is the story of a sick deer who was unable to move. Many fellow deer came to meet him and enquired about his health. They shared his food as well. Eventually, the deer died of hunger and not from his sickness. The proverb is made of "evil companions", "bring more hurt", and "than profit". The fellow deer who came to meet the sick deer shared his food and satisfied their hunger in the story. Their inquiry into the sick deer's health was of no use as they came to him but ate the food placed for him.

The proverb relates to the story appropriately as the other deer represent the evil companions, and their visit to the sick deer becomes a reason for his death.

"Time and place often give the advantage to the weak over the strong" (Townsend 64).

The Kid and the Wolf's fable uses the above proverb. The fable is of a kid standing on the roof of a house. He saw a wolf passing by and started mocking him. The kid taunted and insulted the wolf. The wolf listened to the kid and said that it is not you who is taunting but the roof on which you are standing.

The proverb appropriately points out the essence of the fable in short words. It is made of "time and place", "give the advantage", and "to the weak over the strong". In the story, the place at which the boy was standing was a roof that was not accessible to the wolf. It gave the boy the courage to taunt the wolf. According to the story, the roof became advantageous for the weak boy, and the strong wolf could do nothing but bear with the boy. This roof gave the weak kid an advantage to taunt the strong wolf. In this way, the proverb creates a parallel short explanatory statement for the fable. The proverb creates the overall impact of the story.

“Pride goes before destruction” (Townsend 66).

The proverb is from the fable *The Fighting Cocks and The Eagle*. The story is about two game cocks fighting on the issue of ruling the farmland. One of the cocks defeated the other, and the defeated cock hid in a corner. The victorious cock flew to a wall and crowed loudly. An eagle flew up in the sky, saw the cock, and pounced on him. The other cock ruled the farm later.

The proverb is made of “pride”, and “destruction”. The victorious cock took pride in defeating the other cock, but his overconfidence cost him his life. The pride in the victory over the other cock became the reason for the cock’s death. The cock in his pride forgot that there would be someone like an eagle who might catch him. The same thing happened, and the cock’s pride in his victory resulted in his death.

The proverb applies to the fable as the cock’s pride leads to destruction. Thus, the proverb suggests that we should not consider ourselves mighty as someone more powerful than us may become the reason for our downfall.

“Avoid a remedy that is worse than the disease” (Townsend 70).

The proverb is related to the fable of *The Hawk, The Kite and The Pigeons*. The pigeons once saw a kite hovering, and they approached a hawk to protect them from the kite. The hawk agreed to protect them, so the pigeons accepted him in their coop. But the remedy became worse for the pigeons as the hawk slew more pigeons in one day than the kite would have slain. In this way, the treatment became troublesome for the pigeons. The proverb is made of “a remedy”, and “worse than the disease”. The pigeons tried the remedy of a hawk to be safe from the danger of the kite, but the treatment became worse for them, which cost the lives of more pigeons.

The proverb focuses on the central message of the fable and creates a sense of wisdom.

“Equals make the best friends” (Townsend 71).

The proverb closes the fable *The Two Pots*, which tells the story of two pots carried out by a river stream. One pot was made of clay, and the other was made of brass. The earthenware pot told the brass pot not to come any closer to it or else it will break down into pieces. It also said that it would not come any closer to the brass pot.

The proverb at the fable's end is made of "equals", and "make the best friends". The two pots were made of different materials, and they did not match one another. Both were flowing in the water, and the earthenware pot became fragile, and the brass pot was not affected by the river's water. The contact between them might have caused the earthenware pot to break. Thus, the story and the proverb suggest that similar things become the best match. If the pots had been made of the same material, the result would have been the same. If both the pots had been made of clay, both would have been broken. If both pots had been made of brass, none would have been broken. Therefore, the proverb suggests that similar things become the best match for each other.

"Better poverty without care, than riches with" (Townsend 73).

The fable *The Fir Tree and The Bramble* ends with the above proverb. The fable is about the fir tree, which boasted its usefulness for roofs and house building. On listening to the boasting words of the fir tree, the bramble said that if it becomes aware of the axes and the saws that will cut it down, it shall wish to be bramble than a fir tree.

The proverb aptly signifies that being a bramble is better than being a fir tree that is always cut down for various purposes. The proverb is made of "better poverty without care", and "than riches with". The fir tree was proud of its usefulness but was always afraid of being cut down. The bramble does not worry about being cut down as it was not used for anything. The proverb shows the unusefulness of bramble as poverty without care of being cut down and the usefulness of fir tree as riches with the anxiety of being cut down. Thus, it suggests the message that poverty without care is better than riches with much care.

"What's bred in the bone will stick to the flesh" (Townsend 73).

The proverb finds its place at the end of the story, *The Æthiop*, in which the master of the new worker is informed that the worker's brown complexion is the aftereffect of the previous master's carelessness to the worker's tidiness. Thus, after arriving home, he made every effort to clean the worker and change the colour of his skin; however, the colour of his skin did not change.

The proverb is correlated with the social context. The proverb has two components "bred in the bone" and "stick to the flesh". It gives us the message that permanent things cannot be changed.

“Harm hatch, harm catch” (Townsend 75).

The proverb is used at the end of the fable *The Mouse, The Frog, and The Hawk*. It is the story of a frog and a mouse who became friends. One day, the frog intended to do a mischievous act on the mouse. He tied his one leg with the mouse’s tail, and they roamed on the meadows. Gradually, the frog took the mouse near the pond and dragged the mouse into the water. The frog swam in the water, but the mouse suffocated to death. The mouse died of drowning. The hawk saw the dead body of the mouse floating on the surface of the water and pounced on it. The mouse’s tail was still tied to the leg of the frog, which made the frog fly away with the mouse, and thus, the frog was killed by the hawk.

The proverb aptly relates to the fable as the frog intended to cause harm to the mouse, and in return, he received the same. The proverb is made of “harm hatch” and “harm catch,” which means the act of the frog returned to him in the same manner. The harmful intention of the frog towards the mouse resulted in the deadly fate of the frog. Thus, the proverb at the fable’s end reminds the story again.

“Hypocritical speeches are easily seen through” (Townsend 75).

The proverb is related to the fable *The Wolf and The Sheep*. It is the story of a wolf seriously injured by the dogs. He was unable to move and remained in his den. A sheep passed by, and he asked the sheep to fetch some water as he was thirsty. If she brings her water, he will get his meat. The sheep realized his intention and said that if she brought him the water, he would make her get the meat as well. The proverb shows the intentions of the wolf through his hypocritical statement.

The proverb is made of “hypocritical speeches”, and “easily seen through”. The wolf intended to get his meat from the sheep, so he used sugarcoated words, but the sheep was clever enough to see his intentions and thus protected herself. Thus, the hypocritical intention of the wolf was seen by the sheep. The proverb suggests that one should be aware of the evil intentions of others when they speak well.

“The memory of a good deed lives” (Townsend 75).

The fable of *The Old Woman and The Wine-Jar* makes use of the above proverb. The fable is about an older woman who found an old wine jar. The jar was empty, but it still had the aroma

of the wine it contained before. The woman repeatedly took the jar's smell as it gave her an aromatic experience. She said that the wine must have been very nice as it left such a pleasing fragrance.

The proverb states that the memory of the excellent wine remains forever in the jar. The proverb is made of "the memory", "good deed", and "lives". The wine was delicious, and it left behind the fragrance. Its memory has been constant in the jar. The proverb relates to a part of the fable as the jar of wine contained good wine, and its memory lived forever in the jar.

"The least outlay is not always the greatest gain" (Townsend 77).

The above proverb is taken from the fable *The Widow and The Sheep*. The fable is about a poor widow and her sheep. At the time of shearing, the widow decided to shear the sheep by herself to save money. She clipped the sheep unskillfully. The widow sheared the sheep's flesh with the wool, which caused pain. The sheep asked the widow what difference her flesh would make in the wool. If she wanted to kill her, she should hand her over to the butcher, or if she wanted the wool, there was a shearer who would shear her skillfully without hurting her.

In the context of the fable, the proverb states that the widow tried to save her money by shearing the sheep by herself, but it cost the sheep pain, which is a kind of loss. The proverb is made of "least outlay", and "not always the greatest gain". The proverb states the widow's attempt to save the money, but, in her attempt, she hurts the sheep, which does not prove to be the greatest gain.

"Those who do not know their right place must be taught it" (Townsend 77).

