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Phonological Factors in Short Message Service (SMS) of Telugu Native Speakers: A Pilot Study

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Abstract

Short Message Service (SMS) is a transmission of short text messages to and from mobile phones, handheld devices, fax machines, landline telephones or IP addresses. SMS has become an integral part of everyday communication in many countries today. Within the emerging field of new media sociolinguistics, SMS language is viewed as a resource for endless creativity, reflexive practice, social intervention, resistance, and play. SMS language is characterized by abbreviations and acronyms and reflects a collective identity function because these adaptations require a special shared knowledge to understand the language and use it later. Text-messaging in bi/multilingual settings exhibit an additional feature of code mixing. In the context of India, a vast majority of college students use texting on their mobile phones. Since most of them have restricted competence in using English, it would be interesting to see how they communicate using SMS language. This paper reports outcome of analysis of 360 text messages in English and Telugu languages exchanged by ten college students who are native speakers of Telugu. Details of the type of phonological level adaptations (e.g. vowel deletions, consonants deletions, geminate dropping, and punctuation errors etc., in English only messages and in code-mixed items) will be discussed in this paper along with implication of the results for language use practices in informal communication in a multilingual set-up.

Keywords: Telugu Native Speakers, SMS texts, Phonological factors, Linguistic adaptations

Introduction & Background

Short message service (SMS), first introduced commercially in 1995 refers to the transmission of short text messages between mobile phone users by typing messages on a keyboard then sending them. Today SMS has emerged as one of the major digital communication media, with an estimation of over one billion messages exchanged per day around the world" (Bomodo, 2010). Each short message can be up to 160 characters in length when English alphabets are used. Text messages are created on the touch screen or a small keypad of the mobile phone and read as text on the screen of the phone.

The terms 'text messaging' or just 'texting' refers to the brief typed messages sent using the Short Message Service (SMS) of mobile/cell phones, Personal Digital Assistants (PDAs), smart phones or web browsers (Thurlow and Poff, 2011). SMS communication allows for a reasonable use of short forms at syntactic and lexical levels which save character space as compared with using the full forms of words. Text messaging was broadly defined as asynchronous text based technological mediated discourse (Baron, 2005) that pursues simple sentences structure for communication.

Some previous studies dealing with synaptic and phonological aspects SMS are revived. Ong'onda, Matu, and Oloo (2011) reported a study on Syntactic Aspects in Text Messaging. In this study they focused online interactive media and text messaging. In order to determine how text messaging has resulted in a paradigm shift in the traditional uses of language, the authors also mainly focused on the syntactic characteristics of Kenyan text messages. The discussion in this study drew on Coupland's Sociolinguistic theory because syntactic aspects of text messages are influenced by social factors. This theory not only aroused intense discussion within the paradigm on the nature of the discourse of Short Message Service but also steered the subsequent research theoretically and methodologically. The authors collected data from 40 University/college students who made up the primary group utilizing text messages through a questionnaire. The goal was to collect text messages that would reflect language (syntactic) variation in SMS. A total of 160 messages were collected and analyzed. It was observed that new syntactic structures have permeated into the linguistic continuum of Kenyan texters. Most of the texts were SMS based on sentence and word modifications. The messages were often compressed through omissions, abbreviations and contractions. It was also realized that SMS language is influenced by the constraints of the equipment itself.

Kul (2013) reported a study that dealt with the topic of phonology in text messages. In order to investigate the nature of letter deletions in text messages, Kul studied text messages from two angles; 1) Deleted items, 2) Retained elements. For e.g. Talking Vs Tlkin. Two parameters were considered by him; i) global and ii) local. The global one considered the word class, whereas the local one was divided into the position of consonants in words, and lexical stress assignment

for vowels. This study was based on 50 text messages. Drawing on his earlier study (Kul 2007), the author reported the following: Of the 96 words in 10 messages, 54 word tokens underwent reductions or letter deletions. (1) 58.3% of the words from the corpus are reduced e.g. knw / know, lv / love.

1. Words look as 'man', 'one', and 'in' were not reduced.

2) It was noted that while 59 vowels were deleted only 21 consonants got deleted.

3) A majority of the deleted vowels belonged to monosyllabic words in structured position. (e.g. frm/from).

4) All consonants regardless, of the position on a word, were retained about 11% of the time e.g. yaself/you(r)self.

Based on these results, the author concluded that phonology does affect the pattern of deletions in text messages. He also noted that vowels are deleted in structured position. Reductions in text messages seem to appear in lexical words rather than fraction words.

Some previous studies dealing with Code-switching and Code-mixing aspects of SMS are revived. Rabbani, R., Mushtaq, M (2012) reported a study on Gender Difference in Code-Switching and Code-Mixing in text Messages of undergraduate students from one of the University in Pakistan. The authors examined the frequency of code-switching and code-mixing used as the theories as a tool of analysis, and they examined in two variables, like male and female.

The authors collected data randomly, but they selected 21 males and 21 females, and their age range was 19-22 years. These messages analyzed by finding difference between the SMS's sent by the male and female of the undergraduate students. The respondents those people from different cultures and speaking different languages interacting with each other. Language is not just a means of expressing or conveying meaning; it also offers a look into the culture of the speakers.

The main aim and objectives of the study insights gender differences are those that society associates with men and women were not necessary the outcomes of biological factors. The objective of the study is to ensure the frequency of code-switching and code-mixing between Urdu and English language among male and female undergraduate students in text messages or SMS. The study suggests that differences between male and female in several areas such as verbal ability, cognitive, aggression, helped support, emotions, and communication.

In this study the authors hypothesis is, these was a high frequency of code-switching and code-mixing between Urdu and English languages both among male and female students. Female students do more code-switching and code-mixing than male students in text messages. The methodology used as a scoring method. The data was collected from the students of Foundation University, the respondents were asked to forward three SMS each from their inbox to the researcher's cell phone. They were also told that the messages should not forwarded/pretyped messages.

The Code switching and code mixing between Urdu and English languages frequently takes place in SMS messages among university students. The code switching scores of the sample were, almost, normally distributed which means that boys and girls did not diverge in code switching scores. There is no difference between code mixing scores of boys and girls. This means that the second hypothesis was rejected.

Finally, the advent of new modes of communication like SMS over the past two decades has resulted in increased indulgence in code-switching and code mixing throughout Pakistan which also suggests that extensive code-switching and code mixing may lead to entirely novel linguistic varieties.

Objectives of the Present Study

In this paper the use and adaptation of written language to suit the conditions of text messaging via mobile phones – SMS (Short Message Service) – are analyzed with respect to Telugu and English. The main focus of the study is on phonological factors that influence written language in these circumstances;

Research Questions

1. What phonological factors have impact on SMS messages in Telugu and English?
2. Do Telugu speakers tend to use English extensively when sending SMS?
3. What is the nature of code switching patterns in SMS?

Methodology

SMS Texting is particularly popular among university students. The Language Use and Mobile Phone Questionnaire were prepared and administered to the informants. All the 10 respondents for the study were selected from undergraduate students from Osmania University. It was designed to gather information about the students SMS usage.

1. SMS comprehension task. (20 items 75% citation used to select the participant)
2. Language Use Questionnaire
3. Mobile Phone Use Questionnaire

Data Collection and Analysis

The database consists of 360 messages sent by 10 respondents. Each participant was asked to share SMS texts they sent for one week period from the data of interview. They provided details about language use in a questionnaire. I have analyzed them using mobile app, a software of Android Phone (App name is SMS Backup & Restore).

Results

The overall results are summarized in Table -1 below:

S.NO.	English Messages	Telugu Messages	English +Telugu Messages	Total No of Messages in the Study
1	100	160	100	360

Table -1: Type of SMS texts noted in this study

It can be seen that although all the participants are native speakers of Telugu, they mixed Telugu and English in their SMS texts. The deletions were confined mostly to English and not to Telugu.

Examples of Telugu SMS adaptations are listed in Table -2 below:

1) Vowel Deletions/Duration

S.No	Telugu SMS Text	Intended Telugu SMS text in Phonemic Transcriptions	Vowel deletions	Gloss
1	Avnu	a.wu.nu	[u] vowel deleted	Yes.
2	Nti	en.Ti	[e] vowel deleted	What?
3	Unnv	u.nnaa.wa ?	[a]vowel deleted/duration	Are you there?
4	Ikkadki	i.kka.Di.ki	[i] vowel deleted	Here
5	Epudostav	e.ppu.Doo.staa.wu	[o] vowel duration	When will you come?

2) Consonant Adaptations

i. Geminate deletions

S.No	Telugu SMS Text	Intended Telugu SMS text in Phonemic Transcriptions	Consonant deletions	Gloss
1	cheyi	ce.yyii	[y] Geminate dropped	do
2	Nv	nu.wwu	[w] consonant substituted and geminate deletion	you
3	Anav	a.nnaa.wu	[n] Geminate dropping	said
4	Vastunav	wa.stu.nnaa.wu	[n]Geminate dropping	coming
5	vochadu	wa.ccaa.Du	[c]Geminate dropping	came

Table – 3.

3) Syllable Adaptations

S. No	Telugu SMS Text	Intended Telugu SMS text in Phonemic Transcriptions	Syllable adaptations	Gloss
1	nen C1VC1	Nee.nu C1VVC1V	Two syllable word made into single syllable	I
2	avnu VC1C2V	a.wu.nu VC1VC2V	Three syllable word made into disyllable	Yes
3	telsa C1VC2C3V	te.lu.saa C1VC2VC3VV	Three syllable word made into disyllable	know
4	adgind VC1C2VC3C4	a.Di.gin.di VC1VC2VC3C4V	Four syllable word made into three syllable	asked
5	rep C1VC2	ree.pu C1VVC2V	Two syllable word made into mono syllable	tomorrow

Table-4: Examples of Telugu SMS in the present study

I observed the above phonological factors on SMS from Telugu native speakers of Telangana who are all undergraduate students of professional colleges. The observation, such as,

1. Vowel deletions/duration: when they are using SMS text, many of the participant deleting the vowel letter and they are not mentioning the vowel duration. I have given more examples in the table -2 also.
   Ex: avnu for a.wu.nu [u] vowel deletion

2. Consonant adaptations (Geminate deletions): SMS users when they typing texts on the screen they are ignoring the typing geminating letters, but the receivers are able to understand what their intention in the text.
   Ex: anav for a.nnaa.wu [n] Geminate dropping

3. Syllable adaptations: instead of using two syllable the SMS users typing only one syllabic word.
   Ex: nen for nee.nu
   Rep for ree.pu
   Nta for en.ta etc.

The SMS messages involving code switching and code mixing are discussed below:

S. No	**Code-Mixed SMS Texts (English &Telugu)**	**Intended word of Eng. & Tel. SMS Text in Phonemic transcription**	**Translated in English**
1	PH matram cheyaku	phon.ma.tram.ce.ya.ku?	Don't make a phone call
2	TV chustunanu	TV. cu.stu.nnaa.nu.	I am watching on Television
3	chala thanx	caa.laa.tyanx!	very much thank you
4	Wht cheppu?	waat.cep.pu?	Tell me what?
5	cal Cheyi	kaal.cee.yyii.	Make a Call
6	rum ki ra	ruum.ki.raa	You come to the room
7	gudn8 beta	Gud.nyt.be.Taa	Good night my dear son
8	Balnc Ledu	Ba.len.su.lee.du	No Balance
9	Clas lo unna	Kla.su.lo.unnaa.	I am in class

Table-5: Examples of code-mixing and code-switching in English and Telugu SMS in the present study.

Finally, some comments about punctuation in the SMS texts.

The SMS texters while using the SMS test in English or Telugu, they are not focusing the on the punctuations, Eg. Cal---Call, gudn8---Good night, 5n—fine and also using numbers in the words' phonological aspects, we can observe above example.

Comments on the Phonological Adaptations

In order to determine the extent of the phonological information in the orthographic form, the full, reconstructed representation was compared with to the text message version. The data

shown in the table also illustrate the fact that vowels are more likely to be deleted: more than twice as many vowels have been deleted in comparison to consonants.

Table-6. Proportion of Deleted English Vowels to Consonants

S. No	SMS Word	Deleted Vowel(s)	Deleted Consonant(s)	English Word
1	PH	**O E**	**N**	Phone
2	TV	**E E I I O**	**L S** N	Television
3	Thanx	-----	Added - -X Deleted-- ks	T h a n ks
4	Wht	**A**	-------	what
5	Cal	-----	**L**	call
6	Gudn8	**O O I**	**G H T**	Good night
7	clas	------	S	class
8	Lv	**O E**	------	love
9	Hrt	H **U**	-------	hurt
10	frm	**O**	-------	from

The above table-5 showed the deleted vowels and consonants which are bold in capital letters from the data.

In polysyllabic words, were employed and consequently, the vowels are numbered as: Vowel 1 if it was the vowel of first syllable, Vowel 2 if it was the vowel of the second syllable and Vowel 3 if it was the vowel of the third syllable. The numbers are calculated against the total number of the deleted vowels in the data. One can see that deleted vowels in monosyllabic words constitute as much as 20 of the deleted vowels (lv-love, hrt-hurt, frm-from).

Discussion and Conclusion

The study aimed at preliminary analysis of the linguistic properties in text messages. Therefore, the results offer a tentative explanation of the influence of phonology on the medium. First, the results show that phonology apparently affects the pattern of deletions in text messages. The semiotic figure-and-ground principle (Dressler 1996) is in force since consonants are likely to be preserved and vowels are likely to be deleted, whereas final consonants in unstressed position are likely to be preserved. Text messages appear to reduce lexical words rather than function words, contrary to Prediction. Further research could take up the problems which were not addressed by the present study. First, a larger corpus would allow gaining a further insight into the

nature of deletions. Since the results of this study are based on a small sample size, certain caution should be taken when making any generalized conclusions. Therefore, the described analysis will be expanded to a bigger database. Beside more detailed further work on the issue of deletions may take into consideration gathering of data from other languages. phonology, and the issue of silent letters carrying the functional load calls for more research as the texter must make a decision which letter should be deleted. Finally, the constraints on deletions (how much, which classes of sounds) will constitute another angle from which deletions in text messages can be viewed.

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Reading Surveillance in Hollywood Film *Behind Enemy Lines*

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Abstract

Hollywood films since antiquity consistently enjoyed undeterred popularity among the spectators around the world. The knowledge that reached the audience through films brought to front, plural views, imaginings and representations at the individual and the collective level. It is not different in the case of technological innovations like surveillance and monitoring systems as well. This article tries to critically analyze the representation of surveillance in Hollywood film, *Behind Enemy Lines* from the perspectives of culture studies. It also focuses on the process of intermeshing of representation of meanings mediated through the film and the manipulation of audience to favour such techniques which disrupts one's privacy and freedom. The proposed article encapsulates how the select film explains away the plural views and imaginings paving way for surveillance.

Keywords: Hollywood Film *Behind Enemy Lines* (2001), Surveillance, knowledge, ideology

Surveillance, an act of watching, is an intervention. The English word, 'surveillance' is derived from the combination of a Latin word 'vigilare' (keep watch) and a French word 'sur' (over). According to the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English,* Surveillance means "the act of carefully watching a person suspected of a crime" (1578). Surveillance is a nonviolent means of intervention in which a party or country carefully watches another party or country and collects necessary information with or without the permission of the other person or country with which intervention takes place. It is an intervention into the freedom or privacy or secret of others. To quote:

> There is no need for arms, physical violence, material constrains. Just a gaze. An inspecting gaze, a gaze which each individual under its weight will end by interiorizing to the point that he is his own overseer, each individual thus exercising this surveillance over, and against, himself. A superb formula: power exercised continuously and for what turns out to be a minimal cost. (Foucault 155)

A continuous vigilance on the society and its citizens is a mark of surveillance tactics. The process of stimulating a need for surveillance through Hollywood entertainments can be understood clearly from the perspective of Cognitive Metaphor Theory formulated by George Lankoff and Mark Johnson. Lankoff and Johnson opined that "Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act is fundamentally metaphorical in nature" (3). Lankoff and Johnson also posited that "the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of other" (5). To put it more clearly, our intellect (cognitive) mixes the concrete and abstract as well as real and imaginary. This mixing up of the concrete and the abstract ideas enable the people who watch the films to favour surveillance mechanisms.

The film selected for the analysis 2001 American big screen with a box office collection of about 100 million dollars, *Behind Enemy Lines*. It belongs to the genre of Hollywood action adventure films. The starring personalities include Owen Wilson as Lieutenant Burnett (Longhorn), Gene Hackman as Admiral Leslie McMahon Reigart and Gabriel Macht as Lieutenant Jeremy Stackhouse (Smoke). *Behind Enemy Lines* is directed by John Moore and produced by John Davis under the company Davis Entertainment. It is a film which is distributed by 20th Century Fox Corporation, a company which undertakes big projects. The film covers the story of the American fighter pilots Longhorn and Smoke shot down in Bosnia and their further adventurous struggle for life.

Behind Enemy Lines imparts knowledge as well as seemingly real experience of surveillance or intervention techniques and mechanisms with a humanitarian purpose attached. There is a chain of reasons also which follows such mechanisms or techniques that add legitimacy to the American humanitarian surveillance discussed in this Hollywood entertainment. The very situation of turning of pleasure events like parties, celebrations etc into a sight of horror, danger and pity because of a terrorist attack will of course shake the foundations of morality, codes and conducts of even a person of strong character. This will trigger an urgent need and a favourable attitude in the audience for the application of various modes of surveillance and monitoring systems to avoid such horrors and collateral damages. The fundamental intention behind such episodes and discussions about the threats and conflicts through Hollywood entertainments is to imbibe in the mind of the people an unavoidable need for surveillance.

The images and narrative of the US film *Behind Enemy Lines* breed a powerful urge in the minds of people to favour 'American' surveillance. The process of internalization of a particular idea can be clarified with the help of Ideology and Ideological State Apparatus explained by the leading Structuralist and Marxist philosopher from France, Louis Althusser. It is through this state apparatus, an imaginary relationship of individuals with their real conditions of existence is established. It is not reality, but its correspondence to reality which makes internalization possible. Same process continues in the internalization of an urgent need for American surveillance

mechanisms also. The events and incidents which are propounded through the select Hollywood film have an imaginary transposition to the real situations of life.

To put it in a slightly modified manner, Hollywood incorporates the real world incidents and events in the missions undertaken by the action adventure heroes of the film. This overlapping and merging bring about a justifiable blurring of real and unreal as well as fake and truth which enables a fertile land to sprout, spread, flourish and also condition the minds of subjects who watch the movies. In short, Hollywood evolves the minds of the spectators by transposing their imaginations.

With the media created supranational government image, the self-proclaimed authoritarian government of America dares to police the whole world, on behalf of the self-ordained missions. The select film has something to testify the world concerning the American surveillance. It explains cases of surveillance and security mechanisms adopted by America on how they aid for humanitarian purpose and the project is termed as American humanitarian surveillance. Media have the capability to project that all the surveillance interventions have certain precipitating reasons and the rationale, and it follows a chain of correlatives which adjoins strength to their claim.

On the basis of the aforesaid theories and concepts, the select film is carefully analyzed in order to open our eyes to perceive the nuances through which Hollywood prompts the process of internalization of American humanitarian surveillance. *Behind Enemy Lines* covers Bosnia and Herzegovina between the time period 1992 and 1996. The international armed conflict, Bosnian war was intervened by NATO (The North Atlantic Treaty Organization) because of the increasing rate of war crimes. To give a halt to the war crimes against civilians, NATO has brought into existence a code, 'No Fly Zone' which is known as Operation Deny Flight where any variety of military bustle is prohibited.

Because of his eagerness to tussle and do adventure, Chris Burnett, the fighter pilot moves a paper to his officials about his life without adventure in the US aircraft carrier in the Adriatic Sea. To recompense boring, Lt. Chris Burnett, a Marine fighter pilot, and Lt. Jeremy Stackhouse another pilot with same position are sent for a reconnaissance mission. During the mission, they dare to police a demilitarized area or 'no fly area'. According to the chapter four of *US Army Field Manual* of 1992:

> Reconnaissance is a mission to obtain information by visual observation or other detection methods, about the activities and resources of an enemy or potential enemy, or about the meteorologic, hydrographic or geographic characteristics of a particular area. (7)

The camera progresses with Chris Burnett and Jeremy Stackhouse in their Mc Donnel Douglas F/A-18 Hornet, the twin engine supersonic, all weather carrier capable multirole combat jet designed as both a fighter (F) and attack (A) aircraft ready for a mission. This analogous kind of fighter plane's targeted missions include fighter escort (a second world war concept of escorting bombers to and from their targets to achieve an objective), aerial reconnaissance, air defence, air interdiction (AI) or deep air support (DAS- the employment of preventive attacks against the targets to hinder a future attack), close air support to friendly forces etc.

Ariel reconnaissance undertaken in this film is a surveillance method as well as an intervention assignment into the war free area or demilitarized zone of Bosnia. Unfortunately, this intrusion is identified by the Bosnian forces under the local Bosnian (Serb) paramilitary leader, Miroslav Lokar. Fearing the result of publishing his secret genocidal campaign against the Bosnian civilians, the F/A-18 Hornet of the American pilots' is shot down. The Bosnian army kills one of the pilots and the rest of the discourse centres on the life of the other pilot who is caught behind enemy lines and his attempt to stay alive to testify the dreadfulness he victimized. The mass graveyard discovered in the demilitarized zones of Bosnia testifies the cruelties that occurred during the civil war in Bosnia. This is followed by a series of inhuman activities uncovered by the pilot caught behind the boundary who continues his journey through the tundra forests of Bosnia till the very end of the film.

