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## Racial Oppression and Resilience in Alice Walker's Novel *The Third Life of Grange Copeland*

**Aravinda Reddy N.**

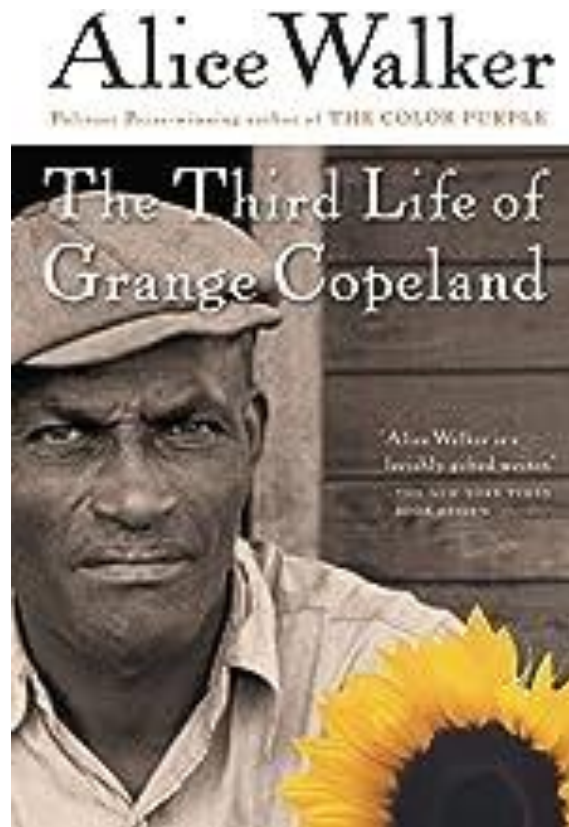
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## Abstract

The present article examines Alice Walker's 1970 novel, *The Third Life of Grange Copeland* which probes the enduring and distressing repercussions of racial oppression faced by African Americans in the early 20th-century southern United States. Spanning three generations of the Copeland family, the narrative offers a poignant exploration of systemic racism's profound impact on individuals, families, and communities. Set against the backdrop of the sharecropping system, a prevalent form of agricultural labour, the novel unveils a cycle of poverty and exploitation that ensnares African American families. The Copeland's experiences illuminate the oppressive nature of sharecropping, where white landowners wield dominion over labourers, ensnaring them in cycles of debt and destitution.

A central theme reveals the insidious reach of racial discrimination, overt and covert, penetrating every facet of African American life. The characters grapple with internalized racism, inherited from generations of oppression, resulting in self-esteem and relationship repercussions. Walker's work further delves into the pursuit of identity and self-discovery within a hostile milieu. Characters yearn for freedom and a brighter future, yet racial prejudice stifles their aspirations and possibilities. Despite their determination, they encounter barriers and constrained prospects due to their skin colour. *The Third Life of Grange Copeland* lays bare the intergenerational trauma borne from racial oppression and the complex web of racism entrenched in society. Through vivid storytelling and compelling characters, the novel both underscores the enduring fight against racial bias and celebrates the unwavering spirit of those who persevere amidst adversity.

**Keywords:** Alice Walker, *The Third Life of Grange Copeland*, African Americans, Sharecropping, Racial discrimination, Economic struggles, Oppression.

## African American Women Writers

African American women writers have made significant contributions to American literature and have played a crucial role in shaping the cultural and literary landscape of the United States. Throughout history, they have used their unique voices to explore themes of race, gender, identity, and social injustice, creating powerful narratives that have resonated with readers of diverse backgrounds.

The legacy of African American women writers can be traced back to the early 19th century when women like Phillis Wheatley, Alice Walker and Harriet E. Wilson challenged societal norms by publishing their works and sharing their perspectives. However, it was during the Harlem Renaissance in the 1920s and 1930s that African American women writers

gained more prominence and recognition for their literary achievements. The Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s provided a fertile ground for writers like Maya Angelou, Alice Walker, and Toni Morrison to rise to prominence. Their works not only explored racial and gender issues but also delved into universal themes of love, resilience, and the human experience.

One of the central themes that run through the works of these writers is the exploration of intersectionality the interconnectedness of race, gender, class, and other aspects of identity. Their stories are a powerful testament to the complex and diverse experiences of African American women and highlight the on-going struggles for equality and representation. African American women writers have played an essential role in American literature by offering unique perspectives on race, gender, and identity. Through their literary contributions, they have challenged societal norms, shed light on the African American experience, and enriched the world of literature with their powerful narratives. Their works continue to inspire, educate, and create important dialogues about the complexities of the human condition.

Alice Walker was the youngest of eight children in a family of sharecroppers. Despite the challenges of growing up in a racially segregated and impoverished environment in the American South, she developed a love for reading and writing from an early age. Walker faced racial discrimination and struggled with an injury that left her blind in one eye, but her determination and passion for education led her to excel academically. Walker attended Spelman College in Atlanta on a scholarship and later transferred to Sarah Lawrence College in New York, where she continued to pursue her interest in writing. She became involved in civil rights activism and was deeply influenced by the works of African American writers and feminist thinkers.

### **Racial Oppression**

"A black man ain't got no rights in this world." - *Grange Copeland*.

This novel, published in 1970, is one of Alice Walker's early works and is an important piece of African American literature. It deals with various themes, including racial oppression, poverty, and the search for identity. Racial oppression is a prominent theme throughout the novel, as it explores the lives of African Americans during the early 20th century in the southern United States. The story follows three generations of the Copeland family, starting with Grange Copeland, a sharecropper who escapes from the South to the

North to seek a better life. However, even in the North, the family faces racial discrimination and economic struggles.

"No nigger can treat a white woman like this and get away with it." - White Sheriff.

One of the ways racial oppressions is depicted in the novel is through the sharecropping system, which was a form of agricultural labour that effectively trapped many African Americans in a cycle of poverty and debt. The sharecroppers were often exploited by white landowners, who controlled the means of production and took advantage of the labourers' vulnerable positions. The characters in the novel also grapple with internalized racism, as they have been conditioned to believe in their inferiority due to the pervasive racism in society. This internalized racism affects their self-esteem and relationships with one another, contributing to a cycle of self-destructive behaviour.

Moreover, the novel explores how systemic racism affects the characters' opportunities and chances for a better life. Despite their aspirations and hard work, the Copeland family members encounter various obstacles and limitations purely because of their race. This theme is particularly evident in the experiences of the second and third generations of the Copeland family. Throughout *The Third Life of Grange Copeland* Alice Walker addresses the complex and lasting impact of racial oppression on individuals, families, and communities. By portraying the struggles and resilience of the Copeland family, the novel highlights the harsh realities faced by African Americans during a time when racial segregation and discrimination were deeply entrenched in American society.

### **Consequences of Racial Oppression**

In Alice Walker's *The Third Life of Grange Copeland* racial oppression has profound and far-reaching consequences on the lives of the characters and the larger African American community depicted in the novel. The consequences of racial oppression are felt across generations and impact various aspects of life, including personal identity, family dynamics, socioeconomic status, and mental well-being. Some of the key consequences of racial oppression in the novel include:

**Economic Struggles:** Racial oppression, particularly in the form of the sharecropping system, traps African American families in cycles of poverty and debt. The Copeland family faces constant economic hardships, with limited opportunities for advancement or escape from their dire circumstances.

**Internalized Racism:** Generations of racial discrimination have led to internalized racism among the characters. They struggle with feelings of self-doubt and worthlessness, believing the negative stereotypes perpetuated by society about their racial identity.

**Breakdown of Family Bonds:** The weight of racial oppression often strains familial relationships. Grange Copeland's strained relationship with his son Brownfield is influenced by a legacy of oppression and limited emotional connection, resulting in family fragmentation.

**Mental and Emotional Trauma:** The characters experience profound mental and emotional trauma as a result of racial oppression. The constant struggle for survival and the pervasive discrimination takes a toll on their mental well-being, leading to despair and hopelessness.

**Limited Opportunities:** Racial oppression restricts access to education, employment, and social mobility. The Copeland family members encounter barriers in pursuing their dreams and aspirations, hindering their chances of a better life.

**Loss of Identity:** Racial oppression erodes a sense of cultural identity and pride. The characters grapple with their place in society, struggling to define themselves beyond the oppressive narratives imposed upon them.

**Social Alienation:** The African American characters in the novel face social alienation and isolation due to racial segregation and discrimination. They are marginalized and excluded from the broader community, exacerbating feelings of disempowerment.

**Self-Destructive Behaviour:** The internalized pain and frustration resulting from racial oppression lead some characters, such as Brownfield, to engage in self-destructive behaviour, perpetuating a cycle of suffering.

**Intergenerational Impact:** Racial oppression's effects are passed down through generations, creating a legacy of trauma and struggle that continues to shape the lives of the characters' descendants.

**Resistance and Resilience:** Despite the overwhelming consequences of racial oppression, the characters also exhibit resilience and resistance. They strive to reclaim their agency and dignity, attempting to break free from the chains of oppression.



*The Third Life of Grange Copeland* vividly portrays the enduring consequences of racial oppression on individuals and families.

## **Conclusion**

In conclusion, Walker masterfully confronts the harsh realities of racial oppression, weaving a compelling narrative that sheds light on the enduring struggles faced by African Americans in the early 20th century. The novel's exploration of the consequences of racial oppression leaves a lasting impact, providing readers with a profound understanding of the deeply entrenched societal issues of that era.

Throughout the story, the pernicious effects of racial oppression are evident in the lives of the characters. The sharecropping system serves as a stark representation of economic exploitation, as African American families like the Copelands are trapped in a cycle of poverty and desperation, with little hope for escape. Moreover, the characters grapple with the internalized racism ingrained through generations, leading to a profound sense of self-doubt and diminished self-worth. The consequences of racial oppression reverberate through family dynamics, as strained relationships and emotional distance are observed within the Copeland family. The novel illuminates the toll that systemic racism takes on mental and emotional well-being, resulting in despair and hopelessness for many characters. Alice Walker also highlights the limited opportunities available to African Americans due to racial discrimination. Despite their aspirations, the characters face barriers to education, employment, and social mobility, hindering their pursuit of a better life.

Nevertheless, amidst the darkness of racial oppression, the novel also reveals glimmers of hope and resilience. The characters' resistance to their circumstances showcases their strength and determination to overcome adversity. Walker emphasizes the importance of reclaiming one's identity and cultural pride in the face of dehumanizing treatment. The novel serves as a powerful exploration of the complex web of social and psychological impacts caused by systemic racism, while also highlighting the strength and determination of those who strive for a better life in the face of adversity.

*The Third Life of Grange Copeland* is a poignant and powerful examination of racial oppression, skilfully crafted by Alice Walker. By exploring its consequences on personal, familial, and societal levels, the novel serves as a stark reminder of the enduring legacy of systemic racism. It calls upon readers to confront the past, reflect on the present, and actively work towards a more just and equitable future for all individuals, regardless of their race or

ethnicity. The novel's timeless themes resonate far beyond its pages, making it an important and enduring contribution to the on-going dialogue on racial oppression and social justice.

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**Segregation and Silence: A Look into the Call Centre  
Syndrome in Chetan Bhagat's *One Night @ the Call Center***

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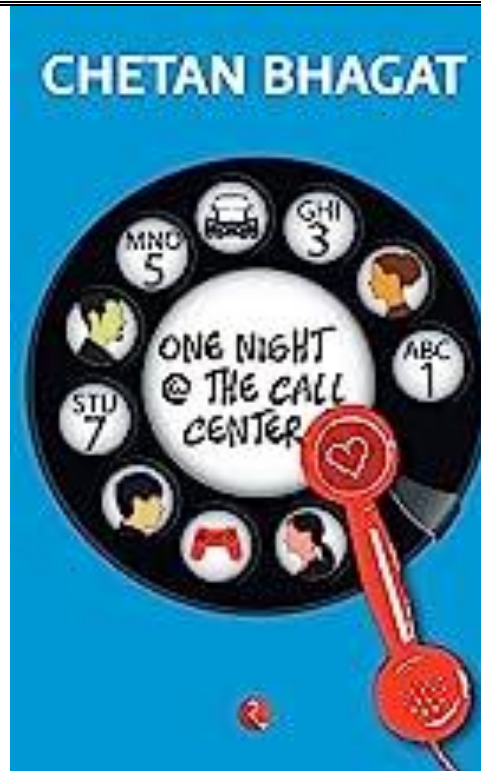
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## Abstract

Globalization has made the world small. When the tag, think local, make global was circulated all around, little did the people in India imagine that they would have to work for the overseas capitalistic masters leaving them work for peanuts. One of the reasons as to why the customer service and other outsourcing jobs come to a country like India is because, it is a country with cheap labor and cheaper market. Chetan Bhagat has chosen the pressures of the youth who work with the outsourcing industry is because; he wants to make his readers understand the plight of the youth who are not so much fortunate to step into the IIT. The novel, *One Night @ a Call Centre* centers around six youth who work night shifts. The paper is an attempt to look at the youth of the country who wish to scale great career heights with aspirations. They do not know the way to reach their zeal and goals.

**Keywords:** *One Night @ the Call Center*, Call Centers, Youth, Career, Exploitations, God, Self-confidence, explore

The novel brings to light the problems of underemployment, which is even worse than unemployment. The novel written in the year 2005 marked the beginning of call centre jobs which recruited people who had the gift of the gab. They were given good salaries with little scope for career growth. The novel highlights the problems of youth who choose call centre jobs because they do not find anything else more constructive. Although they know fully well that the job will not offer them a career, they still choose it for money and fashion.

The characters in the novel are six in number, they all have different tastes and different sensibilities but still they are all connected by one single determinant, that is, they all sacrifice their night's sleep and work for the U.S. despite knowing fully well that they have taken their lives and health to a toll. The icing in the cake in the novel is when they get a call from God which they take it as an opportunity to change themselves and their fates.

The following quote from the novel is an inspiring message to the youth who have no idea as to what to do with their lives. God's entry is more pleasing and the most satisfying because the characters now understand to come out of their problems and learn to live their lives with a more optimistic temperament.

One of the important pieces of advice which the author wishes to give the youth of tomorrow is that they must learn to fail because it is the only quality which gives them the audacity to take risks. The novelist says,

There are four things a person needs for success: a medium amount of intelligence, a bit of imagination, self-confidence, and failure. For once you taste failure, you have no fear. You

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can take risks more easily. Then You don't want to snuggle in your comfort zone anymore-you are ready to fly. And Success is about flying, not snuggling, God said. (8)

Every novel of Bahgat has a unique beginning. This is the second novel of the author where he is asked by one of his fellow travelers in a compartment to write a story in her name. After the publication of his first novel, he was bloating in success when he realized that he is doing nothing much for the welfare of the youth of the country who have no proper guidance about their life and career choice. The select few come to the IIT, and the rest of the other youth are left to their own fates. The novel is an address to that specific section of the youth who aspire to come up in life but have no clue as to what they have to do to reach their ladders of success.

The novel begins as an icebreaking between himself and a beautiful girl whom he met during one of his overnight journeys between Kanpur and Delhi. He was just returning home after having a discussion with some of his friends in the IIT Delhi about the ways in which his earlier novel was catching up. After having had some initial success and a launch pad into the writing career, the novelist decided that his next book will have to be something which would be better than the first one. He wanted to write on a topic which has not been explored until now. He thus chose the subject as call center, something which is not much known to the people back in 2005. The girl whom he meets on the train is an employee of an ITES firm called Connexious call centre at Gurgon, Haryana. Initially the author was hesitant in accepting the story of the girl for she had asked him to publish her story as it was said to him. Soon enough, he felt that the story would help a lot of youth who are confused as to what they would do in life.

These young people who are six in number represent the modern Indian mindset which is a repercussion of globalization. All the six people are drawn from various sections of society. The irony of the novel rests in the fact that they are able to provide solutions to the problems of customers offshore, but they cannot fix up their lives. The girl on the train asked the author one pertinent question as to, "If you want to write about the youth, shouldn't you talk about young people, who really face challenges. I mean yes, IITians face challenges, but what about the hundreds and thousands of others?" (6).

The rest of the novel is an attempt to uncover the reflections of the characters about their lives and their career prospects. God in the novel is much like a fairy god mother who tries to give them what they want in life. Once their lives change after God steps in, these characters begin to think over as to how they can be self-sufficient and independent without having to ask God and harp on him for anything and everything.

All the experiences of the characters are told from the eyes of Shyam, a person who has the same sensibilities as that of the author. The characters have their own names and the faked American names which form a part of their problems.

To begin with one could talk about the character of Radhika Jha, who has an American name, Regina Jones, a name to make the Americans believe that they are being called from the

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U.S and also an idea that would make them pronounce their names with ease. Esha Singh is called Eliza Singer.

It is the story of three boys and three girls who amount to six young people who have enormous ambitions to take over but are always in the dark about how to go about it and make their lives a success.

Another important idea that the author wishes to record through the novel is the thought that the success of a person is measured through the quantum of money he earns in his life or the office he holds on to. Bhagat is fully aware of the fact that all the youth of the country do not have the privilege which he enjoyed by being a part of IIT and IIM but still he wishes to make the novel his medium of motivation to the prospective young minds.

Another character, Military Uncle is also introduced in the novel apart from the six youngsters. He is fifty plus and works at the call centre to support the extra income which the job offers. He is shown as an introvert who speaks only when asked and even if he does, he does not utter more than what is required. The character Military uncle is a foil to the young people who speak their minds and have a jolly good life. Shyam says, "At fifty plus, he is the oldest person in the call centre. I do not know him well, and I won't talk about him much. But I do know that... The pension was meager, and he tried to supplement his income by working in the call centre. He rarely speaks more than three words at a time" (20).

Radhika is another character in the novel who has to balance work life with the family. She got married to Anuj, her college buddy and since then she has been earning the wrath of her in laws who come from a traditional family background and do not women to work night shifts by forsaking their safety for the sake of money. She is one such women who is a representation of all the conservative set of women in larger families. To the people, marriage is a bottle neck for a lucrative job and hence these women are forced to put their papers down for they are not allowed to work against the wishes of the male members in their family. Radhika still wishes to work for she feels that she could offer financial assistance to her husband and help him save some more money so that they could use it for their rainy days.

The character of Radhika reminds one of the employment problems which the youth of the country confront. Although the Indian government knows it pretty well that the Indian youth are exploited by the American companies in the name of lower salaries and lower offs but high layoff but still there is not much effort and contribution from the Indian government to make the lives and salaries of these employees better.

Reena Patil in her book, *Women in India's Call Centre Industry* comments on the key issues faced by the women employees in this realm. She says,

At present women workers constitute about one third of the total call centre and BPO workforce in India. However, despite such a major economic contribution of women to the

industry, several challenges faced by them still remain to be addressed. There is a general lack of confidence among women at junior levels to speak up against issues such as graveyard shifts and lack of adequate safety and security measurements. (23)

The call centre jobs offer a stop gap to the youth which is in itself a positive sign to confront but still, there are other risks involved in choosing a job which does not contribute to goal setting or ambition acquiring in the job market.

Esha is one such example in the novel. She is seen as a girl who is extremely beautiful and attractive. She hails from Chandigarh and has a strong passion for modeling. She loves wearing fashionable outfits. Esha is a novice in the world of fashion and modeling. She uses the job at the BPO as a stop gap to fulfill all her aspirations and needs.

The rest of the novel brings to the forefront the nature of a job which all the six people have to foresee. They are called customer support assistants and their job is to resolve the queries of the customers abroad and offer them feasible solutions.

Every character has his own battle to fight out and explore. He has his own aspirations and dreams. The author wants to say that the youth of the nation do not get support from the government, guidance from their schools and colleges as to how to choose their career paths. The six characters are representations of the youth of India who wish to soar but have to end up going low key because they are confused and confounded as to what they would wish to be in their lives. Esha is one such character who represents a lot of women who are prepared to go to any extent to realize their dreams in modeling. Although the path to fame is tough, they understand that they need to stoop before the corrupt Indian society which tries to exploit girls in the name of giving them offers and opportunities to realize their dreams.

The novel is more of an ambivalent texture when the author wants the youth of the country to gain great heights without being and becoming a victim of any kind of financial snare.

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Sabeena D., PhD Research Scholar and Dr. P. Parthiban, Assistant Professor

Segregation and Silence: A Look into the Call Centre Syndrome in Chetan Bhagat's *One Night @ the Call Center*

## A Historical Overview of Multilingual Education: Global and Indian Perspectives

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For a long period of time, languages have been treated through a monolingual lens and have been taught based on certain assumptions that are traced to the ‘Great Reform’ in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Cook, 2011). Major ideas from the period include ideas that consider the skill of speaking as basic in comparison to writing, an aversion to explicit discussion of grammar, and views language to be practised as whole rather than as discrete parts. The impact of these assumptions on classroom teaching ebbed and flowed throughout history. However, the assumption of discouraging the use of L1 in the classroom and keeping languages separate has not been widely disputed in the language teaching field. The models on bilingual and multilingual education functioned with this assumption and viewed bilingual education simply as an additive or subtractive process, ignoring the other dimensions of bilinguality.

### **1.1 First Turn: Monolingualism to Linear Bilingualism**

With the ethnic revival of the 1960s, developing bilingual proficiency of children in the classroom came to the forefront and the first turn from monolingualism to linear bilingualism emerged. During this time, Lambert and his associates developed the early immersion bilingual education programme in Canada outlining the positive cognitive advantages of bilingualism. The programme began to fulfill the requirement of English-speaking minority community in St. Lambert. Similarly, in USA, different bilingual education programmes were established keeping in mind the needs of language minorities in the country. This period saw the development of two different programs. Firstly, the maintenance bilingual education programme where the home language of the learners was used along with the common language English, and secondly, the transitional bilingual education program where the home language was used only to help the learner transition from the home language to English. Born out of the collective need of the minority community to educate their children in their own language, these programmes viewed bilingualism as static and assumed a linear relationship between the two languages – additive or subtractive.



From a sociocultural point of view, different languages have different status and valorisation in the community. Depending on the status of the two languages during the acquisition process, the individual develops different forms of bilinguality. When both the languages enjoy an equal status, the languages develop on an equal basis adding to the linguistic and cognitive development of the learner. However, if the second language is valued more in the community, the cognitive development in the first language might suffer and could get deteriorated (Blanc & Hamers, 2000). The former process is termed as additive bilinguality and the later as subtractive bilinguality. Subtractive bilinguality can most often be seen in minority communities whose language is not given space in the society and is not included in the academic setup.

### **1.2 Second Turn: Linear Bilingualism to Dynamic Bilingualism**

The change to dynamic bilingualism began to materialize in recent times. With globalisation and technological advancement, the world became more connected and more bilingual communities began to emerge. In many countries of Europe, maintenance bilingual education had been used to teach the minorities. But with change in political settings of the world, the outlook towards bilingual education programmes began to change and such programmes strived to make use of the wide range of linguistic resources from the learners' home languages as a learning tool. This change led to the emergence of developmental bilingual education programmes in many parts of the world.

The education programs developed differently in terms of importance given to the home languages of the minorities. This difference arose because of the different level of proficiencies of the home language in the communities. If the minority people do not have claim to power, then transitional bilingual education program is used to include the students' home language in the curriculum. On the other hand, in order to revive their mother tongue, Indigenous people in power use immersion revitalization bilingual education programs were put in place. The linguistic diversity of students was taken in consideration and used as a resource in these programs. The students were not considered monolingual adding or subtracting another language, but bilingualism was considered as a complex phenomenon where learning the two languages is interconnected and has an effect on development of both the languages.

With the turn to dynamic bilingualism, language too began to be considered as an active process rather than a passive object and a new term *linguaging* emerged. Garcia & Sylvia (2011) while discussing the differences consider language as a system of rules or structure and defines linguaging as the product of social action and discursive practices of people.

### **1.3 Third Turn: Dynamic Bilingualism to Translanguaging**

The fluid practices of dynamic bilingualism were soon termed differently depending on their usage. As quoted in Garcia & Sylvia (2011), polylingualism refers to the combination of different non-discrete features of languages. Canagrajah (2011), while discussing the writings of multilingual students, discussed the shuttling of repertoires in writing for a rhetoric effect as

codemeshing. Code-mixing is another term used in the same context. However, translanguaging is the term that became the most popular among these terms. The term translanguaging is a translation by Baker (2001) of the Welsh term 'Trawseithu' coined by Cen Williams in 1994. The original term was coined to designate a strategy of the use of two languages (Welsh and English) at the same time in a language classroom. Currently, the term has developed to form a language theory with great potential in pedagogy. The revival of the term is also aligned with the current change in the ELT field regarding the own-language use in language classrooms. Outlining the major principle behind the idea, Garcia discusses that depending upon the communicative context, the multilingual speakers chose a variety of features from their linguistic repertoire to aptly convey the message.

## **1.4 Studying the Education Policies of India**

Since independence, the country has seen the implementation of four education policies which focused on for multilingual education, keeping in mind the complexities of the linguistic profile. Before discussing the policies, this section first discusses the common thread between all language policies – the three-language formula.

### **1.4.1 Three-Language Formula**

The three-language formula was first devised by the Central Advisory Board of Education in 1956 as a solution to the complex issues of language education considering the needs of the country. The aim was to establish equality between the Hindi-speaking and non-Hindi-speaking regions in terms of language education. This was done by recommending that the students in Hindi-speaking regions would learn a third Indian language along with Hindi and English, whereas students from non-Hindi-speaking regions would learn Hindi along with their regional language and English.

However, the implementation of this suggestion did not go as planned. The comprehensive report by the Kothari Commission (1964) cites heavy language load, resistance to Hindi in non-Hindi-speaking regions and budgetary restrictions as difficulties in implementing the formula. The Kothari Commission further suggested a revised version of the formula, as shown in the Figure 1.

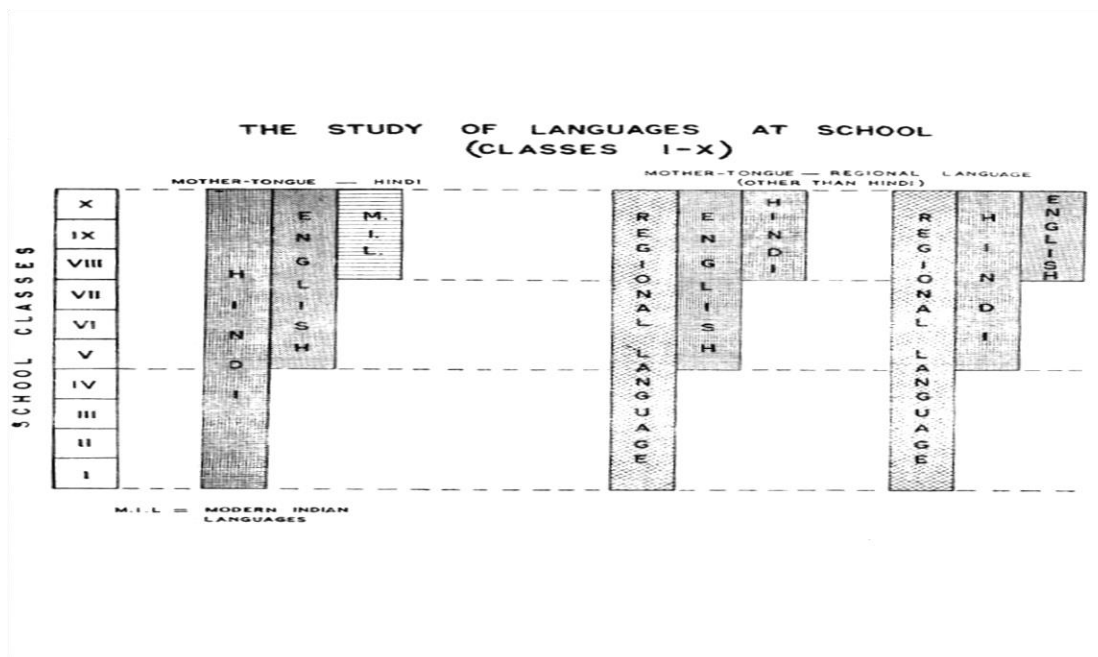


Figure 1: Three Language Formula

As seen in the figure, it was advised that the mother-tongue (Hindi, in case of Hindi areas) would be introduced from Class 1 and shall continue to be the only language taught till Class 5. In cases where the regional language is not the mother-tongue, the system provides freedom to the linguistic minorities to build school systems to teach the mother-tongue at the primary level. Though the commission advises to also introduce the regional language in Class 3, it has not been made compulsory. The aim was to build a foundational proficiency in the first language before introducing English/Hindi as the second language in Class 5: “We strongly feel that the study of three languages at the elementary stage will interfere considerably with the development of child’s mastery over his mother-tongue and with his intellectual growth.” (Pg. No. 196).

The commission finally proposed the third language to be any modern Indian language for the areas where Hindi and English have already been included as the first and second language. On the other hand, areas with regional languages as the first language are advised to incorporate Hindi and English as second and third languages as per their convenience. The commission strongly advises Hindi to be included in the curriculum all over India in order to establish Hindi as the link language of the country following the guideline from the Constitution of India. The commission leaves the decision of choosing a modern Indian language completely on the state as different groups in the state would prefer different languages according to their needs. Sighting the border areas of a state, the commission report hints that people from such areas would like to learn the language of the other state. The formula was then taken up in the first national policy of education (1968) and state

governments were advised to implement the formula, stating that the curriculum should include the study of a modern Indian language, preferably one of the southern languages, apart from Hindi and English in the Hindi-speaking States, and of Hindi along with the regional language and English in the Non-Hindi-speaking States.

#### **1.4.2 NPE (1968)**

The first language policy of India was drafted as a result of the recommendation of the Kothari Education Commission (1964-1966). One of the major achievements of the policies was the ideas suggested for free and compulsory education for all children up to the age of 14. The policy puts forward suggestions for especially promoting Hindi and Sanskrit apart from the regional and international languages. It should be noted that English is only mentioned in the context of the three-language formula and the policy do not recommend any measures to develop its teaching and is considered as just another international language. Regional languages are viewed as an important tool to spread knowledge to the common masses and it is suggested that it should be used as the media of education at the university stage. Hindi is promoted as the link language and is presented as the medium of expression all over India. The policy also recommends developing new methods to teach Sanskrit at university level and acknowledges its growth in the development of other Indian languages.

#### **1.4.3 NPE (1986)**

The policy advances the position held in NPE, 1968 and does not put forward any new reform. However, it discusses the practical implications of the recommendations of the previous policy and puts forward new suggestions for a smooth and better implementation. It specifically provides action points for each recommendation of the policy and lists down the role of agencies along with providing the blueprint of a monitoring setup. In order to establish regional languages in higher education, the policy proposes to prepare and produce a large number of textbooks in the modern Indian languages and also advises to begin translation of reference books from English. As part of a bigger plan of improving the primary education in India, the policy also discusses ways to improve the language competencies of school students. Although the policy does not quote definitive evidence regarding the deterioration of language proficiencies of students, it acknowledges the need for improvement.

For this effect, the policy recommends certain institutions (NCERT, CIEFL (Hyderabad), and RIE (Bangalore)) to undertake a study of language attainment of students and specify language objectives for all three languages at the school level. It also recommends the use of English proficiency test designed for Grade 12 students in collaboration with CIEFL, NCERT, RIE, and H. M. Patel Institute of English.