The proverb is used at the end of the fable *The Playful Ass*. It is the story of a donkey who climbed on a rooftop and friskily broke the tiling. The house owner went after him and dragged him down, beating him with a wooden stick. The donkey argued with the owner, saying that he saw a monkey doing the same thing yesterday, and the owner was laughing at it as if it amused him.

The proverb relates to the fable because the donkey is not like a monkey who amuses others. The donkey did not know his right place. He tried to be a monkey, but the owner had to show him his right place. The proverb is made of "those", "who do not know their right place",

and “must be taught it”. The donkey in the fable was ignorant about his place and tried to behave like a monkey. While doing so, he broke the tiling, which the monkey did not; hence the owner showed him his proper place. The proverb relates to this incident of the fable.

“Children are not to be blamed for the faults of their parents” (Townsend 79).

The above proverb is used at the end of the fable *The Two Dogs*. There were two dogs of a master. One dog was trained to help his master in work, and the other was trained to look after the house. Whenever the master came home after a good day’s work, he gave the house watchdog a significant amount of coddling. On seeing this, the other dog argued with the house watchdog that it was awful to enjoy without making much effort. The house watchdog said to the other dog not to blame him but to the master who has not trained him to help in work and depend on the exertions of others. The above proverb rightly elucidates the fable. The dogs are directly compared with the children, and the master is with the parents.

The proverb is made of “children are not to be blamed”, and “for the faults of their parents”. The other dog blamed the house watchdog in the story as he enjoyed his efforts. According to the house watchdog, it was the fault of the master who did so. Thus, the proverb corresponds to the fable.

“Might makes right” (Townsend 80).

The fable *The Wild Ass and The Lion* uses the above proverb. The story is about a wild donkey and a lion who are allied to hunt the beasts of the forest. They both agreed to use their respective strengths. The lion’s strength and donkey’s speed caught many prey. When the distribution of the share came, the lion decided to share the hunts in three portions, as the first portion went to the lion being the king. The lion withheld the second portion with him for being a companion to the donkey, and for the third portion, the lion threatened the donkey to leave, or he would be in trouble.

The proverb pertains to the last sentence of the fable as the lion used his power to make things right for himself. The proverb is made of “might”, and “makes right”. The lion’s power made him get all the prey. Though the proverb relates to the last part of the story, it depends on

the overall fable as the lion is mighty and the donkey is not. Thus, it elucidates that power makes things suitable for the powerful.

“We must make friends in prosperity if we would have their help in adversity”
(Townsend 82).

The proverb is used at the end of the fable *The Sick Kite*. It tells the story of a sick-to-death kite who requested his mother to invoke gods not to let him die. The mother asked which gods she should invoke as the kite had stolen the offerings to the gods. The kite’s act of stealing the offerings to the god was of no help when he was on his deathbed. The proverb suggests that the kite did not do good things when he was well. At the time of his death, he sought the help of gods, which could not be bestowed as he fetched the offerings when he was well.

The proverb is made of “make friends in prosperity,” and “seek help in adversity”. Thus, the proverb enunciates that in times of prosperity, we should make friends who will be helpful in times of difficulty. The proverb precisely points out the kite’s act of unfriendliness and his adverse condition when no help is expected from others. Overall, the proverb creates an effect on the story briefly. The proverb statement creates a flashback of the fable in mind.

“It is better for us to make friends, than to become the food of Crows or Vultures”
(Townsend 82).

The above proverb is used at the end of the fable *The Lion and The Boar*. The fable tells the story of a lion and a boar who were very thirsty and both came to a well. They began arguing as to who would drink the water first. They fought furiously over the issue. When they stopped to catch their breath, they saw vultures waiting for them to finish so that they could feed themselves on the first one who would die. The lion and the boar decide to make friends rather than become their food by looking at the vultures. The proverb is made of “make friends”, “than to become”, and “the food for crows and vultures”. The fight between the lion and the boar was unfriendly, which may have benefited the vultures, but soon the lion and the boar made friends and avoided being the food of vultures.

Hence, the proverb suggests that personal fights might be more beneficial for others than those fighting.

“The more honour the more danger” (Townsend 84).

The fable of *The Mice and The Weasels* uses the above proverb. The fable is about a fierce fight between mice and weasels. The weasels always won the war; hence, the mice thought over the cause of their defeat. They felt that they did not have any leader who disciplined them. They chose a mouse whose family descent, strength, and counsel were well known and dared to lead the group. The newly appointed mouse declared war against the weasels. The general of the Mice army bound straws around his head to be noticeable, but when the war began, all the mice ran and hid in the holes, and the general of the Mice army could not get into the holes, and he was thus captured and killed by the weasels.

The proverb proves the fact that with more honour comes more danger. The general of the Mice army was honored with the position in the group, but with the position, more responsibility and risk came. The proverb is made of “more honour”, and “more danger”. The proverb thus explains that honour accompanies danger.

“False confidence often leads into danger” (Townsend 85).

The fable *The Ass, The Cock, and The Lion* ends with the above proverb. The fable is about a donkey and a cock standing in the field when a hungry lion approaches them. The lion was about to pounce on the donkey when the cock crowed loudly, which the lion disliked, and he ran away. When the donkey saw that by merely the sound of the cock the lion was scared and ran away. This gave the courage to the donkey, and he ran behind the lion for a much longer distance. The lion then turned to the donkey, seized and killed him. The proverb aptly focuses on the foolishness of the donkey. The donkey had a false confidence that the lion was scared at the crowing of the cock, so why can't he scare the lion. Thus, he was put in danger due to his false confidence.

The proverb is made of “false confidence”, and “leads to danger”. The proverb statement creates a parallel to the fable. The entire fable is summed up in the proverb itself.

“Some find fault with those things by which they are chiefly benefited” (Townsend 85).

The proverb is taken from the story *The Rivers and The Sea*. Once, the rivers grumbled to the ocean that they are so pure and potable, yet for what reason does he make them undrinkable?

On conceiving that the rivers are accusing him of this, he requested that they should stop flowing to him. The story ends with the above proverb, which conveys that we ought not to find faults in a pointless explanation to bear an enormous misfortune.

The proverb is linked with the environmental context having the components “the things”, “the faults” and “the benefits”. The proverb’s moral message is that we should not cry over little blame to lose significant advantages. If we express our contempt over minor things, we may fall into grave difficulties.

“To be well prepared for war is the best guarantee of peace” (Townsend 85).

The above proverb is used at the end of the fable *The Wild Boar and The Fox*. The fable tells the story of a wild boar who was rubbing his tusks against the trunk of a tree. A fox passed by and asked the boar why he was sharpening his tusks when there was no danger around. The boar told the fox that he did it on purpose because when danger approaches, he cannot spend his time sharpening his tusks in time of need.

The proverb tells that the wild boar prepared for war, which guaranteed peace. The proverb is made of “to be well prepared for war”, and “the best guarantee of peace”. The preparation of the boar gave him the guarantee of peace at the time of war. When the boar faces danger, he must not worry about sharpening his tusks as he has already done it. Thus, the fable and the proverb correspond with each other. The reading of the proverb recalls the story immediately.

“Evil wishes, like chickens, come home to roost” (Townsend 86).

The story, *The Bee and Jupiter* illustrates the above proverb. A honey bee queen went to Jupiter, giving him the best honey from her hive. On getting the best honey, Jupiter became cheerful and told her to ask for any gift she needed. She asked Jupiter to favour her with a sting that would kill any living being who came to take her honey. Jupiter had a pitiful outlook on such a request, yet he had to keep his word, so he undoubtedly gave her the gift. Jupiter consented to the condition that her sting would bring about her demise. The proverb correlates with the religious context.

The proverbial elements are “the evil wish” and “the chickens come home to roost”. It conveys that any dishonest aim for others accompanies an awful outcome for us. In this manner, we should not consider something terrible for other people. Otherwise, it might turn awful.

“He who shares the danger ought to share the prize” (Townsend 90).

The proverb is used at the end of the fable *The Two Travellers and The Axe*. It tells the story of two travellers who were travelling together. One of the travellers found an axe on the go. He picked it up and said to the other traveller that he had found an axe. The other traveller told him that he should not say ‘I’ because they were travelling together, so he must use ‘we’ have found an axe. They went a little further when they saw the owner of the axe pursuing them. The traveller who had found the axe said that they were in trouble. The other traveller changed his mind and said that he must use ‘I’ as said before because he was right then.

In the context of the fable, the proverb shows that the traveller who told the other traveller to use ‘we’ instead of ‘I’ changed his mind when he came to know that the owner of the axe was following them. The proverb is made of “who shares the danger”, and “must share the price”. The traveller who insisted on saying ‘we’ refused to share the consequences. The proverb through the fable, suggests that one who accompanies you in the act should also accompany you in the result. Upon knowing that the axe’s owner is following, the traveller becomes aware of the consequences and refuses to be with his fellow traveller.