The mass grave and the pathetic life of the natives of Bosnia unfasten a new prospect for the audience to rationalize such surveillance and interference initiated by America. All the counter attacks or resistances are tactfully solved in this particular manner. This film caught the attention of the media as it is based on the real story of an American pilot caught behind the enemy lines. Even though the mission is planned exclusively for Chris Burnett, later it emerges as a genuine mission that facilitates the world to open eyes against the inhuman activities taking place in the demilitarized zones.

The reconnaissance mission undertaken by Burnett testifies the genocide during the Bosnian civil war epoch. Chris Burnett's version of this reconnaissance mission, to quote:

> They killed my pilot…Because we took pictures of the graves.
> And I know where they are And I'm gonna get in,
> So he didn't die for no reason (*Behind Enemy Lines*).

The truth discovered about the demilitarized zone generates a positive attitude and a public consent for such photo reconnaissance undertakings further too. Thereby, the humanitarian surveillance mission into the demilitarized sector and the further sore state of affairs faced by the pilot behind the enemy lines to save his life as well as to reach the reality to the world, condition

the minds of the audience to favour such actions without any confrontation. Thus, the unquenchable craving for adventure felt by the American pilot paves favourable attitude towards an American humanitarian surveillance mission.

Later the hurdles which the American soldier undergoes and the unfair acts and paths which the Serbs pursue accelerate the generation of support for an American intrusion. The scene in which Bazda (Serbian soldier) who steps on a landmine and the cruelty in Sasha to abandon his soul mate to fate adds fuel to the fire of revenge against Sasha who shot the hurt US pilot at the beginning of the plot. This chain of events that harm others, from the part of Serbians, maintains a positive status for fierce or peaceful American humanitarian surveillance missions.

The reason behind the delay in rescue attempt as explained by NATO Naval Commander, Admiral Juan Miguel Piquet is that the lost pilot is in a military activity prohibited area and a violation of this may ground grave hostility and war which will distress and devastate countless civilians in that area. This assessment highlights a great American care for world peace. Also, it gives us a false patience image that they are willing to compromise the death of two American soldiers for world peace.

The Hollywood film *Behind Enemy Lines* draws America a new identity, an identity of patience and forgiveness when the fighter pilots desperately evade the deadly missiles pursuing them and serves to uncover the Serbian horrors. The involvement of America in the military action prohibited area of Bosnia is justified by the photographs and videos which the NATO reconnaissance mission captured. At last, the surviving US fighter pilot Burnett confers the native Bosnians, an American promise and hope for a serene life. Following this promise, the rescue mission commences from USS Carl Vinson, to liberate Burnett as well as the Bosnian civilians from the brutal clutches of their paramilitary commander, Admiral Miroslav Lokar.

The liberation of Chris Burnett as a living soul by the American navigators is a blow to the Serbian authorities because he is a living testimony against all their cruelties in Bosnia against American pilot, Muslim guerrillas and Serbian civilians. With great complexity Chris Burnett pays a tribute to his co-pilot, Jeremy Stackhouse who has lost his life in the reconnaissance mission by fetching the digital record of the photographs of the mass graveyard from the enemy lines.

The film incorporates many scenes from satellite and also actual shots that are caught in the sight of the lost US fighter pilot Burnett sporadically. The satellite provides the outlook of an individual running through the tundra forest of Bosnia and at a particular moment the spectators locate him lying down without any further movement of life. The US officials suspect the death of the individual who is identified as Burnett. This prospect merges into the enemy quest for Burnett.

Enemy soldiers searching for Burnett stop just near where he is lying and go back leaving Burnett unnoticed. To the wonder of the audience, this scene fades out to what has happened to Burnett in reality. He has fallen into a mass grave where he protected himself under a dead body. The Serbians who hunt for Burnet could not locate him because he was hiding under the nasty environment.

Added to these horrors, a real life like experience is inculcated where US militia seeks the help of satellites to spot the lost Burnett as mentioned earlier. This strategy of satellite is not as effective as portrayed in the film. Otherwise the authorities could have found out what has happened to the Malaysian Airlines Flight 370 which disappeared on 8th March 2014 on the way to Beijing from Kuala Lumpur. If such methods existed, they could have found the secret places of Dictator Saddam Hussein and the terrorist Osama bin Laden effortlessly.

While technology fails in reality, the film confirms that the satellite images are smart to detect the location of Burnett who is lying underneath a corpse in the mass grave. The intermixing of fake and real by means of technologies blur the boundaries of possible and impossible and creates a very massive impact on the audience about the effectiveness of the US technology and their militia. This prompts the audience to assume that the American technologies are effective even behind the enemy lines.

The investigatory views and judgments gained by such surveillance tactics, mediated through the US made film, *Behind Enemy Lines*, impart the audience risk, uncertainty, insecurity, suspicion etc. This in turn, turns on a positive attitude and need for such techniques, where blurring of public and private and a wilful surrendering to such surveillance techniques occur. To put it another way, the inhuman human activities identified by the surveillance tactics serve to generate a favourable attitude in the audience towards such security measures. This leads to the manipulation of social control with minimum expenditure of force. When things become internalized, control functions naturally.

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A Study of Word Stress Variation in English among Undergraduate non-English Teachers

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Abstract

This paper aims to study word stress variation in English among undergraduate teachers. Word stress is one of the supra segmental features of English language. To make hearer to understand spoken English and to maintain intelligibility, the word stress plays a key role. To maintain intelligibility in spoken English among teachers and students, speakers' word stress is vital. The present study explores undergraduate non-English teachers' word stress patters and their deviations in word-stress. This study presents undergraduate teachers' word stress patterns and word stress deviations from the Received Pronunciation. Twenty undergraduate teachers' spoken data were analyzed based on researches auditory impression. The findings and recommendations are presented at the end.

Keywords: English among Undergraduate non-English Teachers, word stress, intelligibility, received pronunciation, supra-segmental, syllable.

1. Introduction

Word stress is one of the important supra-segmental features of English. It is completely the property of a syllable, a larger unit over a segment. A stressed syllable is usually produced with greater amount of breath force than the other syllables in a word. The purpose in assigning stress is to mark one syllable per word as carrying prominence. So, there is a height of prominence on one syllable, and only one syllable per word can receive this prominence. The 'word stress' refers to the degree of intensity, muscular activity, or air pressure. Physiologically, a stressed syllable is said to be produced with a reinforced chest pulse. The basis of a syllable is a chest pulse – one contraction of the intercostals muscular in the chest.

An important feature of spoken English is word-accent. If a word has more than one syllable, one of syllables stands out from the rest. The syllable that is more prominent is said to receive the accent. According to Gimson, "the accentual pattern of English words is *fixed*,

in the sense that the main accent always fall on a particular syllable of any given word, but free, in the sense that the main accent is not tied to any particular situation in the chain of syllables consisting a word" (Gimson, 1980, p.221) thus, in words such as *answer, finish*, the main accent is always on the first syllable. Similarly, the main accent falls regularly on the second syllable in words like *behind, together, impossible* etc., and on the third syllable in the words such as *articulation, understand, education*. But there is an exception to this statement; when a polysyllabic word having more than one accented syllable is said in isolation, a particular syllable receives the main accent. But if the same word is used in connected speech, the accentual pattern may change depending up on the rhythmic pattern of the utterance as a whole. For example, when the word '*thirteen*' is uttered in isolation, both the syllables receive accent and the primary accent placed on the second syllable: '*thir'teen*. But when the same word is said in a sentence like "he 'gave it for *'thirteen ru'pees*", the primary accent is located on the first syllables for the sake of the rhythmic pattern of the utterance as a whole.

In phonological structure of an English, word stress is very crucial. The placement of stress within a word brings change in grammatical category of the word as well as in the meaning of the word. For instance, in the case of the word '*conduct*', if the first syllable is stressed (ˈconduct), it will be taken as a noun which means '*behaviour*'. On the other hand, if the second syllable is stressed (conˈduct), it will become a verb which means '*organise*'. Therefore, it is obvious that a wrongly stressed syllable is likely to be mistaken for some other word or for some other meaning (particularly in the absence of the context). Hence, stress is undoubtedly significant for intelligibility. To observe stress there are certain cues. According to Hyman (1975) pitch of the syllable (which goes up), the duration of the production of the syllable (which is relatively longer), the energy expended on the production of the syllable (which is relatively more) and the grammatical features of the entire word are the effective cues of stress (p. 207).

Daniel Jones (1956) made a point that prominence is an effect perceived objectively by the hearer. It is thus quite a different thing from stress, which is a subjective activity on the part of the speaker. Stress is only one of the means of achieving prominence. The prominence of a syllable may be due not only to stress but also to other phonetic features like the quality and quantity of sounds and pitch patterns.

There exists a wrong notion among second language acquisition researchers, teachers and students that pronunciation of a second language has little importance compared to that of syntax and lexis. But this is essential not only that second language learners should acquire the grammar system and vocabulary, but they should be 'intelligible' to other speakers of that language.

Bansal & Harrison (1991) noticed that several Indian speakers of English (due to ignorance and lack of training), very often mispronounce the accent, i.e., first syllable to

second, second syllable to first syllable and so on. Different varieties of English spoken in India, differ in word accents, it may result in unintelligibility. Therefore, speakers need to follow a uniform word accent. Sethi & Jindal (1993) argue that it is necessary for English users of all regions of India to follow a uniform stress pattern (p.43). It is the fact that incorrect stress may lead speech intelligible. According to Roach (2009), due to incorrect stress, foreign speaker is not able to understand a word; the problem lies in wrong stressing rather than in a deficient pronunciation of a specific sound. It is indicated that intelligibility and comprehensibility are undermined specifically by faulty word stress. If the words are unintelligible to the learner due to wrong stress, listener may not comprehend the spoken language (Gallego 1990; Field 2005). Field (2005) further pointed out that if stress is wrongly distributed, it might have serious consequences for the listener to locate words in connected speech. Anderson-Hsieh, Johnson & Koehler (1992) emphasized that word stress may have an effect on comprehension more adversely than segmental errors.

2. Stress Change According to Function

There are a number of words of two syllables in which the accented pattern depends on whether the word is used as a noun, an adjective, or a verb. The accent is on the first syllable when the word is a noun or an adjective and accent is on second syllable when it is a verb.

Examples:

ˈObject (n)	obˈject (v)
ˈProduce (n)	proˈduce (v)
ˈProgress (n)	proˈgress (v)
ˈPerfect (adj)	perˈfect (v)

By a compound word we mean a word made up of two words written in conventional spelling as one, with or without a hyphen. Most of the compound words take the primary accent on the first element. For example, *ˈbackbone, ˈchurchyard, ˈgoldsmith*. Few words take the stress on the second element, for example, *weekˈend, afterˈnoon.*

3. Methodology

The present study was conducted to know non-English teachers' stress patterns in English speech to understand their stress variation in English. The speech samples were collected from twenty undergraduate teachers who were teaching non-English subjects in colleges affiliated to Osmania University, Hyderabad, India. A majority of subjects speak Telugu as their first language (L1). In the present study, researcher recorded a set of words from teachers. The recorded data had listened twice or thrice by the researcher to do phonetic transcription. Based on researcher's auditory impression, spoken data was analyzed. Maisa's (2016 & 2017) study was a similar study but it analysed undergraduate non-English teachers' segmental features and deviations.

3.1 Limitations of the Study

Since this study is based on a small sample size and the spoken text was limited to a list of forty words. I believe that bigger sample size and connected speech spoken data in natural context would facilitate better generalization of findings which might unfold some stress patterns in spoken English of non- English teachers.

4. Data Analysis

Looking at the majority pattern of accentuation, it is noted that, there was a general tendency to accent, the first syllable of all words irrespective of the number of syllables it has. It is evident from the table (Table:1) that out of the 50 words, the majority pattern of accentuation of 21 words received stress on the first syllable, 11 words received on the second syllable, 8 words received stress on third syllable, 5 words received stress on the 4th syllable and only one word received stress on the fifth syllable.

The following words were stressed on the same syllable by all 20 speakers:

1. e ˈlectic 2 ˈpermit 3. eˈlastic

The following words were stressed on the first syllable by majority of the speakers:

1) Accident 2) necessity 3) nobility 4) scientific 5) develop 6) permit
7) university 8) reflect 9) defense 10) disappear 11) degree 12) recommend
13) introduce 14) introduction 15) invitation 16) beautiful 17) ceremonial
18) electrician 19) temperature 20) defense 21) material

The following words were stressed on the second syllable by majority of the speakers:

1. electric 2. elastic 3. ambition 4. permission 5. electricity
6. sympathetic 7. responsibility 8. insensitive 9. disgust
10. defiance 11. possibility

The following words were stressed on the third syllable by majority of the speakers:

1. satisfaction 2. calculate 3. imitate 4. alignment
5.grammatical 6. composition 7. determine 8. application

The following words were stressed on the fourth syllable by majority of the speakers:

1. anticipate 2. participate 3.association 4. examination 5. articulate

The following word was stressed on the fifth syllable by majority of the speakers:

1. Experimentation

The below table presented the percentage of speakers stressed on correct syllable and deviations from Received Pronunciation.

Table 1: The percentage of speakers stressing at correct syllable and the percentage of speakers deviating from R.P

Sl. No.	The Accentual Pattern of R.P	% of the Speakers stressing on the correct syllable	% of Speakers stressing on the wrong syllable	Sl. No.	The Accentual Pattern of R.P	% of the Speakers stressing on the correct syllable	% of Speakers stressing on the wrong syllable
1	ˈaccident	75%	25%	26	de ˈ fiance	20%	80%
2	amˈbition	54%	46%	27	de ˈ gree	25%	75%
3	anˈticipate	25%	75%	28	recomˈmend	70%	30%
4	per ˈmission	70%	30%	29	associ ˈation	40%	60%
5	pronunciˈation	40%	60%	30	possiˈbility	40%	60%
6	satisˈfaction	70%	30%	31	compoˈsition	65%	35%
7	ˈcalculate	40%	60%	32	e ˈlastic	100%	0%
8	e ˈlectric	100%	0%	33	experimen ˈtation	15%	85%
9	ˈ imitate	30%	70%	34	de ˈtermine	75%	25%
10	parˈticipate	10%	90%	35	examiˈnation	25%	75%
11	elec ˈtricity	30%	70%	36	introˈduce	35%	75%
12	ne ˈcessity	40%	60%	37	introˈduction	40%	60%
13	noˈ bility	15%	85%	38	invi ˈtation	25%	75%
14	scienˈ tific	35%	65%	39	ar ˈticulate	50%	50%
15	sympaˈ thetic	40%	60%	40	re ˈ member	90%	10%
16	deˈvelop	15%	85%	41	ˈbeautiful	60%	40%
17	ˈ permit	100%	0%	42	appli ˈcation	45%	55%
18	uniˈversity	40%	60%	43	cere ˈmonial	45%	55%
19	responsiˈbility	45%	55%	44	elec ˈtrician	65%	35%
20	aˈlignment	35%	65%	45	la ˈborious	40%	60%
21	disapˈpear	0%	100%	46	ˈatmosphere	80%	20%
22	graˈmmatical	30%	70%	47	temperature	20%	80%

23	in'sensitive	60%	40%	48	de 'fense	25%	75%
24	dis'gust	25%	75%	49	ma 'terial	30%	60%
25	re'flect	70%	30%	50	under 'stand	35%	65%

From the above table, '*permit'*, *'electric'*, *'elastic'* were hundred percent (100%) conformity with the R.P pattern. On the other hand, words '*disappear'* deviates hundred percent (100%) from the R.P pattern. Based on the table, the general accentual pattern of the word category and different affixes were discussed here.

Table 2: The Syllabic division of each word

Dysyllabic	**Trysyllabic**	**Tetrasyllabic**	**Pentasyllabic**	**Hexasyllabic**
Permit	Accident	Anticipate	Pronunciation	Responsibility
Disgust	Ambition	Satisfaction	Electricity	Experimentation
Reflect	Permission	Participate	University	
Degree	Calculate	Necessity	Association	
Defense	Electric	Nobility	Possibility	
	Imitate	Sympathetic	Examination	
	Scientific	Grammatical	Ceremonial	
	Develop	Insensitive		
	Alignment	Composition		
	Disappear	Introduction		
	Defiance	Invitation		
	Recommend	Articulate		
	Elastic	Application		
	Determine	Electrician		
	Introduce	Laborious		
	Remember	Material		
	Beautiful			
	Atmosphere			
	Temperature			
	Understand			

Majority pattern of accent on the two syllable words stressed on the first syllable; out of twenty, three syllable words, majority of the speakers stressed on first syllable. Out of sixteen, four syllable words, majority of words stressed on the first syllable. Moreover, all five syllable words were stressed on the fourth syllable by the majority of the speakers.

4.1 Highest Degree of Variation of Words

The highest degree of variation is found in three, four, five and six syllable words.

1	ˈambition	--	Stressed on the first syllable by 2 speakers
	am ˈ bition	--	Stressed on the second syllable by 12 speakers
	ambi ˈtion	--	Stressed on the third syllable by 6 speakers
2	ˈanticipate	--	Stressed on the first syllable by 4 speakers
	an ˈ ticipate	--	Stressed on the second syllable by 5 speakers
	antici ˈpate	--	Stressed on the fourth syllable by 11 speakers
3	pro ˈnunciation	--	Stressed on the second syllable by 2 speakers
	pronun ˈciation	--	Stressed on the three syllable by 8 speakers
	pronunci ˈation	--	Stressed on the fourth syllable by 8 speakers
4	ˈparticipate	--	Stressed on the first syllable by 8 speakers
	par ˈticipate	--	Stressed on the second syllable by 2 speakers
	partici ˈpate	--	Stressed on the fourth syllable by 10 speakers
5	ˈ sympathetic	--	Stressed on the first syllable by 2 speakers
	sym ˈ pathetic	--	Stressed on the second syllable by 12 speakers
	sympa ˈ thetic	--	Stressed on the third syllable by 8 speakers
6	ˈuniversity	--	Stressed on the first syllable by 10 speakers
	uni ˈversity	--	Stressed on the third syllable by 8 speakers
	univer ˈsity	--	Stressed on the fourth syllable by 2 speakers
7	ˈ grammatical	--	Stressed on the first syllable by 5 speakers
	gra ˈmmatical	--	Stressed on the second syllable by 6 speakers
	gramma ˈtical	--	Stressed on the third syllable by 9 speakers
8	ˈexperimentation	--	Stressed on the first syllable by 1 speaker
	experi ˈmentation	--	Stressed on the fourth syllable by 6 speakers
	experimenˈtation	--	Stressed on the fifth syllable by 13 speakers
9	ˈ invitation	--	Stressed on the first syllable by 10 speakers
	in ˈvitation	--	Stressed on the second syllable by 2 speakers
	invi ˈtation	--	Stressed on the third syllable by 8 speakers
10	ˈarticulate	--	Stressed on the first syllable by 4 speakers
	ar ˈticulate	--	Stressed on the second syllable by 5 speakers
	articu ˈlate	--	Stressed on the fourth syllable by 11 speakers

5. Findings and Conclusion

After studying the word accentual patterns of teachers' spoken data, the following findings and conclusions can be drawn.

1. There was not much difference between a stressed and an unstressed syllable in their speech. There was a vast difference between the R.P word accentual pattern and teachers' accentual patterns.
2. Since there is no one to one correspondence between spelling and pronunciation in English. It was found that they had spelling based pronunciation.
3. There is general tendency among most of the speakers to accent the first syllable of English words.
4. Out of the fifty word test items, twenty two words received stress on the first syllable by majority of the speakers.
5. Eleven items received stress on the second syllable by majority of the speakers.
6. Out of the fifty words, accentuation of fifteen items percentage is conformed to R.P.
7. The accentuation pattern of 44 words deviated by majority of the speakers with that of R.P.
8. The accentuation pattern of 2 words confirmed 100 % with R.P by all the speakers.
9. The number of syllables in a word had no bearing on the accentuation pattern of the speakers.
10. Words like '*ambition'*, '*anticipate'*, '*pronunciation'*, '*participate'*, '*sympathetic*', '*university'*, '*grammatical'*, '*experimentation'*, '*invitation'*, '*articulate'*, have shown the highest degree of variation.

This study has revealed certain features of word-accent deviations in English as spoken by the undergraduate Teachers. According to Bansal, "accent on the wrong syllable of the word is a major factor which is most frequently responsible for the unintelligibility of Indian English" (Bansal.R.K.1969, p.150). Teaching profession is an important profession and certainly, there is a great need for the teachers to make them intelligible to all kinds of people. In fact, teachers who have the great extent of deviation from R.P, it is the time to improve pronunciation of Indian teachers through teacher development programs. The English spoken by the teacher and learners need to be understood in Indian and international context. So, they need to be intelligible to the listener in any context (Indian or overseas). It is suggested that these undergraduate teachers of different subjects need to be given training to improve their English pronunciation.

6. Recommendations

When student of a second language or foreign language, who had some instruction according to the usual methods, initially hears the spoken language and fails to understand what has been said. Students usually claim that vocabulary of the utterance was too difficult for them.

In teaching English pronunciation, we soon see that there is very little help that we can get from the spelling of the words. For example, these words *through, cough, hiccough, though* are pronounced in different ways though the spelling of the underlined part is the same. On the other hand, the word *need, read, believe, machine, receive, we, people, key* contain eight different spellings for the same vowel sound */i:/.*

Since English is not always spelt in a manner consistent with its pronunciation the students need every possible aid to learn the pronunciation of words which they may see for the first time.