Apart from these major steps, the policy also proposes the development of new material keeping in mind the language objectives and continuous training of teachers in the methodology of teaching languages. Specific focus is put on advancing research of effective methodology of the

teaching-learning process with emphasis on the use of technology. The policy gives the responsibility of handling the monitoring of these processes to Kendriya Hindi Sansthan for Hindi, CIEFL for English, and the CIIL for modern Indian languages. The policy offers solutions for speeding the process of preparation of bilingual and multilingual dictionaries and raises concern over the quality of translation already produced. To this effect, the policy advises the government to outsource the work to other agencies and training more translators for the job.

#### **1.4.4 NPE (1992)**

In the NPE (1986), it was decided that a review of education policies and programmes would be undertaken every five years. The committee under the chairmanship of N. Jagnath Reddy took into consideration these review reports along with the suggestions from the Rammurti Committee to bring out the national policy of education in 1992. Similar to NPE 1986, this policy too advances the reforms suggested in NPE 1968.

In regard to the regional languages being the medium of instruction at the university stage, the policy acknowledges the lack in finances and administration in producing and translating the books. It also remarks the low interest of students in opting for these courses due to poor employability prospects as one of the reasons in delay of implementing the change in the medium of instruction. To remedy the situation, the policy suggests the government to increase the employment of opportunities for increasing the motivation for more enrolment. The policy deems the progress in training the teachers for improving the language competencies of the students as satisfactory and advises the concerned institutions to finish the remaining teacher training programs. The policy also advises the state governments to organize regular training programmes for the language teachers.

In order to establish Hindi as the link language, the policy follows up on the bilingual and multilingual dictionary work keeping Hindi as base. It also advises the government to prepare definitional dictionaries in Hindi for the technical fields of science and humanities along with a glossary of around five lakh terms.

#### **1.4.5 NEP (2020)**

Contrary to its predecessors, the NEP (2020) does not discuss the development of language in isolation. Instead, the policy links language to art and culture and acknowledges the different ways in which language influence and forms a part of a country's culture. The policy document clearly portrays the dire condition of the linguistic diversity of the country as 220 languages have been lost in the last 50 years and 197 Indian languages have been declared as endangered by UNESCO. The policy suggests using technology and crowdsourcing to preserve the dying languages. The policy also recommends setting up academies for each of the scheduled languages comprising of scholars and native speakers of the language who will prepare dictionaries for each language to be disseminated for use in education. The policy advocates the use of mother-tongue and regional languages as medium of instruction not only during the school education but also in

university education. The suggestion of creating bilingual courses in universities and a four-year integrated B.Ed. program to help the newly recruited teachers teach mathematics and science bilingually has been put forward.

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## Determinants and Differentials of Elderlys' Participation in Work Force at Coimbatore

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### Abstract

Aging is a natural, global phenomenon which is inevitable, irreversible, and involuntary phase of human life that declines productivity. This low productive ageing population increases due to the decreased mortality rate, increase in nutrition awareness, advancements in medical facilities, life expectancies etc. Globally, there were 771 million people aged 65 years or over in 2022, 3 times more than the size in 1980. The older population is projected to reach 994 million by 2030 and 1.6 billion by 2050.

According to Census 2011, India has 104 million older people (60+years), constituting 8.6% of total population which has increased to 10.1% in 2021 and further likely to increase to 13.1% in 2031.

Unfortunately, the trend of honoring, greeting and valuing elderly has been changed and the life contexts have forced elderly to opt for jobs. Therefore, in the recent past, elderly employment and inclusion of elderly in employment has become a common rising phenomenon in the modern society due to the breakdown of joint families, decline of altruistic family values, rise in dual earner families, loss of family & cultural values, force to avoid boring life, loneliness, context to lead a dignified life, etc. Hence, despite aging, the elderly people make an effort to participate in the workforce.

The present study aimed to explore socio - demographic profile, reasons and differences for participating in workforce, difficulties faced during their jobs and their health at Coimbatore city. Through purposive sampling technique with inclusion criteria of working elderly, data was collected through interview schedule from 265 elderly respondents. The study findings reveal that women account for a majority of 52.83% than men which is 47.16%. The major reason for seeking employment is finance. The difficulties at work vary with white- and blue-collar workers. Auspiciously, for 85.28% of respondents their pay is enough to meet family needs and to avail themselves of health insurance. For 14.71% of the elderly people, their pay is insufficient. The calculated t value is greater than the critical t value connotes that there is a significant difference between the reasons of men

and women elderly to opt for job at old age. The findings of this study infer that the elderly continue their jobs irrespective of their sickness and difficulties in order to lead a dignified life with economic security and they make attempts for self-sustenance which would reduce financial strain and economic dependence to the family.

**Keywords:** Ageing, elderly workforce, elderly employment, difficulties in elderly jobs, elderly health.

## **Introduction**

The term *sustainable* refers to an individual's ability to provide for them in a viably long manner. Sustainable livelihoods are defined as subsistence ways of living as well as opportunities and incentives for people to generate income through environmentally sustainable and culturally appropriate management of the available resources. The term reflects a concern with extending the focus on socially excluded people and vulnerable populations including the elderly. It offers purposeful employment that meets the social, economic, cultural, and spiritual needs of all community members—human and nonhuman, present and future—and protects biological diversity.

The notion of *sustainable livelihood* has arisen out of the Earth Summit held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 and in its promotion in the Agenda 21, it was demanded that everyone must have the -opportunity to earn a sustainable livelihood.

The biological ageing process is a certain and invariable phase that reduces productivity. In addition to biological changes, ageing is frequently associated with other life transitions such as retirement, moving to a better home, and losing family, peers, and partners. As they age, people find it challenging to maintain their elderly lifestyle and face a number of challenges, including deteriorating health, retirement, money issues, loneliness, and dependency on others.

One in six people on the planet will be 60 or older by 2030. By this point, there will be 1.4 billion people over the age of 60, up from 1 billion in 2020. It is anticipated that the number of people in the world who would be 60 years or older will double by 2050 to 2.1 billion. Between 2020 and 2050, the number of people 80 or older is projected to triple, reaching 426 million (World Health Organization, 2022).

According to Census 2011, India has 104 million older people (60+years), constituting 8.6% of total population. Due to multiple factors like limited or no financial income, being treated as a burden for the family or society, intergenerational conflicts, ill-treatment and elder abuse, dependence on their respective families for physical support, marginalization of the elderly in multiple ways, net worth and socio-economic situation etc.



Older people typically have to deal with a number of challenges to lead a fundamental life and sustain. Moreover, the traditional values and institutions are in the process of erosion and adaptation, resulting in the weakening of intergenerational ties that were the hallmark of the traditional family endangered the aging population to lead a vulnerable life characterized with abuse, financial constraints, loss of a spouse, lack of care, blood bond and survival needs. All these factors transform older people's social lives and force the aged to find source for sustainable life.

Preeti Tarkar et.al (2016) stated that "An ageing population is emerging as a major demographic trend worldwide and "Life expectancy has increased with the advances of medical science and technology" Moneer Alam & Arup Mitra (2012) show that in the absence of social security provisioning and safety nets for the olds, they keep working to a much longer span of life and suffer from many serious diseases and disabilities. The links between occupation and health risks come out sharply, suggesting health interventions to be made occupation specific. E. Sullivan and Akram Al Ariss (2018) show that throughout the world, the number of individuals ages 60 and over is increasing faster than those of all younger age groups. By 2050, those ages 60 and over are projected to compose at least 25% of the population in all regions of the world, except Africa (United Nations, 2017).

Bheemeshwar Reddy (2016) points out that labour force participation rate of older persons in rural India remained almost stable between 1983 and 2011-2012, despite the rapid economic growth that India experienced during the same period. Further, the results show that among the elderly, those who belong to relatively poor socio-economic status are more likely to participate in the labor force. It is observed that a large percentage of the elderly workforce is engaged in poorly paid jobs in the informal sector, either as casual workers or as self-employed in low-skilled or unskilled occupations.

Griffin Barbara and Hesketh Beryl (2008) stated that -Large numbers of Baby Boomers are heading towards retirement - retirements that might be quite different from that of previous generations due to changing social, health and economic conditions.

Part-time or casual work in retirement, often referred to as 'bridge employment', is thought to have a number of key individual, organizational and societal benefits. Organizations face increasing skills shortage so that they will benefit from being able to draw on a pool of skilled and experienced workers. At a broader societal level, bridge employment will result in fewer people having financial dependence on social security which has the potential for significant economic benefit. Babak Mahmood et.al (2016) focused on the importance of entrepreneurship in old age for sustainable livelihood. Most of the retired people confront the propositions of the disengagement theory of ageing which

argue that the elderly should completely withdraw from all their roles and make way for

the young. Later theories proposed that elderly people should continually be involved in their different social roles for better and sustainable livelihood.

Sustainable Livelihood approach provides deep understanding to identify the livelihood of people. Old age people counter the vulnerability arising from high levels of risk and uncertainty through deploying tangible and intangible assets. By engaging and participating in different livelihood activities, they ensure the long-term capability to survive or maintain their well-being. "Although financial considerations were mentioned most often, it was cited by considerably less than half (38%)". This suggests that nonfinancial reasons were important as well. 22% of retirees returned to employment because they did not like retirement. 55% cited at least **one of these three non-financial reasons** (Schellenberg Grant 2005).

Aparajita Chattopadhyay (2022) et.al analyses the labour force participation among older adults (people aged 60 years and older) and their job characteristics, income, and associated social security benefits. Analysis of a cohort of 31,464 older adults shows that although labour force participation declines with age, 36% of older adults in India are working; of these, two-thirds are employed primarily in agriculture and allied services, only 5% have a full-time job, and just 6% are covered by a work-related pension scheme. The study states that older adults, who have less education, live alone, do not have a chronic disease, and lack health insurance or pension coverage are more likely to work beyond age 60.

Bola Amaike (2016) reveals that access to multiple sources of income promotes sustainability of retirement livelihoods and quality of life with private sector retirees being more empowered and adequately protected against life vicissitudes. This culminates in vulnerability and precarious living conditions of public sector retirees.

## Methodology

Ageing is a global and natural phenomenon that can be defined as the time-related deterioration of the physiological functions necessary for survival and fertility. The elderly tend to cease working as they grow older, Moreover, industrialization, urbanization, and globalization have emerged and replaced simple family production units into mass production, As a result, factories have led to the breakdown of joint family systems and eventually led to the nuclear family system. Other factors include negligence by kids towards their old age parents and loss of familial and cultural values. Feeling of powerlessness, loneliness, uselessness, isolation in elderly and generational gap also contribute to the unfavorable situation of elderly in the society. Financial problems like retirement and socio economic dependence on their children for basic necessity, sudden increase in out of pocket expenses on treatment, Migration of young working people have impacted aging life. The

young people are focused on expanding their career opportunities, the middle-aged people are working and supporting their families, and the elderly engage in some type of honorary work, manage the household duties with the help of the caregivers, or go about their daily lives.

Therefore, elderly employment has become a rising phenomenon in the modern society due to the dissolution of joint families, the increase in dual-earner families, the loss of cultural and family values, avoidance of boredom and loneliness, the need to live a life of dignity etc. Hence, despite aging, the elderly makes efforts to get employed for a sustainable livelihood. The present study attempts to explore elderly's participation in work force.

## Objectives

1. To examine the socio-demographic profile of the working elderly.
2. To explore the reasons for participation in work force at old age.
3. To examine the interference of health in the work force.
4. To analyse the economic sufficiency of the elderly.
5. To identify the difference between the reasons for men and women elderly.

## Population and Sample

The report –**Elderly in India 2021** released by the Ministry of Statistics and programme Implementation project states that there is a substantial increase in the population of senior citizens in Tamil Nadu -- from 75.10 lakhs in 2011 to 1.04 crore in 2021. Based on the exploratory design the study was conducted in Coimbatore city, Coimbatore district, the Manchester of South India and the second largest City designated as the revenue district of state Tamilnadu. The 265 samples were identified through purposive sampling technique with inclusion criteria like male and female elderly employee working in Coimbatore city to which interview schedule was administered comprising of socio demographic profile, reasons for participation in work force at old age, and difficulties on the job and health interference, etc.

## Findings

The findings of the study reveal that most respondents (33.9%) belong to the age cohort of 55-60 years. The next 30.9% of the respondents' age range is 61-66 years and the last **3.39%** of the respondents belong to the age group of 76-80 years. It is evident that women account for a majority of 52.83% than men which is 47.16%. A major proportion of the respondents 81.13% are married while 17.7% of the respondents have lost their spouse and 1.13% of the respondents remain unmarried. 57.3% live along with their children while the remaining

42.64% of them live alone as elderly couples or as single elderly. With regard to reasons for elderly employment, 60.75% of the aged work due to financial reasons, while 31.32% for personal reasons, such as helping their children, avoiding domestic conflict, wanting their children to value them, continuing a passion, or passing the time more productively. Unfortunately, 7.92 % of them were either forced to work by their children or had no other choice but to work. With regard to the difficulties faced by the elderly, 16.98% of the elderly employees experience loneliness at work due to uninteresting tasks or differences in interests with co-workers, while 20% of the respondents sometimes felt lonely. 63.01% of the elderly have not experienced loneliness as they felt comfort with their co-workers and actively engaged in their work. The majority (82.64%) elderly's contribution in workplace were found to be recognized whereas, 15.09% of the elderly's were not acknowledged and occasionally for 2.26% of the respondents. A major proportion of the elderly (79.98%) socialize with their younger counterparts but 21.50% of the elderly do not have the scope of socializing with their younger colleagues and 1.50% of the respondents occasionally. 45.28% of the elderly state that their health condition limits their work efficiency while 24.52% of the respondents do not feel so and sometimes 30.18% of the aged. The majority (85.28%) of respondents report that their pay is enough to sustain in terms of family needs and to avail health insurance while 14.71% report that their pay is insufficient for a sustainable livelihood. The calculated t value is greater than the critical t value with a significant difference between the reasons of men and women elderly to opt job at old age.

**TABLE I: SOCIO – DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF WORKING ELDERLY**

<i>S.no</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
1	55-60	90	33.9%
2	61-66	82	30.9%
3	66-70	56	21.13%
4	71-75	28	10.56%
5	76-80	9	3.39%
	Total	265	100%

<i>S.No</i>		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
1	Male	125	47.16%
2	Female	140	52.83%
3	Total	265	100%

<i>S.No</i>	<i>Marital status</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
1	Single	3	1.13%
2	Married	215	81.13%

3	Widow	47	17.7%
	Total	265	100%

<b>Staying with Children</b>			
<i>S.No</i>	<b>Staying with children</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
1	Yes	152	57.3%
2	No	113	42.64%
3	Total	265	100%

**TABLE II: REASONS FOR PARTICIPATION IN WORK FORCE AT OLD AGE**

<i>S.No</i>	<b>Reasons</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
1	Personal/Physical health	83	31.32%
2	Economical	161	60.75%
3	Socially forced	21	7.92%
4	Total	265	100%

**TABLE III: DIFFICULTIES FACED BY THE ELDERLY DURING THE WORK FORCE**

**LONELINESS AT WORK**

<i>S.No</i>	<b>Loneliness in workplace</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
1	Yes	45	16.98%
2	No	167	63.01%
3	Sometimes	53	20%
4	Total	265	100%

**ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF WORK**

<i>S.No</i>	<b>Acknowledged</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
1	Yes	219	82.64%
2	No	40	15.09%
3	Sometimes	6	2.26%
4	Total	265	100%

**SOCIALISING THE YOUNGER WORKERS**

<i>S.No</i>	<b>Socializing</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
1	Yes	204	79.98%
2	No	57	21.50%
3	Sometimes	4	1.50%
4	Total	265	100%

**TABLE IV: HEALTH INTERFERENCE IN THE WORK FORCE OF ELDERLY**

<i>S.No</i>	<b>Health interfering work</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
1	Yes	120	45.28%
2	No	65	24.52%
3	Sometimes	80	30.18%
4	Total	265	100%

**TABLE V: ECONOMIC SUFFICIENCY OF THE ELDERLY**

<i>S.No</i>	<b>Economic sufficiency</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
1	Yes	226	85.28%
2	No	39	14.71%
3	Total	265	100

**TABLE VI: DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE REASONS OF MEN AND WOMEN ELDERLY.**

<i>S.NO</i>	<b>Elderly</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>t Value</b>	<b>df</b>	<b>P Value</b>
1	Men	125	41.66	26.04	2.63**	263	1.984
2	Women	140	46.66	33.82			



## CONCLUSION

Ageing is an irreversible and inevitable phenomenon with several changes and significance. The aging population in India is growing substantially and the proportion of elderly who work after old age has also increased. The survival of aging has become challenging which forces elderly to earn and sustain life with elderly jobs. However, with one or more other reasons. Despite difficulties and health interferences, elderly work to make up their life, maintain employment, means and standard of living, not to disturb the resources of future generation, provide financial support or profit to the family etc. The reason to continue opt for jobs at old age is to stay healthy and fit to continue employment for economic self-reliance. They feel that refusing to work or sitting around doing nothing can consume negative impact on their sustainable livelihood, social status, physical and mental health. Fortunately, elderly labor force enables the chances to retain honor, value, decision making power, economic security, economic self-reliance etc.

## Discussion

Majority of the elderly work at old age for mere economic reasons like means of living, and it declines to various social context like avoiding boredom and conflict among family members, to stay healthy and fit, which concur with the study findings of (Husain and Ghosh 2010; Kavitha VRS & Surya Prabha K 2023) that in postretirement jobs 55% of elderly work due to financial reasons, 43.12% for personal reasons, such as helping their children, avoiding domestic conflict, wanting their children to value them, continuing a passion, or fleeing the time more productively. It concurs with several studies that older people who continue to work after retirement are happier and healthier than those who no longer work (Kim & Feldman, 2000; Zhan et al., 2009) as noted by many researchers (Chalofsky & Krishna, 2009; Steger et al., 2012; Lepisto & Pratt, 2017; Wrzesniewski, 2003), because work is not only about financial security but it is considered as a significant factor relating to psychological and social aspects in life that goes beyond fundamental needs.

## Implications

1. The socio-cultural values pertaining to the elderly must be preserved and transferred to the next generation which would protect and support the elderly.
2. Despite working at old age, elderly could not attain economic sufficiency. Therefore, social security measures provided by government must be enabled to get easy access for economically backward, destitute, widows, widowers, and childless elderly to comfort old age life.
3. Based on changing lifestyle of the elderly, awareness on saving and health scheme must be enforced to plan for healthy elderly life.
4. Awareness must be created on welfare of senior citizens and family maintenance act 2007

to promotesmooth elderly life.

5. Community based integrated care approaches must be designed to fulfill the fundamental and significant needs for reliant older person.

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## **Dharna Politics in Pakistan: A Comparative Analysis of PTI (2014) and JUI-F (2019) Dharnas**

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**Abstract**

The protests and demonstrations are the basic platforms to talk about the fundamental rights in a democratic society. It is the only way through which people can accomplish their legitimate rights. Pakistan has experienced small or large protests and demonstrations in both civilian and military regimes since its inception. The recent political *dharnas* (sit-ins) of 2014 and 2019 are observed by the PML-N (Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz) and PTI (Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf) governments respectively. Both dharnas were launched on the same grounds of accusation of rigging in the elections. This study will focus on the causes and features of PTI (2014) and JUI-F (Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam-Fazal) (2019) *dharnas* in Islamabad. How these political exigencies affect the political stability in Pakistan as well as their repercussions on democracy. Moreover, the military establishment has played a key role in the political history of Pakistan. Thus, this paper will try to find out the response of the military establishment towards these political unrests.

**Keywords:** Pakistan, The political sit-in of 2014 and 2019, The politics of PTI and JUI-F, Political instability, Party politics, Establishment.

**Introduction**

Protests and Marches are essential parts of human rights in democratic societies. These enhance the power of people and become the voice of minority groups (Norman, 2017). Demonstrations and agitations are the basic parts of the political evolution in a

democratic system. After the casting of votes in elections, protest is the only power to demand their rights (Segalvo, 2015). Whenever the legal and constitutional demands of the people are not fulfilled, then they use the tool of protest in their reaction. Similarly, after the assassination of the first Prime Minister of Pakistan, Liaquat Ali Khan, the political instability of the country had begun either through the military coups or protests (Lamba, 2014). Thus, the democratic as well as military governments have faced demonstrations and agitations throughout the political history of Pakistan.

The *dharna* (sit-in) politics in Pakistan was at its peak in the recent decade. The political *dharnas* of Imran Khan (2014) and Maulana Fazalur Rehman (2019) are very prominent. After the military regime of Musharraf, the first democratic government ended its tenure and a new general election was held on 11<sup>th</sup> of May 2013, PML-N (Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz) formed the government at the centre as well as at Punjab assemblies. The allegations of rigging in the general elections are not a new phenomenon in the political history of Pakistan. It is a tradition of Pakistani politics, whenever the results of general elections are announced, the defeated parties do not accept the results and they accuse different blames like, rigging and military involvement in the elections. Similarly, the former cricketer-turned-politician Imran Khan's political party, Pakistan Tehreek e Insaaf (Movement for Justice in Pakistan) did not accept the results of the general elections of 2013 and demanded the investigation of four national assembly constituencies (Rashid, 2015). However, the new government of PML-N did not accede to the demand of Imran Khan. Consequently, a petition was filed by a PTI worker in the Supreme Court of Pakistan regarding the rigging in the elections, but the petitioner could not provide appropriate evidence of rigging. Therefore, the appeal was terminated by the Apex Court. Thus, Imran Khan was disillusioned by the highest judiciary of the country consequently, he announced the anti-ragging movement on April 22, 2014. In the preliminary phase of this movement, he organized the political gatherings (*Jalsas*) in different cities of Pakistan.

Besides, a clash erupted between the police and Tahir-ul-Qadri's PAT (Pakistan Awami Tehreek) supporters in which at least one hundred people were injured, and two protestants died during the PAT protest against Nawaz Sharif's government at Lahore on 10<sup>th</sup> of August 2014. From here the situation became worse and PAT leader Tahir-ul-Qadri formally announced the beginning of the Long March called the *Inqilab March* (Revolution

March). By taking this opportunity, Imran Khan, too, declared the *Azadi March* (Independent March). However, both leaders Khan and Qadri neither amalgamated with each other nor refused to support each other. Finally, PTI and PAT *Dharnas* were marched to Islamabad (capital city of Pakistan) on the same day of 14<sup>th</sup> August 2014 and both marches reached Islamabad on the next day. In the preliminary days, the PTI's demand was only to investigate the four constituencies, but after the growing fame of *Azadi March* their demands increased to the dissolution of PML-N's government, and replace it with a caretaker government, and called for new general elections (Javed, 2017). Thus, the march of PTI had lasted more than four months and it extended to other cities of Pakistan by organizing political gatherings to pressurize the government.

Another *dharna* (sit-in) was organized by JUI-F (Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam-Fazal) head Maulana Fazalur Rehman at the end of October 2019. As already said, “winning parties” always welcome the results of the elections whereas the defeated parties blame the winners by different accusations. In the same way, Maulana Fazalur Rehman was defeated for the first time by his own constituency in the July elections of 2018. After the fourteen months of PTI's government, Maulana gathered the opposition parties and announced the *Azadi March* in early October 2019. Maulana raised the allegations against the PTI government such as PTI came into power through a rigged election, they sold out Kashmir, had poor economic performance and put in jail the opposition leaders. Some critics including Maulana called Imran Khan as "Selected Prime Minister" because they accused that Imran Khan had been supported by the military establishment (*The Week*, 2019). Though, *Azadi March* started from Karachi on 27<sup>th</sup> October with ten thousand anti-government protesters led by Maulana Fazal and they reached Islamabad on 31<sup>st</sup> October 2019. Thus, the March did not have the support of the mainstream political parties; PPP (Pakistan People's Party) and PML-N, so the *dharna* could not sustain itself for a long time as did Imran Khan's *dharna* in 2014. When Maulana did not get anything else through sitting in the country's capital, he announced the 'Plan B and Plan C' to pressurize the PTI government by organizing the political gatherings and blocking the country's major highways respectively.

### **Aim of the Study**

The main objective of the study is to compare both *dharnas* of 2014 and 2019 led by Imran Khan and Maulana Fazalur Rehman respectively. To highlight and examine the

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politics of both political parties during these political *dharnas*. To understand the causes of the emergence of these political crises and their impact on democracy as well as economic conditions of the country. Furthermore, to analyse the role of the military establishment in these political exigencies in Pakistan.

### **Research Questions**

The main question of this paper is to determine the causes and features of 2014 and 2019 *dharnas*.

Supplementary questions are:

- How these *dharnas* affected the political and economic stability in Pakistan?
- What were the civil-military relations during these political crises of 2014 and 2019?
- What were the repercussions of these political chaos on democracy in Pakistan?

### **Research Methodology**

The nature of this paper is based on qualitative research methodology therefore, both primary and secondary sources have applied to understand the nature of the topic. The primary source is used from the speeches and statements of politicians as well as officialdoms. The secondary source is used from different books, journal research articles and newspapers. Moreover, the content analysis will also be used to analyse the speeches and statements of politicians and government officials.

### **History of Political Demonstrations in Pakistan**

Political instability in Pakistan is based on two major factors: identity and legitimacy crisis. Pakistan has faced both crises since its independence, first identity crisis rose in East Pakistan after the 1965 war and resultantly East Pakistan became an independent state, Bangladesh, in 1971. This identity crisis is being observed nowadays in all provinces of Pakistan except Punjab. Whereas the legitimacy crisis has also affected the political system of Pakistan and this immature political system still using the ‘divide and rule’ policy of the British to stabilize their hegemony over the masses. Since its establishment, Pakistan has witnessed a spectrum of anti-government protests, varying in scale from minor

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demonstrations to major movements. Some demonstrated agitations to break or make the governments and some invited the military to intervene in the civilian affairs. The political as well as religious parties have been used for this purpose to topple down the governments.

The first-ever agitation was started in 1949 by Majlis-e-Ahrar, a religious political party, to compel the government to declare Ahmadis (a religious sect of Qadianis) as non-Muslim. This street violence was spread throughout the country in 1953. It was suppressed by the imposition of martial law in several cities of Pakistan (Abenante, 2000). Thereafter the implementation of Pakistan's first constitution in 1956, Iskandar Mirza, the first president of Pakistan, had the power to depose the prime minister. Hence, he changed three PMs within two years (1956-58). The strife between parliament and the president started and the politicians raised their voices against Mirza. As a result, he abrogated the 1956 constitution in 1958 (Shah S., 2020) only after the two years of its implementation.

The first architect of martial law, Ayub Khan faced a huge mass protest by the National Student Federation in early October 1968 when Ayyub Khan celebrated the decade of development. Street violence was spread in major cities of Pakistan against Khan and the students (protestants) used derogatory language against him by calling him "dog" which was unbearable, especially for a military general. Besides, a clash erupted between students and police during the protest in Rawalpindi in November 1968 and police opened fire in which three students died. Then, the protest was joined by the politicians, peasants, labour, and white-collar professionals against Ayub Khan. On the other side, the Awami League of Shaikh Mujeeb Rehman demanded full provincial autonomy in East Pakistan (Eisenberg, 2013). Finally, Ayub Khan resigned from the government and handed over the power to Yahaya Khan in March 1969.

The first time the allegations of rigging in the election were raised by the coalition of nine political parties called Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) against Zulfikar Ali Bhutto after the 1977 general elections. The PNA demanded the new fresh elections and implementation of *Nizam e Mustafa*, the system of the Prophet (PBUH). Thus, Bhutto somehow agreed to these demands (Rahman, 2017), but the political chaos could not be controlled, and it created a gap for military intervention. Ultimately, the third martial law was imposed by General Zia ul Haq in July 1977.

Another non-violent mass movement started by PPP in 1981 against general Zia's regime. The movement was formed by a coalition of eleven political parties called the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD). The movement was chaired by Benazir Bhutto, the first woman Prime Minister of Pakistan and it was initiated from Sindh in which dozens of people were killed as well as hundreds were arrested by the government of Zia. The movement strengthened in 1983 all over the country and the alliance parties did not participate in the presidential referendum of 1984 and the elections of 1985 (Zunes, 2010). It was considered the largest non-violent movement after M.K. Gandhi's. Unfortunately, the movement could not get their demands from the military dictator and resultantly it was announced to end in 1988.

Thus, Parvez Musharraf's regime also faced a huge lawyer movement in 2007. Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry, the then chief justice of Pakistan, was sacked by Musharraf in March 2007 when he challenged the dual role of Musharraf as president as well as army chief of Pakistan. Then the students, labour union, women's rights activists, media groups, political activists and especially lawyers dissented from Musharraf's decision. Therefore, a nationwide movement began by the lawyers in the name of (MRJ) the Movement for Restoration of Judiciary (Phelps, 2009). The situation became worse when Musharraf imposed an emergency in November 2007 and sacked all the Supreme and High Court judges and proclaimed the Provincial Constitutional Order (PCO).

Moreover, the judges had been compelled to take a new oath on this PCO, but most of the judges refused to take the oath. Consequently, Musharraf resigned from power and a new government was formed in 2008 by PPP (Pakistan People's Party). Thereafter the restoration of democracy, the new government was not ready to restore the judiciary. Subsequently, the lawyer group launched the 'Long March' against the civilian government to restore the judiciary (Shafqat, 2009). Finally, the Long March succeeded, and the judiciary was reinstated in March 2009. Additionally, the PTI government once again faced a huge mass protest in the name of "*Mehngai Mukao March*" in March 2022 organized by PML-N. Similarly, the political dharnas of PTI 2014 and JUI-F 2019 are found in a very important place in the political history of Pakistan. Later, these demonstrations will be discussed in detail.

## **The Political Sit-in of 2014**

PTI chairman, Imran Khan, hesitantly accepted the results of the May 2013 general elections, but he had reservations regarding the results. Initially, he demanded the investigation of four constituencies of Lahore, Sialkot and Lodhran as a demo test for the whole election results. PTI drafted a long report of 2100 pages by revealing the evidence of electoral fraud in the May elections and presented it before the government, but the government did not give any concern to this evidence. However, Imran Khan announced the commencement of the anti-rigging movement against Nawaz Sharif's government. In the earlier phase of this movement, he decided to organize the *Jalsas* (Political gatherings) in the different cities of the country. The first *Jalsa* was held in Islamabad on 11 May 2014 in which Khan claimed that Geo News, a renowned media house of Pakistan, was involved in the rigging of the 2013 elections. The second, third and last *Jalsas* were held in Faisalabad, Sialkot, and Bahawalpur respectively (Javed, 2017). In these political gatherings he gave an ultimatum to the government by giving one month to investigate the four constituencies (Rashid, 2015). Besides, he announced the '*Azadi March*' if her demands would not be fulfilled after the holy month of Ramzan. Nevertheless, the government did not give any attention to Khan's demand even after pressurizing through the huge public gatherings.

Subsequently, the claims of PTI were increased from four to ninety constituencies, they further demanded to investigate the role of Najam Sethi, the then caretaker chief minister of Punjab, and Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry, former chief justice of the Supreme Court (Javed, 2017). They also claimed to investigate how Nawaz Sharif enunciated his victory before the voters had voted for him (Rashid, 2015) on the day of general elections. Notwithstanding, the PML-N government did not deem any concern about Khan's demand to constitute a tribunal or committee to investigate the demands. Then, Khan presented the ultimate demands before the government such as the resignation of PM Nawaz Sharif and his younger brother Shahbaz Sharif, the then chief minister of Punjab, the dissolution of the current government and its replacement with a caretaker government and call for free and fair elections.