“Stoop to conquer” (Townsend 94).

The story, *The Oak and the Reeds* exemplifies the above proverb. There was an oak tree that tumbled off because of the strong current of the air and fell among the reeds close by a brook. It asked the reeds how he fell on earth because of the wind, and the reeds did not fall. The reeds said they twisted themselves at whatever point the air current flew, and the oak failed to do so. Thus, the reeds were saved, and the oak fell.

The proverb is related to the ecological context showing that the most adaptable things in nature endure the tragic impact, and the inflexible ones are demolished. It incorporates the proverbial components “stoop” and “conquer”. The proverb teaches us that whoever goes against

nature's law will undoubtedly be demolished. Hence, one needs to adjust according to the circumstances. Otherwise, hazardous effects will undeniably arise.

“The grateful heart will always find opportunities to show its gratitude” (Townsend 96).

The proverb relates to the fable *The Ant and The Dove*. The fable is about an ant who went off a riverbank to drink some water, but with the sudden rush of the stream of water, it was carried out into the water and was about to drown. A dove sitting on a tree branch hanging over the river saw this, picked a leaf, and threw it into the water. The ant climbed on the leaf and safely reached the bank of the river. The other day, a bird hunter was looking for his prey. He saw the dove and aimed at it. The ant saw this and stung the bird hunter who missed the dove. The dove flew away. The above proverb appropriately describes the essence of the story.

The proverb is made of “the grateful heart”, “always find opportunities”, and “to show its gratitude”. The ant was grateful to the dove as it was saved from drowning. The ant repaid the help of the dove by saving the dove from the bird hunter. Hence, the proverb says an indebted person always finds the chance to express gratitude. Thus, the proverb suggests that one must remember the favour done by others and repay it when the time comes.

“The hero is brave in deeds as well as words” (Townsend 99).

The fable of *The Hunter and The Woodman* makes use of the above proverb. It tells the story of a hunter who was in search of the footprints of a lion. He saw a woodcutter in the forest and he asked if he saw any footprints or the den of a lion. The woodcutter said to him that he would show him the lion himself. On listening to this, the hunter trembled with fear and said that he just needed the footprints and not the lion.

The proverb contradicts the fable as the hunter was not brave and yet went into the forest to look for the footprints of a lion. The proverb is made of “the hero is brave”, and “in deeds and words as well”. The hunter seemed to be brave, but his bravery was merely a showoff as he heard that the woodcutter could show him the lion himself, he became scared.

The fable and the proverb are contradictory, yet both correspondingly suggest that a hero is brave both in deeds and words. The person who is bold only with words is not a hero.

“Uninvited guests seldom meet a welcome” (Townsend 105).

The fable of *The Dog and The Cook* ends with the above proverb. It tells the story of a dog whose fellow friend dog was invited to a party organized by his master. The dog became happy to go to the party. He went to the party on time and was amazed to see the preparations. He wagged his tail in pleasure and moved here and there. The cook saw the dog, seized him by his legs, and threw him out of the house. He went howling terribly. The other dogs gathered near him and enquired about the feast. The dog said he did not remember anything as he drank more wine. In the context of the fable, the proverb suggests that uninvited guests do not receive a warm welcome.

The proverb is made of “uninvited guests”, and “seldom meet a welcome”. The cook saw the strange dog and threw him out of the house, assuming he was uninvited. Such strangers never receive a good welcome. The fable and the proverb complement each other to suggest the message.

“The safeguards of virtue are hateful to the evil disposed” (Townsend 105).

The above proverb is used at the end of the fable *The Thieves and The Cock*. It tells the story of thieves who robbed a house but did not find anything but a cock. They took the cock with them and were about to kill it when the cock requested them to spare his life as he was very serviceable to everyone. He said that he wakes up everyone when the morning time comes. The thieves said they would kill it because it woke up the people and their work got over. The proverb exactly points to this as bad people find it wrong when their work is disturbed by good deeds. The proverb is made of “the safeguard of virtue”, and “hateful to evil”. The good act of the cock is not suitable for the work of thieves; hence it is hateful, and the cock is killed for the same.

The proverb in the context of the fable highlights the fact that the good work of cock is useless to the thieves. The moment the proverb is read, it creates the compartments of the fable as a safeguard of virtue parallel to the cock’s argument of waking up the people and the hateful to the evil-disposed parallel to the thieves’ argument to kill the cock for the same reason.

“It sometimes happens that one man has all the toil, and another all the profit”
(Townsend 107).

The fable of *The Lion, The Bear, and The Fox* uses the above proverb at the end. The fable is about a lion, a bear, and a fox. The lion and the bear caught prey simultaneously and started

fighting for whom the prey belonged. They fought very fiercely and wounded each other severely. While the lion and the bear were fighting, a fox saw their fight and waited for them to be exhausted due to the fight. When the lion and the bear lay down exhausted, the fox took the benefit and took away their prey. The lion and the bear said that our fight had served the fox. The proverb shows that the lion and the bear toiled hard to get the prey, but their hard work helped the fox to get the prey.

The proverb is made of “one man’s toil”, and “profit of another”. The lion and the bear caught the prey simultaneously, but they fought over its possession, and the fox benefited from the fight.

“Happy is the man who learns from the misfortunes of others” (Townsend 110).

The proverb finds its place at the end of the story, *The Lion, The Fox, and The Ass*. There was a lion, a fox, and an ass. They decided that any food they gathered should be distributed in three parts. One day, they got food from the jungle. The lion requested that the donkey should distribute the food in three parts. The donkey painstakingly shared the food into three equivalent parts. On seeing this, the lion killed the donkey. Then he requested that the fox should divide the food. The fox separated the food into two parts. One huge share was given to the lion, and a little share was saved. The lion became delighted about this and asked who had shown him how to divide the food. The fox told him that he learned it from the donkey’s destiny.

The proverb has a mythical context. The proverbial components in the saying are “happy”, “the man”, “learn”, and “the fate of others”. The proverb gives us the message that we ought to understand things from the encounters of others. Otherwise, we might have a similar destiny as others had.

“It shows an evil disposition to take advantage of a friend in distress” (Townsend 111).

The above proverb is from the fable *The Bull and The Goat*. The fable tells the story of a bull that a lion attacked. Escaping from the lion, the bull entered a cave that some shepherds occupied. The shepherds kept a male goat in the cave who started attacking the bull. The bull told the goat to stop attacking as he was not afraid of a goat but the lion. He said he would let the goat know what strength a bull possesses once the lion goes away.

The proverb points out that the bull was in distress, and the goat took advantage of it, which was a bad idea. The proverb is made of “an evil disposition”, “to take advantage”, and “someone in distress”. The bull was in distress as the lion attacked him. The male goat took advantage of the bull’s distressed situation and started attacking him. The goat’s act showed a bad character as it is not right to attack an already attacked being.

“The best intentions will not always ensure success” (Townsend 112).

The proverb is used at the end of the fable *The Monkeys and Their Mother*. The fable tells the story of a mother monkey who had two young monkeys. The mother loved and cared for one monkey and hated and neglected the other. The monkey that was cared for and loved somehow died and the neglected one was nurtured and raised well despite hatred. The fable points out the mother’s care for the one. Despite her good intentions for him, the monkey died.

The proverb is made of “the best intentions”, and “not always ensure success”. The mother’s intentions towards the loved monkey were good, but she failed to nurture him best. Similarly, when we take care of something and neglect other things, it may not always succeed, as expressed in the fable. The proverb relates to the mother in the story.

“Misfortunes springing from ourselves are the hardest to bear” (Townsend 114).

The fable of *The Oak and The Wood-Cutters* ends with the above proverb. The fable tells the story of a woodcutter and an oak tree. The woodcutter cut down the giant oak and used wedges from the branches of the same oak to divide the trunk and save their labour. The oak felt sorry and said that it did not feel bad about the strikes of the axe, but the wedges from his branches were used to cut him down.

The proverb represents the same message. The bad things that happened to us hurt more than anything else. The proverb is made of “misfortune arising from within”, and “is hard to bear”. In the context of the fable, the wedges made from the oak branches are the misfortunes that the oak tree finds very hard to bear. Thus, the proverb suggests that the disaster caused from within is tough to tolerate. The oak tree felt terrible about its downfall made easy by the wedges made from its branches.

“Fine feathers don’t make fine birds” (Townsend 114).