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Students' Views of Science Education Challenges in Morocco: A Focus Group Study

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Abstract

Students' perspectives of science education are of critical importance as they constitute one of the major stakeholders whose views are necessary for any enhancement of science education. The main objective of the present paper is to identify the extent of the effect of the change in the medium of instruction from Arabic to French at tertiary level on students' learning of science and thus on the quality of science education. To this end, the study employed focus group interview to explore students' experience and perspective of science education. The main focus was on the linguistic and educational factors that negatively influence learning science. The results show that the most dominant factors that influence students' understanding of scientific concepts relate to proficiency in French, translation from and to Arabic, learning through practical work, and communication. The findings have important implications for science education, language policy, and science curriculum design in Morocco in particular, and in other non-western contexts in general.

Keywords: science education, medium of instruction, proficiency, translation, quality

Introduction

In many non-western countries like Morocco, where science is taught in the local language at school level and western language at university level, students face tremendous challenges. First, most of them have a limited command of the second language. Second, translation from western languages to non-western languages is not highly successful because several senses of words may change in the translation process (e.g., Cobern, 1996; Kawasaki, 1996; Aikenhead & Ogawa, 2007, Lahlou & Hajar, 2016; Lahlou, in press). Third, there is a considerable gap between the meaning of a word in everyday speech and scientific language, the ignorance of which may impede learning scientific concepts and ideas (e.g., Duit & Kesidou, 1988; Strömdahl, 2007). As Logan (1981) says, the conceptual background of a student is constructed in their language, which is dissimilar to the scientific background. First of all, a student may study in his or her local language or pidgin. Second, they gradually learn in a different language, like English. The next stage is to study science in English. This causes students' science concepts to be kept along with their traditional concepts, creating confusion between the students' culture and "science culture" (Logan, 1981).

In the Moroccan context, all the above-mentioned challenges reach a climax when Arabic is replaced by French at tertiary level, increasing the burden of the transition from school to university and causing real problems for students' learning of science as well as quality of science education. Thus far, the literature on the issue of medium of instruction in teaching science to Moroccan students has been centred on language policy, system and attitude. However, studies on the linguistic and educational factors influencing a student's learning of science are still lacking, especially from the perspective of students.

Problem Statement

Morocco, like many other newly independent countries, has adopted bilingualism in science education. Thus, Arabic is employed at the school level while French is used at the tertiary level, especially to teach science. Despite the definite advantages of this language policy, the change in the medium of instruction adds to the problems faced by students in learning science, which in turn adds to the challenges for science education quality. A model for quality in higher education must characterize the common views of the stakeholders to thrive (Srikanthan & Dalrymple, 2003). Considering the different views of stakeholders, namely funding bodies and community at large, students, employers of graduates, and staff (academics and administrators), about quality in higher education is vital (Srikanthan & Dalrymple, 2003). Harvey & Green (1993) assert that the perspectives of every stakeholder ought to be taken into consideration in assessing quality given that quality is 'stakeholder-relative', to use Harvey & Green's (1993) expression. For instance, students and lecturers may emphasize the process of education, whereas employers may emphasize the outputs of higher education (Harvey & Green, 1993).

The current paper focuses on the perspective of students for two reasons. First, it is not possible to investigate all the stakeholders' competing perspectives in one study. Second, students' views of science education are pivotal as they are one of the main consumers of educational services (e.g., Hill, 1995; Ulewicz, 2017). Their views are crucial in showing their satisfaction, one of the main factors which contribute to the success of higher education industry.

Research Questions

The present study investigates students' views about the aforementioned change in the medium of instruction in terms of linguistic and educational aspects and thus identifies the actual and potential difficulties they face in learning science in general and physics in particular. This will provide a practical insight into science education challenges and quality from the perspective of students, one of the key internal stakeholders.

Given the above, the questions that the present study aims to address are:

- What linguistic difficulties does change in the medium of instruction pose for students?

- What educational difficulties does change in the medium of instruction pose for students?

Methodology

The current paper employs a qualitative method, that is, focus group interview, to explore students' views and experience of science education because it is one of the best research methods to approach humans' attitudes and perceptions (Krueger, 1994). Focus groups work well in research whose main goal is to describe participants' perceptions, feelings, manner of thinking and so forth. In addition, compared to other methods of collecting data like surveys and individual interviews, focus group interviews normally provide moderators with opportunities to observe how group members respond to others' perspectives and defend their own (Barbour & Schostak, 2005).

To collect a wide range of data, four focus groups with 7 to 12 participants were designed, which was thought to be satisfactory as two groups were in their first year of university studies and two groups were in their second year of university studies. The participants in each group were homogeneous in terms of academic discipline, country of origin and age. Homogeneous groups in background and viewpoints require a smaller number of groups provided that it is more than 1 focus group (Freitas, Oliveira, Jenkins, & Popjoy, 1998). Participants were recruited from a public university in Morocco, namely National School of Applied Sciences and Faculty of Sciences. Participants were recruited using convenience sampling because only a few learners were available as it was the very beginning of the academic year, and therefore they were volunteers (Creswell, 2009). The participants are multilingual. They all speak Standard Arabic, French and English. Nevertheless, their proficiency in Standard Arabic ranges from moderate to very high, in French from moderate to very high, and in English from low to very high. The groups included both male and female respondents.

The author, as a moderator, conducted all four focus group interviews. Regarding science education, the respondents were asked, "What do you think of the change in the medium of instruction from Arabic at primary and secondary levels to French at university level?" The moderator communicated the topic of discussion to the participants, raising clarifying questions, and using probing questions to elicit additional knowledge (Brotherson, 1994). Each focus group interview lasted 1 hour to 2 hours, following the normal duration range of a focus group, that is, from one to two hours (Patton, 2002).

After the focus group interview guide was written in English and forward-translated into Arabic, two Arabic-English bilingual speakers back-translated it into English. This is to compare the original version with the translated one and to verify precision and equivalence (Brislin, 1970). The focus group interviews were recorded, with the permission of all respondents, and then they were transcribed word for word, verbatim (Crabtree & Miller 1999). The same translation model was used in translating the transcripts of the interviews conducted

to repeatedly compare the original transcripts with the translated ones during analysis as well as synthesis (e.g., Lyons & Coyle, 2007; Regmi et al., 2010).

Findings and Discussion

The main challenges for science education raised by participants are linguistic and educational in nature. In other words, the most predominant themes that emerged in connection with science education were proficiency in French, translation from Arabic to French and vice versa, learning concepts through practical experience, and communication.

Proficiency in French

Participants showed their interest in being multilingual, "learning French and English by graduation;" however, most of them raised concerns about making progress in science as they do not have a good command of French. This is because students mostly learn sciences in Arabic at primary and secondary levels. French is not equally integrated at these levels. A respondent, for example, commented, "I've been weak in French since the primary school, and the problem kept on accumulating until the baccalaureate. Here [in the university], I find French not as a subject but as the language whereby I will understand science". Another participant said:

> We have been studying science in Arabic since the beginning. Terms had rarely been used in French until we reached the baccalaureate level as we were informed that we would need them later. If we had studied in French from the beginning, it would have been easier.

Translation From and To Arabic

Translation is an indispensable tool for understanding scientific terms given the change in the medium of instruction at tertiary level; however, it is not without problems. Translating scientific terms from French to Arabic, according to some participants, is not helpful. As an alternative, a respondent stated that they "have to check the meanings in French dictionaries, which in turn needs checking the translation in French-Arabic dictionaries." All respondents agreed that dictionaries help in understanding physics terms, especially if "they consist of pictures". In addition, the scientific books translated "into Arabic are mostly literal and so cause problems to our understanding and to lecturers' explanations." This made some participants assert that scientific texts in French are much easier to understand than those in Arabic. A participant, for instance, said:

> Philosophical texts, like Descartes', are better understood in French than in Arabic because French is close to Greek. The original meanings are lost in Arabic because there may be some mistakes in translating a text from Greek to French and then from French to Arabic.

Learning Concepts through Practical Work

No one denies the significance of practical and laboratory work in learning scientific concepts and ideas. A respondent, for example, said, "the more we carry out experiments, the more we understand the concepts." In cases where practical work is insufficient, these concepts will remain abstract as students will not be able to observe or manipulate materials and so will only study science theoretically. One of the respondents stated:

> Chemistry … [is] concrete; one must experience it to understand it, but we, most of the time, study it theoretically rather than tangibly. I do not mean always, but things often remain abstract; anything we study seems abstract to us. We try to imagine it in our setting which is informal (dialectal), but we do not see it in the physics setting.

As an alternative, students make use of some audio-visual tools like videos to understand some scientific ideas. For example, they "refer to sources online like *YouTube* to understand scientific concepts" and to watch "experiments" in particular. Despite the benefit of this source to learning scientific ideas through stimulating students' sensory experiences, "they do not solve the problem," as one of the participants asserted. Another respondent further explained, "the problem with videos is that an experiment remains intangible as it only gives you an idea, but you should be involved in an experiment and participate by mixing substances and so on". Overall, students prefer to participate in doing an experiment rather than watching it on *YouTube* to better understand as well as remember the concepts learnt. However, they stated that they mainly "refer to videos when … [they are] under stress of passing the exam."

Communication

Several students enter university with insufficient command of French, and so they need to work on their language proficiency as well as understand scientific subjects. A lecturer's awareness of this situation requires him or her to inform students in a language they can understand and to listen to them. Respondents showed much appreciation of their lecturers' support. For example, educators may "compare the concept in everyday language and science", "use pictures" and switch to "the dialect", which helps [them] understand." Nevertheless, "the predominant use of French terminology is unintelligible." "[Scientific] concepts are easier when a lecturer clarifies them in simple ways," and provides illustrative examples. A participant's statement summarizes the importance of a good lecturer's facilitation of learning, "we had some misconceptions about terminology in the beginning, but after we studied it and it was explained to us in physics classes we have understood it correctly, and physics ideas have become clear".

However, this can only be achieved if a lecturer is knowledgeable about scientific terminology in Arabic and has the ability to compare it with French scientific terminology. A participant, for instance, said, "a teacher who taught us science in Arabic sometimes gave wrong information because he had studied science in French and had little knowledge about Arabic scientific terminology." Lecturers' interaction with students can also be negatively affected by overcrowded classes. To quote one of the participants, "at a tutorial, a lecturer is

usually relaxed, interacts with us and we understand him or her, but in a lecture he or she is under pressure given the short period of time and high number of students ranging from 100 to 200, and so they speak fast to finish the lecture."

Conclusions and Recommendations

The data elicited from the participants confirms the impact of the transition of the medium of instruction from Arabic to French at the tertiary level on students' learning of scientific subjects. The most recurring themes it highlights, namely proficiency in French, translation from and to Arabic, learning through practical work and communication, stress the linguistic and educational factors affecting science students.

Mastering Arabic, the primary medium of instruction at the primary and secondary levels, and a language of western science like French and English facilitates learning science with minimal "conceptual confusion" to use Kawasaki's (2007) expression. This helps students reconcile their linguistic and cultural view of science with the western view of science and achieve both learning western science and promoting students' national identity (Kawasaki, 2007). Despite the enthusiasm for bilingualism and favourite chosen subjects that students showed, insufficient command of French remains a major obstacle to learning science concepts in general and physics concepts in particular. Low proficiency in French may cause students to have low self-confidence in learning, a potential problem that has to be avoided to achieve a sustainable science education (Kaptan & Timurlenk, 2012). Thus, to alleviate the effect of the hard transition of the medium of instruction from Arabic to French at the tertiary level, French should be equally incorporated into the curriculum of science so that French can be used along with Arabic in the science classroom at primary and secondary levels. This will help students master French terminology of science and be cognizant of the differences between Arabic and French terminologies of science early on in their learning. It will also reduce students' dependence on literal translation to understand scientific terms. Students should also be offered pre-orientation and on-going orientation courses at the tertiary level to make sure the transitional linguistic gap between secondary level and tertiary level is bridged.

Overcrowded classes and insufficient number of laboratories result in lack of adequate practical work and laboratory experience opportunities. A large number of students in the class further impact the teaching time allocated for the intensive fixed curriculum. It is suggested that universities work on enhancing their infrastructure, especially laboratories. Adequate teaching time should also be allocated to cover course material to avoid lecturers' concern with completing the curriculum and to enable them to provide more practical work experiences, particularly class demonstrations and experiments, and to tailor lessons to all students.

The findings of the current study offer valuable insights into the perceptions of Moroccan students on higher science education. However, they are based on a sample drawn from a population of first-year and second-year students in one Moroccan university only.

Thus, future research on higher science education is required to extend their sampling to other universities in Morocco to help achieve a more exhaustive research data.

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Revisionist Mythmaking in Varsha Adalja's *Mandodari*

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Abstract

The patriarchal and male-centred discourse of mythology has been a matter of concern for the revisionist feminist writers. Therefore, they revisit and re-read patriarchal myths and thus sensitively portray the awakened women protagonists, who through their resistance, and self assertion, deconstruct their "The Angel in the House", victim or mute observer identity. Revision of myths is thus an attempt to erase the misinterpretation of female identity that the myths continue to provide and propagate.

This paper seeks to examine how the feminist revisionary framework in Varsha Adalja's *Mandodari* brings to light, the women protagonists' struggle, and capacity for intense ambition, freedom and anger, regarding which the epics are silent. Playwrights represent the protagonists as women of immense knowledge and intelligence, who seek their revenge from the patriarchal set-up, through exertion of personal will. Through this process of revision, the playwrights challenge and effectively deconstruct the mute-observer and *pativrata* image of the mythical women and help them establish and gain their own voice.

Keywords: Varsha Adalja, *Mandodari*, Feminist-Revisionist, Mythmaking

Research Objective

The Objective of the present study is to critically analyse the English translation of *Mandodari* by Varsha Adalja. The play depicts revisionist mythmaking which Indian playwrights have adopted to provide agency to the mythical women character, Mandodari, who has been rendered voiceless since ages.

Further, this paper aims to analyse how the redefining of the female protagonist's image lends more stage space to women and helps them demonstrate their ambition, power, self-reliance and resistance against the patriarchal mythological set-up. The play vehemently creates a character who defies dominant ideologies and resists the impositions, thus effectively deconstructing the voiceless-observer identity, which myths lend to her.

Introduction

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Myths as the "primordial images" that human beings inherit from their collective unconsciousness have been regarded as a powerful tool by feminist critics who view it as a language of patriarchy to subjugate and marginalise women. Myths lend women, a constructed identity that holds her as weak, suppressed and inferior. Kate Millet in *On Lies, Secrets and Silences* observes: "Patriarchy has a still more tenacious or powerful hold through its successful habit of passing itself off as a nature". Thus, Millet holds mythology as a system that reinforces superiority of man over woman.

Feminist re-vision has become a potent tool to revise the subjugated identity that myths lend to women, by reviewing the discrimination and suppression that women have experienced since ages.

Thus, the feminist writers have revisited myths to revise the strangle hold of Patriarchy, in an attempt to erase the misinterpretation of female identity that the myths continue to provide and propagate. The female characters in this revisionist process find their faded identity and a strong voice which had been long suppressed and subjugated.

The feminist revisionary framework in Varsha Adalja's *Mandodari,* brings to light, Ravana's wife, Mandodari's struggle, capacity for intense ambition, freedom and anger, regarding which the epic *Ramayana* is silent. Adalja represents Mandodari, the daughter of demon Mayandev and *apsara* Hema, the queen of the King of Lanka, *asura* Ravana, as a woman of immense knowledge and intelligence, Ravana's war strategist, well-versed in "saam, daam, dand, bhed[1]" who in the end, intentionally brings about her own husband's death. Through this process of revision, Adalja challenges and effectively deconstructs Mandodari's mute-observer and *pativrata* image and helps her establish and gain her own voice.

The patriarchal and the male-centred discourse of the myths, sidelines the bravery, ambition and determination of the women by focussing entirely upon the valour and grit of the mythical heroes. "The message is clear: heroes are brave if they fight their enemies; heroines are brave if they sacrifice themselves[2]" Through the depiction of Mandodari as a woman of "extraordinary knowledge and understanding[3]", Adalja attempts to view myths from the women-centred angle and to create a counter mythology, effectively deconstructing the traditional mythology that underestimates woman's ability.

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[1] Tutun Mukharjee, *Staging Resistance; Plays by women in translation.* Oxford University Press India (2005), (107).
[2] Shodhganga. *Chapter III Re-visionist Mythmaking* http://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/40724/8/08-chapter3.pdf
[3] Tutun Mukharjee, *Staging Resistance; Plays by women in translation.* Oxford University Press India (2005), (107).

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Mandodari, Draupadi, Seeta, Savitri and others are worshipped in the Hindu mythology as *pativrata* women, embodiments of wifely duties, obedient, ideal "angels in the house" with no voice of their own. Against this authoritative and patriarchal discourse of myth and its retellings, the play *Mandodari,* provides more stage space to Mandodari than *asura* Ravana, or Prince Rama. Contrary to the stereotypes of *demoness* or the ideal wife, Adalja presents a feminist ideal by highlighting the neglected traits of Mandodari's personality, her strength, wisdom and strategy: "Saam daam dand bhed[4]" Against the earlier representations of Mandodari as a submissive, ideal and devoted wife, Adalja's Mandodari is presented as a queen devoted to her Kingdom, asserting national *dharma.* As an attempt to save her Kingdom the *Lanka,* from the death and destruction that the battle between Rama and Ravana would lead to, she even recommends Seeta to submit to Ravana.

The play opens up with the God of death, Kaaldevata's unalterable decision to destroy the golden Lanka as "the reign of Ravana and the power of his mighty Kingdom are over[5]" As a rebellion against Kaaldevata's decision, Mandodari, in a tone of resistance proclaims, "Stop, O Kaaldevata. I invite you to accept my challenge, that your task will remain unfulfilled[6]". Mandodari, as a supplement to her resistance, draws Kaaldevata's attention towards the acts of resistance of other women, of extraordinary will and determination.

> I remember that Anusuya too was an ordinary woman, but she stopped the sun from rising! And yes, you were forced to return Satyavan to life because of Savitri; she too was an ordinary woman[7].

Demonstrating her wisdom and immense knowledge Mandodari reminds Kaaldevata that it is she who has "invented a game that can be played with pawns[8]". Unlike the submissive Mandodari of the *Ramayana,* Adalja's Mandodari is presented as Ravana's war strategist. Mandodari warns Kaaldevata "You may not know that I have helped Ravanasura many a times with battle strategy... I have devised this game with such designs in mind[9]".

Ravana's declaration of Seeta's kidnapping in the guise of a *sadhu,* as an act of valour, invites Mandodari's condemnation. She strongly disapproves with his decision and avers:

> O lord, what have you done? Abducted Devi Seeta? That is impossible. Who does not know of Lord Rama's valour? It is easier to snatch the gem from Vasuki, the king of snakes, than Seeta from Rama. This is impossible...what shall I say?[10]

[4] Ibid.,107
[5] Ibid.,101
[6] Ibid.,102
[7] Ibid.,102
[8] Ibid.,102
[9] Ibid.,102
[10] Ibid.,102

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Adalja effectively deconstructs the *pativrata*, the ideal housewife image of mythical Mandodari as she lends her strong disapproval to Ravana's actions; "Kidnapping a helpless woman cannot be an act of valour. I do not see any bravery in it"[11]. Ravana's abduction of Seeta is in fact Kaaldevata's first move to bring Ravana closer to death. In her reply to Kaaldevata's first move, and his advice to accept defeat, Mandodari, unlike the *pativrata* ideal, pressurizes Ravana to give up his lust, and his desire for infinite power; "Please listen to me O Dashanana. Return Seeta to Rama immediately and seek pardon from the kind-hearted Rama[12]. Making him confront his error in evaluating Seeta, Mandodari reminds Ravana of his defeat at Seeta's *Swayambara,* "This is the same Seeta who used to play with Mahadev's bow that you could not lift, remember? Do you think she is an ordinary woman"[13]? She warns Ravana that "kingdoms built on oppression and exploitation never last" and makes an appeal to return Seeta as "a woman is not an object to be used to settle neither enmity nor a victim of lust[14]".

Kaaldevata's counter move, resulting from Ravana's futile attempts to convince Seeta to succumb to his advances, involves sending Jatayu to inform Rama about Seeta's abduction, and setting up of entire Lanka in flames by Hanuman. Mandodari remains unperturbed and asserts her intelligence and genealogy and refuses to accept defeat:

> I am the daughter of legendry Mayandev and an *apsara*. I am Ravana's wife and also his war strategist. I am well versed in *Saam, Daam, Dand,* and *Bhed.* I can put these to use too. This time I shall surely be successful with my moves, you will see[15].

It is through Mandodari, that Ravana is reminded of his defeat by Shahasrabahu and Bali raja. Unable to convince Ravana, Mandodari, as her next move, sends Bhibisana as an emissary, in order to persuade Ravana to free Seeta to maintain the kingdoms "Safety, prosperity, unity morality"[16].