When the Sharif government did not accept the PTI's demands, they launched their long march from Lahore on 14<sup>th</sup> of August 2014, the day being celebrated as independent day

of Pakistan, along with PAT's (Pakistan Awami Tahreek) *Inqilab March*. The March reached Islamabad on the next day where the prominent leaders of PTI addressed the crowd under the heavy rain (Javed, 2017). On August 17<sup>th</sup>, Khan addressed the crowd and announced the 'disobedience movement' to not pay the taxes and utility bills to pressurize the government. On the same day, Chaudhry Nisar Ali Khan, the then federal interior minister of Pakistan, asserted in his press conference that 'the government is willing to listen to each and every constitutional demand of PTI and PAT through negotiation'. But later, the PML-N government refused to fulfil the demands. Nevertheless, it was Nisar Ali Khan who accepted that approximately 60,000-70,000 votes in each constituency could not be verified (Rashid, 2015). On the next day 18<sup>th</sup> of August, Khan announced that the March would enter the Red Zone (the very sensitive area where the parliament house, supreme court, PM office, embassies, diplomatic enclaves etc. are located) to sit-in in front of the parliament house until the demands would be met.

Hence, the workers of both Marches entered the Red Zone on 19<sup>th</sup> August by crossing the shipping containers and breaking the gates of the Pakistan Secretariat and PTV's headquarters. Thus, due to this turmoil condition the transmission of PTV went off-air. During this crisis, a clash erupted between the protesters and Islamabad police in which about 500 protesters were injured and more than 4 thousand were arrested (Javed, 2017). However, after a week of agitation in the Red Zone by protesters, the supreme court ordered Islamabad police to clear the Red Zone within 24 hours. Then on 30<sup>th</sup> August, the protesters attempted to enter the PM house and during this troubled circumstance, another clash erupted between the protesters and police. The police used tear gas to stop the protest (Rashid, 2015). Consequently, more than 500 protesters were injured, and a few numbers of people died.

As a result, Imran Khan saw that the consecutive *dharna* did not attract the government to fulfil the demands. Then he decided to extend the anti-rigging campaign in different cities of the country by having political gatherings. The PTI's *dharna* was the longest sit-in protest in the political history of Pakistan that had lasted for 126 days consecutively. The *dharna* was announced to end on the 17<sup>th</sup> of December after a brutal attack by the terrorists on the Army Public School, Peshawar on the 16<sup>th</sup> of December 2014, in which more than 150 people were killed.

Political stability is directly linked to the nation-building of developed countries, it is a serious threat to developing countries, particularly for Pakistan. The immature political leadership and corruption are threats to the democracy of Pakistan. The *March* of PTI has increased the distrust in the civilian government and has failed to convince the international organizations to assist Pakistan's unstable economy. Besides, three heads of state: China, Sri Lanka and Maldives as well as the IMF's team had deferred their visit to Pakistan due to the PTI's protest in Islamabad (Javed, 2017). Furthermore, as a result of this prolonged period of political instability, Pakistan experienced a severe economic crisis, resulting in a loss of nearly 6 billion USD.

PTI alleged that they had evidence of rigging in the elections, and a thousand numbers of extra ballots were printed by PML-N to rig the elections by distributing these extra ballots among the PML-N cadres. But they failed to provide such evidence before the Apex court. The PTI's *dharna* became the focal point of the media, not only national but also international media covering this political demonstration. About forty Pakistani news channels nonstop transmitted the Islamabad protest and even dropped the 9 P.M. news bulletin to cover Imran Khan's speech (Mulla, 2017). Thus, the government could not stop the *dharna* after utilising several tools to convince the protesters.

The political crisis became the cause of political instability, and this situation creates the space for the military to intervene in politics. It is a good example of the political chaos of 1968 against Ayyub's regime and in 1977 against ZA Bhutto. Hence, sometimes these political demonstrations are in favour of protestors and sometimes they do not achieve to fulfil their demands. Imran Khan could not dethrone the Sharif's government, however, he got immense popularity among the masses and also formulated the prospective agenda for the upcoming 2018 elections.

### **The Political Sit-in of 2019**

Imran Khan voted in favour of Maulana Fazlur Rehman in the National Assembly in 2002 when he was selected by the MMA (Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal, a right wing religious political party) for the post of the speakership. The MMA supported the 17<sup>th</sup> amendment that was proposed by Pervez Musharraf in 2003 and Khan did not do so. From here the relations between Khan and Maulana started antagonistically. During the PTI's *dharna* in 2014 Khan exposed Maulana as '*Diesel*', because he alleged that Maulana was involved in fuel licence

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corruption (The Week, 2019) to smuggle the diesel to Afghanistan during his petroleum ministry from 1993 to 1996. However, JUI-F could not succeed to win a single seat in the 2018 general elections, even though Maulana himself was defeated through his both constituencies.

After the announcement of the 2018 elections results, the defeated parties along with Maulana's MMA rejected the results and started to allege Imran Khan's government (Hussain, 2018). Before announcing the *dharna* against Khan, Maulana organized the *Jalsas* in different cities by giving the deadline to the government for the resignation of Khan in August 2019. When the deadline was crossed and no response came from the government, Maulana called an all-parties conference against Khan, but no such decisive decision had been taken by JUI-F. Maulana threatened the government to fulfil their demands before the country entered the battlefield. Furthermore, he added "this war will end when the government falls" (Batool, 2019). Maulana gathered the opposition parties in early October 2019 and announced the '*Azadi March*' that would converge in Islamabad at the end of this month. Thus, the mainstream political parties like, PPP and PML-N advised Maulana to delay the *Azadi March* (Sarfranz, 2019), but Maulana did not acknowledge their advice and moved ahead. Moreover, it was supposed that Maulana had patronage from the prevailing class.

The *Azadi March* of Maulana started from Karachi on the 27<sup>th</sup> of October 2019 and moved to Islamabad via Sindh and Punjab, and finally reached its destination on the 31<sup>st</sup> of October. Before entering Islamabad, an agreement was signed between JUI-F and the government that the March would be peaceful and held away from the Red Zone. The Islamabad administration blocked the main roads of the capital by shipping containers before the march arrived country's capital. The main demands of JUI-F's *Azadi-March* were the resignation of PM Imran Khan and calls for new general elections. Maulana accuses the Khan's government that they came into power through bogus elections as well as its results, the current government does not have the competency to handle the economic crisis, further he added, Khan has backing of the establishment (Batool, 2019). Whenever such protests or agitations are organized in Pakistan, the ruling party blames the protesters that it has foreign support or an agenda to diverge from the main crisis. Hence, Khan replied to the *dharna* that "there is no question of my resignation, and I will not resign" (Times, 2019).

It was not easy to pressurize the government with only a religious party; therefore, they had need of support from mainstream political parties. The PPP had two main differences with JUI-F's *dharna*, first it was believed that PPP would not support these protests in which the religious card had been used against Khan. The second was they were not in favour of *dharna* or lockdown because due to this political turmoil the lives of the common masses would be badly disturbed. Thus, in the preliminary phase, PPP supported the *Azadi March* in Sindh because Maulana did not reveal that the March would be a rally or sit-in. As JUI-F declared the March is a political *dharna* against Khan's government after reaching Islamabad, the PPP sided with the rally, and they played the 'Cat and Mouse' game in *Azadi March* of Maulana (Chandran, 2019).

The opinions of PML-N leadership were divided regarding the JUI-F's *dharna*. Shahbaz Sharif, a younger brother of Nawaz Sharif, had reservations about Maulana's march. Hence, he did not want to criticize the military establishment therefore, he did not meet Maulana at Lahore while forwarding to Islamabad. Complementary to Shahbaz Sharif, Nawaz Sharif strongly supported the Maulana's March (Sarfraz, 2019). Maulana could not convince the opposition parties to pressurize the government because Maulana himself had no idea regarding the future of this political crisis because he neither had the evidence of rigging nor the proof of the involvement of establishment in the election, as proposed by Khan in 2014 *dharna*.

The *Azadi March* of Maulana was only sustained for 13 days in Islamabad because of half-hearted support from opposition parties (The Hindu, November 07, 2019) and the unclear vision of JUI-F. Subsequently, the *dharna* continued till the 12<sup>th</sup> of November 2019. During this agitation, the government constituted a team to negotiate the Rehber Committee (a negotiated committee of JUI-F) but unfortunately, they could not resolve the deadlock between the government and JUI-F. Nevertheless, the government planned the 'Plan B' to counter Maulana's March if the March would continue for a long time in Islamabad. In 'Plan B' the government planned the "*Milad March* or *Aman March*" that would be brought up by the Brelvi groups in the second week of November to counter the JUI-F's *dharna* (Ummat, November 01, 2019). But this plan was not experienced because Maulana could not continue his *dharna* in Islamabad.

Besides, Maulana announced the 'Plan B' to extend the *dharana* by blocking the country's main roads and highways to pressurize the government. While implementing the 'Plan B' the protesters blocked the Indus highway in Karachi, Sukkur, Quetta, etc. Consequently, the strength of 'Plan B' slowly weakened and the *dharana* could not attract the consideration of the government. After two weeks of 'Plan B', Maulana announced the 'Plan C' to hold the *Jalsas* throughout the country and finally, Maulana's zeal for *dharna* slowly declined.

### **Civil-Military Relations During These Political Sit-ins**

During the unrest days of Nawaz Sharif's government, the army chief, General Raheel Sharif, had no sustainable relations with PM Sharif, because Sharif had always reservations regarding the military involvement in politics additionally, his last tenure was sacked by the military dictator Pervez Musharraf in 1999. Immediately after coming to power in 2013, Sharif allowed the judiciary to hear the treason case against Musharraf, and from here the relationship between them went hostile. Moreover, Sharif wanted to negotiate with Tehreek-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) but the military was in favour of deploying the forces in North Waziristan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (Jaffrelot, 2014). Najam Sethi, a renowned Pakistani journalist, says in his program "*Aapas Ki Baat*" that general Raheel Sharif wanted to extend his tenure as chief of army staff, and the 2014 *dharna* was used to pressurize the government to do so. Additionally, Javeed Hashmi, an ex-president of PTI, stated that Imran Khan had been given the instructions by the establishment to cooperate with the PAT *dharna* to derail the Sharif's government (Mufti, 2015). Furthermore, he adds, "the *dharna* cannot headway without the patronage by the army". Consequently, Hashmi was compelled to resign from PTI (Jaffrelot, 2014).

The role of the military establishment was passive on the side of *dharana*, but it was active towards the government during the 2014 political demonstrations. During the political chaos of 2014, the army warned the government to ensure a law-and-order situation otherwise the military would not hesitate to intervene in the crisis. Furthermore, the military played a key role to resolve the political crisis. Subsequently, army chief General Raheel Sharif met Khan and Qadri on 29<sup>th</sup> August, but the deadlock remained unsolved (Batool, 2019).

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A former ISI (Inter-Services Intelligence) chief general Ahmed Shuja Pasha also advised the PTI about the political sit-in. Moreover, a corps meeting was held on 31<sup>st</sup> August 2014 chaired by general Raheel Sharif in which five out of eleven participants wanted to oust the Sharif's government but the chief, Raheel Sharif, was not in favour of direct intervention in civilian affairs (Jaffrelot, 2014). Imran Khan also expressed such views in his speeches during *dharna* that, "the third empire (establishment) has promised victory". No one has known what would have happened if the Army Public School accident did not ensue. Additionally, the army was seeking a 'soft coup' by taking extensive control over the foreign and security policies of Pakistan (Kronstadt, 2014) by executing the Bangladesh Model of 2007. The Bangladesh Model of 2007 was an interim government headed by an ex-supreme court judge selected by the military establishment to control the mainstream political parties of Bangladesh (Sethi, 2020). Similarly, this model may be recalled during the political crisis of 2014 to replace Sharif's government with Imran Khan, but this conspiracy was foiled by Sharif's government.

Besides, a government aide stated that the leaders of the protest (2014) had been encouraged by the military establishment to seize over Nawaz Sharif's government. During this political crisis, an agreement was signed between the military and Sharif's government, in which Mr. Sharif gripped the authority over strategic policies like relations with the USA, India, and Afghanistan by the military establishment (Shah S., 2014). Thus, behind the PTI's sit-in it was the interest of the establishment to oust Sharif's government. Because Nawaz Sharif wanted friendly relations with Afghanistan, the international community intensified the pressure on Sharif's government to change the policies of "bad Taliban and good Taliban" that were not acceptable to the military establishment. Therefore, the establishment encouraged the *dharna* to destabilize civilian supremacy, because they wanted to derail the civilian supremacy that was resurrected after the eighteenth amendment of 2010 (Ullah, 2014). These arguments reveal that it could not be possible for any political or religious party to sustain such demonstrations for more than four months without any patronage by the establishment.

Whereas the Maulana's *dharaana* was not an organized political demonstration because at the initial point in Karachi no one had known what the future of the protest would be, whether it would be a political rally or *dharaana*, even the leaders of *dharna* did not know

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this. JUI-F's protest could not be as famous as the PTI of 2014. In the 2019 *dharna*, the media was entirely controlled by the government and the media houses could not cover the *dharna* owing to hard instruction from the establishment. Even the news channels were not allowed to broadcast either the protest or conferences of opposition parties (Sevea, 2019). However, the Indian channels and print media coverage of the Maulana's *dharana*, and several news articles have been published regarding the *dharana* by the Indian media. Moreover, the Indian authors write that 'the Maulana's *dharana* was the first step to end the Imran Khan's government and Bilawal would be replaced with Khan' (Kumar, 2019).

Although in this case, the military response to the *dharana* was in favour of Khan's government. Besides, the people who came to Islamabad along with Maulana did not know for what purpose they came here. Gender discrimination was seen in Maulana's *dharana*. Women were not allowed to participate in the protest of 2019. In the 2014 *dharna*, every participant knew the object of the *dharna*, and a huge number of women participated in Khan's demonstration. (Sevea, 2019).

## **Conclusion**

Thereafter a long negotiation between PML-N and PTI, PTI agreed to investigate the electoral fraud by the Judicial Commission appointed by the government. The Judicial Commission presented its report in which they concluded that no such significant evidence was found on which basis it could be said that the rigging happened in the 2013 general elections. The PTI had accepted the results of the Judicial Commission, but they refused to apologize to the nation for the country's democratic and economic instability. Later, Dr Arif Alvi, the then president of Pakistan, tweeted that "it is time to apologize for 35 punchers" (Yaqoob, 2015). Imran Khan was interviewed by Hamid Mir, a prominent anchor person of Geo News, in which Khan professed that the issue of 35 punchers was only my "political statement". Further he added, the information came to us indirectly by the source bypassing via different channels; due to this the misunderstanding took place. In this statement, Khan reveals that the PTI demonstration was not based on real facts and figures. PTI mobilized the young generation of the country on false facts and figures for 126 days. On the other side, Maulana mobilized the madrasa students and his followers against the Khan's government only based on political accusations.

The Pakistani people have always been manipulated either in the name of religion or political slogans since their independence. The PTI used the 'Youthia' card to exploit the young generation in the same way JUI-F used the religious card to manipulate the students of Madrassas and his followers. Moreover, through their dharna, PTI established the foundation for their forthcoming agenda and effectively secured the formation of the government in 2018. These political demonstrations were organized for their own political interests. Indeed, they did not have any concern for the prosperity of the masses. The political or religious leaders must think about the serious impacts of these protests on the lives of common people as well as on political and economic stability of the country, because to date no Pakistani Prime Minister has completed its tenure. Already, we do not have the political stability to sustain democratic rule in Pakistan for a long time. So, this political chaos creates the gap to destabilize the democratic system in Pakistan as well as our economy and foreign affairs have been badly affected through this.

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## Grammaticalization of Verb ‘ləg’ in Punjabi, Hindi, and Bangla Languages

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### Abstract

The paper shows some interesting aspects of grammaticalization process based on collecting primary data sets from three parallel languages (Punjabi, Hindi, and Bangla). The whole study is divided into two kinds of initial observations related to a polysemous verb ‘ləg’. In Punjabi, a verb (ləg) gives various interpretations (e.g. attend, give, use, wear etc.) due to grammaticalization. It also happens with Hindi and Bangla as well. Punjabi is selected as source language here. The verb ‘ləg’ is noticed in V<sub>1</sub> and V<sub>2</sub> position in all three languages where it supports de-semanticization rather than de-categorization. On the other hand, Bangla comparatively gives different results under semantic range. In future, de-categorization will also be studied in Punjabi, Hindi and Bangla.

**Keywords:** ləg, V<sub>1</sub> and V<sub>2</sub>, grammaticalization, semantic bleaching, and semantic range.

### 1. Introduction

"ləg" is a polysemous verb. In Hindi, "ləgna" has different usage, (like begin, attach, seem, appear, etc.). (Shapiro, 1987). Like Hindi, Punjabi language has also different usages of ləg. While Punjabi language has shown similarities with Hindi, however it has different interpretations related with a verb ləg. Bangla is also an Indo-Aryan language. Bangla speakers have also been habituated to perform speech acts with a verb ləg. Here, we can compare these three languages to understand similar and dissimilar usage of a verb (ləg) with the help of grammaticalization (Traugott and König, 1991; Diewald, and Wischer, 2002; Heiko and Heine, 2011).

### 2. The Spoken Region of Languages

The Hindi language is an Indo-Aryan language that is spoken across northern India. Hindi has descended from the Madhya Prakrit. It is one of the official languages of the Republic of India.

Punjabi language is also a part of Modern Indo-Aryan language family, which is

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tonal and it is spoken by its inhabitants. Punjabi has two major varieties known as Eastern and Western Punjabi. According to the *Ethnologue* 2005, there are 88 million native speakers of the Punjabi language, which makes it approximately the 10<sup>th</sup> most widely spoken language in the world (Ahmed, 2005).

Bengali language is an Eastern Modern Indo-Aryan language. It is native to the region of eastern South Asia known as Bengal, which comprises different states of India such as West Bengal, Tripura and Assam.

### 3. Aims and Objectives

Our main aim in this paper is not only to show the different usages of a verb *ləg* but also to provide some information about grammaticalization here (Diewald, 2022). We will focus on the following.

- (1) To see the occurrence of *ləg* in the V<sub>1</sub> position
- (2) To see the occurrence of *ləg* in the V<sub>2</sub> position.

Using the criteria, we study the semantic range of a verb *ləg* and will present a comparative analysis in these three languages.

### 4. Analysis with a *ləg* in V<sub>1</sub> and V<sub>2</sub> Positions in Punjabi, Hindi and Bangla

#### 4.1 *ləg* as *appear*

When a verb *ləg* is appeared in V<sub>1</sub> position and it follows a noun then it considers like *appear* and *seen* in Punjabi, Hindi, and Bangla. For example,

#### Punjabi

- (1)      oh            saḍu            ləg            reha            hai  
           He            saint            appear        -ing            is. PRES.3m.sg.  
           He appears to be a saint.

#### Hindi

- (1)      vo                    saḍu                    ləg                    rəha                    hai  
           He                    saint                    appear                    -ing                    is. PRES.3m.sg.  
           He appears to be a saint.

#### Bangla

- (1)      oke            jaḍ<sup>h</sup>or                    moḡ o                    lac<sup>h</sup>e.  
           He            saint                    like                    appear PRES. 3m.sg.  
           He appears to be a saint.

#### 4.2 ləg as seem:

When a verb ləg occurs after adjective in the imperfective form, it looks like *seem* in three languages. For example,

##### Punjabi

- (2) oh      cəla:k      ləgd      hai  
He      clever      seem      is. PRES. 3m.sg.      (imperfective )  
He seems clever.

##### Hindi

- (2) vo      cəla:k      ləgṭa      hai  
He      clever      seem      is. PRES. 3m.sg.      (imperfective)  
He seems clever.

##### Bangla

- (2) oke      cəlak      lag<sup>he</sup>.  
He      clever      seem+Prog.3m.sg.      (imperfective)  
He seems clever.

A verb ləg produces ‘seem’ and ‘appear’ senses in Punjabi, Hindi, and Bangla. It deals with speakers not to the subject of the sentences. Unlike English, it shows progressive tense also. It is an example of a single part of grammaticalization, which is called de-semanticization (Heine and Kuteva, 2002).

#### 4.3 ləg as wear

The following examples show that a verb ləg considers as ‘wear’ and ‘close’. It is assumed that when a verb ləg occurs after noun in V<sub>1</sub> position, then it shows semantic bleaching. On the other hand, it also shares *stative* information of the sentences. For example,

##### Punjabi

- (3) us de      cəfma      ləgea:      hai  
He-GEN      spectacles      wear      is PRES.3 m.sg.  
He has worn spectacles.

##### Hindi

- (3) uske.      cəfma:      ləga      hai



He-GEN spectacles wear is PRES. 3m.sg.  
He has worn spectacles.

### Bangla

(3) o- r cok<sup>h</sup>e chojma ləga ache  
He-GEN eye spectacles wear is PRES. 3m.sg.  
He has worn spectacles.

#### 4.3.1. ləg as close:

### Punjabi

ḍərwaja: ləgea: hai  
door close is PRES.3m.sg.  
'The door is closed.'

### Hindi

ḍərwaja: ləga hai  
door close is PRES. 3m.sg.  
'The door is closed.'

### Bangla

ḍəḍja ləga ache  
door shut is PRES.3m.sg.  
'The door is closed.'

#### 4.4 ləg as exist

Here a verb ləg looks like an 'exist', which gives an information about the physical environment of the event within a sentence. In other words, it acts like a physical verb in Punjabi, Hindi, and Bangla.

### Punjabi

(4) eṭ he lo kā di pīṭ ləgi: hai  
there people GEN crowded EXIST is  
PRES.3m.sg.  
There are people crowded.

### Hindi

(4) yəhā logō: ki: bhīṭ ləgi hai

there people GEN crowded EXIST is PRES .3m.sg.  
There are people crowded.

### Bangla

(4) ek<sup>h</sup>ane manu<sup>f</sup>er b<sup>h</sup>iṛ lege ac<sup>h</sup>e  
there people crowded. EXIST is PRES.3m.sg.  
There are people crowded.

All sentences show semantic bleaching here. It is argued that verb (ləg) becomes de-semanticized and it shows attach/ close / existential form.

### 4.5 ləg as *feel*:

Like Punjabi, Hindi, and Bangla also show de-lexicalization with a verb ləg. For example,

### Punjabi

(5) us nu: peyas ləgi:  
He-dat thirst feel-PERF 3m.sg.  
He felt thirsty.

### Hindi

(5) us ko peya:s ləgi  
He-dat thirst feel-PERF 3m.sg.  
He felt thirsty.

### Bangla

(5) O ke jol t̪re j̪ta lege<sup>h</sup>e  
He-dat water thirst feel-PERF 3m.sg.  
He felt thirsty.

It is found that a verb ləg may be assumed like a feel. It has been noticed that three languages have equally shared such feature. We have argued that a verb ləg in V<sub>1</sub> position in Punjabi, Hindi and Bangla occupies a conjunct verb status and seems more grammaticalized. Related this, we have already seen the similarities between these languages even though we have covered only a sense of semantic bleaching undergrammaticalization (Leacock eds. 2000).

### 5. ləg in V<sub>2</sub> Position

Now, we will follow second criteria of analysis where a verb ləg appears in V<sub>2</sub> position. We select same languages here and start Punjabi.

## 5.1 ləg as *begin*:

### Punjabi

- (1) oh k<sup>h</sup>aŋa: k<sup>h</sup>a:ŋ ləg geya:  
He-agt food eat-INF BEGIN go-PERF 3m.sg.  
He begun to eat food.

### Hindi

- (1) vo k<sup>h</sup>ana: k<sup>h</sup>a:ne ləg gəya:  
He-agt food eat-INF BEGIN go-PERF3m.sg.  
He begun to eat food.

### Bangla

- (1) o k<sup>h</sup>abar k<sup>h</sup>eɽe juru kore ɽIyeche  
He-agt food eat-INF start give-PERF3m.sg.  
He started to eat food.

## 5.2 ləg as *presumptive*:

When a verb ləg occurs after an infinite verb and it takes future marker *-ga* then it provides presumptive information about sentences from speaker's perspective. For example,

### Punjabi

- (2) raj fʊɽba:l k<sup>h</sup> ɛɽəŋ legega:  
raj-agt football play-INF begin-FUT 3m.sg.  
(presumptive)  
Raj will begin to play football.

### Hindi

- (2) raj fʊɽba:l k<sup>h</sup>eləne ləgega (presumptive)  
raj-agt football play-INF begin-FUT 3m.sg.  
Raj will begin to play football.

### Bangla

- (2) raj-agt hɔɽɔf ʊɽbəl k<sup>h</sup> elɽe legeɽhe  
Raj PRESUME football play-INF begin-FUT 3m.sg.  
(presumptive)

Raj presumed to play football.

In V<sub>2</sub> position of a verb **ləg** has changed its semantic property of *attach* in each (1) sentence of these languages. However, Bangla does not permit to produce start or begin sense in this context. For start or begin, Bangla speakers have habit to use a separate verb (*juru kore*). In (2) sentence, it gives *inceptive* meanings however a future marker *ga:* blocks such meanings into Hindi and Punjabi. On the other hand, Bangla has also a separate word (*həḡto*) which shares presumptive information about the sentence. We also argue that when a verb *ləg* is followed by infinitive verbs, it most probably gives *inceptive* information. For example,

(a) oh            rəŋ            ləgg            geya:  
He-agt      cry-INF      BEGIN      go-  
PERF 3m.sg.  
He began to crying.

(b) oh            həssəŋ      ləgg            geya:  
He-agt      laugh-INF    BEGIN      go-PERF 3m.sg.  
He began to laughing.

It has been pointed out that not only these two verbs but other infinitive verbs like *ḡk<sup>h</sup>əŋ* (to see), *səʃəŋ* (to think), *boləŋ* (to speak), *nəʃʃəŋ* (to dance) in Punjabi may share a similar sense.

### 5.3 *ləg* as come:

When a verb *ləg* appears in V<sub>2</sub> position and followed by a finite verb. It is also grammaticalized. Forexample,

#### **Punjabi**

(3) us nu            səməj<sup>h</sup>      ləg            gəi:  
He- dat      understand    CAME      go-  
PERF 3m.sg.  
He came to understand.

#### **Hindi**

(3) us ko            səməj<sup>h</sup>      ləg            gəi  
He-dat      understand    CAME      go-  
PERF 3m.sg.  
He came to understand.

#### **Bangla**

(3) O            buje            gec<sup>h</sup>e  
He            understand    go-PERF 3m.sg.

He understood.

In (3) sentence, a verb *ləg* has similar functions like come both into Hindi and Punjabi languages. However, it is not possible in Bangla.

#### 5.4 *ləg* as *ran*:

Unlike Hindi and Bangla, only Punjabi shows that a verb *ləg* can function like a verb *ran*.

#### Punjabi

- (4) manəv rəma vitʃ ja: ləgeya:  
Manav Rama in go ran-PERF 3m.sg.  
Manav ran into Rama.

In (4), a verb *ləg*, when it is followed by a finite verb *go* then it changes into *ran*. It is interestingly to point out that it is found only in Punjabi, not in Hindi and Bangla. On the other hand, we can see the semantic bleaching in both finite and infinite verbs with an *ləg* in  $V_2$  position.

### 6. Semantic Range of *ləg*

With the analysis of *ləg* in  $V_1$  and  $V_2$  position, we have also tried to find out the semantic range of a verb *ləg* in these languages. It has been argued that a word might have more than one meaning (in the context) however more meanings mean the greater the word's *semantic range* (Fillmore, 2000). It is more significant in anthropology when we talk about involvement of different languages and cultures (Newmeyer, 2000).

#### Inflected form of a *ləg*:

##### 6.1 *ləgai*: as *attend*

#### Punjabi

- (1) us ne jəma:t nəhi: ləgai:  
He-erg class NEG attend-PST 3m.sg.  
He did not attend the class.

#### Hindi

- (1) us ne kəlas nəhī ləgai:  
He-erg class NEG attend-PST 3m.sg.  
He did not attend the class.

#### Bangla

- (1) je klas kore ni  
He class do-PST. NEG

3m.sg.  
He did not attend the class.

## 6.2 *ləgai: as tell*

### Punjabi

(2) us ne            səhi        kiməṭ        nəhi:        ləgai:  
He-erg        right        price        NEG        tell-  
PST 3m.sg.  
He did not tell the right price.

### Hindi

(2) us ne            səhi        kiməṭ        nəhi:        ləgai  
He-erg        right        price        NEG        tell-PST 3m.sg.  
He did not tell the right price.

### Bangla

(2) o            ʃotʰik        mɔllo        ləgai        ni  
He        right        price        tell-PST        NEG 3m.sg.  
He did not tell the right price.

## 6.3 *ləgai: as give*

### Punjabi

(3) us ne            menũ        a:va:j        nəhi:        ləgai:  
He-erg        me        call        NEG        give-PST 3m.sg.  
He did not call me.

### Hindi

(3) us ne            mujʰe        a:va:dʒ        nəhi        ləgai  
He-erg        me        call        NEG        give-PST 3m.sg.  
He did not call me.

### Bangla

(3) o        am ake        ɖake        ni  
He        me        call-PST.        NEG 3m.sg.  
He did not call me.

## 6.4 *ləgai: as use*

### Punjabi

(4) us ne                    kəri:m                    nəhĩ:                    ləgai:  
He-erg                    cream                    NEG                    use-PST 3m,sg.  
He did not use cream.

### Hindi

(4) us ne                    kəri:m                    nəhĩ                    ləgai  
He-erg                    cream                    NEG                    use-PST 3m.sg.  
He did not use cream.

Above examples show semantic range in all these languages. Another fact is that semantic range is also possible when such examples come with an inflected form of *ləgai* in the context of +/-NEG. For example,

<i>ləgai</i> (+NEG)	<i>ləgai</i> (-NEG)
attend / tell / give / use	attend / tell / give / use

Here, Bangla does not show proper correspondences with Hindi and Punjabi because Bangla speakers are habituated to take different verbs like (*kore*, *ḍake*) in the place of a verb *ləg* for similar sense. It means that a frequency of a verb *ləg* in the context of a semantic range does not match with Hindi and Punjabi. Keeping in mind that this argument is based on collecting few sentences and it can possibly be changed by observing more data in future.

### Conclusion

Thus, we have found that a verb *ləg* in Punjabi, Hindi and Bangla occurs as a polysemous verb. Polysemous nature has been analyzed under grammaticalization. When it occurs in V<sub>1</sub> and V<sub>2</sub> positions, then it is said that it reflects more de-semanticization rather than de-categorization. On the other hand, a verb *ləg* has also inherent nature for semantic range where Bangla is different from Punjabi and Hindi. In fact, the hidden idea is that the contextual use of a verb *ləg* does not only indicate about grammaticalization but it also demonstrates similarities and differences between all three languages.