The fable *The Peacock and The Crane* uses the above proverb at the end. The story is about a peacock and a crane. The peacock was very proud of his tail. He spread his tail and mocked the crane and said that he felt like a king as he had all the golden and purple and all the colours of the rainbow while the crane lacked his beauty. The crane agreed and argued that he goes up high to heaven and raises his voice to the stars, and the peacock walks on the ground like an ordinary cock and other birds. The proverb proves the fact that delicate appearances do not make someone fine.

The proverb is made of “fine feathers”, and “don’t make fine birds”. In the context of the proverb, the peacock had the finest of feathers, but he could not be a fine bird as he mocked the crane for not having delicate feathers. This mockery does not make him a fine bird. On the other hand, the crane does not have the most delicate feathers, but he flies to the height of heaven. Thus, the proverb suggests that one should not feel proud of one’s appearance as there would be more than just the appearance to be proud of.

“A man who can strike from a distance is no pleasant neighbour” (Townsend 117).

The proverb is used at the end of the fable *The Bowman and Lion*. The fable tells the story of a bowman who went into the forest searching for prey. All the animals ran away at the approach of the bowman except the lion. The lion challenged the bowman to a fight. The bowman shot an arrow and told the lion that at first, he should deal with the messenger, and then he would come to know what it takes to fight him. Thus, the lion was wounded badly by the arrow. The lion started running away, but a fox met him and told him not to be afraid of the bowman. The lion said the man had wounded him severely, and he could not face the man.

In the context of the fable, the proverb highlights two aspects. The man who shot the lion by distance cannot be a good neighbour. The other aspect is the fox, who advised that the lion was nowhere near the bowman. The fox ran away just like the other animals in the forest at the approach of the bowman. Therefore, the fox’s advice from a distance is not a sign of a good neighbour. The proverb is made of “a man”, “who strikes from distance”, and “is not a pleasant neighbour”. The proverb thus suggests that the person who advises from a distance cannot be a good friend.

“Contentment with our lot is an element of happiness” (Townsend 118).

The fable of *The Crab and The Fox* ends with the above proverb. The fable tells the story of a crab who left his habitat on the seashore and chose to live in the meadows. One day, a fox saw the crab and ate it. When the fox ate the crab, it said that it deserved this fate as it left its habitat and started living on the land. The sea was the crab’s habitat, but it chose something different as it was not content with what it had, but it had to pay the price of its dissatisfaction.

The proverb is made of “contentment with what we have”, and “element of happiness”. The crab was not satisfied with the sea life and thus changed its territory, but the element of happiness vanished as the fox ate it. Therefore, the proverb suggests through the fable that one should be satisfied with the things at hand; otherwise, worse things are bound to happen.

“In a change of government the poor change nothing beyond the name of their master” (Townsend 118).

The proverb is used at the end of the fable *The Ass and The Old Shepherd*. It tells the story of a shepherd who saw his donkey eating grass in the meadows. The shepherd was suddenly alarmed by the shirk of the enemies and said to the donkey that they should run away or else they both would be captured. The donkey asked why he should run away. Whether the new master will put too much weight on his back. The shepherd replied no. The donkey further said that as long as he carried the weight, it did not matter who would be his master.

The proverb fits the context of the fable as the donkey expected the possible change of the master and supposed that the change of the master would not change his fate. It will change only the master as the previous master made him carry the weight; the new master will do the same. The proverb is made of “the change of master”, “the poor change nothing”, and “but the name of the master”. The fable points out that the change in the master changes nothing but only the master, and the master’s orders will be the same.

“They are no friends whom you know not whether to trust or to distrust” (Townsend 120).

The fable *The Dog and The Hare* ends with the above proverb. The fable is about a dog who chased a rabbit. The dog at once bit the rabbit and fawned it just as he was playing with the

other dog. The rabbit got fed up with it and said that the dog must exhibit his true intentions. If the dog wants to be friendly, he should not bite him hard, and if at all he wants to kill him, he should not fawn him.

In the context of the fable, the proverb explains that the rabbit became confused about whether the dog wanted to kill him or play with him. Thus, the proverb indicates that the rabbit is baffled to trust the dog or distrust. The proverb is made of “they are not friends”, and “whom you do not know whether to trust or distrust”. The fable and the proverb together suggest that if we are unable to trust or distrust a person, he is not a friend.

“Count the cost before you commit yourselves” (Townsend 121).

The proverb is used at the end of the fable *The Hares and The Foxes*. The story is about the rabbits who started a war with the eagles and requested the foxes to help them. The foxes replied that they would help them if they knew who they were and whom they were fighting with. In the context of the fable, the proverb warned the rabbit about the results before they took the decision. The rabbits started the war without thinking of the results, and when they needed help, they asked the foxes, but the foxes refused to help them. Thus, the rabbits fell into great difficulty.

The proverb is made of “count the cost”, and “before you commit yourself”. The proverb suggests that one must think about the consequences before deciding on something. In the context of the fable, the rabbits started the war against the eagles, and when they found out that they fell short of enough power, they asked the foxes for help, but the help could not be provided. Thus, the proverb exemplifies the importance of considering the prior possibility before making decisions.

“Necessity is the mother of invention” (Townsend 125).

The fable of *The Crow and The Pitcher* makes use of the proverb. It tells the story of a very thirsty crow. He saw a long-necked pot and thought that it might contain water. When he reached the pot, he saw that the water was at the bottom of the pot, and he could not reach the bottom of the pot. Then, he thought about how to get the water. He flew and gathered some stones and put them in the pot one by one. As he put the stones in the pot, the water raised to the mouth of the pot, and the crow was able to quench his thirst. The proverb rightly points out the message.

In the context of the fable, quenching the thirst was the necessity of the crow, and it gave birth to the invention of putting stones in the pot to get water. The proverb is made of “necessity”, and “the mother of invention”. The need to quench the thirst made the crow think creatively and find a way to reach the water. The proverb in the context of the story reiterates the message that inventions happen out of need.

To Conclude

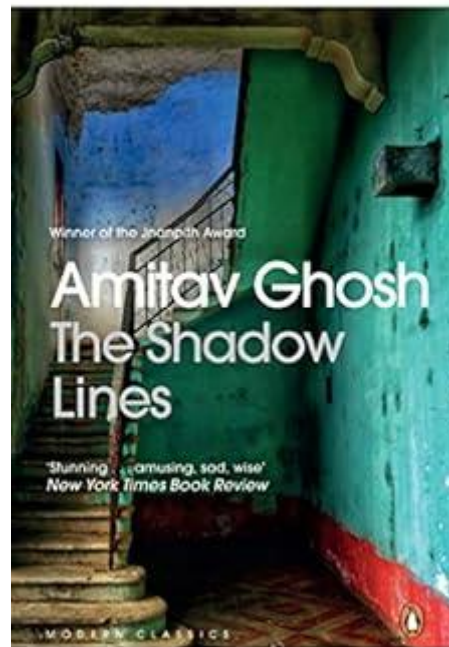
This analysis of some select fables reveals that proverbs are integrated into fables to strengthen their story content and to offer ethical guidance through the stories which are easy to listen to/read and follow. While adults and families benefit from these as these strengthen their positive traditions, children in schools benefit a lot from reading and listening to these stories. First of all, these fables become a great source for their dramas within the classroom. Students are assigned roles found in the fables and then their dialogue follows the story. Thus, their dramatic talents are developed. Secondly, using the proverbs in the fables they have read and played in their dramas, they may be encouraged to develop or create their own stories in writing as part of their language learning. This develops their creative literary skills. Thus there are many benefits in identifying the proverbs in fables. The corresponding relation between the proverbs and the fables makes the language-learning experience of the students entertaining and effective.

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Memory as ‘The Prime Mover’ of The Plot in Amitav Ghosh’s *The Shadow Lines*

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Abstract

Amitav Ghosh is one of the most significant literary voices to emerge from India in recent decades. *The Shadow Lines* was published in 1988, four years after the sectarian violence that shook New Delhi in the aftermath of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi’s assassination. *The Shadow Lines* can be read as a memory novel where the characters are maneuvered and manipulated by the memory of Tridib’s tragic death. Each of these characters is affected differently and their experiences weave into a single plot. The narrator in *The Shadow Lines* calls up a stream of recollections in the form of

flashbacks, a testimony that the nature of these memories is unpleasant and haunting. The past invades the present, enriches and transforms it, and even reshapes the progression of the events eventually strengthening the structure of the plot. As memory provides the narrative trigger in this novel, Amitav Ghosh allows his narrator's memory to play freely and form loops of stories inside the story rendering chronology and space redundant. Violence has many faces in the novel, but Tridib's tragedy subtly resonates till the end of the book and comprehends the total senselessness of the post-Partition riot that claimed Tridib's life. Being a memory novel, it captures the shock of emotional rupture and estrangement, giving voice to the silence resulting from the personal and national trauma in the subconscious of the characters. This critical investigation would focus on Ghosh's use of memory as a fictional device to pull the memory fragments into plotting the story.