In her last move, Adalja presents Mandodari, making herself the pawn, and persuading Seeta, to surrender before Ravana, in order to save the kingdom from death and destruction. She avers, "If Ravana gets you, he will not fight, and many lives will be saved. Surrender to Ravana Seeta and stop this war. This is the only way to the war, Seeta[17]. Mandodari becomes Adalja's mouthpiece to target Hindu Patriarchal society and the prevalent gender oppression in it when, in response to Seeta's question if women were not respected in *asura* culture, Mandodari responds,

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[11] Ibid.,103
[12] Ibid.,104
[13] Ibid.,104
[14] Ibid.,105
[15] Ibid.,105
[16] Ibid.,108
[17] Ibid.,110

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> O, Seeta, the daughter-in-law of the Suryavamshis, don't you think that there is ambiguity in the treatment of woman as goddesses? When the victorious kings confiscate kingdoms, don't they also take the woman folk of the defeated kings? The gods keep *apsaras* for enjoyment. Your father-in-law has several queens[18].

Adalja represents Mandodari in complete contrast to Seeta. Whereas Seeta embodies the typical Sati ideal, Mandodari epitomizes, strength, power and wisdom that woman possess. Criticizing the patriarchal authority in Seeta's remark, "I worship Rama as a Sati[19]", Adalja, through Mandodari, raises a valid argument, questioning the patriarchal setup, "Sati? Does woman become a Sati by washing the feet of her husband? No, Janaki, Sati is the one who follows the path of truth[20]".

Adalja emphasizes woman's self- reliance and construction of a self-identity through the episode where Mandodari serves coconut, covered in a basket, to Seeta, claiming it to be Rama's head. She pinpoints the self- identity that Seeta lacks, when just at the suggestion of her husband's death, Seeta breaks down, despairing and broken-hearted. A "Hope for humanity is seen in Mandodari's plea: "All these people scattered in different fractions, forever fighting each other, could be united and could at last live happily in one kingdom under one emperor[21]".

In the final confrontation of Mandodari, with her inner voice, she introspects if she was jealous of Seeta and conceals the thoughts of killing her. Adalja's play provides a "spacious agency to women by casting them as the moral guardians of both the private and the public sphere[22]" Mandodari examines her fate-become Seeta's attendant if Ravana wins the war or become a Sati, a madwoman or even Bibhisana's wife, if Ravana loses in the battlefield.

After the quick review of the events that ultimately lead to Ravana's death, Adalja highlights the feminist overtones of the play, when in response to Kaaldevata's declaration of Mandodari as "great Sati[23]" she sarcastically admits that " You have lost the game and I have won[24]". She brings to light, her "agony of being the wife of such a lustful yet blind man[25]?" and admits that;

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[18] Ibid.,110
[19] Ibid.,110
[20] Ibid.,110
[21] Ibid.,111
[22] Shodhganga. *Chapter III Re-visionist Mythmaking* http://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/40724/8/08-chapter3.pdf
[23] Tutun Mukharjee, *Staging Resistance; Plays by women in translation.* Oxford University Press India,(2005), (114).
[24] Ibid.,114
[25] Ibid.,114

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> Through Seeta's abduction and ensuring the war, I sought redemption of my clan. The arrow that killed Ravana actually released his soul and gave the egoistic man his salvation. Though I am widow now, I am a happy woman. I have succeeded in what I set out to do, ha ha ha[26]".

By speeding Ravana's death, making herself the reason of it, Mandodari deconstructs the self-sacrificing image of the mythical women. Adalja's Mandodari is the exact anti-thesis of Seeta who accompanied her husband through exile and Savitri, who pleaded the gods to bring Satyavan back to life. For Adalja, "...revising myth is about stripping new ways of interrogating them[27]".

Towards the end of the play, Adalja effectively highlights Mandodari's Nationalist element. Sushila vijaykumar in her paper notes that to avoid war, eradicate death and destruction, she suppresses her familial ties, her inner emotions, and emphasizing the outer rational world of public values of citizenship. She laments the loss of her country, her loved ones, and becomes the "mouthpiece of all wives and mothers suffering from the battles that men fight to satisfy their greed and their egoistic pursuits of love and lust[28]". She laments:

> War! Why do wars happen? What do they achieve? The annals of time record, many civilisations have been wiped out by these wars. How long will innocent people continue to be the victims of needless violence? ... Why should women be left behind to lament their loss[29]?

Although the play follows the structure of the epic, but Mandodari's manipulation of Kaaldevata ultimately leading Ravana to his death, is a representation of the feminist overtones of the writer. Deconstructing completely the *pativrata* ideal, the play highlights the suppressed and marginalised identity that myths lend to women and effectively reconstructs Mandodari as a woman of immense knowledge, strength and wisdom. Mandodari's choice of *Rashtradharma* over *patnidharma* highlights the feminist and the nationalist vision of the playwright. Mandodari challenges Kaaldevata and redefines the traditional description of wisdom and bravery, prescribed the patriarchal society. In this context, Shreyasee Dutta holds:

> Modern Mandodari left her mythic submissive counterpart behind and takes a step ahead towards liberation from puppet-hood. Deviating from the conventional tracks of stereotyping and generalising the image of woman, Varsha Adalja attempts to project women in their own consciousness. Disavowing the gender masquerade, diligently observed in every community,

[26] Ibid.,114
[27] [27] Shodhganga. *Chapter III Re-visionist Mythmaking* http://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/40724/8/08-chapter3.pdf
[28] Ibid.,236
[29] Ibid.,237

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> she further attempts to empower the long suppressed and sharply marginalised women by giving her voice, sovereignty, individuality, altogether her agency. The effort to deconstruct the patriarchal metaphysics recently has accumulated a vast new mass of testimony, of new comprehension as to what it is to be female[30]"

In the hands of Adalja, Mandodari, an eponymous character from the *Ramayana*, becomes the mouth-piece of all wives and mothers who suffer the consequences of the battles that men fight to gratify their "egoistic pursuits of love and lust". In the hovering clouds of war, Mandodari's choice of her kingdom over her wifely duties brings to light the strength, ambition and determination in her character that the epic fails to highlight. Presenting Mandodari as a complete contrast to Seeta, an epitome of wifely duties, Adalja emphasises the construction of a self-identity and self-reliance.

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Dehumanizing Aspects of Slavery: A Critical Appraisal of Toni Morrison's *BELOVED*

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Abstract

Toni Morrison has built a permanent niche in the realm of African-American writings. *Beloved* which was published in 1987 is her fifth novel. She has received the Pulitzer Prize for Fiction and Nobel Prize in literature. The novel articulates the sense of intense pain and suffering caused by the white master. She in this novel picturizes the unrelieved violence in all its manifestations like incest, rape, infanticide which were the dark consequences of slavery. She basically in her work strove to bring African- American experience. She in this novel delves deep into the psyche of the slave exploring the wide, frightening terrain of their thought process. This paper is a modest endeavor to shed light on certain issues like dehumanizing effect of slavery, gender discrimination, hyphenated identity of individuals and unceasing quest for freedom, happiness and self-discovery. A few other writers and poets like Alice Walker, Maya Angelou also deals with these issues, but Morrison has, perhaps, done the most detailed analysis of the concept of slavery. The novel is a saga of struggle of the slaves to arrive at authentic selfhood and freedom.

Keywords: Toni Morrison, *Beloved*, pain, violence, incest, infanticide, slavery, selfhood, freedom.

Introduction

Beloved is a classic in black literature. It is in fact an unbearably heartbreaking saga of reckless exploitation of the slaves. The intensity of torture that the white people had done to the black is unnarratable in words. She through this novel endeavoured hard to project the dilemma of the black African American people. She vehemently exposes in it the human prejudices. The novel is in the genre of slave narrative.

Slavery is the darkest period not only in the history of America but also in the history of

entire mankind. With the publication of Toni Morrison's *Beloved*, some of the burning issues such as slavery were raised in the forefront. Slavery is a very important part of the text.

The central character of the novel is Sethe. She has a daughter by the name Beloved after which the novel is named. *Beloved* is in the tradition of Afro-American folk narrative where we have the spirit of the dead child coming back to haunt the house. The spirit of Beloved is in a way the representation of the memory of the suppressed and repressed past as well as slavery. *Beloved* is a novel which is multi vocal because we have narratives from the point of view of multiple characters such as Beloved, Sethe, Paul D, Denver, Baby Suggs and Stamp Paid, etc.

The Central Story in a Nutshell

The central story of the novel is unbearably heart-wrenching and it revolves around Sethe's history and the bold action that she had taken when she ran away from Kentucky Plantation. She already had by that time two young sons by the name Howard and Buglar and a daughter by the name Denver who was hardly two years old and she was also pregnant with another daughter. So, when the slave catcher was about to catch her, she kills her own daughter Beloved with a view to free her from future slavery. This is the central story around which the rest of the story moves around. *Beloved* is inspired by the true story of a mother committing infanticide. The name of the mother is Margaret Garner and she was a runaway slave. In her foreword to the book *Beloved*, Morrison writes about the lady. The book is dedicated to 'Sixty Million and more'. Her text was dedicated to the lives that were lost as a result of the Atlantic slave trade.

Psychological Impact of Slavery

The slaves were caught, killed, seduced, murdered, oppressed and depressed in their heart and mind. In many cases, most of the characters are so psychologically traumatized that they represent the past denying its existence because it was too painful for them to reminiscence the past again. *Beloved* in the novel is not just about a ghost, it represents the traumatic history of slavery. One of the minor characters of the novel by the name of Amy remarks,

"Anything dead coming back to life hurts." (Morrison, 35)

Impact of Slavery on Family Life

There is a graphic portrayal of slavery as an institution. As an institution, slavery was anti-family. Slavery didn't allow family. As we go through the novel, we come to know that husbands were separated, wives were separated, and children were separated. Children had no memory of their parents. They had to grow without affection, guidance and tenderness of their parents. The parents could never meet their child again.

Slavery is one of the driving forces for the psychological trauma for the slave of not having a

family. The slave never had a constituent family. Every mother lost her children; children are deprived of mother's affection. Motherhood is actually one of the recurring themes of many slave narratives. We have seen the meaningless mother-child relationship in the narrative. Sethe's two sons Howard and Buglar are afraid of not only of the Beloved's spirit but also afraid of their mother because they could remember that their mother was once tried to kill them. In doing the criminal act of infanticide she was trying to out hurt the hurters. There is a hint of infanticide in Ella's past also. She doesn't want the past to intervene in the present. She was raped mercilessly by one white man and from this act was born lots of children and she regarded them as 'a hairy white thing' (Morrison,128) and refused to feed them. So, some of them die. So, there is a hint of infanticide in Ella's past.

Dehumanization of Slaves

Slavery is also significant so far as the dehumanizing of the slaves is concerned and the white people had the power to dehumanize because they were the masters and superior to them. The white masters are depicted as devoid of feeling and sense of responsibility. Baby Suggs's husband escaped from slavery. Halle Suggs who is the husband of Seth has brought his mother's (Baby Suggs) freedom from slavery. It was a great event in his past. He had to work continuously for so many years without any break and wage. Even on Sunday and Saturday he used to work. Paul D had to allow his masters to seduce his wife for a year. Such was the helpless and pathetic condition of the slaves. They were not only helpless but also hapless.

The white people had the power to dehumanize the slaves. Slaves were not considered as human beings, but they were considered either as property or animal. The slaves were unable to define any stable identity to define themselves. Slave women were regarded as breeders in the sense that she would give free future slaves by giving birth to children. The use of the words such as 'slaves', 'niggers', 'beast', 'animals'- these kinds of use of words degraded the slaves and compared them with animals. The white schoolteacher used the slaves as a subject of experiment. Like an anthropologist, he measured their heads and classified and noted the good and bad things of the slaves. He also noted down the human and animal behaviour of the slaves. The slaves tried to forget their past so that they moved on life. They didn't have ownership over their own body and their body is determined by somebody else.

The white people had power over language. Stamp Paid in *Beloved* tells that the white men have the power over language, and they were the ones incessantly speaking, scolding, taunting the slaves. They had a preconceived notion that the African-American people were full of dark forest inside of them. So, they designated them as debased, barbaric, and uncivilized and so on.

"White people believed that whatever the manners, under every dark skin was a jungle. Swift

unnavigable waters, swinging screaming baboons, sleeping snakes, red gums ready for their sweet white blood. In a way… they were right… But it wasn't the jungle blacks brought with them to this place… It was the jungle whitefolks planted in them. And it grew. It spread… until it invaded the whites who had made it…. Made them bloody, silly, worse than even they wanted to be, so scared were they of the jungle they had made. The screaming baboon lived under their own white skin; the red gums were their own." (Morrison, 99)

They thought that their culture was uncivilized, and they were a primitive race of people. They all had been tortured and their culture had been mangled and they had to undergo a suffering of insomnia and identity crisis. It was Mr. Bodwin who at the end of the text realizes the misdeeds done by them to the black community.

Complete Dehumanization of the Slaves/ Inestimable Pain on Slaves

Sethe's life was full of ups and downs. There are lots of traces of complete dehumanization of Sethe in the story. In fact, it is she for which the central story revolves around. Her body is in fact a text of slavery. Sethe tells that there is a tree with numerous branches growing behind her back. Sethe said "I got a tree on my back…" (Morrison,7). This means that there are lots of lashes behind the back of Sethe caused by the whip of the two nephews of the schoolteacher. This tree symbol is a very rich symbol that Morrison uses in her novel and this is symbolic of the physical cruelty of slavery. These scars on her back projects the dehumanizing years as a slave. Sethe tells Paul D thus:

"After I left you, those boys came in there and took my milk. That's what they came in there for. Held me down and took it. I told Mrs. Garner on em. She had that lump and couldn't speak but her eyes rolled out tears. Them boys found out I told on em. Schoolteacher made one open my back, and when it closed it made a tree. It grows there still. " (Morrison,8)

Sethe has to sell herself for ten minutes in order to inscribe the words 'Beloved' on the tombstone of her first dead daughter.

"But those ten minutes...were longer than life, more alive, more pulsating than the baby blood that soaked her fingers like oil" (Morrison,2).

Sethe was so much caught up with her miserable past that she had even forgotten about her present. The women depicted in the novel understand each other's pain.

Conclusion

It is very difficult to comprehend the limits of inhumanity that a particular race especially the

master or the white or the superior could inflict on another race, the way they are dehumanized, and the evil that comes with this institutionalized slavery. *Beloved,* in a sense, is a retelling, rewriting of all the slaves who never got the chance to narrate their story and what Morrison found in many of the slave narratives was that number of these narratives had in a sense toned down their voice for the sake of a white audience. In an interview, Morrison tells that she is just retelling, and she is just refilling those gaps that have been left in those slave narratives. (Rose1:02:32) What Morrison insists upon is recovering and giving voice to all these kinds of narratives. So even though we have the story of Sethe, we have to remember that the book is dedicated to sixty million slaves. So, the rape of Sethe is the rape of the black women and even men who were exploited by their masters. A travesty on Sethe's individuality is a travesty on all those slaves.

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Be S.M.A.R.T.: Blending Formative and Summative Assessments in Hybrid Course on ESP

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Abstract

The recent era in the field of education has been quite revolutionary in terms of the advent of new education paradigms that use Hybrid, Blended & Online learning (HBO) modalities. The base of this transformation in the pedagogical approach is to make the teaching-learning process more learner-centric. As English Language Learners as well as the teachers were familiarized with Computer-assisted Language Learning (CALL) way back in 60's, the arrival of non-conventional methods of delivery and assessment techniques is not a surprise to English for Specific Purpose (ESP) teachers. However, developing the understanding of assessment and assessment strategies is challenging for both the learner and the instructor. Along with the blend in the modes and methods of delivery, the blend of summative and formative assessment techniques definitely aims at a more conducive, goal/result oriented and self-regulatory impactful learning.

This paper aims to study the responses of students on SMART (Specific, Measurable, Attainable, Realistic & Time bound) assessment methods used which is blending Formative and Summative assessment techniques while starting the assessment process with a Diagnostic survey. This action-based research paper is supported by a self-designed and administered quantitative research conducted on 200 MBA Semester-I students to study the responses of the said group of students who are exposed to blended assessment (formative & Summative) in their first semester *Business Communication* course. It is analyzed through the data collected in a survey that this group of students appreciate blended assessment (both Formative & Summative) in comparison to

only summative assessment that takes place in the middle and end of the semester in a conventional ESP classroom.

Keywords: English for Specific Purpose, Formative, Summative, Assessment, Hybrid, Blended & Online Learning

Introduction

In academics, assessment is the pivotal point around which the whole teaching process revolves. In addition to the correct pedagogical approach, unless the right assessment tools are used to achieve the learning outcomes, teaching-learning process is mere a myth. The Merriam-Webster dictionary defines Assessment as, "the action or an instance of making a judgment about something" to elaborate the word assessment can be defined as a systematic way, which is used to study someone or something on pre-defined parameters in order to achieve improvement in certain area. Hence, assessment is a methodical way of acquiring, reviewing and using information about someone or something, to make improvement where necessary. The term is interpreted in a variety of ways, i.e. educational, psychological, financial, taxation, human resource and so on. (S, 2017)

Let us first identify and understand the concepts of assessment & evaluation so that it becomes easier on our part to apply the correct and more relevant approaches to our pedagogy so that learning outcomes are achieved. According to Wiggins & McTighe:

> By *assessment* we mean the act of determining the extent to which the desired results are on the way to being achieved and to what extent they have been achieved. Assessment is the umbrella term for the deliberate use of many methods of gathering evidence of meeting desired results, whether those results are state content standards or local curricular objectives. The collected evidence we seek may well include observations and dialogues, traditional quizzes and tests, performance tasks and projects, as well as students' self-assessments gathered over time. Assessment is thus a more learning-focused term than evaluation, and the two should not be viewed as synonymous. Assessment is the giving and using of feedback against standards to enable improvement and the meeting of goals. Evaluation, by contrast, is more summative and credential-related. In other words, we need not give a grade— an evaluation—to everything we give feedback to. In fact, a central premise of our argument is that understanding can be developed and evoked only through multiple methods of ongoing assessment, with far greater attention paid to formative (and performance) assessment than is typical. (McTighe, 2005)

The approach of a learner towards the teaching-learning process is most of the time directly proportional to the assessment tools used either throughout or in the end of the semester by the teacher. More than the method of assessment, the quality of the feedback shared and the 'learning achieved' in the process of learning affects the learners' attitude and approach towards the subject. It is generally acknowledged that 'a student's approach to learning and the quality of learning achieved will be influenced by the way in which this learning is to be assessed' (Gibbs, 2010) .

Nevertheless, other than the major three types of assessments, which are summative, formative and continuous assessment another form of assessments used in academics is diagnostic assessments. Diagnostic assessments are pre-assessments, which are used by the teacher to develop an understanding about the level of prior knowledge of a learner apropos a particular subject. Though, summative assessments are evaluative in nature, the blending of these assessment types immensely helps a teacher in designing the curricula and selecting the methodology to be used in the process of teaching and accordingly for catering to the need of the learner with a very learner-centric approach. The preferred type of assessments individually or blended with another form of assessment can further be aligned within the teaching process to bring into line and accomplish the learning objectives. In a traditional language classroom, formative or continuous assessments are most commonly used but with the intervention of technology, the teachers now can use blended modes of assessments in order to ascertain the accomplishment of learning outcomes and meeting course objective with exactitude.

Blended Learning

Before we discuss the difference between formative and summative assessment, it is very important to describe blended learning. In the past couple of decades, academics has shown tremendous revolutionary changes in teaching-learning methodologies, which enable the possibility of more learner-centric approach in teaching-learning process. The journey of the methods of teaching-learning, right from the traditional face-to-face method to web-based teaching and then *enroute* from synchronous learning to Learning Management Systems that offer both synchronous and asynchronous learning options, has shown quite a revolution in terms of growing with the fast changing world. Blended learning as the name suggests is an amalgamation of online learning with traditional face to face teaching and learning methods. As English Language Learners as well as the teachers were familiarized with Computer-assisted Language Learning (CALL) way back in 60's, the arrival of non-conventional methods of delivery and assessment techniques is not a surprise to ESP teachers. The combination of computer-based learning with the traditional classroom monitoring provides enough room to the learner as well the instructor to align the socio-cultural and linguistic needs.

Blended learning, in this process of growth, comes as a bridge that connects the teacher and the learner while not getting into either extreme. According to (Throne, 2003), blended

learning has almost limitless potential because it "represents a naturally evolving process from traditional forms of teaching to a personalized and focused development path".

However, to develop an understanding of assessment and assessment strategies, which makes it simpler to meet the learning objectives fairly, is challenging both for the learner and the instructor. Along with the blend in the modes and methods of delivery, the blend of summative and formative assessment techniques definitely aims at a more conducive, goal/result oriented and self-regulatory impactful learning. The traditionally used techniques of assessment in English Language Teaching is Summative Assessment, which evaluates a learner's progression periodically up to a certain point of time. Mid/End-term examination and unit tests are some of the examples of such type of assessment (more likely to be called evaluation). On the contrary, feedback based assessment aligned with the learning outcomes that contributes to the improvement in the student's learning progression is Formative in nature. Brown and Knight explain:

> ***Summative assessment*** is assessment that is used to signify competence or that contributes to a student's grade in a course, module, level or degree. ***Formative assessment***, on the other hand, is assessment strictly used to provide feedback to the student on their learning. It provides the student with advice on how to maintain and improve their progress, but generally, it does not form part of their summative grade or mark. Formative assessment is based on the assumption that 'growth is to be promoted, not left to the swirling patterns of 'natural' development by ex (Knight, 2004)posure to the subject matter of the degree'. (Knight, 2004)

Formative assessment also helps students develop self-directed learning. Using assessment and communicating the purpose of the assessments should be done meticulously so that the students are able to shift their focus from merely passing the subject to understanding the subject. At this point, it is important to reiterate the difference between assessment and evaluation. The difference of assessment and evaluation overlaps with that of between Formative and Summative. Assessments provide feedback on the areas that necessitate improvement whereas, evaluation defines the magnitude to which objectives are accomplished. In other words, we can say that assessment is process driven on the other hand evaluation is product driven. Learning objectives do not have a major role to play in the evaluation process while assessments are completely learner and objective centric.