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## APPENDIX-1

Table 1. Comparative Analysis of ləg in Three Languages

Verb's Position	Punjabi	Hindi	Bangla
<b>ləg in V<sub>1</sub></b>	Yes	Yes	Yes
Appear	Yes	Yes	Yes
Seem	Yes	Yes	Yes
Wear	Yes	Yes	Yes
Exist	Yes	Yes	Yes
Feel	Yes	Yes	Yes
<b>ləg in V<sub>2</sub></b>	Yes	Yes	Yes
Begin	Yes	Yes	Yes
Presumptive	Yes	Yes	Yes, without “ləg”
Come	Yes	Yes	No
Run	Yes	No	No
<b>Semantic Range</b>			
Attend	Yes	Yes	Yes
Tell	Yes	Yes	Yes
Give	Yes	Yes	Yes
Use	Yes	Yes	No
Call	Yes	Yes	No



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## Flipped Classroom: An Effective Method of Engaging Students in Learning

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### Abstract

Rapid technological progress has placed significant pressure on the younger generation to stay updated with the latest advancements in the field of medical sciences. In response, educators must adapt creative teaching methods to equip this generation for forthcoming challenges, especially considering the decreasing duration of training periods. An innovative approach, such as the **Flipped Classroom** or **Inverted Classroom**, emerges as a solution to empower learners by fostering critical thinking abilities and enabling effective absorption of extensive information through active learning. This entails students engaging with reading and comprehension tasks at home, while classroom time is dedicated to more advanced learning aspects like analysis, evaluation, and practical application of foundational knowledge. The objective of this review article is to provide educators with guidance on implementing the flipped classroom concept within their teaching arsenal, utilizing keywords such as alternative learning strategies, innovation, inverted classroom, pedagogy, and teaching methodology.

**Keywords:** Flipped Classroom, Inverted Classroom, alternative learning strategies, Engaging Students in Learning.

### 1. Flipped Classroom

The flipped classroom is often considered an effective method for engaging students in their learning. "Flipping the classroom means that students gain first exposure to new material outside of class, usually *via* reading or watching lecture videos, and then use class time to do the harder work of assimilating that knowledge, through problem-solving, discussion, or debates in the presence of instructor or facilitator" (Young TP 2014). The model was popularized by Eric Mazur claiming that the learning gains are nearly tripled with this approach that focuses on the student and interactive learning (Mazur 2009). Here are

some reasons why the flipped classroom can be a powerful approach for enhancing student engagement:

**Active Learning:** The flipped classroom encourages students to take an active role in their learning. By engaging with materials outside of class, students can come to class ready to participate in discussions, group activities, and problem-solving exercises.

**Personalized Learning:** Students can progress through the pre-recorded lectures or readings at their own pace, allowing for personalized learning. Those who need more time to understand a concept can review the material multiple times, while those who grasp it quickly can move ahead.

**In-Class Collaboration:** With traditional lectures moved outside of class time, in-person sessions can be devoted to collaborative activities that promote interaction among students. This fosters a sense of community and teamwork, as students work together to solve problems and share their insights.

**Higher-Order Thinking:** The flipped classroom method often emphasizes higher-order thinking skills such as analysis, synthesis, and evaluation. In-class activities can focus on applying knowledge to real-world scenarios, encouraging critical thinking and creativity.

**Immediate Clarification:** Students can come to class with questions or uncertainties about the pre-recorded content, allowing the teacher to address these issues directly. This immediate clarification helps prevent misunderstandings from persisting.

**Real-World Relevance:** In-class activities can be designed to demonstrate the practical applications of the concepts learned at home. This connection to real-world scenarios can make the learning experience more meaningful and relevant to students.

**Student Ownership:** The flipped classroom empowers students to take ownership of their learning process. They become responsible for their own progress and success, fostering a sense of independence and self-direction.

**Enhanced Teacher-Student Interaction:** Teachers have the opportunity to engage more closely with each student, providing individualized guidance and feedback. This personalized interaction can lead to deeper understanding and improved learning outcomes.

**Technology Integration:** The flipped classroom leverages technology to deliver content outside of class. This aligns with the digital skills and preferences of many students, making the learning experience more engaging and accessible.

**Variety and Flexibility:** The flipped classroom introduces variety into the learning process. Students encounter content through different modes (videos, readings, etc.) and engage in a range of activities during in-person sessions, which can help maintain their interest and motivation.

While the flipped classroom has numerous advantages for student engagement, it is important to remember that successful implementation requires careful planning and consideration of the specific needs of the students and subject matter. Additionally, it might not be a one-size-fits-all solution, and instructors may need to adapt the approach based on their unique teaching context and student demographics.

The concept of the flipped classroom has its roots in educational theories and practices that date back several decades. While it has gained prominence in recent years due to advancements in technology and changes in teaching methods, the core ideas behind flipped learning have been present for quite some time.

## 2. History and Origin of the Flipped Classroom

The history and origin of the flipped classroom can be traced to the following key developments:

**Socratic Method:** The Socratic method, used by the ancient Greek philosopher Socrates, involved asking students questions to stimulate critical thinking and engage them in active dialogue. This approach emphasized student participation and self-discovery, which aligns with the principles of the flipped classroom.

**Constructivist Learning Theory:** The constructivist approach to learning, championed by educators like Jean Piaget and Lev Vygotsky, emphasizes the role of active engagement and student-centered learning. It suggests that learners construct their own understanding of concepts through interaction and reflection.

**Bloom's Taxonomy:** Benjamin Bloom's cognitive taxonomy, introduced in the 1950s, categorized learning into different levels, from basic knowledge recall to higher-order thinking skills like analysis, synthesis, and evaluation. Flipped learning aligns with this taxonomy by shifting basic content delivery outside of class and using in-class time for higher-level cognitive activities.

**Peer Instruction:** Eric Mazur, a physicist at Harvard University, is often credited with pioneering the concept of peer instruction in the 1990s. He encouraged interactive classroom activities and peer discussions as an effective way to enhance student understanding of complex topics.

**Technology Integration:** The rise of digital technology and online resources provided new opportunities for delivering content outside of traditional classroom settings. As internet access and multimedia tools became more accessible, educators started experimenting with video lectures and online materials.

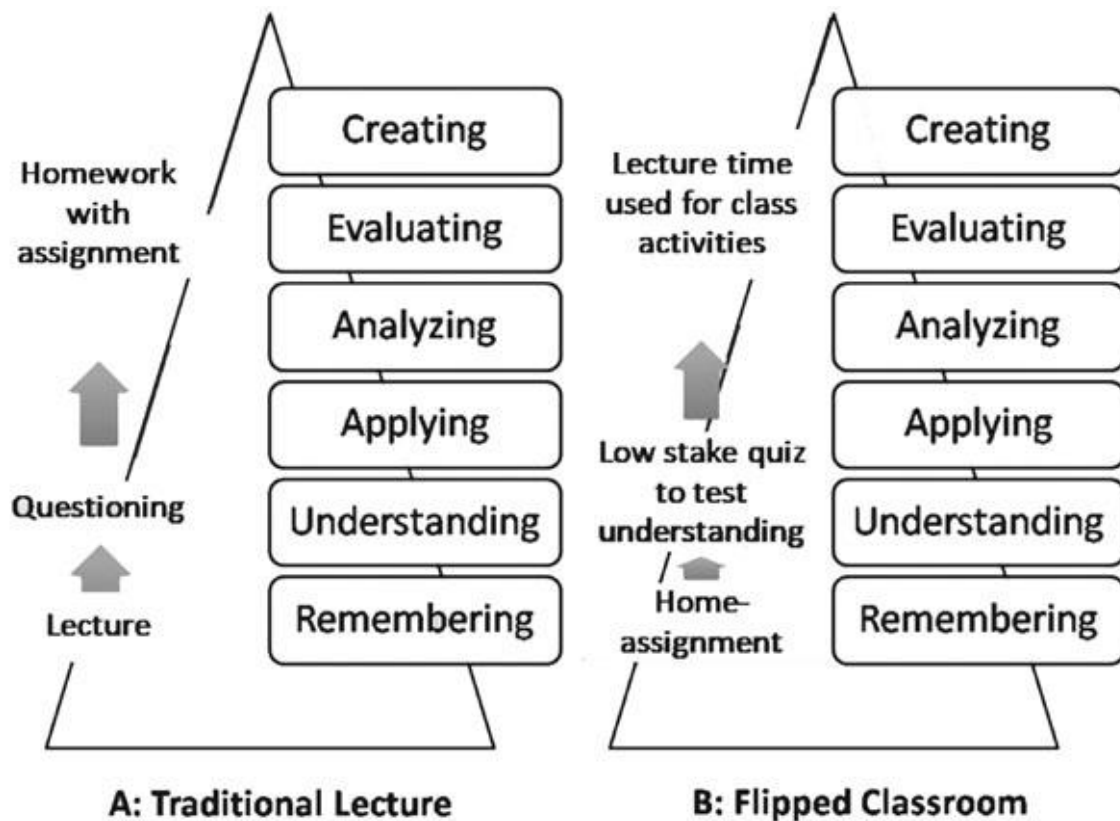
**Jonathan Bergmann and Aaron Sams:** Two high school teachers, Jonathan Bergmann and Aaron Sams, are often credited with coining the term "flipped classroom" around 2007. They began recording their lectures and having students watch them at home, freeing up class time for hands-on activities and discussions.

**Spread in Education:** The concept of the flipped classroom gained momentum as more educators recognized its potential benefits. It has since been adapted and implemented in various educational settings, from K-12 schools to higher education institutions.

While the flipped classroom concept has evolved over time, its essence remains rooted in student engagement, active learning, and the effective use of technology to enhance the learning experience. The combination of educational theories, technological advancements, and innovative teaching practices has contributed to the development and widespread adoption of the flipped classroom approach.

### 3. Traditional Lecture-Based Approach

The traditional method of teaching relies on a teacher-centred approach where content is delivered primarily through lectures during class time, and students engage in passive listening and note-taking. In contrast, the flipped classroom method reverses this dynamic by shifting content delivery outside of class through pre-recorded materials, allowing students to learn at their own pace. In-class time is then dedicated to active learning activities, discussions, and collaborative problem-solving, fostering student engagement, critical thinking, and deeper understanding. The flipped classroom emphasizes interactive and hands-on learning, encouraging students to apply knowledge, work collaboratively, and develop higher order thinking skills, departing from the more passive nature of traditional instruction. The process is depicted in *figure* below. Planning for using Flipped classroom should include conducting needs assessments, determining content and learning outcomes, and selecting appropriate educational and assessment methods (Lockyer 2005).



#### 4. In Class Activities for Flipped Classroom

In a flipped classroom, in-class activities are a crucial component of the learning experience, as they provide opportunities for students to engage, collaborate, and apply the knowledge they gained from pre-class materials. Here are some examples of in-class activities that can enhance the flipped classroom environment:

**Group Discussions:** Divide students into small groups and provide them with discussion prompts or questions related to the pre-class content. Encourage them to share their perspectives, analyze concepts, and debate different viewpoints.

**Problem-Solving Exercises:** Present real-world problems or scenarios that require students to apply their knowledge and critical thinking skills to find solutions. Facilitate group or individual problem-solving activities and guide students through the process.

**Case Studies:** Provide case studies or scenarios that relate to the pre-class materials. Ask students to analyse the situations, identify key issues, and propose solutions based on their understanding.

**Peer Teaching:** Assign small groups of students to become experts on specific topics from the pre-class content. They can then present their knowledge to the rest of the class, promoting peer teaching and collaborative learning.

**Debates and Role-Playing:** Assign students opposing viewpoints on a specific topic and organize a debate. Alternatively, have students engage in role-playing activities that require them to apply concepts in practical situations.

**Interactive Quizzes or Polls:** Use technology to conduct interactive quizzes, polls, or surveys related to the pre-class content. This can help gauge student understanding and facilitate class discussions based on the results.

**Concept Mapping:** Have students create concept maps or mind maps that visually represent the relationships between different concepts covered in the pre-class materials.

**Jigsaw Activities:** Divide a complex topic into subtopics and assign different groups of students to become experts on each subtopic. Then, reorganize the groups so that each group has a representative from each subtopic. Students share their expertise with their new group members.

**Hands-On Experiments or Demonstrations:** If applicable to the subject, conduct hands-on experiments, demonstrations, or simulations that reinforce the concepts learned outside of class.

**Gallery Walks:** Display visuals, diagrams, or written responses related to the pre-class content around the classroom. Allow students to move around, review the materials, and engage in discussions about what they see.

**Socratic Seminars:** Facilitate Socratic seminars where students engage in guided, open-ended discussions about a particular topic. This encourages critical thinking, active listening, and respectful debate.

**Application Projects:** Assign projects that require students to apply their knowledge to create something tangible, such as presentations, videos, essays, or creative works.

Remember that the choice of in-class activities should align with your learning objectives, the subject matter, and the overall goals of your flipped classroom. Varied and engaging activities will keep students motivated and provide a rich learning experience that complements the pre-class materials.

## 5. Post-Class Activities

Post-class activities in a flipped classroom help reinforce learning, encourage reflection, and provide opportunities for students to deepen their understanding of the material. These activities build on the in-class interactions and extend the learning experience beyond the classroom. Here are some examples of post-class activities for a flipped classroom:

**Reflection Journals:** Ask students to write reflective journal entries about the in-class activities, discussions, and their overall understanding of the concepts. Encourage them to connect the new knowledge to their prior experiences or real-world applications.

**Online Discussions:** Set up an online discussion forum or platform where students can continue the conversations started in class. Pose thought-provoking questions related to the in-class activities and encourage students to engage in peer-to-peer discussions.

**Further Research:** Assign students to research a specific aspect of the topic covered in class more deeply. They can summarize their findings in a written report, a presentation, or a short video.

**Extension Assignments:** Provide extension activities that challenge students to apply the concepts from class to new scenarios, analyze case studies, or propose innovative solutions to relevant problems.

**Collaborative Projects:** Assign group projects that require students to synthesize the information from the in-class activities and the pre-class materials. Projects could include creating multimedia presentations, conducting surveys, or developing educational resources.

**Peer Review:** Have students review and provide constructive feedback on each other's work, such as papers, projects, or presentations. This encourages peer learning and enhances critical evaluation skills.

**Concept Mapping or Mind Mapping:** Ask students to create visual representations that summarize the key points, connections, and relationships between the concepts discussed in class.

**Application Exercises:** Provide real-world scenarios or case studies that require students to apply the knowledge and skills gained from the in-class activities. This could involve problem-solving, decision-making, or ethical considerations.

**Online Quizzes or Assessments:** Design online quizzes or assessments that reinforce the concepts covered in class. This helps students consolidate their understanding and identify areas that may need further review.

**Feedback and Self-Assessment:** Have students self-assess their understanding of the material and their performance in the in-class activities. Encourage them to identify strengths and areas for improvement.

**Learning Journals:** In addition to reflection journals, have students maintain ongoing learning journals where they record their insights, questions, and connections as they continue to engage with the material.

**Community Engagement:** Encourage students to engage with the community or conduct interviews related to the topic. They can share their experiences and insights from these interactions.

**Creation of Learning Resources:** Ask students to create study guides, concept summaries, or tutorial videos that can help their peers review and understand the material better.

Post-class activities should be designed to foster active engagement, critical thinking, and application of knowledge, while also allowing students to continue exploring and expanding their understanding of the subject matter. These activities contribute to a holistic and well-rounded flipped classroom experience.

## 6. Key Steps to ensure in Flipped Classroom

Implementing a flipped classroom involves several key steps to ensure a successful and effective learning experience for students. Here is a general outline of the steps you can take to create and implement a flipped classroom:

**Define Learning Objectives:** Clearly articulate the learning goals and objectives for your course or lesson. What do you want students to know, understand, and be able to do by the end of the unit?

**Select Content:** Identify the content that will be delivered outside of class. This could include pre-recorded videos, readings, online resources, or other materials that students can engage with independently.

**Create Pre-Class Materials:** Develop or curate engaging and informative pre-class materials that effectively convey the necessary information. These materials should be accessible to all students and tailored to your learning objectives.



**Determine In-Class Activities:** Design interactive and engaging in-class activities that build upon the pre-class materials. These activities should encourage active participation, collaboration, critical thinking, and practical application of concepts.

**Communicate Expectations:** Clearly communicate to students how the flipped classroom approach will work. Explain the roles and responsibilities of both students and the instructor, including expectations for pre-class preparation and active participation during in-class sessions.

**Deliver Pre-Class Materials:** Distribute the pre-class materials to students well in advance of the in-class session. This could involve uploading videos, sharing readings, or providing links to online resources through your chosen platform.

**Pre-Class Engagement:** Encourage students to engage with the pre-class materials before coming to class. This may include watching videos, reading, taking notes, and preparing questions for discussion.

**Conduct In-Class Activities:** Facilitate the in-class activities, discussions, and hands-on exercises. Focus on applying knowledge, problem-solving, and fostering collaborative learning experiences.

**Provide Support and Guidance:** Offer guidance, feedback, and assistance to students as they work through the in-class activities. Address any questions or misunderstandings that arise.

**Post-Class Activities:** Assign post-class activities that reinforce learning and encourage further exploration. These activities could include reflection, application exercises, discussions, or projects.

## 7. Assessment and Evaluation

Design assessments that align with the learning objectives and measure student understanding. Consider a mix of formative assessments (ongoing feedback) and summative assessments (final evaluations).

**Continuous Improvement:** Gather feedback from students about their experiences with the flipped classroom approach. Use this feedback to make improvements for future iterations of the course.

**Reflect and Adapt:** Reflect on the effectiveness of the flipped classroom model. Identify what worked well and areas for improvement. Adjust your approach based on your observations and student feedback.

Remember that the flipped classroom is a flexible approach, and you can adjust these steps to suit your specific teaching context, subject matter, and the needs of your students. It's important to remain open to experimentation and adapt your methods based on the outcomes you observe.

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## 8. Conclusion

In conclusion, the flipped classroom method has emerged as a powerful and innovative approach to education, redefining the traditional boundaries of teaching and learning. By reshaping the dynamics of content delivery and classroom interaction, this pedagogical strategy has successfully addressed the evolving needs of modern learners. The active engagement, personalized learning, and emphasis on critical thinking inherent in the flipped classroom approach have revitalized the educational landscape, fostering a deeper understanding and application of knowledge.

Through the fusion of technology, interactive activities, and collaborative problem-solving, the flipped classroom method has effectively captivated student interest, transforming once-passive recipients into active participants in their own educational journeys. This paradigm shift holds the promise of not only improving academic outcomes but also equipping students with essential skills for the ever-changing world beyond the classroom. As educators continue to explore and refine the nuances of the flipped classroom, it is evident that this methodology transcends the limitations of traditional teaching, offering a holistic and student-centered learning experience. In an era marked by constant innovation, the flipped classroom stands as a beacon of educational evolution, ushering in a new era of engagement, empowerment, and enriched learning for generations to come.

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## Love and Music: A Study of Vikram Seth's *An Equal Music*

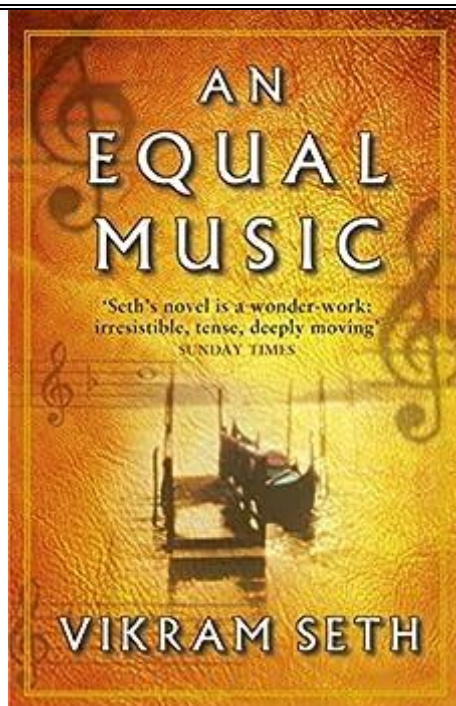
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### Abstract

The third-generation's Indian writings in English have enlightened the literature with its quality and vividness. The third-generation writers have concentrated their themes around sociological, diaspora elements, feminine subjects, science and technologies, explorative writings, and much more. Love is the major theme of these writers. Vikram Seth is one of the important third generation Indian writers in English. His novel *An Equal Music* received the 1999 Crossword Book Award for Fiction.

The story revolves around Michael, a professional violinist, and his love, Julia, a pianist. As the novel is not only about the love between Michael and Julia but also about the profession of Musician, it has been well received by musical fans, and appreciated for the accuracy of Vikram Seth's descriptions of music. It throws lights on Michael Holme's love for Music. Seth handles the theme of love and music very skillfully in the novel. This paper attempts to analyse how Seth has depicted Michael Holme's love for music, his attachment and affinity towards his friends and his love for Julia in *An Equal Music*.

**Keywords:** *An Equal Music*, Music, love, loneliness, profession, musicology

The third generation's Indian writings in English have enlightened the literature with its quality and vividness. Truly, it represented the culture, history and all the variants necessary for the enrichment of literature worldwide. The third-generation writers have concentrated their themes around sociological, diaspora elements, feminine subjects, science and technologies, explorative writings, and much more. Love is the major theme of these writers. The new Indian writings, published in between 1980s and 1990s, has ushered in a literary renaissance in the third generation Indian Writers like Salman Rushdie, Vikram Seth, Amitav Ghosh, Shashi Tharoor, Rohinton Mistry, Upamanyu Chatterjee and Anitha Desai.

Vikram Seth is one of the most celebrated Indian English Writer. He has been in the field of writing for more than three decades and is regarded as one of the most influential of the modern era. His literary corpus includes *The Golden Gate* (1986), *A Suitable Boy* (1993), and *An Equal Music* (1999). His poetry includes *Mappings* (1980), *From Heaven Lake* (1983), *The Humble Administrator's Garden* (1985), *All You who Sleep Tonight: Poems* (1990) and *Three Chinese Poets* (1992) and *Beastly Tales from Here and There* (1992), his children's book consisting of ten stories about animals.

Seth's *An Equal Music* tells the story of Michael Holme, a professional violinist, and his lover, Julia McNicholl, a pianist. The novel is not only about the love between Michael and Julia but also about the profession of Musicians. Seth handles the theme of love very skillfully in the novel. His depiction of Michael Holme's love for music, his attachment and affinity towards his friends and his love for Julia is really authentic and praiseworthy. The novel touches the hearts of the readers making them think about love.

According to Ajana Sharma, Seth's novel was brilliant in many ways, not the least of which was its grafting onto the twin ramparts of the European tradition—its verbal and aural writings of the thirsty life the protagonists suggest. She further viewed, “Seth tells the story of a young man’s growth and maturation- the loss and partial recovery, Pip-like, of his lost love, and the loss, and more certain recovery of his artistic self” (165)

Music is the strongest component in Seth’s *An Equal Music*. It acts like superglue holding the story and characters together, and Seth offers the readers a peek into the works of Beethoven, Bach, Mozart and Hayden, offering a unique glimpse into the world of music. Music has been a recurrent theme of Seth’s work. Though many writers have spoken about music in their works, they have not talked about its relationship with literature. Seth has dealt with the topic in detail, as he himself is a musician trained in classical music. Stephen Benson in his *Literary Music: Writing Music in Contemporary Fiction* brings about the relationship between the discourse of music and literature. He states that, “musicology is newly attentive to literature and a literary study is newly cognizant of musicology” (4).

The novel has been written in the first person. Michael Holme, the narrator describes how he cannot forget the woman he used to love. She is Julia McNicholl – his fellow music student in Vienna, both Michael and Julia were passionately devoted to each other and to their music. They found that their music complemented each other very well and formed a trio with another musician. But owing to an irreconcilable war of wills with their stern teacher, Karl Call, Michael, who was nervy and strong headed left Vienna and unintentionally, Julia. By the time he recovers from the traumas he suffered two months has elapsed, and Julia, hurt beyond redemption, is lost forever.

The novel begins ten years later, and Michael is earning his living as a second violinist in a string quartet, the Maggiore. He feels lonely and spends his days listlessly, with only music providing an emotional effect and meaning to his life. Michael’s loneliness is emphasized in pathos-including descriptions in several parts of the book. Into this chaotic world Julia steps in again, inadvertently at first when Michael spots her in a London bus, but fails to track her down, and purposely later, when she goes backstage after a Maggiore performance at Wigmore Hall, they, after initial hesitation, successfully re-establish their contact.

Unable to resist the power of their past they come together again, but this time under the shadow of Julia's marriage and her loss of hearing. Their love, which apparently never died, is rekindled. She accompanies Michael to Vienna as a pianist. Then they go to Venice.

Everything seems possible. But Julia is in dilemma because she is torn between her old love and her family since she has a husband, a seven-year-old son, and a dog to look after. Ultimately, however, the perfection that they achieve in making music tighter somehow eludes them in their love. Working on music and making love become one of the important themes of the novel. Seth emphasizes this when he describes how Michael and Julia after making love are able to work together on music, "Music, such music, is a sufficient gift. Why ask for happiness; Why hope not to grieve? It is enough, it is to be blessed enough, to live from day to day and to hear such music- not too much, or the soul could not sustain it- from time to time" (380).

This story *An Equal Music* is a reworking of the Greek legend of Eurydice and Orpheus. In it, Eurydice dies of snakebite in their wedding day. Orpheus, the greatest musician in the world, refuses to accept her death and descends to the underworld, where he sings persuasively that Hades allows him to take back his bride, only to lose her again due to lingering doubt and weakness. *An Equal Music* reiterates this parable of love lost and almost regained by the power of music, the desperate bid to revive a dead romance against all odds, the subsequent anguish of heartbreak, and the agonies of accepting loss.

Seth is a master at capturing the mind of the reader who is totally involved in the intriguing lives of Michael and Julia. Their relationship is revived but is not heading anywhere. At last Julia decides in favour of her family and leaves Michael. At the end of the novel, Michael is left alone in a wretched state of mind. Two powerful passions, the one for music and the other for love get intricately blended in the novel. Seth tries to work out as to how music can form the theme of a novel and connect not only individuals but also their souls. When one reads the novel, she/he feels the presence of music in its each and every line. Music unites Julia and Michael. The rhythm of their romance makes the novel more musical.

The ardour and consuming fire of failure in human love-affair are doused and made bearable by the divine, sublimating nature of celestial music. Happiness or grief ceases to

matter in such a soul string ambience. The protagonist gets salvation from the obsession of physical love from Julia by listening to her enthralling soul searing and liberating music. This unearthly, transcendental horizon of experience is summed up by him thus: “There is no forced gravitas in her playing. It is a beauty beyond imagining-clear, lovely, inexorable, phrase across phrase, phrase echoing phrase, the incomplete, the unending Art of fugue. It is An Equal Music” (389).

The narrative voice is Seth’s biggest strength, always self-conscious and completely transparent. The themes and issues are consistently presented with a consistent level of creative objectivity. Seth’s three novels are virtuoso works of art and, for serious literature, extremely successful with the reader’s public, and have been translated into dozens of languages. Each of his novels is very distinct from the others. He used simple at the same time appreciable language, enjoys by every readers.

This novel is a sort of paean sung in adoration of music and love that lies beyond the realm of physical temporal existence. Seth conveys a message that art – be it music, poetry, or fiction – is as great, as deep, as true, as important as love, and can be as redeeming.

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## Development of the Ergative Case in Garhwali

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### Abstract

This paper briefly describes the development of the ergative case in Indo-Aryan languages based on linguistic literature and ergative constructions in Garhwali as they occur synchronically. It describes the possible development of the ergative case in Garhwali from a diachronic perspective, considering the forms of the ergative marker used in two available copper inscriptions from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Diachronic facts point to the possibility that Garhwali had a single ergative marker /le/ at some point in its early history, which was used only in the perfective aspect, and after that period, two different ergative markers could have evolved through two different routes of evolution. While /-l/ in the Southern varieties seems to be inherited from the earlier common marker /le/, as was the case with Kumauni and Nepali, the /-n/ in the Western varieties seems to have developed in the same manner as other Indo-Aryan languages which lie geographically to the West of Garhwal due to common inheritance from the Middle Indo-Aryan languages.

**Keywords:** Ergative, Case, Garhwali, Indo-Aryan, Central Pahari

### Introduction

In this paper, I attempt to study the development of the ergative case in Garhwali, primarily from a diachronic perspective. Garhwali is one of the two major languages of the Central Pahari sub-branch of the Indo-Aryan branch of the Indo-European language family. It was reported as ‘Mother Tongue’ by 24,82,089 people in the language report of the Census of India (2011), primarily residing in the state of Uttarakhand, India. It is an Indo-Aryan (IA) language that evolved from the Old Indo-Aryan language Sanskrit through various stages of the Middle Indo-Aryan languages. Grierson (1916, 1927) classified Garhwali as a member of the ‘Inner Sub-Branch’ of the Indo-Aryan Languages. According to him, the Inner sub-branch is made up of three groups of languages: Eastern Pahari (Nepali), Central Pahari (Kumauni and Garhwali), and Western Pahari (includes Jaunsari, Sirmauri, Kullui, Mandiali, Chambiali, etc.). At the conclusion of his survey, he believed that all the *Pahari* (‘of the mountains’) languages were spoken by the Khasas, who inhabited the entire Himalayan region from Kashmir in the West to Nepal in the East. The principal dialect of Kumauni is called Khasparjiya even today and that of Nepal Khas Kura (Grierson 1927: 181). According

to him, this is reflected in their linguistic structures and differences with the principal northern Indo-Aryan languages.

Grierson's belief is based on the two-wave theory of the Aryan migration into India advocated by Hoernle (1880), which has been a source of wide dispute in literature. In line with his thoughts, many scholars (e.g., Chatterjee 1926; Sharma 1985) traced the origin of Pahari languages, including Garhwali to *Khasa*, *Dardic*, and *Paisachi*, while others (e.g., Chatak 1956; Varma 1949) have traced it to *Shaurseni*, to which the evolution of Hindi has also been traced to.

The diachronic study of IA languages, in general, is facilitated by the fact that representative texts from all three stages are available in the major literary languages. In the case of Garhwali, several written historical texts have been found in the form of copper inscriptions and other official documents. However, it later lost the status of the state language of the kingdom and became primarily a spoken language. Consequently, different languages, such as Sanskrit and later Hindi, were adopted as their literary language by the Garhwali people. Hence, Garhwali texts from the intervening period are rarely available.

Masica (1991: 50) divides periods of the evolution of the Indo-Aryan languages into three stages, based on the grammatical differences between them: Old Indo-Aryan (OIA) from 1500 BCE to 600 BCE, Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) from 600 BCE to 1000 CE and New Indo-Aryan (NIA) from 1000 CE onwards. The evolution and development of the ergative case are interesting from a diachronic perspective since it was not attested in its current form in OIA but developed in MIA and has varied manifestations and functions in NIA. The forms and functions of the ergative case are not uniform synchronically, and great variation is attested in NIA languages, ranging from the occurrence of split-ergativity in Hindi to complete (or near-complete) loss of ergativity in certain Eastern NIA languages (Masica 1991).

We will briefly examine the various explanations provided in linguistic literature to account for the origin and development of the ergative case in IA languages, primarily in OIA and MIA. I will then provide synchronic and diachronic data from Garhwali to look into the development of the ergative case in the language and attempt to analyze its possible evolution.

### **The Evolution of Ergative Case in IA**

Sanskrit, the representative OIA language, had a rich system of case declensions (or *vibhakti* in the Indic grammatical tradition) for eight cases which had regular correspondence with semantic cases (or *karaka*), but ergative was not one of them, and the agent semantic role could be expressed by various cases, primarily by the instrumental case (Masica, 1991).

Verbeke (2013: 75-78) notes that there were at least two ways of expressing a perfective in Classical Sanskrit. First, a conjugated form of the reduplicated stem *ca-kar*, i.e., *ca-kār-a*, a synthetic verb form in the past tense, could express perfect aspect, as shown in (1).