Keywords: *The Shadow Lines*, Amitav Ghosh, Memory; Imagination; Psychoanalysis; Nostalgia; Trauma; Reconstruction; Partition; Riot

Introduction

Every attempt to describe historical events necessarily relied on narratives, that as Hayden White points out, “display the coherence, integrity, fullness and flowers of an image of life that is and can only be imaginary” (1987, p. 24). The emphasis is on the imaginary dimension in all accounts of events relying on various forms of imagination that have more in common with the production of a narrative or fiction. Amitav Ghosh's *The Shadow Lines* (1988), demonstrates how individual and family memories mirror social and historical transformation. Not only does the novel point to the importance of historical events shaping private lives, it also underlines the role of displacement and relocation in shaping the imagination and memory. Since memory is at the heart of the novel, this article seeks to highlight its significance by critically examining the role of memory in the plotline. All these stories-within-stories are united by the thread of memory and imagination as the novelist treats both memory and imagination as a driving force of the narrative. Within the flashback narrative framework, the narrator traces events back and forth in time, from the outbreak of the Second World War to the late twentieth century, observing how political events invade private lives. According to French philosopher Pierre Nora “Memory is life, borne by living societies founded in its name (...) History, on the other hand, is the reconstruction, always problematic and incomplete, of what is no longer” (1989, pp. 8-9). While for Nora “History is perpetually suspicious of memory and its true mission is to suppress and destroy it”

(1989, p, 9), for Ghosh memory is always skeptical of literary history that can be manipulated by politicians and historians.

Methodology

This qualitative study applies the Textual Analysis method, primarily drawing upon a seminal textbook, *The Shadow Lines* by Amitav Ghosh as the primary source for the foundational understanding and exploration of the research topic. The methodology integrates a systematic search, selection, and analysis of secondary sources published by scholars like national and international articles, interviews, journals, textbooks, and other relevant sources within the field of interest. Themes, theories, and critical arguments were identified, dissected, and cross-referenced with other supplementary literature to provide a comprehensive understanding of the subject. The study places significant emphasis on elucidating, analyzing, and contextualizing the theoretical underpinnings essential to the understanding of the research topic. Theoretical constructs within the textbook, such as Sigmund Freud's psychoanalysis theory and Cathy Caruth's trauma theory serve as pivotal frameworks guiding this investigation.

Literature Review

The Shadow Lines, Ghosh's second book, has gained more critical acclaim than any of his subsequent works. He was awarded India's most prestigious literary award, the Sahitya Akademi award for *The Shadow Lines*. The past is recalled as a living, breathing entity that continues to flow into the present. Each character is an individual and integral to the flow of the story. The plot of *The Shadow Lines* is woven around actual historical events like the Second World War and the post-Partition communal riots which broke out in certain parts of India and Pakistan. Due to being unable to change history, one usually takes advantage of memory compatible to his or her viewpoint. Yet, the memories that one chooses to forget are more important than the ones one chooses to remember, and this is the key point that Ghosh attempts to impart to his readers. Memory as an abstract entity exceeds the bounds, transcends the time scale, and moves beyond any kind of restrictions. Therefore, constant shift of time, going back and forth, and incessant transfer from present to past and conversely is another appealing factor. The primary emphasis of the research will be placed on memory deploying the theoretical perspectives of memory studies. Sigmund Freud's (1899) psychoanalysis theory and Cathy Caruth's (1996) trauma theory serve as pivotal theoretical frameworks guiding this investigation. Bearing in mind

Freud's emphasis on the experience of unconscious and conscious awareness of memories, Ghosh uses the unconscious memories as a tool to unfold the repressed traumatic past experience and make it a part of the present that is evident in the novel. Ghosh's crucial reproduction of the riot-hit individuals across the two countries has been chiefly achieved by the protagonist's conscious memories intertwining with broader historical and political contexts which align with Freud's concepts of conscious memories emphasizing the character's attempts to make sense of their past and reconcile conflicting emotions related to personal and historical events.

Freud's theory of childhood experiences shaping an individual's memory and psyche has a connection with *The Shadow Lines*. Ghosh, in *The Shadow Lines*, grapples with the childhood traumatic period of the 1964 riots that is evoked by the sectarian violence in Delhi. The narrator's relationships with other characters in the later phase of life, as depicted in the novel, are intricately influenced by childhood memories filled with emotions and perceptions, underscoring Freud's belief in the importance of early experiences in shaping memory. Again, through the application of psychobiography rooted in Freud's psychoanalytic theory, the author and his life might be examined in relation to the novel *The Shadow Lines*. This novel was written in 1984, in the aftermath of Indira Gandhi's assassination when Delhi was upturned by the bloodthirsty mobs that attacked the Sikh community killing, raping and looting. This was the memory that brought Ghosh back to 1964 when a similar mob attacked Hindus in Dhaka where Ghosh, then a child, was living. Cathy Caruth's examination of trauma in *Unclaimed Experience* (1996) finds manifestation in the narrative of *The Shadow Lines* which mainly centers around the traumatic events of the unimaginable atrocity that happened in the religious line due to the post-Partition bitterness. Tridib's death bears the seeds of trauma for the days to come and eventually haunts other characters traumatically throughout the novel.

Elements of Memory and Imagination

Innumerable memories of different kinds have gone into the making of the novel. There are individual differences in memory. The excerpt from Plato's *Theaetetus* is the famous metaphor of the memory as a block of wax, "that is comparatively pure or muddy, and harder in some, softer in others" (McDowell, 1973). Here, the harder is the less sensitive, and softer is the more sensitive which results in shallow or deep memories. Ghosh/his narrator is blessed with a softer memory that facilitates him to remember so much in such minute and vivid details. These memories are recollected and transformed into the material of narratives. The manifestation of this shallow and deep memory is discernable when

Ila easily forgets their childhood memories, she is very surprised by the way the narrator remembers every detail. On the other hand, Tridib and the narrator possessing a profound memory are still jubilant and hopeful about their surroundings and whatever life is going to offer them. The saving grace is their lenient memories are well preserved and used to invigorate themselves in the crisis of life. As stated by Manjula Saxena:

“Memory is a psychological process as much integral to our consciousness as thinking is. We use these faculties consciously or subconsciously when different experiences leave their impresses on our minds, without our becoming aware of this. Memory is both rational and emotive pertaining to the cognitive and the affective parts of personality. Literary artists, novelists alike have acknowledged the presence of emotive element in memory.” (2002, p. 27)

Emotive memory is a proper instrument and sustainer of the creation of a work of literary art and is “more gratifying than the purely objective, disinterested kind of thinking” (2002, p. 27). Ghosh the novelist makes the narrator of his novel recall his own experiences with a fondness that is an emotive element. While walking with Ila toward the Lily Pool bridge, the narrator clearly remembers the days when they were children. The narrator could not forget because he says: “Tridib had given me worlds to travel in and he had given me eyes to see them with”. (Ghosh 1995, p. 20). Whereas Illa's world compared to the narrator's is a barren one who records only the details of the ladies' toilets, although she has travelled all around the world since her childhood.

Marcel Proust in his novel *In Search of Lost Time* (1913-1927), distinguished voluntary and involuntary memories. The feeling of being suddenly transported to our past and reliving intense and emotional memories triggered by a smell, a taste, a sound or a visual sensation is illustrated in the *Madeleine de Proust* story (Proust, 1913-1927). Based on Proust's view of “remembering as a creative act, as the creation of joyful moments in which present and past are brought together” (Proust, 1913-1927), the idea developed in Van Campen's book (2014), is the aesthetic qualities of memories that is the power of memory in terms of creativity and the pleasure associated with the collection of involuntary memories:

“Proust believed that involuntary memories possessed an aesthetic quality. For him, the coinciding of aesthetic awareness in the present with an aesthetic awareness from the past was what made involuntary memories so special. The sensory stimulus and the memory of sensory

images, sounds, tastes, and smells had an artistic quality and provided important material for Proust the artist.” (Campen 2014, p. 16)

In *The Shadow Lines*, memory and imagination interplay in unison. Memory recalling certain incidents and imagination weaving memories. Memory and imagination interweave effectively to create an artistic element in the novel. Since the narrator is gifted with the imaginative power to travel through his mind's eyes aided with memories, he enjoys an expansive view of various places of the world, though he has not traveled outside Calcutta before his admission to Delhi College. It is as if he lives through the stories of other characters. As Tridib once told him: “Everyone lives in a story... because stories are all there are to live in, it is just a question of which one you chose ...” (Ghosh 1995, p. 182).