> The assessment provides feedback on performance and ways to enhance performance in future. As against this, evaluation ascertains whether the standards are met or not. The purpose of assessment is formative, i.e. to increase quality whereas evaluation is all about judging quality, therefore the purpose is summative. (S, 2017)

Method

Research Design (Descriptive-Survey)

Based on descriptive (Survey) research design, this paper aims to study the responses of students on assessment methods used (which is blending Formative and Summative assessment while starting the assessment process with diagnostic survey). It is studied through the diagnostic assessment that majority of the students have never been exposed to HBO until their graduation. They are found to be familiar with LMS as a mode of resource portal but not as a tool of assessment. The following results of the diagnostic test reflect a clear exposure and understanding of the students' familiarity on blended teaching learning tools. 190 responses were collected out of 200 students who took the diagnostic survey.

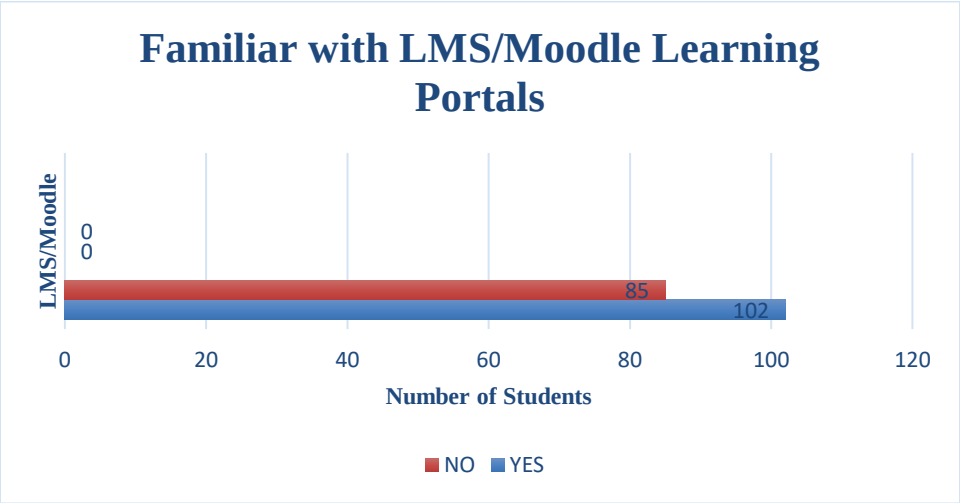


Figure. 01

More than 50% of the strength who took the diagnostic survey answered the question of being familiar with the LMS/ Moodle, but the percentage changed drastically when they are asked about their being familiar with HBO. Not only it is about their being exposed to the technology integrated teaching-learning methods but also the students who accepted their being familiar with Moodle or LMS in discussions expressed that usually Moodles/LMS were used to conduct MCQs based quizzes periodically which were usually non-graded. Further to the diagnostic test over 200 MBA- semester I students were given a self-designed and administered survey.to study the responses of the said group of students who are exposed to blended assessment (formative & Summative) in their first semester Business Communication course using blended (F2F & Online) mode of delivery.

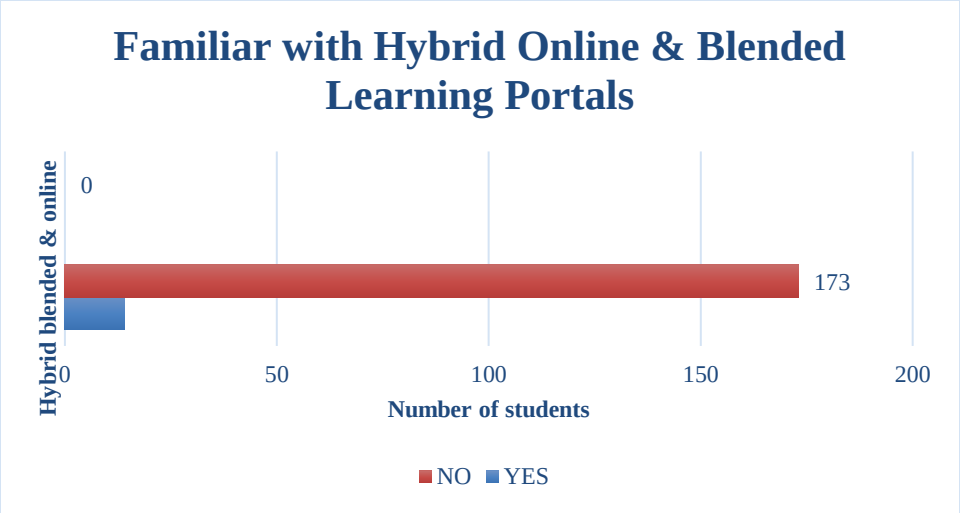


Figure. 02

Data Collection Method(s) and Analysis

Keeping the concept of blended assessment techniques in mind, MBA first semester students are oriented about the unconventional teaching methodology along with the assessment pattern. Business Communication in the first semester is a subject that broadly deals with the basics of communication, components of effective business writing, effective presentation and negotiation skills. During the orientation sessions, the students are familiarized with the use of *Blackboard* (LMS) as a mode of teaching and assessment throughout the semester. Along with the course plan, a detailed plan with dates and deadlines for completing the online assessment is shared with the students. Internal Assessment is further divided into individual and group assessments and carry a weightage of 50% of the total marks. Rest 50% is End semester written exam in pen and paper mode like a conventional communication examination. The division of the marks under internal assessment is as given below:

Criteria	**Marks**
Internal Marks	50%
End Semester Marks	50%
Total	**100%**
Criteria	**Marks**
Group Assessment	
Case Studies (Classroom)	20 Marks
Class Presentations (Classroom)	20 Marks

Total	**40 Marks**
Individual Assessment	
Quizzes (Online)	30 Marks
Assignment (Online)	10 Marks
Discussion (Online)	20 Marks
Total	**60 Marks**
End Semester Exam	**100 Marks**

Based on this, communication is shared with the students. With a proper timely intimation, the assessments were conducted. The timelines in the following format were shared with the students via *Blackboard* in the beginning of the semester:

Marks Distribution							
Module Description	**Assessment Criteria**		**Details of activities**	**Marks Distribution**	**Total**	**Deadlines (Tentative)**	**Total No. of hours (Online)**
Internal Assessment - 50%							
Individual Assessment	Quiz - I	Module- I	Communication - An overview, Goals of Communication, Directions of Communication, Barriers to Communication/ Grapevine/ Channels, pattern of Communication	10 Marks	**100 Marks**	6-Sep-17	15 Min.
	Discussion -I	Module- I	Cross-cultural/Intercultural Communication	10 Marks		04 - 11 Sept 2017	1 Hr.
	Assignment -I	Module- I	Business Correspondence, good news/bad news	05 Marks		13-17 Sept 2017	30 Min

	Quiz -II	Module-II	Verbal Communication- Assorted Quiz on Common Errors	10 Marks		15 - 20 Sept 2017	15 Min.
	Assignment -II	Module-V	Based on Critical thinking & writing skills	05 Marks		21 - 27 Sept 2017	2 Hr.
	Discussion -II	Module-V	Written Communication	10 Marks		28 Sept - 4 Oct 2017	1 Hr.
	Quiz-III	Module-IV	Negotiation Skills	10 Marks			
Group Assessment	Case Studies	Module- I	Case Studies	20 Marks		11-15 Sept 2017	1 Hr.
	Presentations	Module-III	Group Presentations	20 Marks		22 Oct - 3 Nov 2017	
End Semester-50%	Written Exam based on entire Syllabus			100 Marks	**100 Marks**		

It was made sure that the instructor did not compromise with the deadlines and at the same time kept on checking students' participation. The teacher took care of the fact that within a week's time the students are given the feedback, which is both written, and in person.

Findings and Discussion

Using a google form a 10 questions survey is conducted on the same set of students who underwent the above mentioned course. The students are briefed about the questions, but the purpose of the study was not disclosed so the responses are not affected.

Table 1: Survey Questions:

Sr. No.	*Questions*
1.	*The online quizzes conducted every fortnight are helpful in making me understand my level of comprehension about the topic taught.*
2.	*The weekly assignments on Blackboard (LMS) helped me to check on my written expression.*
3.	*Formative assessments throughout the semester helped me to check on my progress in terms of achieving learning objectives.*
4.	*Instructor's feedback is detailed enough to make me understand my drawbacks and helped me work on my shortcomings with clarity*
5.	*Online discussions in continuous assessment helped me open up in expression and exposed to others' opinions according to my time pace.*
6.	*Blending of continuous assessment and end semester exam test my competence fairly*
7.	*Written exam pertaining to the complete syllabus in the end semester gives me a fair chance to prove my knowledge and competence in the subject.*
8.	*Integration of assessment methods (online and written exam) leave an extra room for my betterment.*
9.	*Final examination in pen and paper makes the whole assessment process more authentic and valid.*
10.	*Rate the assessment pattern of your course.*

Out of the given questions, some selected responses are as mentioned below:

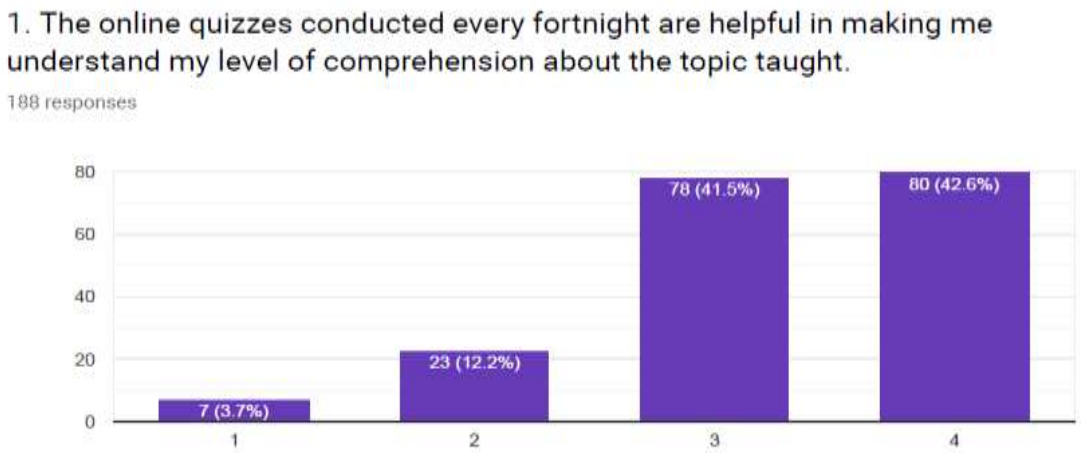


Figure 1:

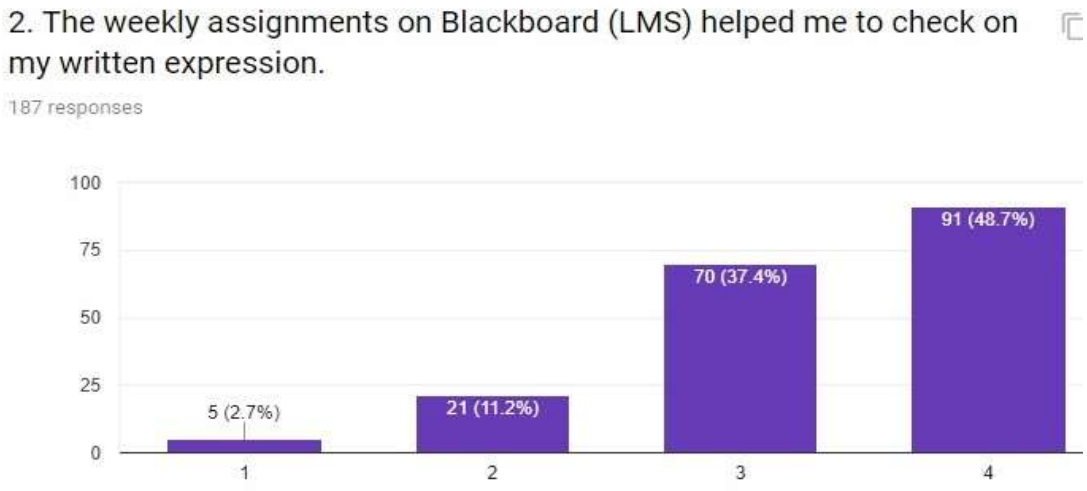
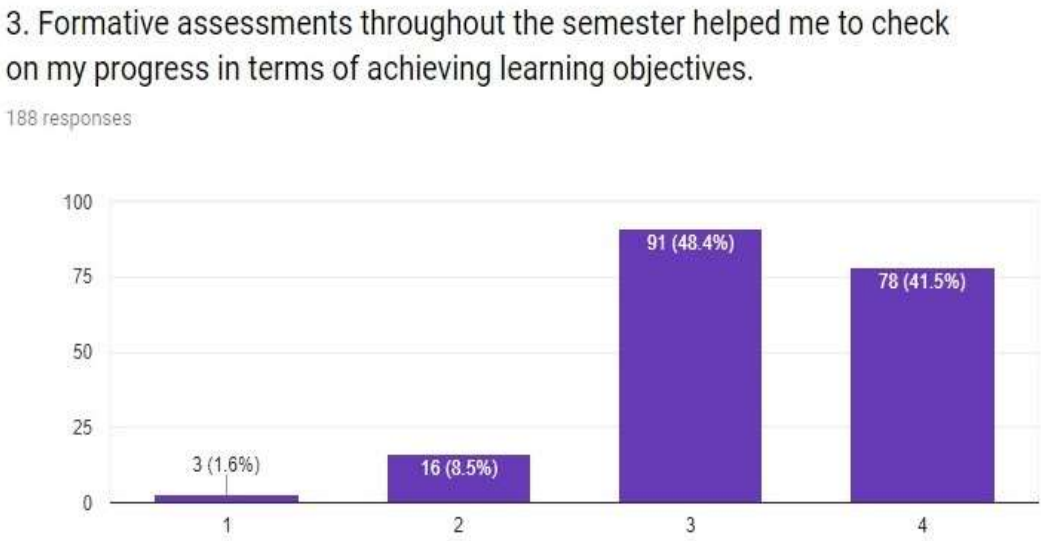


Figure 2:



Discussion

The online quizzes conducted every fortnight not only helped the students in learning the topic but also identify the level of their comprehension with regard to the topic discussed. Though the online quizzes are evaluative in nature, they helped students see/identify the sections/parts wherein they need more practice.

The weekly online assignments complemented the fortnightly quizzes as they helped the students discuss and receive feedback on the topic. In addition, the online assignments (being subjective in nature) helped students to work and develop their writing skills. The blending of assessments had an overall impact on the learning of the students as they helped the students identify the areas of improvement and based on the detailed feedback, helped them learn the correct the mistakes and errors.

The formative assessments throughout the semester helped the students keep tab on their learnings well as the learning objectives. Students could easily identify (based on their scores & feedback) the learning outcomes where they required to work harder. Throughout the semester, the blend of assessments kept its focus on attainment of the learning outcomes, which can never be a summative process.

Conclusions

The blend of assessment types is the need of the hour as the summative assessments do not offer much room for self-correction and are evaluative in nature. Implementing formative assessment techniques provide this extra room for self-correction and correction by the teacher as well so that the process remains a well-knit complete process without any loopholes. The way to improvement is always progressive and continuous and that is why, the blend of assessment types is more outcome-based. The assessment techniques and tools are SMART as the blended assessments not only specific in nature and are measurable, but also are attainable, realistic and time-bound.

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The Essence of Folktales and Their Functions in Assamese Society

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Abstract

Social life is a result of assimilation of individual and public life. Folktales are being created with the experience of social life. From that perspective it may be said that social life is reciprocate to folktales. Folktales put its influence naturally upon the social life of a community. Folk society never pays their attention towards the logical analysis of the folktales. Genetically, they have been taking away rigid ideas. Assamese folktales are leading the Assamese tradition, ethics and customs and have been giving path towards the further generation. The fundamental learning of Assamese folktale makes people eligible to handle the problems of life. Though at first, it was somebody's individual; later it becomes as the corn-house of primary learning for the Assamese society. And we see that the ethnic identity, cultural identity and natural integration are built up among different sections of the people of a state with the contribution of folkloric components. The morality of folktales has always remembered by Assamese people in every critical situation. Even Assamese folk-beliefs and ideas are formed specially based on folk tales. This paper aims to focus on how the prevalent elements of folktales are spreading out to each part of Assamese society and the day to day life of Assamese folk life.

Keywords: Assamese society, Folktale, Folk society, Customs, Folk belief, Moral, Tradition

I. Introduction

North East India has beautiful landscape and the confluence of various ethnic groups perhaps have given rise to a body of writing this is completely different from Indian English literature. The literature from North east India refers mostly to English writing but it also include in its rubric Assamese Literature, Bodo literature, writing in the 'Meitei language'; that have long been traditions of writing and stand on their own with a glorious legacy. The north east is a fertile ground for various traditions that have made their way to this zone along with tribes that bought such way of life along with them when they came here from various part of Asia.

The meaning of the word 'folk' is common people, public. The term common people include people of all caste, creed and religion. According to folk-culturists the term 'Folk' refer to a class of people who follow the same customs and traditions. It may also refer to the common living, sharing

language, religion etc. (Sarmah, 1997). On the contrary in literature the term 'folk' encompasses especially somewhat narrow ideas as compared to the folk society. It normally refers to the working class of villages and towns living under the canopy of traditions and customs (Sarmah, 1997). They are basically not endowed with formal education. From this angle folktale deals with the working class.

There is nothing fixed regarding the form of folktales. Folktales are primarily created by the folklore of the society and customarily orally circulated narrative literature. A folktale passes through different shapes as according to the passing of time. It expresses the experience of common people and is nourished by the common attitude of the ordinary firming class. The daily life of common people means different activities performed for their survival. They earn various types of experiences after performing these works. Creative mind always try to share their thoughts and experiences with other members of the society. They always want to narrate their work experience, their story of bravery and the beliefs (fantasy or illustration) towards the further generation.

II. Method

Analytical method is specially applied here. In analytical research, the researcher has to use facts or information already available and analyze these to make critical evaluation of the material. Here the researcher tried to elaborate the folktales introduced in Assamese society and their impacts on the people of Assam. The paper is mainly written on the basis of orally transformed folktales but related printed materials like relevant books, journals etc. are also used. Besides these tales are in printed form but they are still transformed orally in the society. In this paper the printed primary material of Bezbaruah and other unprinted oral tales have been used for analysis.

III. Discussion

Northeast India is a land with a rich and exquisite oral tradition. Histories, beliefs, saying, anecdotes and most importantly stories that embody all of these others have continued to be orally passed down to the younger generations. Orality and the collective memory are core components of every tribal society of Northeast. These stories capture the very essence of the people's identity. Ben Okri's words "We are part human, part stories" is very true in the case of the different ethnic groups of the Northeast. Here, every community is in possession of a vibrant storytelling tradition. There are bristling galaxies of stories archived in the collective memory of the people which to a large extent determine their ways of life and beliefs. These stories are a dominant influence on the literary creation of the region. Temsula Ao's *The Songs From Other Life* also draws heavily from these indigenous lores, myths and legends. Almost every poem in this collection is preceded by a brief stating of the story that the poem deals with. These help the readers to understand the poems better. From the myth of origin of the Nagas from the six stones at 'Lungerteok', to the tales about the stealth of the Naga script, Ao delves into a number of folk tales. Early writings on ethnicity and identity-based conflicts by such scholars as Apurba Baruah, Manorama Sharma, Udayon Mishra, Tilottama Mishra and others reflected broadly on how communities of the Northeast remain far less internally differentiated than their counterparts from the rest of India.

Assam has a fair proportion of tribes in the hills as well as in parts of the Valley who speak dialects of languages belonging to the Tibeto Burman family. The general Assamese people use Indo-Aryan language. There is a certain distinctiveness attach to each tradition, in relation to the tribes inhabiting the region, which in here is their particular language, religion, custom or ethnicity. (Barua, Lalit Kumar, 1999). Assam is one of the eastern- most states of India. The people of Assam inhabit in a multiethnic, multi-linguistic and multi-religious society. The process of social formation in Assam has been marked simultaneously by 'Sanskritization' and 'Tribalization' at different times. So, the folk-beliefs and ideas are different that grows up at different times.

To begin with, Folk traditions are interrelated with the folk and folklore of a society. Folk implies a group of people who constituted the lower stratum - in contrast to the upper stratum or elite society. In present times, Folk refer to any group of people who share at least one common factor. It belongs to the collective traditions which help the group to have a sense of solidarity and group identity. Folklore means folk learning. It comprehends all knowledge that is transmitted by word of mouth and all crafts and techniques that are learned by imitation, or example, as well as the products of these crafts. Folklore is the lore of the people. Folklore reveals people's ideas and ideals, hopes, fears, aspirations and superstitions. It is the evolution of people's social, emotional and cultural life, an index to their ethnic, aesthetic norms and moral values.