1)	<i>devadatta-ḥ</i>	<i>kaṭa-m</i>	<i>ca-kār-a</i>
	Devadatta-NOM	mat-ACC	PRF-make-3SG

‘Devadatta (has) made a mat.’ (Verbeke, 2013: 75)

A second way to denote a perfective was to use a periphrastic construction with a perfect participle with the suffix *-ta* added to the bare root of the verb, as shown in (2). Here, the subject takes an instrumental case (*-ena*).

2)	<i>devadatt-ena</i>	<i>kaṭa-ḥ</i>	<i>kr-ta-ḥ</i>
	Devadatta-INS	mat-NOM.SG	make-PRF.PTCP-NOM.SG

‘The mat is made by Devadatta’ (Verbeke, 2013: 76)

Verbeke (2013) notes that this *-ta* construction is often taken to represent a passive meaning, but certain verbs can have both passive as well as active interpretations with this construction. Hock (1986:16) notes that although the *-ta* particle with a passive reading is more frequent, it can have both an active and a passive reading and a past as well as a present tense reading. Many scholars believe that the ergative construction in Hindi originated from this construction with the suffix *-ta*, although there are varying opinions among scholars about whether this construction should be treated as just a canonical passive (Comrie 1978: 371; Estival and Myhill 1988; and Dixon 1994:190, all cited in Verbeke, 2013).

In the MIA period, the perfective aspect was being more and more expressed by the *-ta* participle constructions, and other constructions to express the perfective were being lost (Verbeke, 2013:78). An example of the *-ta* participle construction from MIA is shown in (3) where the participle agrees with the patient in gender and number, and the subject takes the instrumental case.

3)	<i>iyam</i>	<i>dhammalipi</i>	<i>lāj-inā</i>	<i>likhā-pi-tā</i>
	this.NOM	true inscription[n]NOM.SG	king-INS	write-CAUS- PRF.PTCP.NOM.M.SG

‘This true inscription was caused to be written by the king.’ (Verbeke, 2013:78)

The late MIA period showed even more changes. Bubenik (1998) states that the seven cases of Sanskrit were reduced to just three in late-MIA (*Apabhramsha*) because of a merger of the nominative and accusative, instrumental and locative, and ablative, genitive and dative.

According to Verbeke (2013:80), the simplification of the case system or case-syncretism of the late MIA period also continued in the NIA period, resulting in more mergers and the loss of several cases. Verbeke (2013:80) notes that the early NIA exhibited just two cases: the nominative and the oblique, and this led to a potential problem of ambiguity since it was difficult to determine whether a perfective construction had “a passive pattern or an ergative pattern.”

The origin of the ergative in IA has been a matter of great debate between scholars. There are two major lines of thought to account for the source of the ergative case in IA, which are briefly described below.

Many scholars (e.g., Kellogg 1938; Beames 1872) believe that the ergative case evolved from the reanalysis of the passive construction of OIA, specifically the –ta constructions we saw in the earlier sections. Many grammars of IA languages (e.g., Kellogg 1938) strongly favour this argument in line with their consideration of the ergative as inherently being a kind of passive; hence they consider this ‘passive-reanalysis’ approach as granted and natural in the course of evolution of the ergative in NIA.

Bubenik (1998) postulates four stages of the development of the ergative in NIA in his model of the different language stages in the context of IA. His first stage coincides with the OIA, where the language is largely an accusative language and has a marked passive construction. His second stage coincides with MIA, where the language is still an accusative language, but the marked passive has changed into an unmarked one. In the case of MIA, the –ta construction starts to be used as the canonical perfective construction in the language at this stage. In the third stage, which coincides with the NIA languages, including Hindi, the passive is reanalyzed as the ergative, and at this stage, the passive no longer exists. This leads to the fourth stage in certain NIA languages, where a new passive construction evolves and fills in the void created by the reanalysis of the earlier passive.

In line with the idea that the ergative construction is not passive in nature (Comrie 1978; Dixon 1979), some scholars (e.g., Verbeke 2013) in recent times have been critical of this notion and have claimed that the ergative case actually originated in OIA and has “remained” ergative in MIA and NIA. Such a line of thought thus believes that the ergative case has its origin in OIA itself, although it was not very frequent and may have the same morpho-syntactic form marking other functions as well, leading to the situation of less clarity when analyzing it diachronically.

Out of the two approaches described above, the passive-to-ergative reanalysis hypothesis, as has been seen across languages, seems to be the most plausible explanation to

trace the evolution of split-based ergativity in NIA languages (e.g., Hook 1992; Dixon 1994; Bubenik 1998)

### The Ergative Case in Garhwali

Garhwali attests ergativity, which means that the subject of an intransitive clause behaves in the same manner as the object of a transitive clause and not like the subject of a transitive clause, which is in line with the definition of ergativity as proposed by Dixon (1994). In Garhwali, agreement patterns in terms of gender, number, and person show that these subjects are treated differently. In general, subjects in Garhwali agree with the verb in terms of person, gender, and number, but this is not the case in ergative constructions. Let us look at the following sentences:

- |    |                            |            |                                |
|----|----------------------------|------------|--------------------------------|
| 4) | <i>nɔnɔ/nɔni</i>           | <i>hɔl</i> | <i>lɛgãɖʊ/lɛgãɖɪ</i>           |
|    | boy.MSG.NOM/girl.FSG.NOM   | plough.MSG | apply.PRS.MSG/ apply.PRS.FSG   |
|    | ‘The boy/girl ploughs.’    |            |                                |
| 5) | <i>nɔna/nɔni</i>           | <i>hɔl</i> | <i>lɛgãɖa-n/lɛgãɖɪ-n</i>       |
|    | boy.MPL.NOM/girl.FPL.NOM   | plough.MSG | apply.PRS.M-PL/ apply.PRS.F-PL |
|    | ‘The boys/girls plough.’   |            |                                |
| 6) | <i>nɔna-n/nɔni-n</i>       | <i>hɔl</i> | <i>lɛgɛ</i>                    |
|    | boy.MSG-ERG/girl.FSG-ERG   | plough.MSG | apply.PERF                     |
|    | ‘The boy/girl ploughed.’   |            |                                |
| 7) | <i>nɔnɔ-n/nɔniɖ-n</i>      | <i>hɔl</i> | <i>lɛgɛ</i>                    |
|    | boy.MPL-ERG/girl.FPL-ERG   | plough.MSG | apply.PERF                     |
|    | ‘The boys/girls ploughed.’ |            |                                |

The sentences (4) and (5) show that with a subject in the direct case, subject-verb agreement in terms of gender and number is attested, while in (6) and (7), when the subject has an ergative case, subject-verb agreement is not attested and the verb is default marked, unlike subjects in unergative transitive clauses which show gender and number agreement with the verb.

Like most IA languages, Garhwali is a split-ergative language, which means that the ergative case is attested in only certain paradigms. The split-ergativity in Garhwali is primarily based on the perfective aspect, i.e., ergativity is attested when the verb in the

relevant clause is in the perfective aspect. The sentences below show the split: (8) is not ergative as the transitive verb is in the progressive aspect, and subject-verb agreement is attested, but when the transitive verb is in the perfective aspect, (9) is an ergative construction. The subject-verb agreement is blocked in this case.

- 8) *ram(\*-n)/siṭa(\*-n) mεc c<sup>h</sup>ɔ/c<sup>h</sup>ε djək<sup>h</sup>ɔ/djək<sup>h</sup>ɪ*  
 Ram/Sita match be.PST.MSG/be.PST.FSG see.PROG.MSG/see.PROG.FSG

‘Ram/Sita was watching a match.’

- 9) *ram-ən/siṭa-n mεc djek<sup>h</sup>ɪ*  
 Ram-ERG/Sita-ERG match see.PERF

‘Ram/Sita watched a match.’

### Synchronic Variation in Morphological Forms

Significant variation in the form of the ergative marker is attested in Garhwali synchronically. In the Northern and Western varieties of Garhwali, the ergative case is marked by /-n/ (or /-na/), while in the Southern and Eastern varieties, it is marked by /-l/ (or /-la/).

While the two forms look phonologically similar and may give the impression that they are just phonological variations of one single form, the diachronic facts, which we shall look into in the next section, do not seem to attest their common origin, i.e., they seem to have evolved through two different routes historically even though their functions are essentially the same synchronically. More research into the usage of the two variants needs to be undertaken to assert this fact more conclusively.

### Diachronic Forms

The earliest available inscriptions in the Garhwali language point to the fact that it had the status of the state language of the Garhwal kingdom at least by the 15<sup>th</sup> century and probably even before that. A copper inscription dated 1456 CE of the ruler of Garhwal of that time, Maharaja Jagatpal, attests to this fact. For the purpose of this paper, we are only concerned with the ergative case used in such documents. The first line of the 1456 inscription is reproduced here from Panwar (1985:1): (To convert the Vikrami Year into Gregorian year, I have used the general practice of deducting 56 from the Vikrami year. This is not entirely accurate yet gives an idea of the timeline.)

10) *frisamvāt 1512 fake 1377 cetrāmase śuklāpakṣe caturthi tithi*  
 Samvat 1512 Saka 1377 Chaitra Shukla fourth  
 month.LOC Paksha.LOC date.LOC

*rānivasre jagtipal rajvar-le śaṅkar bharti kṛṣṇa bhāt k*  
 Sunday.LOC Jagtipal Rajwar-ERG Shankar Bharti Krishna Bhatt.DAT

*ramcāḍṛā ka māṭh sarvabhūmi jakhmi kiṭi*  
 Ramchandra's mutt (temple) all land donate do.PERF

‘On Sunday, the fourth date of the *Shukla Paksha* of *Chaitra* month of *Samvat* 1512 Saka 1377, King Jagtipal (Jagatpal) donated all the land of the Ramchandra Mutt/Temple to Shankar Bharti Krishna Bhatt.’

(The origin of the word */jakhmi/* is unclear, and the given translation is approximate as per the context.)

The language used in this inscription is Sanskrit-mixed Garhwali, and the ergative is marked by /le/ (in bold). Crucially, the sentence where the ergative is marked by /le/ seems to be in the perfective aspect. On perusal of the full text, it appears that the ergative was used only with the perfective aspect from this time period itself since the ergative, in this inscription as well as the others documented in Panwar (1985), is not attested in other aspects.

Another early written record available is a copper inscription of Maharaja Phatehpati Shah of around 1671 CE; its first line is reproduced here from Panwar (1985):

11) *fri-māharajaḍṛāraj pḥāṭepāṭisahḍev jīole pājo karo*  
 The King Phatepati Shah Dev ji.ERG arrangements do.PERF

*jo pājo eso kajo*  
 REL arrangement like this do.PERF

‘The King Phatepati Shah Dev made arrangements which are in this manner...’

The ergative here is again marked by /le/. This sentence also seems to be in the perfective aspect.

In fact, Panwar (1985: xxv) mentions in the introduction to his book, which is a collection of historical inscriptions in Garhwali language, “उस काल की गढ़वाली भाषा में ‘ने’ के लिए ‘ले’ का प्रयोग होता था” (In the Garhwali language of that era, ‘le’ was used in place of ‘ne’). Thus, it becomes clear that the ergative was marked by /le/ in the period between the 15th and 17th centuries. A comprehensive study of all the available inscriptions and other historical documents in the future is needed to establish this conclusively.

### **Two Routes of Evolution?**

If we accept the dominant view of scholars that the ergative case and its markers in NIA languages evolved after the stage of loss and mergers of OIA cases in late-MIA, it can be presumed that the ergative marker would have evolved in the Central Pahari languages (which includes Garhwali) in the NIA period only. Based on the written diachronic evidence presented above, it seems that Garhwali had a single ergative marker /le/ at least in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, which can be considered an early part of the NIA period when NIA languages were still developing from MIA. Sometimes, after that period, two different ergative markers could have evolved in Garhwali through two different routes of evolution.

A piece of crucial evidence that seems to suggest this comes from related and neighbouring languages: the ergative marker in Nepali is /le/ (Turnbull 1982), and its counterpart in at least some varieties of Kumauni synchronically is also /le/ while in other varieties it is /-l/ (Sharma 1985). On the other hand, most of the Northern Modern Indo-Aryan languages to the west of Garhwali have /-n/ or /-ne/ as the ergative marker. Masica (1991: 345) states that agentive function (morphological ergative marker) has been taken over by "new" instrumental markers in modern Nepali and Kumauni (-le). The ergative marker in Hindi (Braj Bhasha, Kauravi, Khari Boli) and Rajasthani is /-ne/, which seems to have evolved from the locational form of the noun /kərnə/ ‘ear’ (Montaut 2015).

It seems probable that the ergative marker /-l/ (or /-la/) in the Southern and Eastern varieties of Garhwali was inherited from the earlier common form /le/, as was the case with Kumauni and Nepali, which evolved through the instrumental taking the function of the ergative in NIA. On the other hand, the /-n/ (or /-na/) in the Western and Northern varieties may have developed either as a result of borrowing or common inheritance from the Middle Indo-Aryan languages, which lie geographically to the west of the Garhwal region.

### **Conclusion**

The ergative in Garhwali, as in all IA languages, seems to have developed from the passive to ergative through reanalysis and gave rise to split-based ergativity. Garhwali attests ergativity, so the subject of an intransitive clause behaves in the same manner as the



object of a transitive clause and not like the subject of a transitive clause. The agreement patterns in terms of gender, number, and person show that these subjects are treated differently. As in most IA languages, ergative in Garhwali attests a split primarily based on the perfective aspect, i.e., ergativity is attested when the verb in the relevant clause is in the perfective aspect. Synchronically, Garhwali attests a variation in the form of the ergative marker, and this seems to be based on two different routes of the evolution of the two variant markers.

Diachronic facts point to the possibility that Garhwali had a single ergative marker /le/ at some point in its history, and after that period, two different ergative markers could have evolved through two different routes of evolution. While /-l/ in the Southern varieties seems to be inherited from the earlier common marker /le/, as was the case with Kumauni and Nepali, the /-n/ in the Western varieties seems to have developed in the same manner as other Indo-Aryan languages which lie geographically to the West of Garhwal due to common inheritance from the Middle Indo-Aryan languages.

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## Manju Kapur's *Home*: A Voice of Protest

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This research paper attempts to investigate the aspect of protest expressed by Manju Kapur's female protagonists in the novel *Home*. Almost every Indian English Woman Novelist has addressed "protest issues" in their works. The goal here is to discover what feminist attitude Manju Kapur employs in her story to highlight the suffering of women. This article investigates the spirit of resistance against patriarchal hegemony that the subjugated women characters engage in in their own unique ways. *Home* (2006) is the novel under consideration.

The protagonists of contemporary Indian English women novelists are educated, career-oriented, smart women who are psychologically repressed by hegemonic forces. As modern literary theory focuses on 'self-presentation,' female novelists investigate the inner problems of their female protagonists while also situating them in cultural, political, and

social frameworks. The frequent concerns of protest highlighted by women novelists revolve around the woman's identity, her struggle against oppressive patriarchal systems.

The major works of almost all Indian women novelists depict these 'questions of protest' in one way or another along the following parameters: They symbolise the battle that calls into question the patriarchal prescriptions of a virtuous woman.

They reject the given responsibilities within the family and society, as well as the established paths. Kapur sets out to convey the suffering of women in her own unique style.

### ***Home***

While everything else in the world has changed dramatically, women's status and authority in regard to males has stayed relatively constant. The novel is informed by the parts and pieces that are instantly recognisable with all of the happenings in the mixed families - marriages, celebrations, scandals, where Kapur unwaveringly throws the spotlight on the women. A large number of women appear in the novel, including Rupa and Sona, two childless sisters, their daughters-in-law, and the novel's central character, Nisha, Sona's daughter born after 10 years to her, around whom the second part of the story revolves.

The main female characters in the novel, Sona and 'Nisha,' who are mother and daughter, transport the reader to the four walls of the "Home" the "family," which is not a sweet home. All of the women in this Home are unhappy, stressed-out women. Sona of the second generation is stressed because the world around her is changing very fast, while Nisha is stressed because it is not changing enough rapidly, and she feels trapped. Banwari Lal, the family patriarch, believes in the old traditions and believes that men work outside the home and women work within. According to him, men carry on the family line, while women facilitate their purpose.

Apart from Sona and Nisha, who are born into the agony of being a woman, there is 'Sunita,' the daughter of Banwari Lal. The people of home are least concerned about her well-being in her new house because she was married off in a hurry, without much concern about the suitability of a proper match, as if to relieve the burden of the daughter from their shoulders. Her problems are seen as "bad karma" (Home, 17)

Her bad karma' manifests itself in the form of a cruel husband. She is married to a man, an alcoholic who is always on the lookout for his wife's affluent family and coaxes her through various covert tactics to extract money from her father. The exchange of presents continues as long as her father is alive; after him, the poor sister is abandoned to the whims of brothers and their wives. The miserable creature has a son. She is tortured, harassed, and exploited in every way possible until one day she is murdered by her husband for not borrowing money from her brother. Her death was deemed an accident in the kitchen, as are

many dowry deaths in the country. Vicky, her psychologically disturbed child who bears the horrors that his mother silently endured, is eventually returned to the family, and handed to Sona to raise as she is barren. Sona's inner self laments anytime her barrenness is mentioned by her mother-in-law, the home's female patriarch.

All these concerns are primarily shared by bourgeois, middle-class households, where childlessness is regarded as a curse for a woman. In patriarchal Indian society, a woman is only complete if she bears a male heir to carry on the family lineage; else, she does not deserve to live. Even if she succeeds, she is subjected to tortures and humiliations, is treated with contempt, and does not achieve the status she desires in the family. Childlessness is a key source of insecurity, vulnerability, and worthlessness in such women. They frequently become difficult to deal with because they are fighting against not only their bodies, but also the culture that degrades them. Torturing oneself is one of these protests:

"Where could she turn except to God? Every Tuesday she fasted. Previously she would eat fruit and drink milk once during the day, now she converted to nirjal fast. No water from sun-up to sundown. She slept on the floor, abstained from sex, woke up early in the morning, bathed before the sunrise.... in the evening went to the local temple, buying fruit on the way to distribute to as many as Brahmins as possible." (Home, 15)

And further; "She was humble, ready to please. Sona was gold, like her name. But what use was all this if the Banwari Lal blood did not pass on in its expected quality. (Home, P.15) Here Sona pressed her hands to her breasts: they felt good, large full, but the weight only increased her wretchedness. How could she accept they would never be used for more than one purpose? She tried to be calm herself by praying" (Home, 19).

And when Vicky, the son of Sunita is given to her, she cries inwardly in anguish- "but was this dark, ungainly, silent, sullen child any substitute for the baby that was to suckle from her breasts, and use her ample flesh to its satisfaction? Her blood burned, and though her blood was used to burning, it now raged so fiercely that nothing but her own blood could staunch its flames". (Home, 27)

Sona's protests are her contemplations, her broodings- "Then as she had so often, she lay awake at night, going over her mother-in-law's words, gnawing at them, leaching out of them the last shred of bitterness" (Home, 19). For the first ten years of her marriage, she is barren, which causes bitterness, pity, and some glee among the other women in the house, because it is believed that a woman's primary role is to serve as the vessel that will bear the next generation. Sona is forced to concede the futility of her existence.

The story depicts the lives of middle-class families in such a realistic way that women are made to feel trivial when they succumb to patriarchal traps. Keeping fasts and visiting "babas," the holy sages who will bestow blessings on her in order for her to conceive, has put a strain on Sona's mind. 'Home' restores Sona's authority as a woman only after she achieves motherhood through Nisha and then through a son, Raju.

Rajeshwari Sunder Rajan in one of her essays contends:

It is the major, if not the primary site of women's oppression. For it is within the family that girl children experience their first feelings of rejection or discrimination on account of their sex, where they may be required to perform hard domestic labour, denied the freedom to come and go, married off, frequently without their consent and on payment of dowry, and then subjected to vicissitudes of married life, which would include harassment by in laws, marital discord, unwanted pregnancies, domestic drudgery and the continuing cycle of the burden of girl children of their own. <sup>1</sup>

Besides effectively depicting her women's inner and outer worlds, Kapur introduces interactions that defy the social mainstream. Nisha is raised in the 'Home' with all types of conservative women preaching to her. Her entire existence is a series of protests -

She is not allowed to go outside as per the social conventions that women remain at home -As when all boys of the house run out to play in the park, Nisha wails saying that she too wants to go, her mother shortly replies that she can't:

Why? Why can't I? It is better for girls to remain inside. "Why?" "You will get black and dirty.

the moon, the champa flower, the lotus.

dirty and black playing in the sun?"

When I was young people used to say I was like

How can you be like me if you get

who will want to marry (P.53)

This yet again is another step to make sure that she grows into a family princess, princess of the romance fiction always in beautiful, laced frocks and little heeled sandals with bows on them, reconciled to play board games with her grandmother. "Unfortunately her outfits did not match her inclinations." (Home, 53)

All these factors play an important role in building up Nisha's personality.

As Rajeswari Sunder Rajan indicated above, home are the major sites of oppression, and Nisha's home is a site of oppression where she was abused sexually as a youngster by her cousin, Vicky. He is shown repeating the process every time he finds the girl alone, until the girl begins to suffer psychologically, and the family members notice something peculiar about the girl's behaviour. The girl stops eating, becomes pale and is reluctant to reveal the facts publicly. The grandmother suspects that something is wrong with Nisha because she refuses to lie down or close her eyes.

The trauma of sexual assault at such a young age has such a negative impact on the girl that she has trouble sleeping. Even if she falls asleep from exhaustion:

"She awoke crying, 'Why did you let me sleep? I had bad dreams'. But she couldn't say what they were. In the nights to follow the child's screaming became worse." (Home, 65)

Things return to normal when the daughter is sent to her Masi's home, who intuitively recognises what has occurred to her. These are the societal truths that middle-class Indians generally keep hidden. The act of violence highlights two things: one, how the family tries to repress it, and two, how they never come together to comfort the daughter. Instead of discussing alternatives, the terrified Nisha is sent to live with her aunt a few houses away from her home, a punishment for no fault of her own. Situations like this are commonplace under the veils of the joint family system's so-called respectability.

Many female novelists have addressed the problem of sexual assault in order to expose the trauma that women suffer behind the secure walls of their families. The manner in which Kapur raises the issues and then winds in a hushed manner again makes it unclear who is abused, Vicky or Nisha, given that the writer operates on a parallel track of sympathy for both of these characters.

Vicky's sexual abuse of Nisha is attributed to a lack of love and dejection from his maternal relatives, as well as a lack of concern for him following his mother's death. He becomes an eyesore for Sona, Vicky's foster mother, who never thinks of him as a growing boy and treats him as a family attendant to take care of her children. As an outcome, the author brings out his bad conduct.

The home, which is regarded as a safe haven, has become a site for psychological and sexual assaults on young girls and boys. This issue can also be interpreted as a form of portrayal of child abuse in general, with the writer attempting to examine the boy's psychology in order to determine what causes these instances in the family as a result of the selfish limitations of middle-class customs.

Nisha's next protest takes the form of her defiance against marriage customs. She has an innate yearning to be alone. All of this is the result of her uncle's honest efforts to give her with an excellent education and a pleasant family environment for the past eleven years. As a result, the girl becomes the Home's first woman to attend college. A sense begins to drive her that she is different from the other women in the family. She wishes to defy all conventions. She dreams outside of the tight norms of matrimony and family maternity. She resists and dares to marry a boy from a lower caste in a patriarchal family culture where women are meant to remain on the margins of home and the family believes in arranged marriages. She displays resentment against the types of marriages that occur in the family. Raju, her younger brother, marries in the most conventional way possible: "a collection of old fashioned people where Raju is allowed a glimpse of the girl, though his opinion was the least important as every elder of the family believed: "What did the boy know of life, that he should be allowed a decision?" (Home, 249)

Nisha, walks 'off the beaten track' and thinks beyond the frames of an arranged marriage in her family. She asks her Rupa masi:

"What do you think of love marriages? and Rupa replies in a matter-of-fact way, without missing a word- "They are very bad. Require too much adjustment." (Home, 196)

Perhaps she wants to emphasise the dangers of basing a marriage on a single, fleeting passion. There is an immense struggle within Nisha's beliefs as her sense of self-worth finally leads her to oppose her conservative family. She is alone and has no one to rely on. She defies her family's traditional beliefs by marrying Suresh, a low caste boy whose father owns an auto repair shop. Her opposition to family traditions around her marriage grows stronger, and her resolve to pursue a 'love marriage' grows stronger as the boy dares to visit Nisha's father at his shop. She's not allowed to go to college. Her movements were watched. But her decision remains unchanged.

Nisha cries out in anguish when she learns that the boy belongs to a lower caste:

"Who cares about caste these days? What you really want is to sell me in the market". She sobbed with indignant emotion. "Sell me and be done with it. What are you waiting for?" (Home, 200) and further -she became the injured party - "Either I marry him or nobody."

"... She noticed nothing and said nothing. She did not care what happened to her. She ate less, she spoke less. What was there to say?" (Home, 201)



This is a commentary on the paradoxes and tensions that exist between the norms of traditional Indian families and new sets of values based on a more equal and modern India. Only because of her annoyances is a meeting between Raju, her uncle Premnath, and her lover arranged. However, it turns out to be a preplanned event in which the youngster is previously approached, and his family is threatened with dire consequences. However, after being disillusioned in her love and learning of her family's efforts to scare her beloved and his family, she concludes:

'They can't force me to marry someone I don't want to.' (Home, 207)

Though the affair is over, Nisha's resolve to pursue a love marriage demonstrates her strength. Her defiance of social standards and the arranged marriage tradition casts her in the role of a new woman confronting the old order. It is strange that her aspirations do not come true, but her courage to rebel against preconceived beliefs represents the developing new woman of the twenty-first century who asserts her right to pursue her dreams and individuality.

Nisha's protest against the marriages in her family and her determination to marry for love are ruthlessly dissolved indicating the triumph of the hegemonic- heteronormative social order on which popular literature is based. Rather than the radical feminist rejection of patriarchal mores, this narrative depicts the female protagonist's eventual reintegration into the current social framework, but with increased awareness gained via a period of rebellion and self-scrutiny. As a result, the institution of marriage provides little place for a woman to express her wishes. Nisha takes the initiative for a love marriage after the example of her parents, Yashpal and Sona, who married thirty years ago by choice. Their opposition to their daughter's desire to marry for love seems incomprehensible. It can only be explained that Yashpal marries because he is a male and Nisha does not because she is a woman, causing her protests to fall prey to the concept of heterotopia.

And the result is that Nisha suffers in uncountable ways. Lonely from all women in the family she has to grapple with loneliness. The impositions of 'home' fall so heavily upon her psyche that her skin develops eczema of the kind that the doctor terms it as the one caused by stress and strain. Her marital prospects are jeopardised due to her skin condition. She endures all of the humiliating jeering from others since, for a woman in Indian society, her identity is fixed with her marriage. Not only that, but she is mentally burdened as 'amangli', i.e. a girl born under the wrong astrological stars, which are meant to be obstacles to marriage. The girl is completely broken; she breaks out in despair to her masi:

"If it is only marriage that will get me out, and then marry me off to anybody, I don't care.'

Which prince are they waiting for? Or I have to remain here forever?" (Home, 281)

It is at this stage that she displays courage in struggling with the meanness of her life. Despite everything going against her, she again tries to break the tradition of Home that only men could carry the legacy of business. She talks to her father.

"If only you could take me with you, Papaji... I have seen girls working in shops. Why should it be only Ajay, Vijay and Raju? There must be something I too can do."  
(Home, 268)

And then there's no stopping her. She takes the risk of starting her own fashion-mail order business from the family basement. This provides her with a feeling of self, stability, and psychological relief. She transforms from the unworthy woman her home has made her into a woman of substance.

"She names it 'Nisha Creations'... She works hard, she lives with the panic, excitement and challenges with what the businessmen do".  
(Home, 292)

She now had no time to dwell on her defeated thinking. Her mail order fashion clothing business puts her in the spotlight, and everyone in her family admires her entrepreneurial abilities. She gains a new perspective on life; she emerges from her personal crises and is now willing to accept life as it comes to her. Her commercial success coincides with her good fortune, according to the author, in marrying a childless widower. Her spouse says to her after the marriage, as she approaches a covered Verandah:

"Now you are home", said Arvind as they climbed the stairs, he carrying her suitcase, she followed him in gold high heels. "Home." (Home, 302)

These remarks are ironic in the sense that Nisha raises all of her objections against her home, which restricts her in every way to her selfdom, and returns -to this identical 'home,' with just the difference of walls and members within it. This is what Kapur wants to portray that there is no escape from 'Home'. However, it cannot be as bad as it has been for Nisha, Sunita, and Sonu. Nisha's protests have amply demonstrated this.

The marriage tests her entrepreneurial spirit and resets Nisha's life clock to the same time. It becomes more difficult for her to conduct her business at his father's shop and investigate matters with the same zeal as before her marriage. She conceives again, and when she learns she is pregnant twins, her husband gets protective of her. Slowly, 'Nisha Creations' gives way to 'Puja Creations,' and the business of readymade clothing passes from her hands to Raju's wife, and she ends up in the same predicament as every other woman in the home.

An examination of Nisha's predictions in *Home* regarding her protests leads us to assume that Manju Kapur places Nisha in the category of developing Indian women for whom protesting against traditional standards becomes an immediate necessity for survival and existence. Her support for love marriage, and later, her entry into the domain of entrepreneurship, which had previously been unattainable by any woman in the family, is proof that women are rising every day, and their questions and revolts have undoubtedly shaken the hegemonic norms under the patriarchal structure.

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## Comprehensive Analysis of Lexical Case Systems in Standard Khasi, War Khasi, and War Jaiñtia: A Syntactic Perspective

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### Abstract

This study undertakes a comprehensive comparative analysis of the lexical case systems within the context of Standard Khasi, War Khasi, and War Jaiñtia, spoken in the northeastern region of India. While these varieties share syntactic structures, they diverge significantly in terms of phonological and morphological features from the standard language. The study focuses on the ten lexical cases that are inherent to these languages: nominative, accusative, dative, ablative, instrumental, locative, allative, comitative, genitive, and vocative. By delving into the forms, functions, and syntactic roles of these cases, the article uncovers the intricate linguistic complexities that distinguish these varieties while offering insights into their shared linguistic features.

By analyzing phonological and morphological variations between the two varieties and Standard Khasi, this article showcases the influence of these differences on case systems. It then proceeds to explore the shared syntactic framework that surpasses these variations, highlighting the underlying syntactic structures that facilitate effective communication across the varieties.

The crux of this study lies in the comparative analysis of the ten lexical cases, shedding light on both similarities and contrasts in their usage, thus contributing to the broader understanding of linguistic typology.

**Keywords:** Khasi language, lexical cases, comparative analysis, syntactic alignment, linguistic variation.

## 1. Introduction

This study aims to unravel the complex intricacies of lexical case systems in three distinctive Khasi varieties: Standard Khasi, War Khasi (Umñiuh-Tmar), and War Jaiñtia (Lamin Variety). By adopting a dedicated syntactic perspective, this study seeks to juxtapose the shared structures and variances that characterize these varieties, shedding light on how grammatical cases encode semantic and syntactic meanings within noun phrases.

### 1.1 Background and Significance of the Study

The Khasi language, with its diverse array of varieties, represents a linguist's treasure trove, offering insights into the intricate relationship between linguistic evolution and cultural influences. The significance of this study lies in its potential to uncover the intricate structures within lexical case systems across Standard Khasi, War Khasi (Umñiuh-Tmar), and War Jaiñtia (Lamin Variety). This exploration not only enriches our understanding of linguistic diversity but also contributes to the broader field of linguistic typology and dialectal studies.