The driving force of the plot largely depends on the mastery of the narrator to remember incidents communicated to him by other characters. The facts of war-torn England were handed down to him by Tridib who very skillfully communicated those events with a touch of his imaginative power. Even though the narrator later in his life has the chance to visit London, everything seems very familiar to him, which is the work of memory and Tridib's minute description. The English Price family is also introduced as a part of the memory when the boy narrator remembers Tridib explaining his absence from the Gole Park addas for a long time:

“... he told them (Tridib's acquaintances) that he had been to stay with old Mrs Price, who was a widow. Her husband had died recently. She lived in north London, he said, on a street called Lymington Road; the number of their house was 44 and the tube station was West Hampstead. Mrs Price had a daughter, who was called May.” (Ghosh 1995, p. 11)

Thus, memory plays a very significant role to present facts the way they are done by the narrator and Tridib. As the narrator recounts about Tridib: “But of course, among other things Tridib was an archaeologist, he was not interested in fairylands: the one thing he wanted to teach me, he used to say, was to use my imagination with precision” (Ghosh 1995, p. 24). Together the uncle and the nephew are able to build a dream house of their memories, where fact and fiction are mingled to fabricate an imaginary world.

In *The Shadow Lines* the main characters possess a high sensitivity, retain though unconsciously their experiences, and relate them to the experiences of the other characters. In the case of Tridib, May Price and the narrator, memory works in parallel with imagination enabling them to judge the present better by shading light of the past. It is quite strange how Tridib as a child watches two people making

love in a rubble inside a warehouse and remembers it vividly, only to send it as a letter to May Price much later as a grown-up. He wants to meet her in that way “... –as a stranger, in a ruin. ... as the completest of strangers—strangers-across-the-seas ...” (Ghosh 1995, p.144). It is a significant episode to show how Tridib’s memory, charged with imagination, fantasies about a world of his own. Rajeswari Sunder Rajan says: “One of the chief loci of value in *The Shadow Lines* is the visual imagination ... the viewer’s exercise of memory and imagination enables him to ‘see’ in the mind’s eye, more vividly than actuality ...” (pp. 287-298). In the same way, the narrator's imagination fills gaps in his memories, blurring the boundaries between reality and fiction, highlighting how imagination can influence the reconstruction of past events. In the novel there is persistent emphasis on the freedom of individuals to create their own stories distinct from others to avoid being mixed with someone else's construction of reality. Perhaps that is why Tridib persuades the narrator to learn to imagine precisely and create his own world. Being able to invent stories makes one independent from other people’s inventions. Such persuasion can metaphorically denote independence and freedom from everything that are imposed on. In a larger scale, it seems that Ghosh attempts to impart that there are no subaltern people or any colonized state as long as they are independent from the other’s invention.

Theoretical Perspectives

Freud emphasizes that the unconscious part of the mind has an impact on our behavior because of is the host for feelings of anxiety, memory, pleasure and pain. Freud states these repressed memories which lie in the unconscious mind rise up only in hidden forms in dreams, in language slip of the tongue, which are so-called (Freudian slip), in creative work that may create art and including literature (Bilcik, 2018). We act as director, actor and interpreter of our own dreams. There is a relation between dream and literature as the feelings of conscious and unconscious originate in our mind (Freud, 1899). The impact of desire or wish in language lead literary critics to compare abstract writing with dream which express the mystery of unconscious desire or tension of the writer and that an artistic work is a production of the writer's own particular mental events. This relevance is obvious as the sectarian violence that erupted in Delhi after Indira Gandhi's murder in 1984 is an echo of the larger socio-political landscape that Ghosh explores in *The Shadow Lines*. Ghosh utilizes vivid imagery to illustrate the horrors of the violence unleashed upon the Sikh community which he witnessed firsthand. In *The Shadow Lines*, Ghosh uses the flashback technique to reconstruct the painful lives of the individuals, and their tragic ends using his own memory stratagem. The narrator relied on the swirl of memories that

have been assimilated from the recollection of the other characters who witnessed the incident. Ghosh's crucial reproduction of the riot-hit individuals across the two countries has been chiefly achieved by the protagonist's conscious memories intertwining with broader historical and political contexts which align with Freud's concepts of conscious memories emphasizing the character's attempts to make sense of their past and reconcile conflicting emotions related to personal and historical events.

Another aspect of Freud's theory in his chapter "On Screen Memories" in the *Psychopathology of Everyday Life* (1901, chapter IV) that has a connection with *The Shadow Lines* is his emphasis on childhood experiences shaping an individual's memory and psyche. (Conway, 2006, pp. 548-550) argues that memories of childhood events, and in the very earliest memory are endemic in autobiographical memory and can be frequently observed when any period of life is sampled. Conway (2006) additionally cites Freud's idea that these pale memories are not simple fragments of past experience. Such memories often depict the rememberer in the memory, a perspective one could not have possibly had at the time. Freud's implication is that memory has been 'worked over', has had the perspective added after the formation of the memory (1901, chapter IV). Ghosh, in *The Shadow Lines*, grapples with the childhood traumatic period of the 1964 riots that is evoked by the sectarian violence in Delhi and uses fictional space imaginatively to formulate the narrative on a humanistically centered, through the prism of the contextual present. The novel's events are all based on true events, but it is told from the point of view of fictional characters whose lives have been completely transformed as a result of political, social and national changes. The truths uncovered reflect the perspective of both the novelist and the period equally. In the novel, the childhood experiences also shape the narrator's memory and psyche through his interactions with Tridib, his Thamma, cousin Ila and his family, the experiences of decisive moments that profoundly influence his understanding of the present. These childhood memories, laden with emotions and perceptions, shape his relationship with others in the later phase of his life, reflecting Freud's belief in the significance of early experiences in memory formation. Again, through the application of psychobiography rooted in Freud's psychoanalytic theory (1949), the author and his life might be examined in relation to the novel *The Shadow Lines*. This novel was written in 1984, in the aftermath of Indira Gandhi's assassination when Delhi was upturned by the bloodthirsty mobs that attacked the Sikh community killing, raping and looting. This was the memory that brought Ghosh back to 1964 when a similar mob attacked Hindus in Dhaka where Ghosh, then a child, was

living. These decisive dreadful historical incidents shape his realization of the divisions created by political boundaries that affect individual identity.

Memories are peculiar experience-near symbols of the self that both reveal and conceal goals, purposes, desires, and images of the self in the past. Freud emphasizes the experience of unconscious and conscious awareness of memories in his chapter “Error” in the *Psychopathology of Everyday Life* (1901, chapter X). Freud's theoretical interpretation of the failure of everyday memory was in terms of motivation, unpleasant experiences and ideas are 'forgotten' for good reasons. Their recall is resisted, their content inhibited, because they threaten, in both minor and major ways, the stability of the self (1901, chapter X). Ghosh's technique of using unconscious memories as a tool to unfold the repressed traumatic past experience and make it a part of the present is evident in the novel. Each character has their unique consciousness of the past which makes a private world for them from which they either gain strength or suffer from the traumatic memories. Memory, therefore, plays a different role in the lives of the characters to determine the kind of lives the characters would lead at present. The detailed versions of Tridib's death, the most sensitive part of the story, which comes at the end of the novel, seems to be the natural outcome as the characters, who witnessed the ghoulish incident, need an outlet for all the pent-up sadness they repress and eventually get themselves freed from that long fifteen years of silence which they suffered in their individual cells. Besides, Freud's theory of the “repetition compulsion” suggests that individuals unconsciously repeat past traumatic experiences in an attempt to resolve them. This repetition and parallel can be easily recognizable between historical events such as the Second World War and the Riots of 1964. The characters in *the Shadow Lines* seem to be trapped in a cycle of historical repetition, struggling to reconcile and make sense of the past.