Folktale is a kind of traditional prose narrative which is generally handed down from generation to generation. But its need has not always have been oral. It is found in written form also. The tradition of telling a tale is for pure entertainment and to the delight of the listeners is not new. Narration is ageless. The impulse to tell a story and the need to listen to it have made narrative the natural companion of man throughout the history of civilization. Every tale tells about humans, their culture and their society. Folktale is a kind of prose narrative which is related to any part of life history, from cradle to grave, including great turning points or insignificant details in family life, occupation, entertainment, celebration, religion, crisis, illness, travel etc. and may provide material for collaboration into a narrative.

Assamese people used the word "SADHU" in a wider sense. This word represents the meaning of the English words—tales, legend, myth and fable. Assamese folktales are like an evident document of Assamese culture, society and civilization. Folktales work as reflector of socio-cultural scenery of Assamese society. Assamese people always learn and try to handle the problems of life from folktales. It is like the corn-house of primary learning for Assamese society. When they are fishing, cultivating, firming, looming, rice mixing etc. in every day work the morality of tales or the situation describes in folktales are memorized or referenced by them.

This research paper aims to focus how the prevalent elements of folktales are spreading out and functioning in day to day life of Assamese society.

The Study of Assamese Folktales

'Sadhukatha' is the Assamese term for a folktale. According to Lakshminath Bezbarua who is the pioneer of the study of folktale in Assam, '*Sadhukatha*' is the word of saints. It is the advice of virtuous people. In the past, people used these oral tales to taught moral lessons to their own children and to other people in Assam. *Burhi Aai'r Xaadhu* (literally translated to Grandma's Tales) is a collection of stories or folklore, that have been compiled by famous Assamese author and poet Laxminath Bezbarua. As most folktales go, before this compilation, there had been no written record of these stories. While some of the stories are more like the Assamese version of Panchatantra, with speaking animals and birds as main characters of the story, most of these are based on the life of a simple villager. The words of Laxminath Bezbarua wrap these stories up in subtle and sometimes blatant humour, which can somehow never be reflected in translation, no matter how accurate it is. Some of the popular folktales prevalent in Assamese society are-

- **Tejimola**

Perhaps the most famous among all Burhi Aai'r Xadhu, this story is a touching story of a girl named Tejimola whose evil stepmother kills her in a fit of jealousy while Tejimola's father is away for business as a traveling merchant. However, Tejimola takes different forms and stays alive in spirit despite her stepmother's efforts to make her disappear forever. The story has a happy ending, where Tejimola ends up as a lotus flower in the hands of her father on his way home. With magic and emotions all packed in, this story is a fascinating narration from beginning till the end.

- **Jorodgob Roja'r Upakhyan**

This funny tale is about a foolish emperor whose skewed idea of justice leads him to decide to kill his own son. In an attempt to find a way out of this, the emperor's shrewd minister catches hold of a fat man in the pretext of having him carry the baby prince while he was being killed. The man's teacher in turn, being even more cunning, makes the foolish emperor kill himself by tempting him with kingship of Heaven itself.

- **Bandor aru Xiyal**

This is a famous tale of a monkey and a fox who claim to be friends and yet keep trying to outwit each other. While the monkey cheats the fox out of his fair share of food taking advantage of the fact that the monkey and climb trees while the fox can't, the fox makes the monkey attack a bee hive by telling him it is a royal drum. The greedy foolish monkey however ends up paying with his life in this story with a strong moral: Don't cheat your friends!

- **Juwai'r Xadhu**

"Juwai" meaning son-in-law, this story is about a foolish man who goes visiting his in-laws. While confusing his own shadow to be a person, he ends up giving up all of his clothes to

his own shadow to get rid of it. To add to his woes, he suffers from night-blindness which he tries to hide from his in-laws, leading to a whole lot of confusion.

- **Lotkon**

An intelligent but poor man tired of being nagged by his wife sets off on a journey to prove his worth, and with his cunning manages to fool a lot of people on his way. Starting from eating sweets in a sweet shop by fooling the shop owner's son into believing his name to be "Makhi" (meaning housefly) to making a man run around a tree holding on to the tail of a pig, the intelligent man goes back home with riches much to the satisfaction of his wife.

- **Kukurikona**

Kukurikona in Assamese means a person suffering from night blindness. Although not much different from the "Juwai'r Xadhu" this story has its own twists and turns.

- **Dhura Kauri aru Tiposi**

Dhura Kauri meaning a crow and Tiposi being a pigeon, this story is a narration of how the intelligent bird escapes from the clutches of the crow using his cunning, by making the crow fly around to fetch something that ultimately leads to the crow's death.

The central idea of the Assamese folk society, on the relation between men and animal, is that 'Nature is much better than cruelty or ugliness of men'. They have received this idea from the folktales. Human society injured itself. Men are the cause of their own devastation. But nature never ignores men. It is always there for the human society. In the tale of *Tejimola*, Tejimola takes different forms and stays alive in spirit despite her stepmother's efforts to make her disappear forever. The story has a happy ending where Tejimola ends up a lotus flower in the hands of her father on his way home (Deka Hazarika, 2001). In her journey from Tejimola to lotus, nature helps her in every step; her different forms are always related with nature.

There are some folktales which are introduced with the sorrow and unfortunate conditions of heroes and heroines. The heroes and heroines, living with the power, have to face the evil power. But however, joy ultimately comes to the hero by the grace of god power. The god power makes their lives prosperous and powerful (Bezborua, 2005). The examples of *Tejimola*, *Tula and Teja* and *The Kite's Daughter* may be given, where Tejimola, Teja and the kite's daughter faces many problems from their enemies. Tejimola was killed by her stepmother, Teja was cheated by her step sister and turned into a little bird, Maina by her step mother (Bezborua, 2005), the kite's daughter was sold to a tradesman by her husband's seven co-wives (Bezborua, 2005). All situations were created out of jealousy. Taking inspiration from those tales, folk people sometimes

face their challenging moment of life. Injustice is transient before justice. 'Truth must come clearly before us; nobody can hide', folk society regard it as key idea while spending their life. They take inspiration from the heroes or heroines of folktales to spend their life gracefully

Tribal Folktales

Tribal folk tales are deeply concentrated with the myths and beliefs. Folk tale bears the example of ancient origin and has deep psychic roots in the life of the community. There are various popular Folk tales among all the communities of Assam. These Folk tales bears few general features. They are oral narrative. Myth and Folk belief have a great role in narrative tradition of folk tales, popular among the tribal communities. The rituals, fertility symbols, chants or incantations, description about the certain phenomenon, like sun or moon, the eclipse etc. are abound in the tribal folk tales. The Assamese folk tales are known as *Sadhu Katha*. These above mentioned features generally not found among the *Sadhu katha* or Assamese tales. The influence of neo-vaisnavism, Jataka tales, Panchatantra, tales of central India found in *Sadhu Katha*. Supernatural , motif, e.g. Ban devata, the Snake husband motif (Champa Yati), Romantic motif (Panesoi), Step mother motif (Tejimola), Jealousness of rivalry woman motif(The kite's daughter), humorous or trickster motif(Tatun Tamuli, Tikhar) etc. often intervenes the Assamese folk tales.

Creation tales are very popular among all the tribal communities of Assam. Dimasa tribe believe that they are the son and daughters of Bangla (a male) and Arikhidima (a female). Arikhidima laid seven eggs at Dilou Sangibra (Bank of Dibu and Sangi River). The forefathers of Dimasa community appeared from six eggs and from the seventh egg few devils spirits, appeared. Bodo people believe that God Anam created one pair of birds. The female bird of the pair laid three eggs, devil, spirits appeared from one egg and from the other two eggs the forefathers of the Bodo community appeared. Assamese folk tale is distinguished from tribal folk tales. Assamese Folk tales have influenced both in dialects and standard spoken language. But tribal tales has a deep connection with myth which in turn is originally connected with beliefs and practices of the tribal communities.

Rabha folktales are very long. Bodo verbal arts are enriched by folk tale, myth, proverb, ballad etc. Creation tale of earth are very popular among Bodo tribes. The folk tale Jaulia Dabdan, Bigroshree chekla are very popular folk tales. The characters of Bodo tales are very peculiar, i.e. animal character, e.g. Frog king, Seng Fish, Clever Fox and old man and woman, crane bird king, Phanfawali bird, the fisohowa bird, Tortoise and Hare etc.

Present Status and History

Assam is indisputably the richest Indian State in terms of folklore. The traditions, rituals, mythology, customs are more living here than anywhere else. Assam is the homeland of a large number of divine populations that came here from different directions at different period of time besides her aboriginal inhabitants. They belong to different racial stocks, speak different languages

and have different socio- cultural traditions. Besides the Assamese people, a large number of tribal people, both in hills and plains, such as Bodos, Garo, Rabha, Koch, Missing, Dimasa, Tiwa, Karbis etc live in this region as members of broad cultural group.

Folktales were more important and influential in ancient times and pre-modern times because there was no mass media, radio, TV, electronic device, film and even books were not common for the commoners. So, most people had to tell tales by word of mouth in order to- a) teach their children moral ideas, encourage imagination and b) amuse their children so that they would not get too bored.

Folktales have always been useful and are still useful today in not just passing on moral direction/suggestion/notions to children, but also in transferring the mother tongue (language) on the next generation. By language, I mean, a feel for grammar structure, pronunciation and vocabulary. This, I believe, was also the precursor of literature. Literature is simply a sophisticated version of folktale telling. It is a continuation of story-telling right into adulthood. And people everywhere love a good story. In fact we are still being surrounded by stories everyday right into the 21st Century. The methods have evolved and diversified, but stories are still told with the exact same intentions as our ancestors had when they told them to their children

IV. Conclusion

In conclusion, the results of this study provide that folktales and its characters, situations, background and ethics spread all over the day to day life of Assamese folk society. Assamese folk-beliefs and ideas are formed specially based on folktales. Folktales have been bearing the Assamese folk culture. Taking elements from folktales, Assamese folk mind tries to shape their life. Assamese folktales are also universal. It shares universal human feelings. All human beings are connected to each other. On the other hand, the whole human society is connected to whole nature. Man itself is a part of nature. Assamese folktales have been bearing this notion. There are some tales which are regarded as fundamental lessons of life, through which the different situations of life can be handled. Folktales can be applied as a medium of expanding human values removing fears, hardships and obstacles from the chaotic situations of life and society in general. The impact of folktales upon the Assamese folk life can be noticed clearly. There is nothing else in the folk life where there is no element of folktales.

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Bharathidasan's Glorification of New Woman

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Abstract

This paper is an attempt to present Bharathidasan's glorification of new woman as freedom loving and revolutionary. Highlighting strong willed women characters from Bharathidasan. This paper projects them as 'Puthumai Pen' and 'Puratchi Pen' in the society. Thus, Bharathidasan's new woman is portrayed as love, revolutionary, militant, intelligent, house-keepers and heroic mother who lives for her family and her country.

Keywords: Bharathidasan, new woman, sacrifice, rebellious, revolutionary, strong-willed, independent.

Bharathidasan is a notable Tamil poet gifted with the extraordinary power of poetic imagination which helped him in creating women characters with all the ideals he had in mind. The women characters attest to the common saying, "Behind every successful man is a woman". The women characters are more efficient and wiser than ordinary women. Even ordinary women characters are portrayed with an individuality. They are of ardent and aspiring feelings with high intellectual powers. With the strong will and fearlessness, they make their way almost unaided towards the wide air of liberty and truth. They are equal to men with an independent spirit and capacity for action. They are never afraid to oppose evil and always to establish justice. Being guides and protectors of men, they stand by men. Bharathidasan's women are quite rational and revolutionary in their attitude, thereby attacking the superstitions, established institutions and customs among the people.

Bharathidasan had, no doubt, high estimate of woman and her role in family and in society. His treatment of women is out and exalted in all respects for he is the poet-cum-social reformer paying highest tribute to woman by elucidating her virtues in her role as mother, wife and a lover. For him, a radical woman is a protector, teacher, guide and an inspirer. Women are generally prepared to share the remorse scorn, ills and solitude of men. The excellent virtues and qualities of women are the source of man's inspiration. One can get critical comments from Bharathidasan's poems regarding their virtues like love, affection, compassion, empathy, tolerance and patience. He has created women characters with a magnificent role in every walk of life. This glorification of the excellent qualities of women is just an attempt to make men realise the true place and power of women.

Commonly speaking, Bharathidasan's women characters are the outcome of what he learnt and what he saw through life. The steady growth of women's emancipation discredited the traditional image of woman as being submissive and subservient. This resulted in the emergence of character woman in Literature and she came to be recognised as an individual with rights as well as duties and with an independent autonomous existence. Bharathidasan created a new woman in tune with the changed situation. In Bharathidasan's opinion, wisdom, fearlessness, freedom and truth are the chief characteristics of the New women. Bharathidasan has not only given honour and glory to women in his works of art but also projected women as mothers, lovers and wives. In all these projections, he establishes the glory of women. When Queen Vijayarani accomplishes what she aims at, she has been admired by everyone. Her love for the son made her take the sword and strike the enemy. Bharathidasan pays high regard to the deep love of a mother for her son:

"O! you are the mother1 you are the strong
and the brave!
Who can oppose the deep love of a mother?"
(*Bharathidasan Kavithaikal* 49)

Her efforts to educate her son making him shine in all arts are worthy of applause and praise. According to Bharathidasan, a woman's love for her son is the greatest of all in the earth:

"Even the hen opposes the eagle
That tries to kill its young one
You mistake woman that begets man
As weak as grass. Nay! She is snaky
to the villain" (BK 49).

Bharathidasan's Vijayarani proves the poet's regard to woman as mother by being a teacher and a protector to her son. Vijayarani succeeds in restoring the kingdom from the Cenatipati for her son and her diplomacy is praised by all kings:

"You prove to be the mother, the teacher and
the one who safeguards his life" (49).

The Tamil poet Bharathidasan has great admiration for his daughter Saraswathi Kannappan and he created a character in "Kutumpa Vilakku" in the mould of his daughter. It is in glorification of every woman who is loving, fearless, wise, rational and efficient in talking care of a family. Bharathidasan considered it his mission to make men recognise the true greatness of women by glorifying their virtues and their capabilities. Bharathidasan's character Vanci was able to make Kuppan take it a challenge to go to the Sanjeevi Hills with the influence of the love of a woman for a man:

"Even the side glance of love from the lover
Makes the mountain seem a mole-hill for
the Youth" (BK-I-P 122)

He succeeded in establishing the fact that a radical woman is a protector, teacher, guide and also a source of inspiration. He is said to have exalted women as leading agitators inspiring men to go for doing great actions. Bharathidasan's creation Vijayarani, the Queen of Manipuri, by taking advantage of the weakness of the king, the Cenatipati, in spite of the warning and advice given by the Mantri, keeps the prince Cutarma in ignorance so that he will have no claim over the kingdom. The Queen resorts to disguise as an old man and trains her son in all arts making him capable of ruling the Kingdom. In the right moment, she helps him regain the land. Thus, she proves to be a heroic mother with her resolution, faith, fearlessness, wisdom, truth and resourcefulness. "She is also the human agent and historical force contributing to the creation of a social order cherishing equality, liberty and fraternity" (P 37). She regains the land from the wicked Cenatipati and the land is ultimately given to its right owners, the people. "Her love for freedom and justice is revealed in her words and actions:

"This Manipuri is the own property of the People, here
All are free
The land is for all; the belongings for all
Let all rights go to the people
Let everyone possess good hearts too…"
(*Express Week-End* 3)

Vanci in "Canjivi Parvatatin Caral" does react against the disgraceful treatment given to women. Her life is one of freedom based on reason. In the words of Dr. K. Chellappan, "She stands for love simple and pure as opposed to the superstition of her lover Kuppan who also seems to symbolise life-denial. The woman represents the spirit of life or the revolutionary appetite of the world order" (P 3). Vanci is the representative voice of the rights of women and her indignation at the denial of freedom to women is really great:

"Do you say that woman have no right to speak?
Treat them worse than dust?" (BK-I-3)

Unlike Kuppan, she has discrimination between right and wrong and tries to dissuade the superstitions in Kuppan when he fears that the Sanjeevi will be lifted by Hanuman,

"There was never a man to lift the mountain
And will there be none" (P 10)

She instills courage into Kuppan and convinces him that all books which do not promote discrimination should be discarded:

"Books disagreeable to discrimination
Can never cause me move;
Can they decay what man makes?
Can they create what he destroys?
Nay, No redemption in such stupidity.
Need of the hour is conviction" (BK 14)

Vanci is the ideal woman who is loving and daring. Her heroism as against the fear of Kuppan is commendable. Closely associated with the heroism of women is his capacity for love. Bharathidasan is an excellent poet of love not only in the narrative poems but also in a number of lyrics. Bharathidasan celebrates warm love which is his answer to the world of strife and deep divisions. In the poem, "Mantoppil Tirumanam" (Marriage in the Mango Grove), he says, "to fall in love in the true nature of life." It seems good that he portrays love as an aspect of nature and a way of life. Love is also responsible for changing the world order, as well as the avenging force when an injustice is done. This is true of his heroines.

In "Tamilacciyin Katti", (The Sword of Tamil Woman), one can find the full flowering of Bharathidasan's vision of revolution. The whole people of a cheri (slum) participate in the revolution. Bharathidasan has also given the leading role to a woman, Cuppamma, the wife of Timman. She symbolises the betrayed women in spite of her hospitality to Cutarican Cin Singh who is supposed to be hostile to the Tamils. Cutarican Cin violates the chastity of Cuppamma when she is unconscious. When she comes back to consciousness, along with the *cheri* people, she goes to the place where Cutarican Cin stays and stabs him with the sword. Finally, she stabs herself and dies a heroic death.

In ***Pandiyan Parisu***, the theme of the recovery of a lost treasure is linked with the theme of the chaste woman. Here again woman is the source of action and she helps to redeem the lost treasure. Punkotai in "Etirpara Muttam" (unexpected kiss) is another revolutionary woman who protests against the parents when they object to her love for Ponmuti. As Ponmuti has been sent to North, she escapes from her parents 'custody and joins a group of merchants bound for North in the guise of a man just to be united with him in death. Ponni in "Katal Mel Kumilkal" (Bubbles on the sea) loves Cemmarittiral who belongs to a lower caste. She has been warned to give up her love. But she refuses to do so even at the peril of imprisonment. She is resolved to wear only black dress till she gets a chance to marry her lover. Born in a king's family, Ponni opposes inequality. Being a girl in an oppressed family, Minnoli, protests against the ruling class and she is also portrayed as strong-willed as Ponni herself. Her words express her sympathy for the poor and her indignation towards the rich:

"I'll never marry the king's son
Who swallows varied dishes on the leaf,
Floating in the flowing stream of ghee.
While the poor drink the gruel" (P 84)

Bharathidasan's ***Kutumpa Vilakku*** gives a picture of the family in which woman succeeds in achieving a portion of power and wife is a mistress of all she surveys and we read of a happy home governed by an intelligent, free-willed and contented wife. Thus, Bharathidasan's women shine in all walks of life. The rebellions and revolutionary spirit of the characters of Bharathidasan gets reflected mainly in their domestic life. They are both freedom-loving and service-oriented. Their service is centred mainly in the domestic circle as to prove the proverbial saying, "The hand that rocks the cradle is the hand that rules the world". In brief, Bharathidasan's new woman takes the lead in the domestic life with the rebellious spirit shown in reasonable situations. They are portrayed as love militants, efficient house keepers, heroic mothers sacrificing for the sake of family and their country.

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P.B. Shelley and Bharathidasan on the Miserable Lot of Women in Society: A Comparative Study

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Abstract

The paper throws light on the vexation of the poets Shelley and Bharathidasan after witnessing the miserable plight of women being treated in the society women in general and treated in low esteem both in the West and East. Both the poets share the sufferings of women at home, domestic slavery and the passive tolerance they women endurance, in spite of the atrocities inflicted against them across the ages. Money, longing passion to amass materialistic benefits and forced arranged marriages are considered major reasons for the sufferings of women in the society. The social, cultural taboo framed by patriarchal society in India forces women to get away from the narrow outlook by encouraging widow re-marriage. The poets believe that education and economic security are considered as remedial steps to redeem these pathetic women out of their miserable plight.

Keywords: P.B. Shelley, Bharathidasan, Atrocities on women, materialistic benefit, encouragement, education, economic security, remedial steps, miserable plight, widow remarriage, perceptive, consciousness.

Comparison is a source of knowledge, a method of inquiry and a technique used by all scientists and artists. As H.H. Remak puts it, Comparative Literature is nothing but the study of literature beyond the confines of one particular country and the study of relationship between literature on the one hand and other areas of knowledge and belief such as arts, science and religion on the other. It is a kind of literary venture to raise the spirit of nationalism, contributing as much as possible to the development of academic criticism at an international level. A Comparative study of literatures across the cultures establishes the unity of literatures and as Rene Welleck has put it, "all literatures should be studied from an international perceptive with a consciousness of the unity of the literary creation and experience". According to him, "literature is one as art and humanity are one" (P 50). No doubt, the universality of great literatures does significantly penetrate the deeper layers of a given culture. It is essential that in all of our studies of literature, our perspectives should be widened, and our local and provincial sentiments should be suppressed. As one goes deeper,

one realizes that great writers are not of one age, or of one culture; they are for all the time and of the entire community. That is why a comparative analysis on the works of Shelley and Bharathidasan representing occidental and oriental cultures sounds really a rewarding experience for any literary comparatist.