### 1.2 Brief Overview of the Khasi Language and Its Varieties

Standard Khasi belongs to the Austro-Asiatic family of languages and is spoken in the central and eastern parts of the state of Meghalaya in northeastern India by the indigenous Khasi people, exhibiting significant dialectal variations. Grierson (1904) classified four dialects of Khasi: Standard Khasi, which serves as the formal language and is used for all literary purposes; Pnar or Synteng; Lyngngam; and the War dialects. The War dialects of Khasi are assumed to be subdivided into two groups: War-Khasi and War-Jaiñtia. These are spoken in the southeastern corner of the East Khasi Hills District and the Jaiñtia Hills District, respectively.

War-Khasi is represented by the Umñiuh variety, spoken in Umñiuh-Tmar village situated in the Pynursla Tehsil of the East Khasi Hills district in Meghalaya, India. This village is located approximately 31 km away from the sub-district headquarters of Pynursla and 80 km away from the district headquarters of Shillong. On the other hand, War-Jaiñtia is represented by the Lamin variety, spoken in Lamin village situated in the Amlarem Block of the Jaiñtia Hills District. This

village is located 24 km to the south of the District headquarters of Jowai and 44 km from the state capital, Shillong.

### **1.3 Research Objectives and Scope**

The primary objective of this study is to undertake a comprehensive comparative analysis of the lexical case systems within Standard Khasi, War Khasi (Umñiuh-Tmar), and War Jaiñtia (Lamin Variety) through a dedicated syntactic lens. By juxtaposing the syntactic structures, case markers, and semantic roles across these varieties, this research aims to discern the similarities and variations that define their case systems. The scope of this study extends to presenting a cross-linguistic survey of these case systems, offering insights into how grammatical cases serve as vehicles for encoding semantic and syntactic information within noun phrases.

As we delve into the subsequent sections, this study will cover the phonological and morphological variations that distinguish these varieties from the Standard language, explore the shared syntactic framework that predominates these differences, conduct a comprehensive analysis of the different types of lexical cases present, and conclude by underlining the broader implications for linguistic typology. Through this dedicated exploration, we hope to not only uncover the linguistic intricacies within these Khasi varieties but also contribute to the ongoing discourse on language diversity and its implications.

## **2. Methodology**

### **2.1 Data Collection**

The methodology employed for this study involved a meticulous process of data collection, ensuring the selection of representative linguistic texts, proficient native speakers, and diverse linguistic resources. A purposive sampling strategy was employed to select high-quality texts that capture a range of syntactic structures and case usage across the varieties. Native speakers, proficient in each variety, were engaged in structured linguistic interviews, facilitating the extraction of authentic spoken language data. Additionally, a collection of published linguistic materials, grammars, and linguistic databases provided invaluable resources for detailed analysis.

## 2.2 Comparative Linguistic Analysis Approach

The cornerstone of this study lies in the comparative linguistic analysis approach, which facilitates an in-depth exploration of the lexical case systems within Standard Khasi, War Khasi, and War Jaiñtia. A syntactic perspective forms the analytical lens through which the study dissects the intricate interplay of linguistic features. This approach involves the following key steps:

### 2.2.1 Syntactic Analysis

The collected data were subjected to meticulous syntactic analysis, focusing on the identification and extraction of instances where lexical cases are employed. Each case's syntactic role, function, and position within sentences were carefully examined, drawing attention to their semantic implications and grammatical relationships. The goal was to uncover patterns of case usage within and across the varieties.

### 2.2.2 Typological Comparison

The extracted data underwent a typological comparison, a method that involves contrasting the case systems of Standard Khasi, War Khasi, and War Jaiñtia. This involved systematically aligning and juxtaposing instances of case usage in the two varieties, comparing them with Standard Khasi, which was taken as the reference language. This approach facilitated the identification of commonalities and variations in forms and functions. This comparison was crucial for identifying the complexities of syntactic alignment and divergences.

By merging syntactic analysis with typological comparison, this methodology offered a comprehensive perspective on the case systems of the Khasi varieties. It enabled the identification of shared syntactic principles while revealing the underlying syntactic structures that govern case usage. Ultimately, this approach unveiled both the linguistic unity and the dialectal diversity that characterize the lexical case systems in Standard Khasi, War Khasi, and War Jaiñtia. Through this methodological approach, the study aims to provide valuable insights to the field of linguistic typology and dialectal analysis.

## 3. Phonological and Morphological Variations among Varieties

Phonological and morphological variations play a pivotal role in shaping the identities of varieties within the Khasi language family. These linguistic differences reflect historical, geographical, and socio-cultural factors that have contributed to the emergence of distinct Khasi varieties. While Standard Khasi serves as the benchmark for phonological and morphological features, War Khasi and War Jaiñtia have undergone phonetic shifts and morphological innovations that contribute to their distinctiveness from the standard language. These linguistic variations are fundamental to understanding the unique identities of each variety and their intricate case systems. In this section, we explore the distinct phonological and morphological features present in these varieties and their consequential impact on case systems.

### 3.1 Examination of Phonological and Morphological Differences

The Phonological and morphological differences between the War-Khasi (Umñiuh Variety - UV) and War-Jaiñtia (Lamin Variety - LV) varieties in comparison to Standard Khasi (SK) are evident from the variations observed in the case distinctions provided in Table 1. These differences contribute to the differentiation of the varieties and showcase the unique phonological and morphological features that characterize each variety:

Examining the phonological and morphological differences presented in Table 1 between Standard Khasi (SK), Umñiuh Variety (UV), and Lamin Variety (LV), we can explore the role of how these variations help in shaping dialectal identities, contributing to the unique character and distinctiveness of each dialect.

Table 1: Comparative List of Case Distinctions in Standard Khasi, Umñiuh, and Lamin Varieties

Case Distinction	Standard Khasi (SK)	Umñiuh Variety (UV)	Lamin Variety(LV)
1. Nominative Case	∅	∅	∅
2. Accusative Case	ja	ha	he
3. Dative Case	ja	ha	hu/he/hi
4. Instrumental Case	da	di	de
5. Locative Case	ha	ha	ti
6. Ablative Case	na	na	no?
7. Genitive Case	joŋ	joŋ	chuoŋ



8. Allative Case	ʃa	ʃa	ʃo
9. Comitative Case	bad	en	be
10. Vocative Case	aʔ	aʔ	oʔ

### 3.1.1 Nominative Case

All three varieties share the same phonological realization ( $\emptyset$ ), marked by an absence of any distinct sound, contributing to a shared grammatical feature. All three varieties share the same morphological feature, with no overt marker for the nominative case. This indicates consistency in this aspect across the varieties.

### 3.1.2 Accusative Case

SK employs [ja] for the accusative case, while UV uses [ha] and LV utilizes [he]. These distinct sounds associated with the accusative case contribute to phonological variation and identity differentiation. The distinct accusative markers in UV and LV indicate separate morphological realizations for this case.

### 3.1.3 Dative Case

SK uses [ja] for the dative case, while UV employs [ha], and LV uses [hu/he/hi], showcasing the most significant phonological difference among these varieties. The distinct sounds utilized in LV contribute to a distinct phonological identity. The variety in LV introduces a unique morphological feature with a range of markers based on gender and number.

### 3.1.4 Instrumental Case

All three varieties utilize distinct phonological realizations ([da], [di], [de]) for the instrumental case. The consistent morphological variation in this case highlights diversity in instrumental case marking. The variations in instrumental case markers contribute to the differentiation among these varieties.

### 3.1.5 Locative Case

SK and UV both employ [ha] for the locative case, while LV uses [ti], highlighting phonological divergence. This phonological difference in the locative case contributes to LV's distinct identity. LV's usage of "ti" introduces a distinct morphological feature for the locative case.

### **3.1.6 Ablative Case**

SK and UV both use [na] for the ablative case, whereas LV employs a distinct phonological realization ([noʔ]) for the ablative case. This unique sound used in the ablative case marker contributes to dialectal distinctiveness of LV from SK and UV. The morphological variation in ablative case markers showcases different forms across the varieties.

### **3.1.7 Genitive Case**

SK and UV share the same phonological realization ([jɔŋ]) for the genitive case, while LV uses [c<sup>h</sup>uəŋ] for the genitive case, indicating phonological divergence. The difference in genitive markers contributes to LV's distinct identity. The distinct genitive markers in LV indicate a morphological difference, potentially influenced by phonological and historical factors.

### **3.1.8 Allative Case**

All three varieties share the identical phonological realization ([fa]) for the allative case. The consistent sound employed for the allative case contributes to a shared grammatical identity. The consistent use of "fa" for the allative case indicates similarity in this morphological feature.

### **3.1.9 Comitative Case**

SK uses [bad] for the comitative case, UV employs [en], and LV uses [be] for the comitative case. The phonological differences in comitative markers contribute to the distinctiveness of each variety. The variations in comitative markers introduce distinct morphological forms across the varieties.

### **3.1.10 Vocative Case**

SK and UV share the same phonological realization ([aʔ]), while LV uses a distinct phonological realization ([oʔ]) for the vocative case. The variations in vocative case markers contribute to dialectal differentiation. The morphological variations in vocative markers illustrate diversity in addressing vocatives.

#### **4. Comparative Syntactic Analysis of Lexical Cases in Standard Khasi, War Khasi, and War Jaiñtia**

The comparative syntactic analysis of the lexical case systems in Standard Khasi (SK), War Khasi, and War Jaiñtia provides a comprehensive understanding of the complex variations and commonalities across these Khasi varieties. Each lexical case serves distinct functions within sentences, offering insights into how syntactic roles are marked and interpreted in different contexts.

##### **4.1 Shared Syntactic Framework**

Despite the phonological and morphological variations, an exploration of the syntactic structures reveals that Standard Khasi, War Khasi, and War Jaiñtia share fundamental grammatical foundations. The basic sentence structures, constituent order, and core syntactic relationships exhibit noteworthy commonalities. These shared structures serve as a linguistic bridge, allowing speakers of these varieties to understand each other's speech despite the dialectal differences.

The existence of shared syntactic principles among Standard Khasi, War Khasi, and War Jaiñtia has significant implications for effective linguistic communication. This shared foundation enables speakers of these varieties to intuitively understand the core structure of sentences, facilitating seamless interactions in various contexts. The syntactic commonalities serve as a medium for interdialectal intelligibility, which is crucial in multilingual communities where speakers regularly encounter different Khasi varieties.

Moreover, this shared syntactic framework lays the groundwork for efficient language acquisition and preservation. Language learners and speakers transitioning between these varieties can leverage their understanding of shared syntax as a basis for mastering the linguistic

complexities specific to each variety. This becomes particularly relevant in contexts where language preservation efforts intersect with linguistic diversity.

In essence, the shared syntactic framework discovered across Standard Khasi, War Khasi, and War Jaiñtia exemplifies the remarkable resilience of linguistic structures in the face of phonological and morphological divergence. This shared foundation not only ensures mutual intelligibility but also highlights the intrinsic linguistic unity that binds these Khasi varieties together with the Standard language.

## 4.2 Comparative Analysis of the Lexical Case Systems

In this section, we delve into the detailed comparative analysis of the lexical case systems, exploring the specific ways in which these syntactic structures interact with case distinctions across the varieties. Through this exploration, we aim to unveil the intricate interplay between syntax and case systems within the Khasi language landscape.

### 4.2.1 Nominative Case

The nominative case is unmarked ( $\emptyset$ ) in Standard Khasi (SK), Umñiuh Variety (UV), and Lamin Variety (LV), indicating the agent or subject of a sentence. This shared syntactic structure reflects a common nominative case marking feature across the Khasi varieties. The nominative case is structurally employed to show the relationship between the verb 'iam' (cry) in SK and UV, and 'niu' (cry) in LV, and the subject noun phrases 'u lam', as exemplified in sentences 1 (a), (b), and (c) below. When comparing the corresponding sentences, it's interesting to note that unlike Standard Khasi, where the agreement marker 'u' ('Third Singular Masculine') appears before the verb, in the Umñiuh Variety (UV) and Lamin Variety (LV), the agreement marker 'u' is placed after the verb 'cry', as observed in the following sentences.

1. (a) u lam  $\emptyset$  u iam (SK)  
3SM Iba NOM 3SM cry  
'Lam cries'

- (b) u lam  $\emptyset$  iam u (UV)

3SM Lam NOM cry 3SM  
'Lam cries'

(c) u lam  $\emptyset$  niu u (LV)  
3SM Iba NOM cry 3SM  
'Lam cries'

#### 4.2.2 Accusative Case

The marking of the accusative case displays noticeable variation. This case designates the direct object of transitive verbs, indicating the entity that undergoes the action. The distinct markers reveal dialect-specific choices in encoding accusative semantics. In the given examples 2 (a), (b), and (c), we can observe that the object noun phrases (NPs) in the direct object positions are in the objective case. The Accusative Case in Standard Khasi (SK) is expressed as 'ja', while in the War-Khasi variety of Umñiuh (UV), it is expressed as 'ha'. Unlike SK and UV, which do not feature any gender-specific accusative case markers, as exemplified in the corresponding sentences below, the War-Jaiñtia variety of Lamin (LV) employs separate accusative forms based on the gender of the NPs that are in the accusative case. This is achieved by incorporating the vowel of the third person PNG markers into the accusative morpheme /h-/, yielding 'he' for feminine objects (derived from the Third Singular Feminine 'ke'), 'hu' for masculine objects (derived from the Third Singular Masculine 'u'), and 'hi' for plural objects (derived from the Third Person Plural 'i'). However, for first and second person object NPs that are in the accusative case, they are marked by the 'he' marker, denoting the Third Singular Feminine Accusative, to indicate the accusative case, as exemplified in 2 (c) below.

2.

(a) (i) u ban u ieit **ja** ka lin (SK)  
3SM Ban 3SM love ACC 3SF Lin  
'Ban loves Lin'

(ii) ka lin ka ieit **ja** u ban (SK)  
3SF Lin 3SF love ACC 3SM Ban

‘Lin loves Ban’

(iii) u lam u ieit **ja** ki miaw (SK)  
3SM Lam 3SM love ACC 3PL cat

‘Lam loves cats’

(b) (i) u ban eid u **ha** ka lin (UV)  
3SM Ban love 3SM ACC 3SF Lin

‘Ban loves Lin’

(ii) ka lin eid ka **ha** u ban (UV)  
3SF Lin love 3SF ACC 3SM Lam

‘Ban loves Lin’

(iii) u lam eid u **ha** ki miaw (UV)  
3SM Lam 3SM love ACC 3PL cat

‘Lam loves cats’

(c) (i) u ban meyue u **he** ke lin (LV)  
3SM Ban love 3SM ACC(F) 3SF Lin

‘Ban loves Lin’

(ii) ke lin meyue ke **hu** ban (LV)  
3SF Lin love 3SF ACC(M) Ban

‘Ban loves Mary’

(iii) u lam meyue u **hi** miew (LV)  
3SM Lam love 3SM ACC(3PL) cat

‘Lam loves cats’

#### 4.2.3 Dative Case

This case is used to mark recipients or beneficiaries of actions, and the shared markers indicate a common syntactic principle across the varieties. The Dative Case in Standard Khasi (SK) is expressed as ‘ja’, in Umñiuh Variety (UV) it is ‘ha’, and in Lamin Variety (LV) it is ‘hu/he/hi’, as shown in the following sentences 3 (a), (b), and (c) below. The dative case markers ‘ja’ in SK, ‘ha’ in UV, and ‘hu’ in LV indicate the relationship between the ditransitive verb ‘ai’ (give) and its indirect object noun phrase ‘u ban’ in both SK and UV, as demonstrated in sentences 3 (a), (b), and (c). It’s worth discussing that Standard Khasi (SK), Umñiuh Variety (UV), and Lamin Variety (LV) exhibit case syncretism, where there is homophony between two case forms—specifically, the accusative case and the dative case forms are homophonous.

3.

(a) u kit u ai ka kali *ja* u ban (SK)  
 3SM Kit 3SM give 3SF car DAT 3SM Ban  
 ‘Kit gives the car to Ban’

(b) u kit ai u ka kali *ha* u ban (UV)  
 3SM Kit give 3SM 3SF car DAT 3SM Ban  
 ‘Kit gives the car to Ban’

(c) u kit ai e ke metor *hu* ban (LV)  
 3SM Kit give SAM 3SF car DAT Ban  
 ‘Kit gives the car to Ban’

#### 4.2.4 Instrumental Case

The instrumental case in Standard Khasi (SK) is marked as ‘da’, while Umñiuh Variety (UV) employs ‘di’ and Lamin Variety (LV) uses ‘de’. This case indicates the means or instrument by which an action is performed. The variation in markers illustrates how these varieties diverge in the syntactic expression of instrumental relations. In SK, UV, and LV, the instrumental case indicates that the noun phrase ‘ka tari’ in SK and UV, and ‘ke tari’ in LV, serves as the instrument for carrying out the action indicated by the verb ‘pyn-yap’ (CAUS-kill) in SK and UV, and ‘pyn-yep’ (CAUS-kill) in LV. This is demonstrated in the following sentences 4 (a), (b), and (c) below.

When comparing the corresponding sentences, it's interesting to note that in the examples that follow, the order changes in UV, where INST precedes ACC, unlike SK, whereas in LV, the ACC is absent.

4.

(a) u ki u pyn-yap ia u ksew **da** ka tari (SK)  
 3SM kit 3SM CAUS-kill ACC 3SM dog INST 3SF knife  
 ‘Kit kills the dog with a knife’

(b) u kit pyn-yap u **di** ka tari ha u kshu (UV)  
 3SM kit CAUS-kill 3SM INST 3SF knife ACC 3SM dog  
 ‘Kit kills the dog with a knife’

(c) u kit pyn-yep u ksia **de** ke tari (LV)  
 3SM kit CAUS-kill 3SM dog INST 3SF knife  
 ‘Kit kills the dog with a knife’

#### 4.2.5 Locative Case

The locative case marker is consistent in Standard Khasi (SK) and Umñiuh Variety (UV), expressed as 'ha', while Lamin Variety (LV) uses 'ti'. This case indicates spatial relationships and destinations. The shared marker in SK and UV underscores syntactic similarity, while LV introduces a distinct marker. The locative case markers 'ha' in SK and UV and 'ti' in LV are placed before *poh* ‘under’, indicating the location of action referred to by the copula 'don' (in SK), 'em' (in UV), and 'ah' (in LV), as observed in sentences 5 (a), (b), and (c) below. The agreement marker 'ka', denoting 'Third Singular Feminine' in SK, precedes the copula in 5 (a), whereas in UV and LV, 'ka' (Third Singular Feminine) and 'ke' (Third Singular Feminine), respectively, come after the copula in 5 (b) and 5 (c), as shown below. Additionally, Umñiuh Variety (UV) employs the same marker for LOC, which sounds the same as the ACC and DAT cases.

5.

(a) ka miaw ka don **ha** poh ka miej (SK)



3SF cat 3SF COP LOC under 3SF table

‘The cat is under the table’

(b) ka miaw em ka *ha* poh miej (UV)

3SF cat COP 3SF LOC under table

‘The cat is under the table’

(c) ke miew ah ke *ti* poh ke miej (LV)

3SF cat COP 3SF LOC under 3SF table

‘The cat is under the table’

#### 4.2.6 Ablative Case

This case signifies the source or origin of an action, indicating separation or movement away from a point of origin. The Ablative Case in Standard Khasi (SK) and Umñiuh Variety (UV) is expressed by 'na', while in Lamin Variety (LV), it is expressed by 'no?'. These markers are positioned immediately after the verb in SK and LV, and after the agreement marker 'u' (indicating third singular masculine) in UV. This usage is exemplified in the following sentences 6 (a), (b), and (c) provided below.

6. (a) u kit u daN wan *na* yieN (SK)

3SM Kit 3SM PROG come ABL home

‘Kit is coming from home’

(b) u kit doN yia u *na* yiN (UV)

3SM Kit PROG come 3SM ABL home

‘Kit is coming from home’

(c) u kit daN wan *no?* sni u (LV)

3SM Kit PROG come ABL home 3SM

‘Kit is coming from home’

#### 4.2.7 Genitive Case

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Comprehensive Analysis of Lexical Case Systems in Standard Khasi, War Khasi, and War Jaiñtia:  
A Syntactic Perspective

The Genitive case signifies possession or relationships, indicating the entity that possesses another entity. In Standard Khasi (SK), is expressed by *ʃɔŋ*, Umñiuh Variety (UV) by *ʃɔŋ* and in Lamin Variety (LV) by *cʰuɔŋ*, indicating that the item referred to by the noun *u lit* in SK, UV and LV is the possessor of *u ksew* ‘dog’ in SK, *u kshu* ‘dog’ in UV, and *u ksua* ‘dog’ in LV, as exemplified in the following sentences 7 (a), (b) and (c) below.

7. (a) *u ksew ʃɔŋ u lit* (SK)  
 3SM dog GEN 3SM LIT  
 ‘Lit’s dog’

(b) *u kshu ʃɔŋ u lit* (UV)  
 3SM dog GEN 3SM LIT  
 ‘Lit’s dog’

(c) *u ksua cʰuɔŋ u lit* (LV)  
 3SM dog GEN 3SM LIT  
 ‘Lit’s dog’

#### 4.2.8 Allative Case

The allative case in Standard Khasi (SK) is expressed by *ʃa*, Umñiuh Variety (UV) by *ʃa* and Lamin Variety (LV) by *ʃo* placed before *delhi* marking destination as expressed by the action of the verb *leit* ‘go’ in SK, *le* ‘go’ in UV and *lia* ‘go’ in LV as exemplified in the following sentences 8 (a), (b) and (c) below.

8.  
 (a) *ka iba ka-n leit ʃa delhi* (SK)  
 3SF Iba 3SF-FUT go ALL Delhi  
 ‘Iba will go to Delhi’

(b) *ka iba ong ka en le ʃa delhi* (UV)  
 3SF Iba say 3SF FUT go ALL Delhi  
 ‘Iba will go to Delhi’

(c) ke iba jiu lia ke **Σo** delhi (LV)  
 3SF Iba FUT go 3SF ALL Delhi  
 ‘Iba will go to Delhi’

#### 4.2.9 Comitative Case

The comitative case marker varies across the varieties. Standard Khasi uses ‘*bad*’, Umñiuh Variety (UV) by ‘*en*’ and Lamin Variety (LV) by ‘*be*’. This case denotes an associative context, often indicating companionship or social relationships, as exemplified in the following sentences 9 (a), (b) and (c) below.

9.

(a) u ban u leit iew **bad** ka kmie joN u (SK)  
 3SM Ban 3SM go market COM 3SM mother GEN 3SM  
 ‘Ban will go to the market with his mother’

(b) u ban le iew u **en** la kmie (UV)  
 3SM Ban go market 3SM COM PREP mother  
 ‘Ban will go to the market with his mother’

(c) U ban lia jiu **be** ke maw u (LV)  
 3SM Ban go market COM 3SF mother 3SM  
 ‘Ban will go to the market with his mother’

#### 4.2.10 Vocative Case

In both SK and UV, the vocative case is indicated by ‘*a?*’, whereas in LV it is indicated by ‘*o?*’, which serves the purpose of direct address. This case reflects the emotional tone and emphasis placed on addressing a specific entity, as exemplified in the following sentences 10 (a), (b), and (c) below.

(a) a? blei (SK)  
 VOC God  
 ‘Oh God’

(b) aʔ ble (UV)  
VOC God  
'Oh God'

(c) oʔ pra (LV)  
VOC God  
'Oh God'

## 5. Conclusion

The comprehensive analysis of the intricate linguistic landscape of Standard Khasi, War Khasi, and War Jaiñtia has illuminated profound insights embedded in their lexical case systems from a syntactic perspective. The conclusion of this study emphasizes the main findings and their significance for linguistic typology and dialectal studies.

The comparative analysis has unveiled shared syntactic structures and intricate case distinctions between the standard language and its varieties. Despite phonological and morphological differences that set these varieties apart, their communicative patterns are emphasized by a common syntactic framework. The presence of unmarked nominative cases serves as evidence of shared syntactic rules across these varieties. However, variations in case markers for the accusative, dative, instrumental, and other cases reflect the individual character of each variety. This study also reveals case syncretism between the accusative and dative cases in Standard Khasi and Umñiuh Variety, while Lamin Variety employs distinct gender-specific markers for accusative and dative cases. This diversity is further defined through the intricate interplay of semantic roles and syntactic functions.

The study showcases the complex interactions between phonological, morphological, and syntactic elements that influence the lexical case systems in Standard Khasi, War Khasi, and War Jaiñtia. Beyond highlighting the strength of language, the shared syntactic framework that persists despite dialectal differences prompts us to delve into the delicate balance between linguistic heritage and adaptability. This work provides insights into the Khasi varieties in relation to

Standard Khasi, contributing to a broader understanding of linguistic diversity and the factors that shape it.

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## Evaluating and Accessing the Scope of Forensic Linguistics in a Multilingual Context in India

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### Abstract

Forensic linguistics involves the scientific examination of language as evidence in criminal investigations, gaining global importance. However, in India, this field is relatively new and needs substantial research and development. This paper provides an overview of forensic linguistics, discussing its historical development, practices, and advances worldwide. It highlights current issues and scope in the multilingual context, underscoring the potential applications in criminal investigations, the judiciary, and the need for interdisciplinary collaborations. It emphasizes the need for a speech database to support research in forensic linguistics. It discusses the use of English within the legal domain and highlights the necessity of conducting research on courtroom proceedings and legal writing. It proposes the translation of Court judgments into regional languages to eliminate language barriers and increase transparency in the judicial system. It charts the future direction for forensic linguistics in India, urging investment in research and development to promote this emerging field.

**Keywords:** English, forensic linguistics, India, legal language, multilingualism

### 1. Introduction

When Islamic State terrorists released the video of the beheading of journalist James Foley, linguists from all over the world tried to identify the masked terrorist known as Jihadi John by analyzing his voice. In 2014, *The Guardian* quoted phonetician Paul Kerswill, saying that the man's accent was Multicultural London English, possibly with a foreign language background (Chulov & Halliday, 2014). Later, in 2015, *The Washington Post* identified that the man was born in Kuwait and grew up in West London. According to the documents released by Edward

Snowden, the National Security Agency has analyzed and extracted the contents of millions of telephone conversations. The use of forensic linguistics has started to feature prominently in intelligence investigations. Forensic linguistics is the application of linguistics for criminal investigations and judicial procedures. Forensic linguistics is the study of written or spoken language for legal issues. Spoken or written language is analyzed for investigative purposes with the goal that it very well may be presented as evidence in the courtroom. According to Coulthard et al. (2011), forensic linguistics involves the application of linguistics in three main areas, which include analyzing written legal texts, spoken legal practices, providing evidence in criminal and civil investigations, and courtroom disputes. It is the interface between linguistics and the law. Olsson (2008) describes forensic linguistics as the application of linguistics to legal purposes. It is the implementation of linguistic knowledge in legal cases or proceedings. It is a new subfield of applied linguistics that studies the various crossways between language and legal subjects, which is heavily linguistic by nature. Though the usage of language is central to life, it is relatively a newcomer to the arena of forensic sciences.

Forensic linguistics is the application of linguistic theories to legal issues. These linguistic theories are applied to analyze a language/speech sample for investigation. It is a branch of applied linguistics where linguistic knowledge, methodologies, and analysis are applied to forensic and criminal settings. It implements linguistic knowledge and techniques to the language associated with a legal or criminal context. Forensic linguistics applications can be used in criminal and asylum legal proceedings, counter-terrorism, intelligence, and surveillance. Linguists analyze and, at times, write the legal language linguistically and decode the complexity and its origination. They also help as consultants, implementing their linguistic knowledge in analyzing witness interviews and suspect interrogation for a criminal case. Today forensic linguistics is a widely recognized field, and interest in this area appears to be on the rise. Various movies and TV shows have been made in which linguists are employed as experts, playing a pivotal role in a criminal investigation. One such series is “Unabomber,” based on a real case of serial bombing in the US between 1978 and 1995. The case was solved in 1996 when Unabomber sent a 35,000-word essay claiming his motives. The offender was arrested after a linguistic analysis of the manifesto and letters found at his place determined that the same person wrote them.

## **2. Historical developments of Forensic Linguistics around the world**

Although forensic linguistics is a significant field in linguistics, it remains a relatively unexplored field. Only a few institutions introduced this arena as a part of linguistics. Therefore, more research is needed to explore this field of language. Though it is claimed to be a nascent subfield of linguistics, it dates back a few decades. Lack of familiarity and lack of proper debut of forensic linguistics, researchers tend to lean toward forensic sciences rather than forensic linguistics. It is challenging to pinpoint the precise moment when forensic linguistics first originated. Since the eighteenth century, researchers have infrequently questioned the authorship of some of the acclaimed literary texts of writers, including William Shakespeare and J.K. Rowling.

The term “Forensic Linguistics” was used by linguistics professor Jan Svartvik in 1968 in his study “The Evans Statements: A case for forensic linguistics.” In this investigation, Svartvik analyzed the statements recorded by the suspect and discovered that all the recordings had a different style of speech and grammar. In the early days of Forensic Linguistics, especially in the United Kingdom, many cases involved examining the validity of police statements. One of the first instances where expert testimony was provided on this subject in Court occurred during a 1989 murder trial at the Old Bailey, when Peter French demonstrated the use of police jargon in a self-incriminating statement that the prosecution claimed was entirely composed of the defendant’s own words. Later, forensic linguists Peter French and Malcolm Coulthard contributed to other criminal investigations, such as the Birmingham Six, the Guildford Four, the Bridgewater Three, and others.

The field of forensic linguistics gained recognition and definition in the United States after the establishment of Miranda Rights, which were named after a defendant who was deemed to have received an insufficient warning by the Supreme Court in 1966. Shuy (1997) investigated the Miranda case and pointed out the arrestee’s rights to individuality and issues of coercion in the interrogation process in the United States. Shuy and other linguists in the US encompassed areas of civil and criminal practices and created awareness about the laws and rights of the citizens. Levi (1994) studied the misleading inferences in the draft of the letters written by the Illinois Department of Public Aid, which used technical and bureaucratic language. The study pointed out that the legal system and law are linguistically naïve and vulnerable. Another noteworthy case investigated by Genine Lentine and Roger Shuy that led to the development of forensic linguistics in the United States was the McDonald’s case. In the 1990s, Quality Inns



International was not allowed to open a chain of hotels named “McSleep” because McDonald’s claimed ownership of the attachment of the prefix “Mc.”

In Australia, the application of forensic linguistics in legal cases began in the 1980s. Linguists were concerned about the rights of individuals in the legal procedure confronted by Aboriginal people. White Australians thought the dialect spoken by Aboriginals, colloquially known as Aboriginal English, to be a defective form of the English spoken by whites. However, it is a dialect of its own. Thus, raising a concern in police interrogations where Aboriginals claimed that police had verbed them. Gibbons (1996) presented that the structure around interrogation in the courtroom was alien to Aboriginal culture. Several research studies focused on the impact of cross-cultural differences between Aboriginals and whites, which affected the legal procedures involving land claim hearings and understanding of legal procedures by Aboriginals.