The notion of trauma as a “crisis of representation” was introduced to literary studies in the framework of poststructuralist thinking notably by Cathy Caruth's *Unclaimed Experience* (1996). For Cathy Caruth (1996), trauma is associated with “the response to the event occurs in the often delayed, the uncontrolled repetitive appearance of hallucinations and other intrusive phenomena” (1996, p. 11). Caruth (1996) further substantiates the idea of latency as indicated by Sigmund Freud to suggest that the victims of a traumatic event remain latent for the time being; however, they hide somewhere until something evokes them back. Moving further on to the notions of trauma, it refers to the collective emotional destruction resulting from a traumatic experience or events in the past. The novel *The Shadow Lines*, mainly centers around the traumatic events of the unimaginable atrocity that happened in the

religious line due to the post-Partition bitterness through characters like Tridib, Jethamoshai, and Khalil. They were brutally killed by an unruly mob in a communal riot in East Pakistan, Dhaka. Tridib's death bears the seeds of trauma for the days to come and eventually haunts other characters traumatically throughout the novel. They find it difficult to come to terms with the past of which they are part of, to breach the silence of words. The trauma of Partition and the subsequent riots is transferred across the generations. Seventeen years after Tridib's death, the narrator learns the truth from two eyewitnesses, Robi and May. It was a nightmare with really no route to escape for those who were present there to witness that ghoulish killing. They endure this traumatic memory all their lives.

How Memory Performs

In the opening of his essay "Separation Anxiety; Growing up / Inter/National in Amitav Ghosh's *The Shadow Lines*" Suvir Kaul (1994) points out that: "Do you remember? – in *The Shadow Lines*, this is the most insistent question that brings together the private and the public". Kaul declares that this question "shapes the narrator's search for connections, for the recovery of lost information or repressed experiences, for the details of great trauma or joy that have receded into the archives of private or public memory" (1994, p. 125-145). The riots in Khulna and the ensuing demonstration turned violent on the 4th of January 1964. This demonstration is "branded in the narrator's memory" (Ghosh 1995, p.222) because Tridib lost his life in the aftermath of this riot. The narrator has motives in narrating from the sources of memory. First to communicate the political turmoil beneath the facade of his childhood years in Post-Partition India. Next to save his memories from slipping into the realm of forgetting. The narrator is anxious to hold on to the past and to document its significance. In 1979 the narrator recollects the events of 1964 because he is determined not to let the "past vanish without trace; I was determined to persuade them of its importance" (Ghosh 1995, p.271). The narrator uses memory not merely to comprehend the individual and collective cultural past that has been confounding him for fifteen long years, but also to figure out "what" and "how" to remember. That is why the narrative reflects a constant process of introspection; as Louis James states, "If *Circle of Reason* is about knowledge, *The Shadow Lines* is about knowing" (1999, p. 56).

Real life seldom follows a neat chronology. It follows a repetitive nature consisting of overlapping and of-repeated incidents re-enacted and re-lived by individuals in various ways. Amitav Ghosh's *The Shadow Lines* is a proclamation of the fact that life refuses to follow a sequential pattern, while memories help to create one's private narratives as distinguished from the majestic narratives

established by society. As Meenakshi Mukherjee says in her essay: “In *The Shadow Lines* there is a repeated insistence on the freedom for each individual to be able to create his own stories in order to prevent getting trapped into someone else's construction of reality” (pp. 255-267). Again, Pallavi Gupta says about this feature in the novel: “With regard to history, since it is individual and private, each mnemonic effort becomes an attempt at historicization and each recollecting individual becomes an amateur historian” (2001, p. 75-82). Memory of the past has become a reliable way to give meaning to the present. This becomes a genuine norm for Tridib, because: “... he was working on a Ph.D. in Archaeology – something to do with sites associated with the Sena dynasty of Bengal” (Ghosh 1995, p.7). Archaeology relies on justifying the present based on the shreds of evidence from the past. In *L'écriture et la différence*, Jacques Derrida writes: “All stories and histories are a perpetual revelation of the past, yet obstinately turned toward the present” (1978, p. 314).

Although the present is defined by the memories of the past, it is very evident that there is nostalgia for the good old days as against the realistic present. Nostalgia, the fond memory of the past which Ghosh uses through flashbacks serves as braiding the fragmented memories expressed by individual characters. This nostalgia is a dominant note in the narrative mainly exhibited through Thamma, who continually remembered Dhaka. This terrible nostalgia impels her to go back to Dhaka where Tridib was killed in a communal riot. The past by recalling memories has been reconstructed in two ways - the nostalgic past which Thamma recalls and recounts to the narrator, and the past of Tridib's brutal killing. These two memories on which the plot of this novel is framed and advanced are being contrasted. Thamma's memories are nostalgic and unreal and also the reason why she goes back to Dhaka along with Tridib to rescue her Jethamoshai who she believes is surrounded by the enemy but at the same time was her birthplace. On the other hand, the tragic death of Tridib which the narrator attempts to reconstruct relying on the memories of Robi and May is more real. The past that Thamma remembers is the pre-Partition past when Bengal was one and inspired by the freedom movement, the past when she came to know about a young revolutionist who happened to be her classmate, a hero in her nationalistic ideology. Thamma's notion of achieving freedom was different from Tridib and Ila's as about Tridib, Thamma says, he is “a loafer and a wastrel” (Ghosh 1995, p.4). Though Tridib, a wastrel in Thamma's eyes, is a hero in Dhaka, his death has been caused by the obstinacy of Thamma, and both her hand in his death and his heroism are something that she will never understand. Thamma's memories are like an illusion and just to give that false illusionary memory a true colour she served as

the cause of Tridib's death. Many of Thamma's memories are stirred by her disapproval of the present and of characters like Tridib and Ila. This rejection is associated with her memories of the freedom movement against British rule and her growing up in a social background of respect for old traditions and values. She can neither understand nor appreciate Ila's desire for freedom, which to her simply means that Ila prefers to live like a whore. Nor can she understand Tridib's urges for freedom, which to her realization is not willing to take responsibility. Despite Thamma's recollections that she was ready to do whatever it needed for the sake of her country, her boasts even to go to the extent of killing someone to be free, she has done nothing to prove her determination, and her last attempt to get her false imagination to be true causes the violent climax of the novel. Thamma's past is a mirage of her imagination. In her mission to rescue Jethamoshai who doesn't want to be rescued and to meddle with other people's lives and correct the lapses in the past, Thamma succeeds only in bringing about the deaths of three people. The frenzied mob "cut Khalil's stomach open. The old man's head had been hacked off. And they'd cut Tridib's throat, from ear to ear" (Ghosh 1995, p. 251). So, the book suggests that the present must confront the past and look it in the eye which otherwise by working on the opposite plane has caused the tragic death of Tridib. While it is Tridib's death that the narrator tries to reconstruct with the help of May, what is conveyed very clearly is Thamma's role in that unnecessary death. Thamma who had talked about freedom and sacrifice was quite willing to leave the old man to his fate. It was Tridib, the wastrel, the loafer who had gone to the old man's defiance but had been unable to resist the mob. The events in Dhaka, therefore, stress the unreliability of Thamma's nostalgic memories.

Moreover, concerning May Price, her innate humanitarian trait drives her to rescue Jethamoshai and Khalil in the face of the frenzied mob regardless of the grave danger that it may cause to the rest of the world. Many years later as she recounts the ghastly murder of Tridib to the narrator, she admits her vain attempt to save them as imprudent: "I didn't listen; I was a heroine. I wasn't going to listen to a stupid, cowardly old woman... Then the mob dragged him in. He vanished" (Ghosh 1995, p.250). Though her memories and sense of guilt torture her relentlessly, gradually she comes to the understanding that Tridib sacrifices himself not only for her sake but for everyone present there. Because the bloodthirsty mob needs anyone to vent their anger. As she narrates

"... he must have known he was going to die... He gave himself up: it was a sacrifice. I know I can't understand it, I know I mustn't try, for any real sacrifice is a mystery" (Ghosh 1995, p.251). For May, it was an admission of her guilt that led her on a profound self-contemplation

journey. The strain of conflicting memories makes her true to life and distinctive in her responses to present situations happening around her. Rajeswari Sunder Rajan says: “May Price ... is impetuous and quick but committed to a more purposeful and principled social and political activism”. (pp. 287-298)

When compared with May, Robi's traumatic memory of Tridib's brutal killing makes him prejudiced and communal in feelings without the fine distinction of judgment. While the narrator's memory of the past makes him more judgmental and rational, Robi's memory only makes him biased. His memory is induced by vengeance and resentment. In an agitated state Robi grips the table, his knuckles white, barely able to whisper to Rehman-Shahab: “I remember it because my brother was killed there, he said. In a riot – not far from where my mother was born. Now do you see why I remember”? (Ghosh 1995, p.243)