The very purpose of comparative standpoint between two writers in terms of parallelism is not to establish the superiority of one over the other or to extol one's native literary culture at the expense of foreign culture with which it is compared, but to throw light on the writers' perceptions on a comparative viewpoint from an international perspective, thereby making a distinct contribution to the development of our national culture. Truly speaking, comparative evaluation is a balanced appraisal of the writers compared with all similarities and dissimilarities. The device of comparison includes in it the dissimilarities too with equal emphasis. Taking into account such a view for a comparative analysis, what has to be borne in mind is that one can easily find profound affinity between Shelley and Bharathidasan, though belonging to two different cultures and literatures without any demonstrable direct relationship. Though they are widely separated by time and place, one can visualize a kind of legitimate mingling of two cultural streams running in all respects.

There is no shadow of doubt that there is a wide gap of almost a century between the lives of the two poets, getting themselves exposed to different social atmospheres and cultures, for one can obviously find Shelley as one representing the intellectualism of the West whereas Bharathidasan is found to be the one representing the intellectualism of the West and tradition of the East merged into one. Despite the differences in age, culture, social atmosphere and language, they show striking similarities in their attitudes to the various problems of society especially to the problems of women. Shelley and Bharathidasan envisaged a new world which is to be built on liberty, equality and fraternity. No doubt, both the poets have a lot in common, though they differ only in a few of their views.

Though both the poets were lyricists singing of love and liberty they were found to be writing with deep social concern, thereby establishing themselves as revolutionaries and rebels by nature so as to fight for liberty of the individual and society, especially champion the cause of women who continued to be persecuted from times immemorial. Both had great concern for the current social, moral and political issues raising their voice against the social evils with the sole intention of giving proper solutions for all the ills in the society by lashing at institutionalised religious and political organizations. Being revolutionary poets, Shelley was influenced by Godwin, Rousseau and the French Revolution whereas Bharathidasan was influenced by Periyar E.V. Ramasamy and Bharathi.

Shelley was born with a silver spoon in his mouth on Aug 4, 1792 at Field Place, Warnham, Sussex. But the spoon of silver was taken away from the mouth of Shelley by misfortunes of misunderstandings of his nature and attitude by his parents, the University in which he studied and the society in which he lived. Born as the son of a conventional country

gentleman, Shelley had been a rebel even in his school days. After schooling, he was sent to University College, Oxford in 1810. There he cultivated friendship with Thomas Jefferson Hogg, who was a skeptic and a cynic. Reportedly his friendship with Hogg strengthened his latent skepticism. However, he was happy there at oxford. In 1811, he published a pamphlet entitled "The Necessity of Atheism" and got it circulated among all the Oxford dignitaries. In this pamphlet he along with Hogg, vehemently denounced Christianity as a tyrannical force. The pamphlet created a furor and both Shelley and Hogg were expelled from the University. He married Harriet, a sixteen-year-old beauty and Harriet fell short' of his expectations and Shelley developed intimacy with Mary Godwin. When Harriet committed suicide, he married Mary Godwin. Shelley was deprived of the guardianship of his two children by Harriet. The Italian climate robbed him of his children by Mary. Personal sorrows darkened his life. He was drowned in a sea while travelling in a ship.

The creative period of Shelley ranged from 1818 to 1822. He showed his promises, capabilities adding new depths and fresh dimensions to the concept of the new world. He is one of the most subjective writers. His poetry ranges through a realm of fantasy, rarely descending to the man of flesh and blood. Free from all taint of representation of the real, it seems some "chorus hymeneal or triumphant chant" – a thing wherein we feel there is some hidden want". His poetry is rather an echo or emanation of his own spirit. In his verse, there is the pulsation of the emotion of love for his fellowmen. The instinct of universal benevolence which is at the basic of his being wings the flight of his poesy. In no poet was the moral sense so well developed as in Shelley; and none has devoted his whole life and rich gifts of language and imagination to the betterment of humanity and the glorification of human dignity, unity, and universal brotherhood. He has to his credit composition of such poetical works as 1.***Queen Mab*** (1813), 2.***Alastor*** or ***The Spirit of Solitude*** (1816), 3.***The Revolt of Islam*** (1817), 4.***Excellent Lyrics*** (1819-1822), 5.***The Witch of Atlas*** (1820), 6.***Adonais*** (1822), 7.***The Triumph of Life*** (1822). Daily experience meant little to him. His ideas came to him not from the world around him but from his own volitions of visions. His poetry is not emotions recollected in tranquility, but it is fervent emotion outpoured in a gush and nothing else. When the actual forces acted upon his consciousness as a cry of pain and frustration escapes his tips and he is overcome with a sense of weakness of soul, wishing to 'lie down like a child and weep away this life of car." No doubt, Shelley was a spirit that seemed to have been loved. And the reason is that he was perfectly sincere without any thought of self and had the instinct of universal benevolence and possessed a radiant faith in the possibility of perfection, socialism and humanism. Greatly inspired by Godwin's "Political Justice", he did underline the necessity for equality of men and women and also propagated free love. Shelley's wife Harriet encouraged Shelley to write about the evils in society and the rights of women. Mary Shelley, his second wife, had gifts of heart and mind and her feminine sensibility quickened and even widened his love and sympathy towards women. No doubt, they did quicken Shelley's perception of the miserable condition of women.

Being an admirer of Subramania Bharathi, Bharathidasan read with enthusiasm the poetical works of Shelley, thereby forming a Shelleyan Guild and loved to call himself Shelleydasan (admirer of Shelley). Born in 1890 in Puducheri, he was well-versed in his studies. Even though that is not openly evident, there is a possibility of direct relationship between the two poets, Shelley and Bharathidasan. While going through the poems of Bharathidasan, one cannot miss the echoes of the romantic poets, especially those of Shelley. Bharathidasan admired and appreciated the ancient tradition in India, its readiness to receive new ideas from the West, its consciousness of the necessity of radical changes and its hopes for a bright future. He was at once a traditionalist and rebel, a traditionalist in the sense that he believed in the equanimity of Indian mind and a rebel who felt that the obsolete customs should be thrown aside, giving room to the new ones.

In his "Putumaippen" (New Woman), Bharathi has enumerated the qualities to be possessed by every woman. According to him, the new woman does affirm,

"Upright gait, straight look,
Probity fearless to the core,
Lofty pride in waxing wisdom,
These ensure our purity
We never swerve from the right" (Ramakrishnan 51)

Bharathidasan's women characters embody in them all these qualities and they are created in the mould of the New Woman idealised by Bharathi. Bharathi firmly stressed the point that without domestic freedom, there is no freedom for the Nation. He said thus:

"Nations are made of homes and as long as
you do not have equality fully practised
at home, you cannot expect them
practised in public life. Because it is
one's life at home that is the basis of
public life" (The Place of Women, 59).

Being an ardent disciple of social reformer Periyar E.V. Ramasamy, Bharathidasan created women characters challenging the injustice in society and fighting for their rights. Being the greatest modern Tamil poet after Bharati, Bharathidasan was a rationalist deeply opposed to all unreasonable forms of orthodoxy which perpetuated violent degrees of inequality among all men and women in society. As revolutionary thinkers, both Shelley and Bharatidasan had to encounter a lot of difficulties and oppositions for all the revolutionary ideas they had. Though belonging to entirely different backgrounds, these two poets could come close on themes which have perennial appeal to artists.

Both Shelley and Bharathidasan are rather undoubtedly revolutionary poets who fought for the rights of women. Any study or analysis of their poetical works will help the readers know how far the two poets have got vexed at the disgraceful treatment given to

women. They out and out deplored the wrongs done to women. Generally speaking, women have been imprisoned in the shackles of conventions. Throughout their life-cycle, they are both economically and socially dependent on men. This dependence does not enable them to develop their intellect and express their desire to be independent. The custom of marriage centres around the premise that women are inferior to men. They have no say even in the selection of their life-partners. The subordination of women to men and the absence of freedom for women are the striking features of social life for women.

As women are treated worse than slaves, rational thinkers like Shelley and Bharathidasan ponder over the causes for the injustice done to women. They find the existing social structure as the root cause for the miserable state of women in society. The society is organised on a master-servant relationship. The relationship between a husband and wife is also reduced to a master-servant relationship. It is thought that the purpose of women is to gratify men just as the poor is to provide for the rich. It is expected of women to give pleasure to men. If menfolk are not pleased, they take drastic measures. Wife-beating is not only permitted; it is even considered as the husband's right.

Both the poets sympathise with women whose husbands are terror to them. In an early poem, "The Voyage: A Fragment", Shelley makes it clear that man tends to bully his wife because of his sense of superiority:

"he bounds himself to an unhappy woman
Not of those purely and heavenly links that love
Twines round a feeling to freedom dear
But vile gold, cankering the breast it feeds" (P 105)

The idea of man's sense of superiority is pursued more powerfully in "Rosalind and Helen", one of Shelley's most neglected poems probably because it is so overtly feminist. The poem recounts the sorrowful and morbid tales of two women, disappointed in love. Rosalind married a miser. Rosalind's friend Helen married a noble peer who died soon after the marriage. The childhood friends meet after their marriage. They tell each other of their life-stories. In the words of James, "Rosalind's is the experience of battered wives throughout history" (P 69). She recalls to her mind the bitter incidents in her life. It is understood from her words that her husband was a terror. She describes pathetically how her children were happy in the absence of their father but stricken with terror on his arrival:

"He was a tyrant to the weak
And we were such, alas the day"
(Hutchinson 164).

Rosalind can be cited as an example of a passive, patient and submissive wife. Nobody can deny the fact that she is aware of the evil nature of her husband. She describes him thus:

"Hard, Selfish, loving only gold
Yet full of guile . . . . . .
. . . . . .
He was a coward to the strong;
He was a tyrant to the weak,
On whom his vengeance he would wreak" (P 170).

The husband generally wants to avenge by bullying the weak at home. He is said to have satisfied his thirst for vengeance. Though Rosalind realised the evil nature of her husband, she suffered all in silence. She was not able to come out of the bondage bowing to the cultural moorings and traditions which curbed her freedom. Moreover, she was a dependent on him. So, she had to undergo intolerable physical and emotional sufferings. She had to remain a dutiful wife for many years. Her own words explain how she tried to be a devoted wife by vanquishing her will:

". . . . . weeks and months and years had passed
Through which I firmly did fulfill
My duties, a devoted wife
With the stern step of a vanquished will" (169).

As her children did not get any love from their father, they were least affected by his death. Instead of a great loss, his death seemed to be a relief not only for the children but also for Rosalind. It is pathetic to hear Rosalind describing her relieved feelings and those of her over his death:

"I watched, - and would not thence depart –
My husband's unlamented comb,
My children knew their sire was gone,
But when I told them, - 'he is dead', -
They laughed aloud in frantic glee,
They clapped their hands and leaped about,
Answering each other's ecstasy
With many a prank and merry about" (CPWS 168).

She describes herself as being "wrapped in the mock of mourning weed" (170). She suffers in her life without any peace. The death of her husband brought a moment of peace. But even this moment of peace is disturbed when his will is read out. The killing lie in the will charges Rosalind as being adulterous. Rosalind realizes that "even the dead have strength to blast and torture" (70). In spite of her faithful devotion to her husband, peace is ever

denied to her. This is the sad story of Rosalind, who had been compelled to renounce her love for a man and to merry the wicked men without the heavenly links of love.

Bharathidasan's "Penkal Vitutali" (freedom of women) also presents a husband as a bully. A dutiful and a devoted wife like Rosalind, having surrendered her will, tries to wake up her husband gently at eight O'clock in the morning.

"O! Dear, it is eight O' clock.
Please get up. Father will chide you.
Get ready soon. Finish your breakfast
and go to attend your work" (PV 3)

The husband responds only with a kick and an abusive tongue. "Why do you disturb me in sleep? You bitch! You dog! Get away" (P 3). One time he falls down from a broken chair. His mother takes this as an opportunity to blame her daughter-in-law vehemently with the expectation that her son would beat his wife. She induces his anger by saying, "your wife sat on the chair like a monkey sitting on the branch of a tree and tore the top of it. All would laugh at the broken chair" (P 4). Her son beats his wife and his mother justifies his act by referring to the convention prevalent in the past. "A wife is liable to commit mistakes. Her husband would kill her or embrace her. Everything depends on his will. I am not telling all these now. Our ancestors have already impressed these notions in their words and actions" (P 4). The tradition equips men with all power to inflict the weaker section. Women have to accept the humiliation silently without even a murmur. They are not supposed to express their displeasure. The life of a battered wife in India is worse than that of her counterpart in England. Shelley's character Rosalind has relief at least in the absence of her husband, whereas an Indian woman is persecuted not only in her husband but also by her in-laws as the social custom encouraged only the joint family system. In another poem, "Nam mater Nilai" (The condition of our women) Bharathidasan sympathises with the wretched state of women at home:

"Earns a husband with a lump-sum
Love she never gets in return;
But the life of a slave,
To stitch a rag in his clothes,
To maintain the house as a servant,
All seven days a week
To renounce self with no rest" (BV -1 P 181)

The brutal act of wife-beating and domestic slavery infuriates both Shelley and Bharathidasan. They give expression to the unjust treatment to women in their works of art with the intention of creating awareness among the people. Women are allowed to play only a

subservient intellectual role. Shelley's character Rosalind elucidates this plight of woman. She admits her inferior role:

"Nor my vexed soul has leisure yet
To doubt the things men say
That they are other than they seem" (CPWS 172)

The extreme negative attitude to women's literacy has contributed to keeping women, subordinate to man for ages. Bharathidasan's poem, "Cancivi Parvatattin Caral" (The Slope of the Sanjeevi Hill), presents a woman character, Vanci who is determined to get the herbs in the Sanjeevi hills even at the cost of her life. But her fiance, being ignorant and superstitious, discourages her. He shows his irritation at her determination by reminding her that a woman is not supposed to argue but simply to obey man:

"Refuse to obey the words of a man?
Does it become a woman …?" (BK-2)

The merchant in Bharathidasan's "Karpin Kotonai", (Test of Chastity) brings home from his mercenary tour another woman as his concubine. His wife is shocked and questions him. He gives an unfeeling reply to her:

"Provide us food to
Prove that a chaste life
You led in my absence"
(Bharathidasan Kavithaikal-II, P 136)

Bharathidasan is furiated at the idea of chastity meant only for women, not for men. He bewails because "Kannammal agrees even to that" (P 136). Women are expected not to question their husbands. They should neither argue nor protest. Their duty is just to tolerate atrocities to any extreme. Laon's words in Shelley's "The Revolt of Islam", illustrate the servitude of women:

"Thus Cythna mourned with me the servitude
In which half of human kind were mewed
Victims of lust and haste, the slaves of slaves" (CPWS-70)

Money plays an important role in fixing up marriages. Marriages are arranged with no love. Shelley's "Queen Mab" points out how materialism brought down the values of life. Mainly women are the chief victims of the materialism that got hold of the society:

"Even love is sold, the solace of all woe
is turned to deadliest agony; old age

Shivers in Selfish beauty's arms
And youth's corrupted impulses prepare
A life of horror from the blighting bane
of commerce, while pestilence that springs
From unenjoying sensualism has filled
All human life with hydra-headed woes" (CPWS-773)

Money has nothing to do with love and marriage. But materialism has made people bargain even in marriage with least concern for love. Bharathidasan's disgust against forced marriage and the role played by money in marriage is clearly implied in his poem "Pennukku Niti" (Justice for woman):

"Silly people come to your place
Tell of their power to the fill.
All vanity! but good at bargaining
So unfeeling are your parents.
Care they never to show you the groom
You are thought a creature
You ought to decide your future."

Bharathidasan's advice to the girl is to decide her marriage not on the basis of money but on love and to protest against enforced marriage. Bharathidasan's poem, "Pen Kuranku-t-Tirumanam", (marriage of a female monkey), pictures a poor man bargaining with a rich man to get his handsome son married to the rich man's daughter. The rich man plays a trick on him by saying that he would give his adopted daughter in marriage to his son. He never realises that the bride referred to is none other than a black female monkey with thick fur. The poor man is unmindful of beauty, love and intelligence, money being his only concern. The role of money in fixing up marriages is a terrifying problem in India than in England. Though Bharathidasan does not discuss the problem of dowry, he discusses the prominent role played by money in love and marriage. Both the poets express their disgust over the enforced marriage. Shelley's poem "Episychidion" is the powerful utterance on the evil of enforced marriage:

"I never was attached to that great sect,
Whose doctrine is, that each one would select,
Out of the crowd a mistress or a friend
And all the rest, though fair and wise, commend
To cold oblivion ……" (P 496).

Shelley was conscious of many women who were made slaves in marriage and were not allowed to come out of it. For him, men and women must decide their love-making free of conventional, legal and religious constraints, "For God's Sake". He once remarked, "read

the marriage service before you think of allowing an amicable beloved female to submit to such degradation (Carie 28). Shelley's creation, Lucretia, the wife of Cenci in the play, "Cenci" is also a representation of a battered wife. She elucidates her plight in these words, when she is struck by her husband. She feels sorry that he strikes her,

"Who have borne deeper wrongs. In truth if he
Had killed me, he had done a kinder deed" (285)

We are more convinced of the marriage laws when Lucretia mourns the atrocities of her husband:

"If any one despairs, it should be I
Who loved him once and now must live with him
Till God in pity call for him or me" (287)

Lucretia's words imply that women are denied the rights to get separated. The customs and practices of Indian marriages are worse. Caste, class, dowry and religion have been the major obstacles in marriages. Social, economic and religious differences stand in the way of love-marriages Bharathidasan's "Katal Mel Kumilkal" (Bubbles on the sea) deals with one such problem Ponni, from a royal family, is denied permission to merry cemmarittiral her lover for the simple reason that he belongs to a lower class. The king objects to her love and says,

"Belonging to a lower caste
Brings he slander to us
Lady! You long for that inferior" (BK 2)

Vat Porai, in ***Katala Katamaiya*** (Love or duty) does advise his sister, Killai to forget her loves for Makinan as he is the son of a farmer. He compels her to marry the king. Puratchi Kavi (the Revolutionary Bard) presents Amutavalli, the princess being denied permission to marry a poet. Child marriage was in vogue in India. Bharathidasan denounces child marriage. We have the picture of a child in Mutat-Tirumanan" (foolish marriage), where a child is married to an old man. Bharathidasan discusses another case of child marriage where the child becomes a widow in her childhood itself. The child marriage was mainly responsible for the problems of widows in India. Widows were burnt alive along with the dead husbands. This practice was known as "Sati". A temple would be built in the place where "Sati" took place. The money collected for the erection of the temple filled the pockets of selfish people. But the suffering of a surviving widow is tougher than the brief agony of the fire. Bharathidasan's poem, "Kaimmai Kotumai" (cruelty of widowhood) explains in detail the sufferings of such widows. A mother mourns the sad plight of her widowed daughter:

"My daughter being a widow
If she keeps flowers on her hair
or Bindi on her forehead.
All would rail words of blame at her
Silks and ornaments she is compelled to renounce
Her entering a house is in auspicious" (118)

The problems of widows and child marriages are peculiarly Indian problems. Bharathidasan's indignation was great when he saw the narrow outlook of the Indians regarding this. He was pained to see the plight of widows and he unswervingly advocated widow re-marriage. Steeped in Indian culture, Bharathidasan could not laugh at the idea of chastity. He feels that chastity is a virtue common to both men and women. He will not relish chastity being enforced on women alone. In his "Elucciyurra Penkal", (Awakened Women), he says,

"Blame not the sword's attempt to kill you
Failing to see such a one with your wife
Dared you mock
The chastity of other women" (114).

He satirises Kannammai's husband in "Karpin Chotanai" as he asks her to prove her chastity by providing food for him and his concubine ignoring the fact that he himself violated his chastity" (P 136). Shelley's revolutionary woman character Cynthna mourns the oppression of women.

To conclude, both the poets laughed at those who witnessed the wretched condition of women in the society but did nothing to extricate them from their bondage. According to Shelley and Bharathidasan, such people neither criticise nor support the cause of women. The condition of women in India is worse than that of woman in England. English women were better educated and Indian women, even after a century after Shelley, did not have the facilities for education. As both, feel and think, lack of education and economic security are the major causes for the miserable lot of women.

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Double-Consciousness: An Analytical Study of Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's *Americanah*

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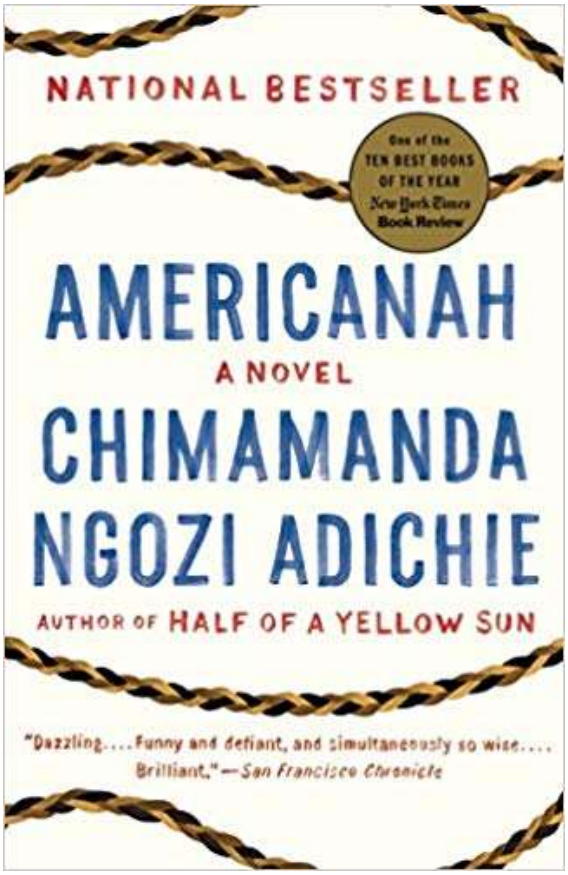

Courtesy: https://www.amazon.com/Americanah-Chimamanda-Ngozi-Adichie/dp/0307455920/ref=sr_1_1?crid=186IW8TPNJ7YJ&keywords=americanah&qid=1576277083&s=books&sprefix=Americanah%2Camazon-devices%2C229&sr=1-1

Abstract

Adichie uses *Americanah* as a vehicle for cultural commentary that examines the impact that Westernization has on people from African countries. As with her previous two works,

Adichie uses *Americanah* as a space to analyze the power imbalances between the Western hegemony and the "other." Adichie's commentary in Americana differs from that of her previous two works in that she closely examines the double-consciousness that characterizes the lives of blacks in America. This double-consciousness saturates the identities of those who are citizens of a nation that refuses to acknowledge their worthiness. Blacks in America find themselves caught between a desire for acceptance into the mainstream culture and the solidarity that they must maintain as a collective in order to counter the very culture into which they seek acceptance.