In Germany, an early case involving Forensic Linguistics was about an alleged case of slander by a tenant in an apartment complex against another tenant (Kniffka, 1981). The dispute centered on whether the term “concubine” was an insult.

Forensic linguistics is involved in criminal cases and helps in legal disputes over the trademarks of organizations. The legal suit Beatles’ Apple Corps bought against Steven Job’s Apple Inc. is one of the most well-known cases of legal disputes. Forensic linguists are called as expert witnesses to offer linguistic analysis of legal documents and other documentary evidence.

Another case that needs forensic linguistics intervention is of plagiarism. J.K. Rowling’s *Harry Potter* and Dan Brown’s *The Da Vinci Code* are famous literature accused of plagiarism. In plagiarism detection, forensic linguists examine language samples from various authors and determine which author’s literary style and language match the disputed text the most.

Forensic linguistics is developing considerably, and in 1989, the International Association for Forensic Phonetics (IAFP) was established for linguists actively involved in forensic phonetics. Later, in 1990, *Forensic Phonetics* by John Baldwin and Peter French was the first book in this area and was of direct significance to linguists involved in the legal procedures in the UK. Though forensic linguistics is a relatively young field, it has reached maturity in academic discipline with the establishment of organizations, among them are the International Association of Forensic Linguists (IAFL), The International Association of Forensic Phonetics and Acoustics (IAFPA), American Academy of Forensic Science (AAFS), International

Association for Forensic and Legal Linguistics (IAFLL) and Germanic Society for Forensic Linguistics (GSFL). There are journals for publications in this field, such as The International Journal of Speech, Language, and Law (IJSLL) and the Journal of Forensic Science (JFS).

Globally, there has been significant progress in establishing forensic laboratories to aid courts in delivering criminal justice more effectively by identifying perpetrators of crime and exonerating individuals who have been wrongfully accused. Several labs, such as JP French Associates, Forensic Speech and Acoustic Laboratory (UK), and Forensic Communication Associates (USA), work on speaker profiling, author identification, and forensic analysis of voices.

### **3. Forensic Linguistics: Scopes**

Forensic linguistics is the scientific study of language for forensic purposes and context. It includes numerous diverse subfields:

*Authorship attribution (Written language)* - When a piece of writing, such as an email or text message, has an unidentified author, experts analyze it and draw inferences about the author's background, including their age or education. It is called sociolinguistics profiling. An expert evaluates linguistic similarity and distinctiveness in disputed texts, such as recurrent spelling mistakes, by comparing them to known authorship text samples. The expert offers their assessment of the likelihood that the texts were written by the same author. This is called comparative authorship analysis.

*Meaning Analysis (Written and spoken language)* - This approach examines words or phrases, often slang or dialect, in speech or text. The expert examines the linguistics material, for instance, looking at its regional provenance, and then makes comments on its context.

*Speaker analysis*- Speaker profiling involves a sufficiently accurate functional description of speaker characteristics that accurately reflect the speaker's physical, emotional, and cognitive state, dialect, social class markers, and speech patterns. In speech comparison, speech samples of a known person are compared with those from an unknown origin by an expert. The expert determines the similarities and dissimilarities by analyzing the features in all samples and studies whether the results support the view that the recordings are of the same speaker or different speakers. In automatic speaker recognition and verification, the computational technology extracts biometric data from voice samples based on the physiology of a person's

vocal tract. These samples can be compared to others to carry out automatic speaker comparisons or to determine whether the same speaker can be heard in different recordings. The technology can search through enormous speaker databases. This differs from automatic voice recognition systems, which identify words rather than speakers.

*Transcription* involves phoneticians transcribing recorded speech samples

*Disputed utterances* - Experts can examine an existing recording from a crime when the content of what was said is disputed.

*Tape authentication* - When the date of the recording is in question, experts examine the authenticity of the recordings. Techniques include comparing low-level frequency fluctuation patterns recorded from the national power supply with those in a database.

*Deception detection* - The technology examines audio samples of speech (often captured during a phone call) and attempts to identify emotions like stress that are allegedly suggestive of deception.

*Asylum and Language Analysis* - The experts use several techniques, including language analysis, to verify an asylum applicant's claimed background if there is any question. Systematic testing is done on the purported nationalities that are linked to a significant number of fraudulent asylum applications. The linguist's justification for adopting language analysis includes expediting application processing, reducing expenses, discouraging false claims, and identifying fraud in asylum claims.

#### **4. Forensic Linguistics in India: A Review**

India, a multilingual nation with linguistic diversity, has a broad scope for the development of forensic linguistics. However, India is way behind in using forensic linguistics in criminal investigations and legal issues. Central Government Act, Section 277 in The Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973, resolutely confirms the access to trial in the language of the accused and/or witness. With twenty-two scheduled languages in India, the intervention of forensic linguistics in the interpretation and accuracy of law is essential to the Indian judiciary system. Implementing linguistic techniques and knowledge in the examination of documentation of the language of the accused and witness will augment the Right to Fair Trial under Article 21 of the Constitution of India. However, unfortunately, the role of Forensic linguistics in the Indian judiciary system is at the elementary level. According to Sinha (2015), forensic linguistics is

yet to receive the appropriate attention it deserves. It is regrettable to note that India is falling behind in terms of progress in this area. Forensic Linguistic intervention in criminal investigation, trial, and interpretation of law should be made requisite in India.

There are seven Central Forensic Science Laboratories (CFSL) in India located in Chandigarh, Hyderabad, New Delhi, Kolkata, Pune, Bhopal, and Guwahati; only Chandigarh has a computerized speech lab and equipment for speaker identification system. Some states have Forensic Science Laboratories, whereas only Tamil Nadu has a computer speech lab with minimal equipment for voice identification. In 2014, Nasib Singh, a constable, was accused of demanding and accepting bribes. The complainant and his friend set up a sting operation where the accused is seen asking for a bribe. The Central Bureau of Investigation sent the hard disks and memory cards to CFSL, New Delhi, requesting them to opine whether they had been tampered. Experts concluded that the memory card had not been altered or tampered with. Witnesses and complainant Chetan Sharma identified the accused's voice in the audio-video transcription of the recorded conversations when the voice parade was carried out. The Inspector and colleagues who worked with the accused in the same police station also identified the accused's voice. The specimen voice of the accused could not be recorded as he refused to give his specimen voice. At the same time, the complainant's and witnesses' voices were recorded and sent to CFSL for voice comparison. An expert witness of CFSL, New Delhi, examined the voices of the complainant and witness in the video, compared them with the specimen voice, and observed that the voices in the recording and specimen voices were similar and of the same person.

We are witnessing technological expansion and unprecedented growth in crime rate with the advancement. Crime reports against women and children, document forgery, ransom and threat letters, and phone calls are all reported in daily newspapers. It exposes the vulnerability of the large population becoming victims of these crimes. With the rapid growth in population, our nation is witnessing widespread criminal activities. In 2021, a bomb exploded outside the Israeli embassy in New Delhi. A month after the blast, the National Investigation Agency (NIA) found a letter at the blast spot calling the explosion just a "trailer." The NIA analyzed the letter with the help of forensic linguistics, and the experts believe that the writer was from somewhere in Afghanistan or Turkey. The agency narrowed down over 30 suspects, and a layered voice analysis was conducted for further investigation. This suggests that language evidence may be directly related to the case, such as threats, bribery, or hate speech, or it may

be more peripherally related, requiring a linguist to explain the meaning of what is spoken or written, the manner in which speech or text is delivered, and the role of context in the interpretation of the message.

India's geostrategic location, a relatively strong economic position as compared to its neighboring countries, and liberal democratic credentials have made it a magnet for people of other countries fleeing persecution or seeking a better life. India has taken refugees/illegal immigrants from Tibet, Myanmar, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. The influx of refugees/illegal immigration has primarily been left unattended. This neglect has adversely affected the interests of the local population in the places seeing large-scale influxes of illegal immigrants and the country's national security interests. The use of language testing to aid in the process of the determination of the nationality of those people seeking refugee status can help solve this issue. Several countries, such as Sweden, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Germany, and Belgium, have used LADO as part of the asylum process since 1993. An analysis of the claimant's speech can be conducted to determine if it exhibits the characteristics expected of a particular place of origin. Asylum seekers can be interviewed, and linguists and native speakers can analyze their languages to help determine their origin.

As in the present scenario, people are arrested for tweets, WhatsApp messages, and various Facebook posts. In such cases, linguists can help interpret such messages and posts and contribute to the judicial system. This will not only help the Indian judiciary system but also bring employment opportunities for linguists across the country. However, so far, no efforts have been made by investigating agencies or courts to invite linguists to assist in criminal investigation and legal issues. With the escalation in the growth of crime in the country and the inventiveness of criminals in committing crimes, it is necessary to involve new and unconventional techniques to solve crimes and identify criminals. Countries like the UK, Australia, Austria, Finland, Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden have acknowledged that forensic linguistics techniques have successfully helped solve legal issues and criminal investigations. Therefore, India should also try to recognize the importance and need of forensic linguistics in investigation processes.

Various educational institutes in the UK (University of Cambridge, University of York, Cardiff University, Aston University), Germany (University of Marburg), Switzerland (University of Zurich), and the USA (Hofstra University, University of Florida) offer degrees in Forensic

Linguistics. Indian universities and institutions also should incorporate Forensic Linguistics into their curriculum. It may be premature to offer full degrees in Forensic Linguistics in India now. Still, it could be beneficial to introduce a course or paper on the topic in graduate and post-graduate programs. International collaborations, workshops, and seminars can be organized to create awareness and motivate students and researchers. A collaboration between linguists, police personnel, and the legal community is essential to establish a common platform for discussing the importance of forensic linguistics. This collaboration is crucial to impart training to people involved in the criminal justice system. A professional association or organization can be established in India to promote the advancement of forensic linguistics. The establishment of proper forensic laboratories and the development of technical facilities are essential for the efficient processing of linguistic evidence.

#### **4.1. Fostering forensic research and creating databases in India**

The study and research of Forensic Linguistics in India are still in their early stages. To date, research conducted in this area is scanty. It still needs a proper introduction to attract serious attention in education and research. This exciting area of study is yet to emerge and appeals to researchers to venture into this field. Forensic linguistics has the potential to thrive in India due to its multilingualism. To initiate research, data availability is crucial; thus, a database is necessary.

Globally, large-scale speech databases for the phonetically controlled population are available, such as DyVis (Dynamic Variability in Speech- British English), Pool-2010 (German), and NRIPS Speaker Database of Japanese (National Research Institute for Police Sciences). No forensically oriented population database for Indian languages is available yet. It is crucial to conduct research at various sub-levels because linguistic complexity and the large Indian population involve many issues in speech analysis. In the era of giant data, setting up a corpus with a massive amount of data would be the most reasonable thing to accomplish. The Indian speech database can be created to study speaker characteristics. The database can help to evaluate the feasibility of using speaker-specific variations to differentiate individuals within a large population of speakers. It can help to quantify the articulatory-acoustic features of speakers. It can also aid in examining whether diachronic changes can be a factor of speaker idiosyncrasy. Most importantly, speech databases can be shared with researchers and forensic practitioners.

A population database for speech is needed to investigate the possibility of uniqueness in voice and to determine the frequency of particular voice features. A population can be phonetically controlled if we have a significant number of speakers within a population who share the same accent, whether it is regional or social, sex, or age group. To examine variations between the speakers, it is necessary to maintain demographic characteristics constant. Unlike fingerprints or DNA, the notion that every person possesses a distinct voice is complex and not straightforward. Voice is susceptible to various variations (Nolan, 1991, 1997). Although the physical dimensions of the vocal tract of speakers impose some constraints on the sound they produce, speakers can alter their voices depending on various factors such as familiarity with the listener, the level of formality, and background noise (Nolan, 1983; Rose, 2002; Stevens, 1971). A speaker's voice can also be affected by their state of health, such as a sore throat. All these factors contribute to the complexity of identifying a speaker's voice (French, 1994; Nolan, 1997, 2001; & Rose, 2002). The lack of population data is creating major methodological challenges towards the approaches to speaker identification. This lack of population data makes it difficult to determine adequately the extent of particular phonetic variables in identifying a specific speaker from a population of speakers and, particularly, whether such speaker-discriminating information is retained under forensic circumstances. In a phonetically controlled population, it is crucial to identify speaker-specific characteristics of that variable to assess the extent of potential variability of speech. Additionally, speakers may exhibit individual patterns and variables in their speech, adding to the speaker-characterizing information. To investigate the issues related to speaker identification, it is essential to create a dataset comprising recordings from a significant number of speakers who belong to the same speech community.

There is a growing trend in cases where it is necessary to identify the speaker of recorded speech, such as in cases involving fake emergency calls, fraudulent phone transactions, obscene voicemails, and similar situations. According to the Global Scam Report 2021, India ranks fourth in the world's highest number of spam calls receiver country. A survey conducted by Microsoft in 2021 found that India is seen as the hub of scam call centers that are being used for criminal uses. Therefore, it is essential to create a database, especially in Indian English, to study speech characteristics. This will help in analyzing the intercepted and recorded data to narrow down the probable suspects based on speaker profiling.

Other areas in the growing field of forensic linguistics that can be explored are author identification, forensic stylistics, discourse analysis, linguistic dialectology, forensic phonetics, forensic transcriptions, and language variations. There is a considerable gap in studies related to language as evidence, which has led to a lack of research on criminal investigations, hostage negotiations, emergency calls, ransom notes, suicide notes, social media post analysis, and threat assessment. Other research studies can investigate the language of legal proceedings using linguistic tools. Analyzing legal decisions is crucial as many of them are complex and challenging to comprehend.

#### **4.2. English in the Indian Legal Domain**

India is widely recognized as one of the most linguistically diverse nations in the world. India is ranked fourteenth among the most linguistically diverse countries in the world, scoring 91 percent on the Greenberg Linguistic Diversity Index (Lewis et al., 2016). However, despite this rich linguistic repertoire, English continues to be the dominant language used in official communications within the government, as well as in trade and commerce and legal proceedings. India exemplifies the indigenization of English, reflecting the country's linguistic heritage. According to the "English Proficiency Index 2022" by Education First, India is ranked 52<sup>nd</sup> in the world in terms of the English Proficiency Index; however, it currently stands in the second position in the world in terms of the total number of English speakers. In India, however, it is essential to note that English is usually acquired as a second or third language. This means that while English is widely spoken, it is not necessarily the primary language for most people. According to the Census of India 2001, only 226,000 people indicated English as their mother tongue.

Even though the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution grants special recognition to twenty-two languages, English remains the primary language of legislation and judgments. According to the Article 348 (1) (a), the Supreme Court must speak English. The use of English as the language of the law in India is problematic, especially as the judgments of the Supreme Court, the Acts of the federal Parliament, and other regulatory documents written in English are not easily accessible by all Indian citizens. The Supreme Court of India has admitted in its Indian Judiciary annual report for 2018-19 that the language barrier has prevented many citizens from understanding their rights in a comprehensible manner. The legal language makes a legal text incomprehensible to a layperson. There exists an underscore gap that exists between legal



language and layperson languages. The language should be comprehensible, user-oriented, and more accessible to the layperson.

In 2023, the Chief Justice of India announced that judgments delivered by the Supreme Court would be translated into four languages- Hindi, Tamil, Gujarati, and Odia. It was suggested that English in its legal avatar is not comprehensible to people. Translation of judgments in the regional languages will help in the access to justice for the citizens. However, translation into only four languages would not be sufficient to benefit the entire population of India due to its multilingualism. States can also adopt a trilingual system, where judgments can be translated into three languages: English and two regional languages spoken in the state. Although implementing these suggestions is undoubtedly challenging, it has the advantage of not compromising any of the involved interests and thus appears to be the most consistent solution given India's multilingualism.

The Indian jurist who writes judgment in English may not speak English outside their professional context. Also, if the jurist speaks any regional language, they do not translate into English or from English in their professional context. Ensuring that people can comprehend the legal language and have access to justice can be achieved by translating legal documents, including judgments, into other languages facilitated by forensic linguists. The litigants should receive copies of the judgments passed by the Court in their regional languages. The aim of breaking the language barrier is to make the information about the judgments passed by the Court more accessible and transparent to litigants who may not be proficient in English. Translating judgments into regional languages can help build confidence among people who are not proficient in English and face language barriers, as it enables them to understand the dispensation of justice more effectively. This initiative would help to eliminate language barriers in the legal field at the national level, thereby reducing linguistic difficulties that may arise due to language differences. Translating judgments into vernacular languages would help litigants become more familiar with the legal process and allow them to understand better the proceedings and arguments presented in the Court by the lawyers of both sides through the Court's judgments. The translation initiative will prioritize cases where litigants are primarily from society's lower or middle strata and may not be proficient in English. The categories of cases where litigants should have access to translated judgments include but are not limited to Labor matters, matters related to the Rent Act, Land Acquisition and Requisition matters,

Compensation matters, Criminal matters, Land Laws and Agricultural Tenancies, matters relating to Consumer Protection, Simple Money and Mortgage matters, and others.

Legal language often contains terms that cannot be translated easily into other regional languages. A thorough assessment of the language policy in legal domains needs to be conducted, including a review of written legal documents that appear challenging to comprehend due to the use of legalese. Research should be carried out taking into account the complexities of legal proceedings in a multilingual context. Research efforts should also be directed toward examining the role of language in legal proceedings, such as analyzing courtroom communication and investigative interviews. Globally, various research studies focus on analyzing these corpora in the field of forensic linguistics. However, in India, multiple challenges are associated with gathering such data.

## **5. Conclusion**

Forensic linguistics is an umbrella discipline; thus, forensic investigation needs applied linguistics to analyze language. Studies have proved the effectiveness of linguistic techniques in forensic investigation. Lawyers consult linguists, and if and when a judge seeks an opinion on a linguistic matter, the court can also appoint a linguist. Forensic linguistics has brought forward the issue of how cultural and linguistic differences influence judicial procedures. Legal challenges are entrenched in different matters; therefore, interdisciplinary fields must collaborate to deal with them. Multidisciplinary studies that emphasize current social problems, whether they are in the areas of business, education, law, or health, should be encouraged by the government and educational institutions. Various studies (Chaski, 2013; Coulthard et al., 2016) have emphasized the need for more collaboration among lawyers, forensic linguists, and other professionals, highlighting the importance of their work in the legal professions. As a result, the number of forensic linguists being hired by lawyers in Western countries has significantly increased in the last three decades, which has led to greater awareness of the importance of their work (Coulthard et al., 2016; Olsson, 2008).

Indubitably, forensic linguistics is not a panacea to the legal challenges in India. However, it can pave the way to apprise people about their rights and responsibilities in legal procedures and documentation. While lawyers in Arab countries are reluctant to use the help of forensic linguists (El-Sakran, 2020), China was introduced to forensic linguistics in 1985 (Chen, 1985), and since then, various research has been conducted focusing on legal languages (Gao, 2010).

The Philippines is involved in Forensic linguistics and conducting various research in the language of legal documents (Rañosa-Madrugno & Martin, 2023). India is yet to introduce forensic linguistics in academics and legal professions. Legal linguists can be trained through forensic linguistics curricula and programs to assist in creating materials that inform the public awareness of the liabilities of governments and people as well as people's rights and responsibilities. Studies can be conducted on future avenues of forensic linguistics like the comprehensibility of legal language in the Indian context, the complexity of legal translations, linguistic profiling in judicial and police departments, the language of criminals, multilingualism, and bilingualism in the legal system, and linguistic minorities and their legal rights in India.

With the rapid advancement of technology, forensic linguistics will soon benefit in cyberspace, solving cybercrimes. Cybercrimes rely on text-based communication, as most forms of online abuse are manifested textually. Social media content can be analyzed to prevent deception, fraud, and other crimes. With the improvement in data extraction techniques, while maintaining privacy issues of clients, written texts or speech can be analyzed for age, gender, geographical location, criminal responsibilities, and mental status for better legal proceedings. The demand for Forensic Linguistics is recognized not just due to its applicability beyond India but also due to the growing occurrences of language-related offenses within India.

Nowadays, even emojis are being used as evidence in court. In 2016, a man was sentenced to three months in France after being found guilty of threatening his ex-girlfriend. He had used the gun emoji in a text. In civil cases in the US, emojis like “thumbs up,” “handshake,” “fist bump,” and “glasses” have been interpreted by the court as constituting an agreement or an intention to engage in a contractual agreement. In a legal setting, the interpretation of emojis will necessitate specialized knowledge, and forensic linguists are therefore required in courtrooms to impart their expert opinions and aid the courts in interpreting this evidence. Cross-cultural barriers are one of the significant challenges that forensic linguists will have to contend with in South Africa. If the recipient interprets an emoji differently than the sender intends, this might put the sender in an awkward and even legal dilemma. Some emojis, for example, maybe racist, culturally insensitive, offensive, and homophobic based on our own interpretations and subjective beliefs and ideals. Around the world, courts have been called to interpret emojis as evidence in the United Kingdom, New Zealand, and France. Globally, forensic linguists are called on to offer expert testimony on emojis as evidence.

Recent political events, protests, and civil wars in various countries have caused a surge in the number of refugees seeking asylum in other countries. In addition to the forensic use, Speaker identification is quite helpful in LADO if phonetic features can be associated with regional and social backgrounds. The application of LADO has blossomed in prominence in many countries to prevent fraudulent immigration. The analysis of spoken language examines an individual's claim of belonging to a specific community and geographical region. It involves linguists and native speakers to analyze the language sample, where native speakers help linguists in a proper and unbiased investigation.

Understanding the relationship between language and law can lead to understanding the need and importance of the role of linguists in the legal and judicial systems. Language is the key to the legal system; to make and understand the law, we need language. Though the legal community has queried the role of linguists in legal procedures, it is impossible to disregard the need for their presence in the judicial process. Forensic linguistics steps into a new millennium with a broad but accurate understanding of the law and the need for unconventional techniques to tackle the world of organized crime.

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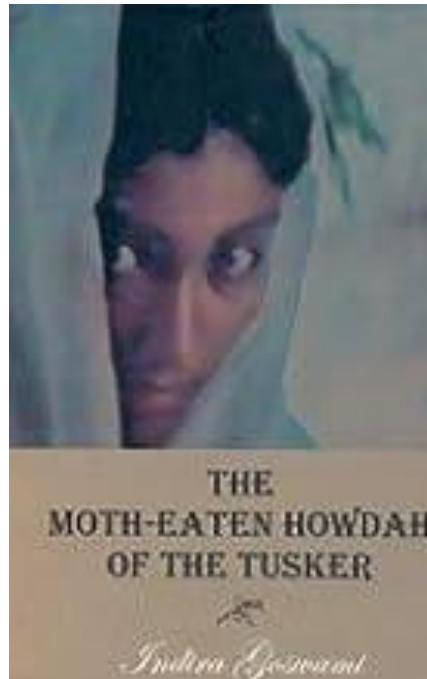
## Indranath, a Young Sattradhikar: The Voice of Passivism

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### Abstract

The present paper tries to probe into the characteristic features of the male protagonist, Indranath through the lenses of a female writer. It also focuses on the weakness,



passivism, timidity and other human virtues of the young protagonist in the sattra society. Indranath is one of the finest male protagonists of Indira Goswami's novel, *The Moth-Eaten Howdah of the Tusker*. He experiences mental turmoil in a society, mainly dominated by the sattra rituals and feudal system of the pre-independence period of Assam. He faces a powerful picture of change and transition. Being a young Sattradhikar, he has to balance his role between the follies of sattra monastery and the phase of reformation.

**Key words:** Indranath, weakness, timidity, passivism, sattra rituals etc

### **About the Writer**

**Dr. Indira Goswami** (1942-2011) was a versatile writer in the realms of Assamese Literature. She was well-known by her pen name Mamoni Raisom Goswami and widely as Mamoni Baideo. She belongs to the period of the Twentieth Century during the transitional period of British Colonialism. At the tender age of twenty-five, she became a widow and experienced all the harsh realities of life. Her literary world deals with the theme of oppression and subjugation of the marginalized section of society, especially women and widows. She focuses on women and the cultural and political construct of the Assamese society. She also tries to change social structures through her literary endeavors. Because of her remarkable contribution to the literary world, she received many prestigious awards like the Sahitya Akademi Award (1982), Bharat Nirman Award (1989), Katha National Award for Literature (1993), Jnanpith Award (2000) and Padma Shri (2002).

### ***The Moth-Eaten Howdah of the Tusker***

*The Moth-Eaten Howdah of the Tusker* is a critically acclaimed novel of Dr. Indira Goswami. It deals with the issues of women, especially widows in Sattra culture society. It mirrors Goswami's own childhood miseries, her widow life and social deprivation of women by sattra system. The novel is originally published in Assamese in 1988, set in Amronga Sattra in the South Kamrup, during the pre-independence period of Assam. Dealing with the social issues of women suffering in a Vaishnavite Sattra culture, the novelist portrays a rural society of post-colonial Assam. She portrays a society which is deeply influenced by the Sattra monastery of Assam. In fact, she herself belongs to the same monastery and observes that the weaker and marginalized sections are the women. They have been treated so like the subaltern group in society. Ever since she observes such types of injustice and oppression,

she has become the voice of the marginalized class. The writer tries to bring out the follies of the sattra culture of Assam with the objectives of bringing about social change in the society. The novel revolves around lives of three female characters — Durga, Saru Gossaine and Giribala. They represent three generations of widows and their journey of life. They all belong to the sattra family and abide by the strict rituals and norms of the sattra society. Through the lives of three widows, Goswami focuses on women and the cultural and social structure of the sattra society. “The novel makes a lively description of the conservatism in the independence era. Goswami's pen tells us how conservatism destroyed all the emotions and feelings of a Brahmin widow. The burning examples of the victims of this system are Durga, Giribala, Shoru Goswami, etc” (Saikia 686).

### **Indranath, a Young Sattradhikar**

In addition to it, Goswami also created one of the finest male protagonists in *The Moth-Eaten Howdah of the Tusker*. Here I would like to quote, “The novel deals with the tragic tale of high-class Brahmin widows, belong to the Gossains of Sattra in South Kamrup in Assam. While narrating the traumas of the widows, Goswami also picturized a young protagonist with unique moral values” (Vanitha, T & R.Krishanveni 98). He is Indranath, the son of a Sattradhikar, a kind-hearted and sensitive youth, who is always concerned for his society and people. He fights throughout his life for the betterment of society and with the hope of reforming his society. In the process, he lost his sister Giribala, who had been the victim of his own Sattra rituals. He has to leave his paternal aunt in a pitiable condition. Finally, he lost his own life due to the conflict with the tenant farmers, who are already fed up with the existing feudal system.

### **Conflict Between Traditionalism and Liberalism**

Indranath and his sister Giribala are two major protagonists in the novel, *The Moth-Eaten Howdah of the Tusker*. They belong to the orthodox Brahmin family in Amjonga, a rural village of South Kamrup, Assam during pre-independence period. Their father was the Satradhikar of the social institution and he is the future head (adhikar) of the Sattra. The conflict between the norms of the old orthodox society and the phase of reformation of the new transitional ideas go through an extreme physical turmoil. The brother-sister duo of

Indranath and Giribala remain in the same side struggling and giving away their lives in tragic circumstances.

There is religious orthodoxy for the widows, who are treated as the subordinate group of society. The novel revolves around the desires and struggles of three widows. His sister Giribala, his paternal aunt Durga, and another aunt Saru Gohainne all belong to the family of Sattra monastery of Assam. Both Durga and Giribala have been living widow lives in their paternal home together. While Saru Gossainee is the third widow, being the senior member of the family, she has been living alone reconciling her lot. She is quite familiar with the social custom and rituals of the Sattra culture. She seems to have no issues at all with the culture and nicely maintaining her land and wealth. They all become widows at the early stage of their lives and suffer due to the strict patriarchal norms of society. Indranath is the prime male character who closely observes the social and political environment of the society.

### **Indranath's Concern for Widows**

Indranath seems very concerned about his own society and rituals of the monastery system. The sufferings of two widows - Giribala and Durga give him mental tension. Both belong to his own family, just as his own sister Giribala and his paternal aunt Durga. His mind is roused with pity for his sister Giribala and aunt Durga. Durga is a widow around forty years old who returns from her husband's house expecting that someone will come to bring her back to Chikarhati. Durga has been receiving some harsh treatment from her in-laws, mentally and physically. She has to go through various strict norms for being a widow. Besides, her mother-in-law accuses Durga that she brought the shadow of death to their house and killed her son. She even accused Durga's father, the Gossain of Amranga of manipulating his daughter's horoscope to get her married to her son. In this way, Durga passively accepts all and becomes a voiceless creature. She is also not permitted to attend auspicious ceremonies and occasions. But she never made any complain and accepted all peacefully. Neither Indranath nor his father could do and better her life. In this regard, Malavika Sharma rightly remarks, "The sufferings of Giribala and her aunt Durga at the hands of societal rules and customs reflects the selfishness, the meanness, and the insensitivity of the people in the society. Here, the author clearly points out to the dubious nature of the people who on the one hand are sympathetic towards women and on the other curb the freedom of the women." (23)

## **Indranath's Submissive Nature**

Durga's nephew Indranath took her to her brother's home to look at her physical condition. But no one came as promised from her husband's house to take her back and this made her mentally weak. She also feels very hurt and after losing her ornaments she becomes more disheartened as her dream has been shattered to offer her husband's funeral bones to the holy river. She kept all the ornaments to Saru Gossainee in her safe custody, but Mahidhar took them away. Thus, she lost her ornaments. Her last wish remained unfulfilled, and this made her mentally and physically weak. Slowly and steadily, she developed a serious disease in her that made her into a skeleton. Indranath tried to take her to the hospital at Guwahati but failed. Instead, she would prefer to die in her dead husband's house as it is her religious duty and gave her some dignity as well. In fact, she lost everything, lost her land and gold. As the ceiling is coming Durga's land from Chikarhati also sold way. Durga could do nothing but accept everything peacefully. She becomes a voiceless creature who does not know the language of rebellion. Her activities show how deeply the rituals patriarchal society is rooted to her mind. Her nephew Indranath, the future Adhikar of Sattrra, seems indifferent to her issues and could not do anything for his aunt. He never seems to take any initiative to back Durga to her husband's home on time. He could not take any action against Mahidhar, the companion of Saru Gossainee who stole Durga's ornaments. The submissive nature of Indranath very often makes him an action-less man.