Likewise, the narrator's grandmother has no home but in memory and she is very skilled in the art of recollection. But she cannot help but show her despair when the memory of her old home in Dhaka does not match with the present realities. Her sense of displacement is evident in her first words at the airport after meeting Mayadebi: “Where's Dhaka? I can't see Dhaka” (Ghosh 1995, p195). Memory for Thamma cannot and does not add to the spice of life. What Thamma had conveniently forgotten, the narrator had preserved. Memory for the narrator even if they are borrowed from others is colourful and also audible as if visual. The narrator learns the art of living in a glowing world of memories which gives him the strength to challenge the realities of the present. On the contrary, Thamma was panicked at the realisation that her home was no longer her own. Soon the tie with her homeland was severed by the communal clash and violence that killed Tridib. She does not hesitate to show her hatred when she says that she has donated her chain for the cause of the war: “I gave it to the fund for the war. I had to, don't you see? For your sake; for your freedom. We have to kill them before they kill us; we have to wipe them out.” (Ghosh 1995, p.237)

Traumatic Legacy of the Indian Partition

In the novel, *The Shadow Lines* memory shapes the life of every individual. Suvir Kaul says in this regard: “*In Shadow Lines*, the shaping force of memory is enormously productive and enabling, but also traumatic and disabling; it liberates, and stunts, both the individual imagination and social possibilities; it confirms identities and enforces divides. Memory is, above all, a restless energetic, troubling power; the price, and the interrogator, or the form and existence of the modern nation-state.”

(268-286) They are either get liberated by the positive grace of memory or made prisoners in their own conscious cells tortured by the traumatic memory of their terrible past. Many years later, when the narrator ransacks the library shelf in search of the newspaper to defend his claim that there were riots in Calcutta in 1964, he could not find the evidence in the newspaper. At such frustrating moments he even starts doubting his memory: "... I had lived for all those years with a memory of an imagined event" (Ghosh 1995, p. 222). Searching for the news of the riots of 1964 in the newspaper, he said,

"I found that there was not the slightest reference in it to any trouble in East Pakistan, and the barest mention of the events in Kashmir. It was, after all, a Calcutta paper, run by the people who believed in the power of distance no less than I." (Ghosh 1995, p. 227)

He then becomes adamant and takes it as a challenge not to be proved wrong by the factual narratives in circulation. Getting hold of his memory, he desperately searches for the language to give voice to the silence, the traumatic memory subdued for a long time. But in the newspaper of 1964, he finds,

"The led story had nothing to do with riots of any kind nor with Calcutta: [there was] a report which ... had extended an invitation to everyone who had faith in the ideology of socialism and democracy to come together in the common task of building a new society." (Ghosh 1995, p. 223)

A moment later, the narrator detects the headline of a short report which said: "*Twenty-nine killed in riots*" at the bottom of the page. But these are just the statistics of the riots of 1964 which history records. There is no printed evidence of the trauma that each and every one is quietly suffering from, the fear of the school-boys who found "The streets had turned themselves inside out: our city had turned against us" (Ghosh 1995, p. 203). As for the narrator, every word related to the riot becomes.

"The product of a struggle with silence. ... It is not, for example, the silence of an imperfect memory. ... I know nothing of this silence except that it lies outside the reach of my intelligence, beyond words—that is why this silence must be win, must inevitably defeat me, because it is not a presence at all; it is simply a gap, a hole, an emptiness in which there are no wards." (Ghosh 1995, p. 218)

So complete is this silence that it takes almost *fifteen years* for the narrator to trace that there is a connection between the attack on his school bus by the rioters in Calcutta and the events that befall Tridib and the others in the communal violence in Dhaka. Finding out the one single cause that provoked the riots in Dhaka and Calcutta, he said in this connection: "... I began on my strangest journey: a voyage into a land outside space, an expanse without distances; a land of looking-glass events" (Ghosh 1995, p. 224) in the sense that the Hindu-Muslim riot in Calcutta and Dhaka happen on the same day on which Tridib dies. What becomes evident to the narrator as he researches the two distant and mysteriously simultaneous riots is that, beyond the logic of nation-states, an "indivisible sanity binds people to each other independently of their governments" (Ghosh 1995, p. 230). Critiquing the Partition of 1947, *The Shadow Lines* ascribes an irrationality to the nation-state, and Tridib's violent death becomes both sign and effect of the identity of memories across Partition's border. It shows how Partition bloodstained a common historical memory and displaced a whole population as refugees.

The *Shadow Lines* brings to the fore the two generations of migrant women - the narrator's grandmother, Thamma and cousin, Ila. Thamma's migrant nationalism is mirrored in Ila's migration to England; both emerge from a desire for freedom and their memories are a cause of pain and disillusionment. While Grandmother endlessly strives to relocate her lost home in Dhaka and bring her Jethamoshai back to India which turns into a nightmare of riots and murder, Ila's sole motive is to leave her native land in search of freedom and independent identity which she never finds. Both thrive on memories of childhood, relationships and a desire to belong somewhere. Thamma dies with the pain of having lost her home and her Jethamoshai, while Ila lives on with the betrayal of Nick. Thus, the novel underscores the fragility of Partition between nations as etched out in maps to suggest that nations and communities are transnational through historical memory.

Reconstruction

Though the novel follows a chronology of time, there are frequent overlapping of incidents and also parallel sets of similar incidents in different time span where the past incident helps to understand the present repeated situation better. The cellar scenes can be mentioned as much relevant in this aspect. The first time, the cellar scene is enacted in an underground damp room in the Raibazar house, when Ila plays a game with the narrator as children. The game is again played in a cellar in London, where Ila plays a similar game with Nick Price. Ila then burst into tears while telling the narrator about Nick's

heroism. Many years later, when the narrator is in London, Ila and the narrator meet in the cellar again, and Ila weeps, as she tells the narrator about Nick's infidelity. "So here we are, she said, smiling. We're back under our old table, playing houses" (Ghosh 1995, p.110). The present is aided by the past to have a deeper understanding as the narrator finds out that each time Ila cries because of Nick's betrayal, the first time when she was chased by the racists, Nick deliberately leaves her not to be identified as friend of an Indian girl, and then as a husband. Again, we get the instance of this cellar scene in London when Tridib had to celebrate his birthday in the cellar due to the bombardment in London during the Second World War. Tridib was promised by Snipe to be told a story on the occasion of his birthday as a birthday gift:

"I sat on the hard edge of the camp bed and looked around the cellar at the piles of old trunks and suitcases, the stacks of paperbacks, at the garden tools that lay rusting in a corner. Slowly, as I looked around me, those scattered objects seemed to lose their definition ... Those empty corners filled up with remembered forms, with the Ghosts who had been handed down to me by time, the ghost of the nine-year old Tridib, sitting on a camp bed, just as I was, his small face intent, listening to the bomb; the ghost of Snipe in that far corner, near his medicine chest, worrying about his dentures, the ghost of the eight-years old Ila, sitting with me under that vast table in Raibazar. They were all around me, we were together at last, not ghosts at all: the ghostliness was merely the absence of time and distance - for that is all that ghost is, a presence displaced in time." (Ghosh 1995, p. 181)

Memory, therefore, is the binding cord which fastens all the incidents into a logical sequence occurring at different stages of time. K. Ratna Sheila Mani comments on the above-quoted passage: "[It] shows how through the play of memory, the different temporal segments are fused into an image of wholeness. The significant passage also indicates the extent to which the novel insists on the interpenetration and the merging of situations, times, places, and persons." (pp. 67-74)

Conclusion

In *The Shadow Lines*, Ghosh presents the Bengali diaspora on a wider scale by spreading the story over different countries and continents. By tracing a contrast between personal memory and political history and between the space of cultural interactions, his novel underscores the ethical responsibility of understanding and transcending these divisions for a more unified, empathetic world. According to Astrid Erll (2011), the concept of "prosthetic memory," coined by Alison Landsberg

(2004), holds significant ethical consequences. It is characterized by its “ability... to produce empathy and social responsibility as well as political alliances that transcend race, class and gender” (Landsberg, 2004), which is hinted at in this novel. In an interview with Frederick Luis Aldama, Amitav Ghosh (2002) expressed: “I read a lot, and I lived very much within my own head and very much within my own imagination”. In the same interview with Frederick Luis, he further added, “I wrote my second book [*The Shadow Lines*], which was much more in a realist mood to deal with real events and real characters. *The Shadow Lines* is a very restrained in its tone, because it was a response to some ghastly events that were happening in Indian at that time.” (Ghosh, 2002)

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