Instead, Indranath used to blame his aunt Durga that she made a serious mistake leaving her in-law's house. He is even pessimistic that no one would come to return Durga back to her husband's house. He says: "Durga aunty, leaving your husband's house at Chikarhati was a serious mistake. Now you won't get even a single penny of your share of the property." (10)

## **Indranath's Passivism**

Mark Sahib, a philanthropist from a foreign country comes to do some research work on Sattrra culture of Assam. He collects some ancient manuscripts, but he finds it difficult to read the scripts as these are written on *sanchi* leaves and also, he has little knowledge of Assamese language. In order to lighten the sorrows of his sister Giribala, Indranath allows her to be the company of Mark in finding the manuscripts for his work. Indranath wishes her sister to live freely and change her tragic mindset. Giribala is also very happy finding a

company to express her sorrows and feelings that she stored for long in her mind. But young Giribala could not resist her physical desire and was slowly and steadily attracted towards Mark. But he becomes aware of Giribala's physical desire and tries to reconcile Giribala. He tries to pacify her saying that the desire that has no end, can't be fulfilled and it is better to leave it to God. Mark Sahib too tries his best to help Giribala to come out from the misery of life. He never wishes to let her live in misery. He discusses it with Indranath also and offers some suggestions to Indranath. He says: "Isn't it possible to arrange something for her? To occupy her mind? Such as reading and writing. Something that can help her to have a firm hold on her life? She is so young!" (260)

Society could not provide any better settlement for Giribala. Indranath too never allows Giribala to go with the Christian Mark Sahib as he cannot ignore the social custom of the sattrra. He seems to be concentrated on his ideas and has pain within and suffers silently. He chooses to think passively rather than doing actively. Indranath's passivism is well expressive in the following lines: "There are so many things which Indranath did not like. They were beyond the limit of his tolerance, beyond his ability to act. This too was such a pain, which he had to suffer silently". (261)

### **To Sum Up**

The novel, *The Moth-Eaten Howdah of the Tusker* by Indira Goswami is a genuine record of finest human tendencies and traditions. Indranath is a fine example of an exploration of human tendencies. He is a compassionate and psychic youth who belongs to the last phase of the monastery of the feudal system. He closely observes the ill rituals of the monastery and its impact on women, especially widows. He has seen the victims of old orthodox society. Indranath is a man of Gossain family and was always concerned for his own people. His changed mind-set allows him to oppose the follies of society. He is against the evils of caste differences, social discrimination, oppression of widows and injustice. His language of protest seems to be passive, not active. Most of the time, he used to think about his ideas. He is unable to provide his sister Giribala a meaningful life and has to sacrifice her life in tragic circumstances. He is unable to fight for the right for Durga, when she needed it most. He could not save his own life and was unable to make the tenants understand his empathy for them. His passive thinking subdues his activity.

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## Negation and First Phase Syntax

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### Abstract

Negation has been a predominating subject across languages and language families, especially with regards to its relationship with predicates and verbal positions. Different theories debate on NegPs either being above or lower to TPs in the structure.

In this paper, I aim to present the two different negative positions for the two types of negative forms – the one adverbial and the other clausal – in the Indo-Aryan language of Bangla. The study is based on the relationship between the semantics of the negative operators and the event structure of the verbs on a decomposed framework as has been advanced by Ramchand (2008).

Based on the study of Bangla negative forms, their semantics, their association with the predicational heads in clauses, we find that there are two different Neg phrases projected on the functional sequence, following Cinque (1999). There is a lower NegP, having a negative operator, functioning as a modifier and there is a higher NegP, with a negative operator functioning as its head. Hence, there are two different positions for two types of negative forms, with two different roles, on the functional sequence in Bangla. The present paper thus reflects upon the representation of negation in association with the decomposed verbal stem.

**Keywords:** Negation, first phase syntax, event structure decomposition, Bangla, light verbs

### 1. Introduction

The domain of negation is as richly analysed and debated upon in literature, as is the subject of Verbs and their structure. Therefore, when examining the semantic-categorial features of the verbs using Ramchandian framework (2008) of Event Structure Decomposition, it looks rather interesting to explore ‘negation’ under this framework and study how negative

markers can be positioned on the functional sequence of the verbs' decomposed event structure. This paper aims to investigate the representation of negation, the two basic negative markers - 'ni' and 'na', in the Indo-Aryan language of Bangla, to see their association with the decomposed verbal stem, as has been advanced by Ramchand (2008). Bangla, being an agreement free



language, shows differences with regards to the projection of these two negative forms. It is interesting to note that while one of them behaves as a constituent negation and is directly a part of the decomposed verbal stem, the other is more of a sentential negative head.

Bangla, one of the widely spoken languages of the Indo-Aryan family, has two different forms of negation - one finite and the other non-finite. The finite form of negation is 'ni' whereas the non-finite form of negation, that is to say, the form of negative marker that is used with non-finite verbs is 'na'. The Bangla negative morpheme, 'na', is somewhat a special form of negation (Ramchand, 2004), used always with non-finite verbal forms, along with its use in tag questions and conditional statements.

In the present paper, I am going to propose two things. Primarily, I will be focusing on the relationship between negation and the first phase syntax, where I claim that the non-finite form of negative marker originates in the decomposed event structure of the verbal stem and has a closer relationship with the process of the event that takes place, being different from the sentential negative form in its origin as well as semantics. The second crucial fact that the study aims to point at is that in Bangla, there are two different structural positions for the two negative forms. In order to focus on the differences between the two forms, I will use Ramchand's (2008) framework of Event Structure Decomposition, which presents a finer semantic interpretation of the verbal event, which gives us a better understanding of the relation that the verb has with the particular negative form.

## **2. The First Phase Syntax: Event Structure Decomposition Framework (Ramchand, 2008)**

Ramchand (2008) claims that the semantic content of the verb in question comes from the interpretation of the syntactic structures in which the verbs participate, such that the syntactic features and semantic attributes of the concerned verb are combined in one conjugated framework. This becomes the motivating factor for decomposing the verbal stem into its eventual and aspectual configurations. The core event of the verb is primarily decomposed into three sub-events, such that each of these sub-events in turn describe and contribute at two levels – first reflecting its own semantic domain and secondly, contributing to the meaning of the main event as a whole.

The basic assumption of the Event Structure Decomposition of Ramchand (2008) is that verbs inherently come with a combination of certain semantic features, namely, 'initiation', 'process' and 'result' and based on the presence of the combination of these semantic

features, verbs differ from one another in grammar. The verbal event is thus, decomposed into three sub-phases, projected as three sub-eventive phases, the initiation phase, process phase, result phase.

The specifier positions of these sub-eventive phases are filled in by the concerned DP, representing the sub-actions of each of the sub-phases. On the other hand, the complement positions of each of these sub-eventive phases are filled in either by the next lower sub-phase or by the ‘rhematic phase’ or the ‘rheme’, which co-describes the predicational head. Now this ‘rheme’ serves out to be a special position, serving as the complement of the sub- eventive heads, in certain cases, when either the immediately next lower-level sub-phase fails in projecting itself on the tree or when the result phase takes a complement necessarily. Rhemes can be either DPs or NPs, APs or PPs.

According to the framework, all non-stative verbs come with the ‘proc’ sub-phase essentially, even if the two other sub-phases - the ‘init’ and the ‘res’ - are not explicitly present. However, the presence of the two other sub-eventive phases, that is the presence of ‘initiation’ phase and the ‘result’ phase have been examined using different adverbial tests. For example, one of the most significant tests for figuring out the presence of the ‘initiation’ sub-phase is testing the given sentence using the adverbial phrase ‘purposely’. Therefore, we can state that,

(1)

- ⇒ √ Purposely + clause → **presence** of initiation sub-phase  
 ⇒ \* Purposely + clause → **absence** of initiation sub-phase

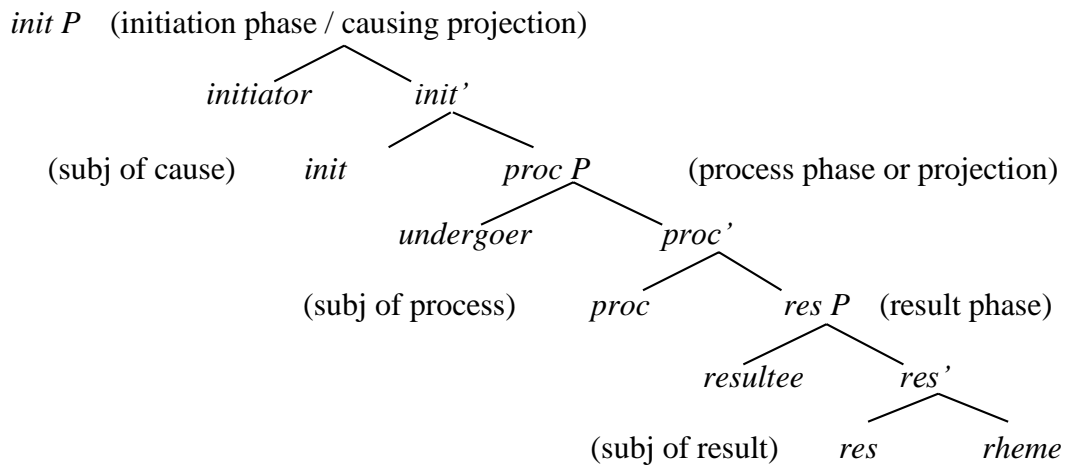
Similarly, the presence of the sub-eventive phase of ‘result’ can be tested using the adverbial ‘within an hour / for an hour’ phrases to see whether the verb comes with both the process and the result phases or it only has the process phase, with or without the ‘bounded path’. Therefore, it stands like the following:

(2)

- √ for an hour + clause                      absence of result sub-phase  
 \* within an hour + clause  
 √ within an hour + clause                      presence of result sub-phase

The diagrammatic structure of the First Phase Syntax, as advanced by Ramchand (2008), is illustrated as in [3].

(3)



One of the crucial aspects of this model is that it establishes a connection between phrase structure and compositional semantics, and as such the set of eventive features, have been termed as semantic-categorial features in the framework. This enables us to separate out the semantic features that are structurally associated from those that are purely conceptual in nature.

### 3. Negation in Bangla

Bangla is an agreement free language, with two separate forms of negation, namely, ‘ni’ and ‘na’, where ‘ni’ functions as the negativity and finiteness marker similar to Malayalam ‘illa’. According to Prado and Gair (1994), ‘ni’ is the inflected perfective negative marker, occurring in the post-verbal position, as in (6), the affirmative counterpart of which is in (7).

6. ami kagodz-ta chir-ye phel-i-**ni**  
 1p.s paper-def tear-cp throw-**pst-neg.perf.**  
 I did not tear up the paper.

7. ami kagodz-ta chir-ye phel-ech-i  
 1p.s paper-def tear-cp throw-pst-perf.  
 I tore up the paper.

The negative morpheme ‘na’, on the other hand, is non-inflected form, used with non-finite verbs. In contrast to ‘ni’ which is post-verbal and always serves to negate sentences, ‘na’ can be moved across syntactically, leading to two different kinds of negation. For example, as a constituent negative marker, it negates the predicate, being positioned before it, as seen in (8) while as a sentential negative marker, it negates the tense and is post-verbally positioned as in (9). In (8), the negative morpheme ‘na’ negates just the instance of ‘eating’ and not the main verbal action of ‘going’. Therefore, here it just serves as a constituent negation, negating the embedded clausal event, without touching the main event. Whereas in sentence (9), the negative marker ‘na’ functions as a sentential negative marker, for it negates the action of ‘holding the paper’, rather completely refusing to do so at all. To be more specific, in (9), ‘na’ negates the required process ‘of holding’ the paper. Therefore, it is basically closer to the verbal action rather than the event in question. This interpretation is more prominently found in (10), where there is greater emphasis on negating the action or the process of ‘holding’. However, in (11), when the word ‘kagodz’ or ‘paper’ is topicalised for emphasis, then in this case ‘na’ seems to negate the whole event of ‘holding the paper’. Else in (9) and (10), ‘na’ focused on just negating the process of holding’ and not the entire event as such.

8. ami na khe-ye skul-e gae-chi-lam  
 1p.s neg eat-cp school-loc go-pst.1p.s  
 I went to school without eating.

9. ami kagodz-ta dhor-b-o na  
 1p.s paper-def hold-fut-1p.s neg  
 I will not hold the paper.

10. ami dhor-b-o na kagodz-ta  
 1p.s hold-fut-1p.s neg paper-def  
 I will not hold the paper.

11. kagodz-ta ami dhor-b-o na  
 Paper-def 1p.s hold-fut-1p.snegI  
 am not going to hold the paper.

This fact is also validated by Ramchand (2005) where she distinguishes between the two kinds of sentential negation. She points out that in Bangla, ‘ni’ is specified for tense and aspect features, carrying the semantic information of ‘+telic’, ‘+past’, ‘+perf’. It also acts as a quantifier that binds the time variable directly. So, ‘ni’ is incompatible with perfect participle forms in Bangla, such as ‘kheyeche’ like in (12), as it requires a tenseless verb to be associated with. So ‘khaye’ in (13), bearing no tense and aspectual information, is incompatible for the tensed finite negative morpheme ‘ni’ in Bangla.

12. \* ram a:m-ta khe-ye-che ni  
 Ram mango-def eat-cp-pst.perf.3p neg.pst.perf  
 Ram did not eat the mango at all.

13. ram a:m-ta kha-ye ni  
 Ram mango-def eat-cp neg.pst.perf  
 Ram did not eat the mango at all.

On the other hand, the ‘na’ negative marker can be used with non-finite clauses, where finite verbs carry the tense and aspect informations. Thus, according to Ramchand (2005), ‘na’ in Bangla serves to be a pure negation marker. In fact it is ‘na’ that scopes over the predicational event and specifies that no event of the mentioned type happens at a particular instance such as in (9) – (10) above, where the event of holding the paper does not take place at all in the context of the discourse.

Therefore, Ramchand (2005) states that these two types of negation reflect different semantic consequences in discourse and thus, speculates that these two different negative forms in Bangla have different functional projections that they head at different levels in the grammar. A similar line of thought was given by Prado and Gair (1994), according to whom when ‘na’ functions as constituent negation it remains in in-situ position but as sentential negative marker, it raises to a position near to CP, along with the raising of the V to T. They proposed the following derivational structure for sentential negation, as in (14):

14. VP > NEGP > TP > ΣP > CP [Prado and Gair (1994), pg 246]

Thus, when V raises to T, the sentential negation has to first raise to the head of  $\Sigma P$  and then V raising to T has to take place, else NEG blocks the raising.

#### 4. Negation and First Phase Syntax

As seen from the discussion above, in Bangla, the negative form, ‘na’, is used when a single specific event is to be negated; and besides being independent of tense, it is pre-verbal in non- finite clauses and post-verbal in finite clauses. Thus, it functions as an adverbial negation in the language. On the other hand, ‘ni’ occurs when the said event did not happen at all over an extended period of time. Therefore, it is associated with the time, carries aspectual and tense information along with negation. Now since these features are always present on ‘ni’, it is thus projected as the head of Neg P in the language. But it is ‘na’ in Bangla that functions as the default negative particle.

Now different linguists have put forth different structural relations of NegP with TP and AspP. Some have proposed NegP to be lower than TP while others claimed it to be higher than TP in a given structural sequence. There are scholars like Zanuttini (1991), who proposed there are two NegPs in our languages - one that is above TP and the other is immediately lower to TP, with respect to four different types of negative markers, namely – negative adverbs, strong preverbal negative markers, weak pre-verbal negative markers and negative markers as clitics on verbs. A similar proposal comes from Cinque (1999), who also identifies as many as three different positions for the occurrence of Neg P on his adverbial functional sequence, depending upon the semantic requirement of the clause in question.

In relation to these issues addressed by Zanuttini (1991) and Cinque (1999), we also have Zeljstra (2004) stating that pre-verbal negative particles that are syntactic words or affixes are all syntactic heads. However, negative adverbs are maximal projections XP and they move to spec Neg P, in case there is a [u NEG] feature there. He also gives evidence of TP dominating NegP in the Indo-Aryan language of Hindi. Further, following Ramchand (2004), he assumes that in languages like Hindi, where TP dominates NegP, the negative operator binds event variable while in languages where NegP dominates TP, the negative marker binds the temporal variables. Therefore, his primary claim is that the locus of negation in the clause stems down from the semantic properties of negation owing to which the structural position of the negative marker is not syntactically pre-determined but mainly depends upon the semantic properties of the concerned negative operator.



Based on these studies, we can say that in Bangla, the negative form ‘ni’ as in (15) binds timeas the sentence means that ‘Ram did not at all tear the dress’. However, in sentence (16), ‘ni’

has two interpretations – one meaning is that the subject ‘sister’ never had ‘a fish’ in her whole life at all, whereas the other meaning would be that in the recent past ‘sister did not eat fish at all’. However, in both these interpretations, we mean that the action of eating did not take place at all. So ‘ni’ even here binds the time variable. Thus, based on Ramchand (2004) and Zeljstra (2004), we can say that in these cases, the negative finite form, ‘ni’, in Bangla occupies the head of that NegP which dominates TP.

15. ram kapor-ta chir-ye phael-e **ni**  
 ram cloth-def tear-cp throw-3p **neg.perf.pst**  
 Ram did not tear the dress at all.

16. bon mach kha-ye **ni**  
 sister fish eat-cp **neg.perf.pst**  
 Sister did not eat fish. (She never had a fish. / She did not eat fish at all in the near past.)

How-so-ever, if we substitute the negative finite form ‘ni’ with the non-finite form ‘na’, keeping other things intact, we get a habitual reading of the sentence as in (17), where it means that the subject ‘does not eat fish at all’. Interestingly, even here the non-finitenegative form ‘na’ binds the time variable, because the habitual action of eating the fish by the subject is negated completely. So whereas the affirmative counterpart of (17) as in (18) means ‘the subject eats fish’ probably as part of daily meal, the negative form ‘na’ in (17) completely negates this daily course of event over time, stating that ‘the subject never ever eats fish’. Thus, in this case, the non-finite form ‘na’ also binds the time factor, similar to the finite negative form ‘ni’, but with a habitual reading.

17. bon mach kha-e **na**  
 sister fish eat-3p **neg**  
 Sister does not eat fish. (She never eats fish.)

18. bon mach kha-e  
 sister fish eat-3p  
 Sister eats fish.

But the scope of ‘na’ get narrowed down from the time variable in discourse to the event variable in action at a particular moment, when we introduce tense in a sentence which has the negative non-finite morpheme ‘na’ in it. As has been seen above, the tense gets identified on the verb as in (19) – (21), where in sentence (19) we get the past tense of ‘eat’; in (20) the present progressive form; and in (21) the future tense of the same verb ‘eat’. The non-finite negative form, ‘na’, here negates one instance of the given event in each of these cases but certainly does not bind the time factor. Since, ‘na’ binds event, following by Ramchand (2004) and Zelijstra (2004), we can state that in Bangla tensed clauses with the negative marker ‘na’ it is the TP that dominates NegP, quite in contrast to what happens in case of the finite negative form ‘ni’. Thus, the non-finite negative marker ‘na’ in Bangla occupies the head of this NegP, which scopes over the particular event in a given instance.

19. bon mach khe-l-o na

sister fish eat-pst-3p neg

Sister did not eat fish. (She eats fish but today she did not for some reasons)

20. bon mach kha-chch-e na

sister fish eat-prst.prog-3p neg

Sister is not eating fish.

21. ram kadz-ta kor-b-e naram

work-def do-fut-3p neg Ram will

not do the work.

Thus, in Bangla, Zelijstra’s (2003)’s claim proves out to be right that the semantics of the negative operators ‘ni’ and ‘na’ give the meaning to the clauses they are attached to and also determine whether the temporal or event variable is bound by them. Thus, there happens to be two different structural relations for negative operators in Bangla - in case of ‘ni’, NegP dominates TP while in case of ‘na’ it is dominated by TP.

Now since in the Ramchandian framework of ESD (2008), we are able to finely decompose the verbal event along the functional sequence, I propose that it is NegP that always dominates TP in Bangla, irrespective of being time bound or event bound.

## 5.1 The Negative Form ‘na’

In case of clauses with ‘na’, which certainly binds event more closely than time, I propose that ‘na’ negates the process of the event and so it scopes over the sub-eventive phase of ‘procP’ and modifies its state of being in the affirmative. As a result of this modification, the semantics of ‘na’ negates the process of the action concerned. Thus, ‘na’ here functions as a negative adverb. Thus, the neg operator ‘na’ originates in the spec of adverbial negative phrase as a negative adverb, within the first phase syntax, just above the ‘proc’ sub-phase, binding the sub-event of process, by being adjoined to it.

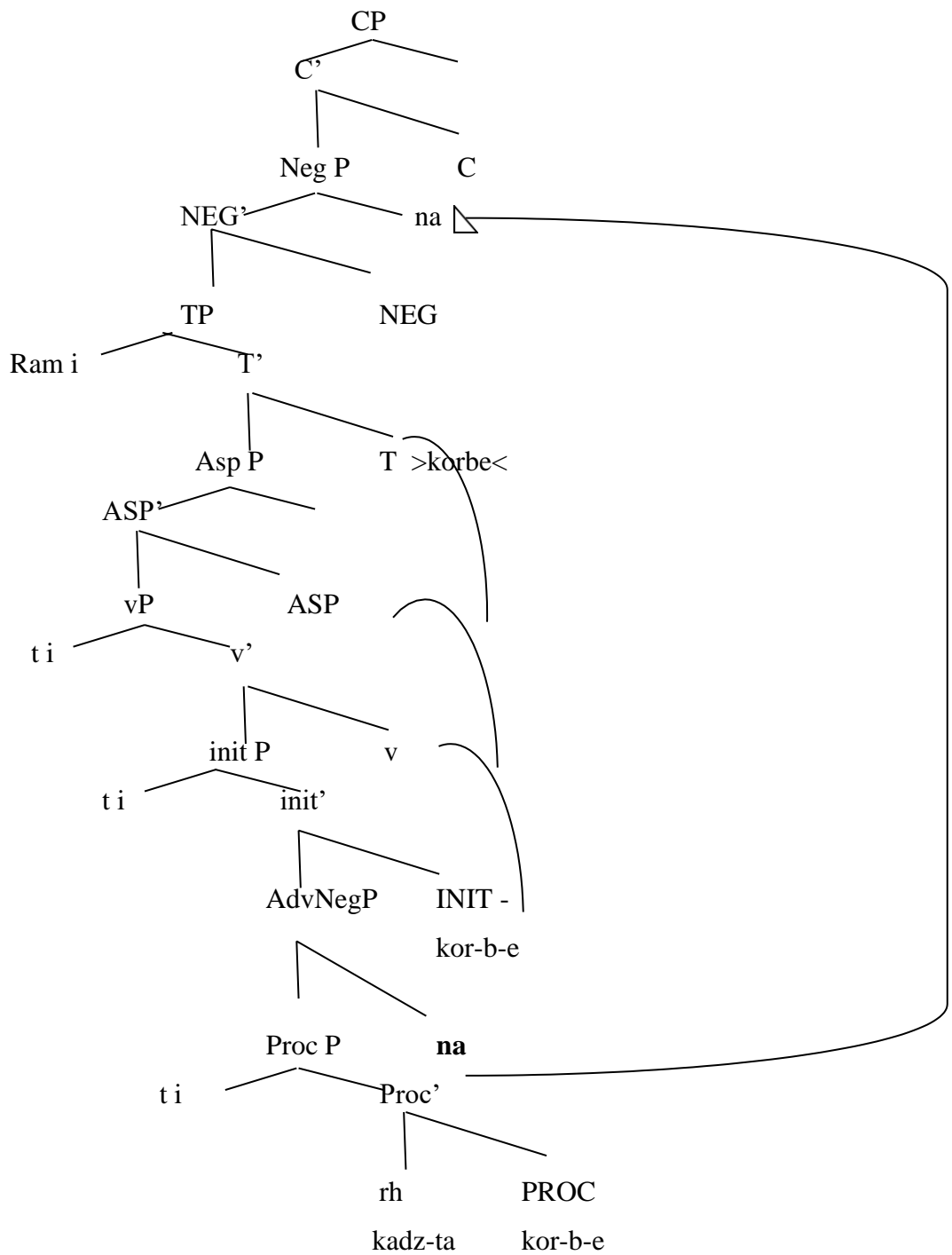
This adverbial negative marker ‘na’ originates in the spec of, say, AdvNegP, right above the ‘process’ sub-eventive phase, within the First Phase Syntax. It then raises higher up to the spec of upper NegP. As an adverbial negative operator, it modifies the sub-event of process and adds an additional meaning of negation to the event. However, since it is the only negative element and needs to negate the overall event, not just the process of the event, it raises to the spec of NegP. This also falls in line with Prado and Gair’s (1994) claim that ‘na’ as sentential negation raises to a position near to CP and also that of Ramchand’s (2004) prediction that ‘na’ functions as adverbial negation. Thus, by virtue of its adverbial properties, following Cinque (1999), the non-finite negative form ‘na’ goes up to occupy the spec of upper NegP in the functional sequence in Bangla.

Thus, in sentences from (19) – (21), ‘na’ which originates in the spec of Adv NegP, first moves to the spec of NegP, then the highest verbal copy of the concerned event from head of ‘init P’ moves to v, from which it moves to Asp head to check its aspectual features, if any, and then to T head. Else, from v head, it directly moves to get its ‘+finite’ feature checked at T. The diagrammatic representation of the derivation of (21) is shown as in (22) below:

### 22. Diagrammatic representation of the derivation of the sentence –

ram    kadz-ta        kor-b-e    **na**

(Ram will not do the work.)



## 5.2 The Negative Form ‘ni’

On the other hand, in Bangla finite clauses, with the negative marker ‘ni’, the negativeoperator does not modify or scope over the event, so it does not originate in the First Phase

Syntax. Since this finite negative operator does not negate the event, therefore it will originate somewhere above the vP.

Now since this ‘ni’, beside carrying ‘+neg’ feature, also carries ‘+finite’ feature, it originates, not as a separate head of a negP, but as an ‘aspectual’ element in the functional sequence. We can consider it to reflect the aspect of negativity. Thus, the Bangla finite negative form ‘ni’ originates in the head of AspP and has two interpretable features on it – [i finite] and [i neg] – which has to be checked. Therefore, it moves first to tense head, where the [u finite] feature matches with the [i finite] feature and gets checked. It then moves to head of negP, where the [u neg] feature checks the [i neg] feature. Following this, the verbal complex, which is in init head, moves to the head of vP.

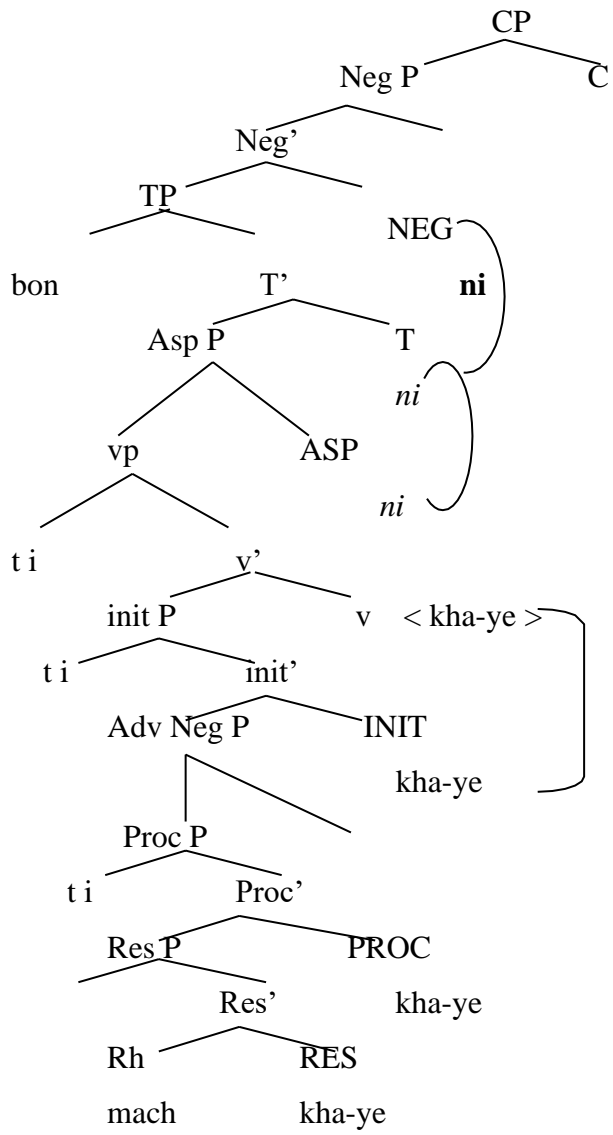
Though the ‘ni’ form scopes over the time variable and is not associated with the eventfactor, I claim that the ‘ni’ form cannot originate in the head of upper NegP, say, temporal NegP, because if it does so, the ‘+finite’ features will not be checked at the head of TP, as temporal NegP dominates TP. Therefore, the finite negative form ‘ni’ in Bangla originates lower than the TP and AspP, being lower than TP but higher than the vP, is the only possible position on the functional sequence for the ‘ni’ to originate and check the finiteness features, first at T, and then rise above to check its negative features at the head of temporal NegP.

The diagrammatic representation of a Bangla sentence with the finite negative marker ‘ni’, as in (23) is shown in (24):

23. bon mach kha-ye ni  
Sister fish eat-cp neg.pst.perf  
Sister did not eat fish.

24. Diagrammatic representation of Bangla finite negative marker ‘ni’ ::

bon mach kha-ye ni  
(Sister did not eat fish.)



Therefore, based on the above analysis, I claim two things. First, we can say that in Bangla, the negative marker ‘na’ functions as the adverbial negative marker whereas ‘ni’ serves to be the temporal Neg head. Secondly, in Bangla, we have two NegPs on the functional sequence, following Cinque (1999) and Zunitini (1997), who proposed more than one NegPs in the sequence.

There is a lower NegP, which I term as the AdvNegP, which is within the First Phase Syntax. Being adverbial in its semantics, it functions as a constituent negative position in the grammar. Thus, within the decomposed event structure framework, it modifies the process of the event concerned, negating it. This AdvNegP selects the ‘process’ sub-eventive phase in the framework and the negative operator is inserted in the specifier position of the AdvNegP. In

Bangla, it is the non-finite tenseless negative maker ‘na’, that occupies this position in the AdvNegP.



The other NegP is higher up on the functional sequence and is more of a sentential neg position. Since it has temporal reference, I therefore term it as a Temporal NegP, which dominates TP. The head of this Temporal NegP is occupied by the finite negative marker ‘ni’ in Bangla. Thus, there are two different Neg phrases, with two different functions – one has a modifier of the action, present in its specifier position and the other phrase has its head position filled up by a tensed, finite negative operator. Hence, there are two different positions for two types of NegPs on the functional sequence in Bangla.

## 6. Conclusion

Thus, Zeligstra’s (2004) claim holds true that the structural position of NegP is highly dependent upon the semantics of negative operators, as to whether the negative operator binds time or event. To this, I further add that the above data shows that it is also the semantic properties of the negative operators that determine whether it functions as a syntactic head or an adverbial negation in the languages.

Thus, based on the study of Bangla negative forms, their semantics, their association with the predicational heads in clauses, we find that there are two different Neg phrases projected, with two different functions – the lower NegP has a negative operator, functioning as a modifier and the higher NegP has a negative operator functioning as its head. Hence, there are two different positions for two types of negative forms, with two different roles, on the functional sequence in Bangla.

It would be rather interesting to examine other agreement free languages similar to Bangla, like Malayalam, a member of the Dravidian group of languages, to see whether a similar structural configuration of negative form is found there in relation to the decomposed structure of the verbs. Malayalam, similar to Bangla, has two negative forms – one finite and the other non-finite (Amritavalli and Jayasaleen, 2008). Since the finite form is ‘illa’, a free morpheme, similar to Bangla ‘ni’, there might be a similar structural relation with the finite negative ‘illa’ and the predicate. However, the non-finite negative form in Malayalam is ‘-aa’, an affix, which serves as constituent negation in the language, similar to the negative affix ‘-ma’ in Nyishi, a Tibeto-Burman language. Complexities arise when we find ‘-ma’ happens to be the sole negative morpheme in Nyishi (Dey, 2017), carrying realis-irrealis information but serves both the purposes of sentential negative marker as well as constituent negative operator.

Therefore, it would be interesting to study the structural relations between these negative affixes and predicates, using the ESD framework of Ramchand (2008) and associating it with Cinque's (1999) functional sequence.

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