Keywords: Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, *Americanah*, Double-Consciousness, Westernization, African-Americans, Non-black Americans, Nigerians, whites.

Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie
Courtesy: https://www.chimamanda.com/about-chimamanda/

In *Americanah*, Adichie analyzes race relations from all perspectives - African-Americans, Non-black Americans, Nigerians, whites, among others. Despite the different stories Adichie gives us, they all are contingent on a dominant/subordinate binary opposition that ultimately always gives power to the dominating force.

In uncovering the trace in *Americanah*, we have to consider the framework of tension that Adichie has created between whiteness and blackness. Whiteness, as researcher use it here, refers to the systemic racism that is embedded in American culture that which privileges those of white

European descent over any others. Additionally, researcher considers whiteness to be any byproduct of this embedded systemic racism. For example, non-whites who oppress other non-whites because of a paradoxical loyalty to whiteness would be considered a byproduct of whiteness. The other side of the tension that Adichie constructs in *Americanah* is that of blackness. For the purposes of researcher argument, researcher use blackness when referring to the collective consciousness of blacks in America who experience marginalization and oppression because of the societal hierarchy that positions whiteness as superior to blackness. In *Americanah*, the subordinate position that characterizes blackness is evident in the self-perception of blacks. Self-perception, as is demonstrated in several scenes in *Americanah,* affects every aspect of one's life.

The construction of a whiteness/blackness binary opposition by Adichie rests on the assumption that whiteness is unequivocally superior and more powerful than blackness and for all intents and purposes, always has been more powerful than blackness. In examining the trace that is implicit within the signification of whiteness, we have to consider that whiteness, as a concept, has meaning only because of all other concepts to which it has been set in opposition. The same principle applies to blackness. Blackness, as a concept, has meaning due to everything it is not. Because these differences can be infinitesimal in scope, the trace becomes an unending referential network of possible significations. The limitlessness of possible significations contributes to the instability of the text.

Although essentializing African countries in the way that she is a conscious choice on Aisha's part, it was one that is forced on her by the essentialist views of the dominant society in America. Dubois notes that "...a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world" (DuBois 8). This statement rings particularly true in this instance.

Though Aisha is fully aware that Africa is comprised of multiple countries, peoples, cultures, languages, belief systems, etc., she nonetheless alters the ways she refers to the continent. She acquiesces to the ignorance of the dominant society and begins to essentialize people from Africa. However, her explanation to Ifemelu about why she essentializes Africa implies that she at once sets herself apart from dominant society while acting in a way that is consistent with its beliefs. When Aisha says, "You don't know America. You say Senegal and American people, they say, Where is that," she uses the term American in a way that suggests her exclusion from the group. However, the contradictory action of using Africa as a blanket location for all African countries evinces the double-consciousness that characterizes Aisha. She understands that she is seen as the "other" in American society, but she still admires American culture and most likely longs for success by American standards. Aisha is impressed when Ifemelu tells her that she has been in America for fifteen years.

More telling of Aisha's reverence for American culture is the fact that she cannot understand why Ifemelu wants to return to Nigeria. Ifemelu's keen observations of American life give us a broad view of the impact that double-consciousness has on Non-American black immigrants. Even though being an immigrant compounds the immigrant double-consciousness, the framework can still be applied. Those from African and Caribbean countries are trying just as African-Americans, to be accepted in mainstream American society. Aunty Uju is an important example of this concept. The summer that Ifemelu moves to America, she stays with Aunty Uju and Dike in New York. Immediately, Ifemelu notices differences in her aunt's personality. As they are driving in the car, Aunty Uju mispronounces her own name when she takes a call. Adichie continues this scene with an exchange between Ifemelu and Aunty Uju:

> Is that how you pronounce your name now?
> It's what they call me. (Adichie 105)

Just as we see with Aisha, Aunty Uju appears to give in to the American perception of who she is. Because she is traveling the road to American success, she chooses to make her travels smoother by ignoring bumps along the way-namely, the correct pronunciation of her name. Just as with Aisha, we also see Aunty Uju simultaneously acknowledge her otherness while submitting to the identity that the dominant society has created for her. Aunty Uju's response to Ifemelu's questioning of the mispronunciation is "It's what they call me." Using the term "they" suggests that Aunty Uju knows she is an outlier in American society, but her choice to accept the dominant society's perception of her shows that she considers the dominant society to be superior to her.

Aunty Uju again shows her willingness to bend to the ways of the dominant society when she Dike and Ifemelu are at the grocery store. Ifemelu observes the way Aunty Uju speaks when she engages in conversations with white Americans. "Dike, put it back,' Aunty Uju said, with the nasal, sliding accent she put on when she spoke to white Americans, in the presence of white Americans, in the hearing of white Americans. *Pooh-reet-back*. And with the accent emerged a new persona, apologetic and self-abasing" (Adichie 109). Ifemelu who is unschooled in the nuances of racial politics in America, observes, through unfiltered eyes, the double-consciousness that pervades Aunty Uju's personhood. It becomes clear that Aunty Uju has fallen prey to a self-consciousness that is the byproduct of systemic racism. In the voice of Stuart Hall, Aunty Uju has been made to see herself as "other." One possibility for this is that Aunty Uju does not achieve immediate success in America despite her training and expertise as a physician. Considering she has the knowledge and skill to perform the duties of a physician, what she likely internalizes is that she is not "American enough" to be a physician in America. DuBois speaks to this point when he says, "...from this must arise a painful self-consciousness, an almost morbid sense of personality and a moral hesitancy which is fatal to self-confidence" (136). As Aunty Uju

attempts to hold on to parts of her identity-dignity, belief systems-she simultaneously tries to mimic the dominant society. What results from this duplicity is degradation to the self that, ironically, keeps Aunty Uju in a subordinate position.

It does not take long for Ifemelu to acquiesce to the same state of double-consciousness as Aunty Uju. Adichie describes Ifemelu's encounter with Cristina Tomas on her first day at college. Cristina Tomas patronizes Ifemelu because of her Nigerian accent and this becomes Ifemelu's first encounter with feeling like the 'Other'. Adichie writes, "Ifemelu shrank. In that strained, still second when her eyes met Cristina Tomas's before she took the forms, she shrank. She shrank like a dried leaf... And in the following weeks as autumn's coolness descended, she began to practice an American accent" (Adichie 134-135). In this scene, Ifemelu goes from a self-assured, assertive individual to an insecure subordinate. There are several levels of power imbalance in this scene.

First, Adichie gives a detailed description of Cristina Tomas's whiteness: "Cristina Tomas with her rinsed-out look, her washy blue eyes, faded hair and pallid skin... Cristina Tomas wearing whitish tights that made her legs look like death" (Adichie 134). Adichie firmly establishes that Cristina is white and this careful characterization cultivates a dichotomy that contrasts whites and blacks. Second, within the context of this scene, Adichie positions Cristina in a place of authority: It is Cristina from whom Ifemelu needs information and assistance. Ifemelu is decidedly at a disadvantage in this scene.

This scene can be magnified so as to examine the symbolism that makes it more than an uncomfortable and condescending encounter between a white student and a black student. In fact, Cristina symbolizes America for Ifemelu. At this point, Ifemelu already realizes that America is not all glitter, gold and high-gloss as she had imagined. Similarly, Cristina is characterized as rinsed-out and faded. Cristina's ignorance becomes representative of many encounters that Ifemelu has with American whites, so Cristina's behaviors can be taken as representative of white America as it is portrayed in the novel. With Cristina being a symbol of white America, the dominant society, Ifemelu is immediately placed in a subordinate position.

Ifemelu needs Cristina's (America's) help in order to gain entry into her college life (American life). Moreover, Cristina (America) has relegated her to a position of inferiority based on her otherness. Ifemelu's subsequent remedy for her subordinate position is to practice her American accent, which is the beginning of her journey into the double-consciousness that absorbs the lives of blacks in America.

To conclude, Adichie is suggesting that while minority groups are aware that their oppression can be traced back to whiteness and all of the systemic racism that comes with that

term, they nonetheless aspire to achieve the privileges of whiteness. In other words, there is a duality in the consciousness of blacks in America-they dislike the whiteness that oppresses them, but they want to be part of that whiteness and receivers of the appurtenances of white America.

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Deep-Rooted Literary Relations between English and Tamil Novels

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Abstract

This paper is an attempt to expose the profound literary relations being deep-rooted between English and Tamil novels. This paper explores the good relationship between English and Tamil literatures by extracting various instances from the works of both the literatures. This paper does explore the relationship between both the literatures. It also presents the artistic renderings made mutually among these literatures. Thus, by going through the ideal works and translator works in these literatures, this paper estimates the bond between English and Tamil literatures.

Keywords: Literary Relations, English and Tamil Novels Translations, culture, autobiographical, society, imitation, epistolary.

The relationship between English and Tamil literatures is more than a century old and the contact between the two literatures has been direct, continuous, complex and all-embracing. English has influenced the entire gamut of Tamil Prose, poetry, short story and novel. This contact inspired the native scholars to take the novel writing. English and European scholars wrote literary works in Tamil. English and European scholars wrote literary works in Tamil. In some respects, it has been a two-way traffic. Distinguished western scholars like Fr. Robert De Nobili (1577-1656), Fr. Beschi (1680-1747), C.T.E. Rhenius (1790-1838) and G.U. Pope (1820-1907) became devoted students of Tamil language and literature. They are said to have done yeoman service to Tamil by writing Prose and poetical works in Tamil. More than this, G.U. Pope translated many Tamil Classics like the ***Kural*** and ***Tiruvasagam*** into English. Prof. T.P. Meenakshisundaram calls Fr. Beschi "the father of modern prose and the modern short story" (P 175) in Tamil.

The impact of English on Tamil does manifest itself in form, content and technique. A host of familiar names and titles crowds our mind in this respect. Krishna Pillai's ***Ratchaniya Yathriham*** and John Bunyan's ***Pilgrim's Progress***, Vellakkal Subramanya Mudaliyar's

Swarka Nikkam and Milton's ***Paradise Lost***, P. Sundaram Pillai's ***Manonmaniam*** and Lytton's ***The Secret Way***, Bharati's ***Gnanaratham*** and Swift's ***Gulliver's Travels***, Mary Shelley's ***Frankenstein*** and its Tamil translation by Pudumaipithan as ***Prethamanithan***, R.L. Stevenson's ***Dr. Jeykyll*** and ***Mr. Hyde*** and its translation by Chidambara Ragunathan as Naan Iruvar – all these and a lot more stare at us, almost "imploring the passing tribute of a sigh".

The English educational system was at first introduced by Macaulay in 1835 under the British East India Company rule in India. Besides laying the foundation for education, this gave a new turn to Indian literatures and culture. The then Governor General of India, Bentinck made the following declaration:

> "The great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India: and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone".

The results were tremendous and far-reaching. Almost all the early Tamil novelists were the beneficiaries of this English educational system. The Novels of Charles Dickens, Walter Scott, Goldsmith and George Eliot were included in the syllabus for students. These educated Tamils were employed in Government service and had sufficient leisure to enrich their knowledge of English literature. As a result, they wanted their fellow Tamilians to be introduced to this genre which did not exist then in Tamil. Moreover, they were motivated by a zeal for social reform, especially the liberation of women from ignorance through education. Therefore, the early Tamil novels were written for the common man.

In his preface to ***Pratapa Mudaliar Charitram*** Pillai makes the following observation:

> "My object in writing this book of fiction is to supply the want of prose in Tamil, a want which is admitted and lamented by all, and also to give a practical illustration of the maxims of morality contained in my former works, ***Niddinool, Penmady Malai, Samarasa Keerthana***" (P 7).

The author's aim was, therefore, both literary and social. Vedanayagam Pillai (1826-1889) was born in Velan Kulathur near Tiruchy. He had the advantage of English education. He was appointed record keeper in a civil court in Tiruchy. After two years, he got promotion

as translator. Later, Vedanayagam Pillai became District Munsiff. His ***Pratapa Mudaliar Charitram***, considered to be the ***morningstar*** of Tamil novel, is said to have been modeled on a combination of Tom Jones, ***The Vicar of Wakefield*** and ***Don Quixote***, Social evils like child marriage, subjection of women and priestly pretensions are criticized. The influence of English literature is discernible throughout this novel as well as in his second novel ***Suguna Sundari***.

In the first novel, there are references to the wives of Socrates and Milton. The author quotes even Bacon. Another reference is also of interest. Ananthayan, a character in the novel, reads antireligious works of Lecky, Stephen, Bain, Darwin, Comte, Mill, Herbert, Spencer, Huxley, Hume, Collins, Tyndall and Voltaire. Hence Ananthayan denies religion and God.

The second Tamil novel ***Kamalambal Charitram*** by B.R. Rajam Iyer (1872-1898) and ***Padmavati Charitram*** by A. Madhaviah (1872-1925) were also written in the same mould. Rajam Iyer was a native of Batlagundu in Madurai district. Madhaviah hailed from Perungulam village in Tirunelveli district. Both the novelists raised their voice against social outrages. It is interesting to know that Madhaviah translated Shakespeare's ***Othello*** and wrote two novels in English. Of the two novels, ***Tillai Govindan*** is in autobiographical form and ***Clarinda*** is a historical novel.

In the case of English novels, Daniel Defoe used the autobiographical form to give an added effect of actuality to the events described. Richardson adopted the device of telling his novels through letters supposed to be written by the chief characters. Henry Fielding enriched the newly formulated English novel by making it a vehicle for adult comment on human behavior. All these qualities of early English novels were faithfully sometimes even blindly, imitated by these early Tamil novelists. If Fielding calls his novel ***The History of the Adventures of Joseph Andrews***, Vedanayagam Pillai calls his Tamil novel as ***Pratapa Mudaliar Charitram***. In imitation of Robinson Crusoe and Moll Flanders, early Tamil novels were loosely constructed, highly episodic and presented as mock biography rather than real fiction. Epistolary form was another common characteristic. Tamil novelists, like their English models, tried to write novels running to many volumes. Fielding's description of his novel as "a comic epic poem in prose" was also responsible for this trend. Characters in early Tamil novels, especially women characters, are anxious to get education which would enable them to enjoy Shakespeare and Tennyson. Besides, this attainment will assure them independence and a place of respectability in the society.

Pandit S.M. Natesa Sastriar (1859-1910) is claimed to have known more than eighteen languages. His novels include ***Dinadayalu*** (1900), ***Dikkatra Iru Kulandaigal*** (1902), ***Komalam Kumariyanadu*** and ***Matikatta Manaivi*** (1903). ***Komalam Kumariyanandu*** is based on the story "Dr. Heidegger's ***Experiment*** by Nathaniel Hawthorne. Sastriar's ***Tuppariyum Danavan*** is a straight-forward imitation of Conan Doyle. The author explains in his preface that he chose the name Danavan in imitation of the name

Dick Danavan, a famous English detective. Another of his novel ***Thalaiyanai Metraupathesam*** (1901) is an adaptation of Douglas Jerrold's ***Mrs.Candles Curtain Lectures. Dikkatra Iru Kulandaigal*** deserves a closer scrutiny. "K. Kailasapathy draws our attention to the influence of Thackeray's ***Vanity Fair*** on Sastriar's novel" (P 179). The characters in the Tamil novel continue to display shades of the original in ***Vanity Fair***. In Sastriar's work, two motherless young girls, Rathai and Alamu, are separated from their father, Pachaiyappa Mudaliar. Their cunning step-mother has been responsible for this. The two girls are helped by a rich lay to join a college at Coimbatore. This college is meant for the children of aristocrats and Zamindars. Balalathai, Mudaliar's daughter by his second wife, also joins the college at this time. Rathai and Balalathai become bosom friends. At the end of the course, the Headmistress secures for Alamu the job of a gorness in Kamatchi Mudaliar's house in Kozhikode. Rathai accompanies Balalathai to Uratchikottai to stay in the latter's house for a short while. We have parallel situations and characters in ***Vanity Fair***. One such situation is that while Rathai and Balalathai travel in a car to Uratchikottai in the Tamil version, Rebecca and Amalia go in a coach to Kensington in Thackerey's work. Two novels written by Maraimalai Adigal throw more light on the nature of adaptations and translations of this period. Aarani Kuppusamy Mudaliar, Vaduvoor Duraisamy Iyengar, Vai. Mu. Kottainayagi Ammal. J. R. Rengaraju and T.S.D. Samy either wrote adaptations or translated English detective novels. It would be appropriate to quote Prof. T.P. Meenakshisundaram in this context:

> "Now begins an era of translation, first
> Translations from Bengali, later from English,
> often unfortunately translations of the novels
> of G.W. Reynolds. Even a great Tamil scholar
> like Maraimalai Adigal has adapted such a
> story for his ***Kumutavalli*** which is full of
> beautiful realistic descriptions… Attempts
> are made to write original detective
> Stories and in this line. ***Tupparaiyum Campu***
> of late Mahatevan, with its abundance of
> humour, is perhaps the best" (P 181).

Maraimalai Adigal had great admiration for the works of Joseph Addison. He even translated some of Addison's essays. According to Prof. T.P. Meenakshi Sundaram, Maraimalai Adigal adapted the English work ***The Soldier's Wife*** for his novel ***Naganatarasi Kumudavalli***. But Pulavar Arasu avers that Adigal's source was ***Laila***. K. Kailasapathy offers an explanation to this dilemma. He suggests that the original could have been ***Laila*** or ***The Soldier's Wife***. This explanation sounds probable because it is based on the then prevailing practice of giving alternate titles to novels. Maraimalai Adigal states in his preface that his ***Kumudavalli*** is an adaptation of an English novel of great merit. The author of that English novel was George William McCarthy Reynolds (1809-1873), a Contemporary of Charles Dickens (1812-1870). Reynolds appears to be a remarkable personality. He was

closely associated with the chartist movement in England. He started a Magazine "Reynolds News" for the cause of labour movement. K. Kailasapathy says that Reynolds can be even called the emperor of serial stories. As a writer of popular fiction, he had no comparable rival in the 19th century England. In the then popular estimate, he was rated even superior to Charles Dickens.

Kohilambal Kadithangal was set in the form of a series of letters written by Kohilambal to her lover. The author has adopted the epistolary form in imitation of Richardson's ***Pamela*** or ***Virtue Rewarded***. But the Tamil work is a poor imitation of the English novel. In the case of Arani Kuppusamy Mudaliar (1867-1925), a similar attempt led to artistically successful results. Mudaliar became very famous as the adapter of G.W.M. Reynolds and Conan Doyle. Kuppusamy Mudaliar was a prolific writer who wrote nearby seventy five novels, some of which were translations, many adapted and a few original. His ***Ratnapuri Rahasivam*** was an adaptation of the Mysteries of the Court of London by Reynolds. A development of this period that merits our attention is that literary scholars in Tamil applied their mind to problems of adaptations and translations. In his preface to V.D. Mahadevan's translation of William Le Queux's ***Whose Findeth a Wife*** Selvakesavaraya Mudaliyar says that many Tamil adaptations of English novels are as indecent as English Salvation Army men in Hindu dress. He feels that a faithful translation of the English originals will offer an opportunity to the native Tamils without a knowledge of English to know at least some aspects of the European way of life. In the introduction to the same translation, K.R. Kovindaraja Mudaliar endorses the above view. This stand, by implication, supports the view, "A badly written book is only a blunder. A bad translation of a good book is a crime" (Horst 108).

In Comparative Literature, it is stated that a variety of factors determine the choice of a writer or translator. First of all, the translator may be attracted by the thoughts and ideas of a work. Secondly, he might think that his translation will satisfy the needs of his people. Therefore, the translator will be guided by the language demands and literary traditions of his country at that particular point of time. Perhaps Maraimalai Adigal performed Reynolds because novel readers of his time demanded only such stuff. French novelist Maurice Le Blanc's famous dacoit-hero Arsent Lupin is presented to the Tamil readers as Veerakesari by S.S. Arunagirinathar, a Tamil Professor. Equally interesting is the fact that K.S. Venkataramani wrote novels in English, ***Murugan the Tiller*** **(1927) and** ***Kandan The Patriot*** **(1932)**. Krishnakumari translated ***Murugan the Tiller*** into Tamil in 1928. Venkataramani also wrote a Tamil novel Desabhaktan in 1930. We have a host of other Tamil novelists whose works could be found to bear some kind of link or resemblance with some English novels. Already some work is done in areas like Scott and Kalki, Maugham and Mu.Va., Kafka and Mauni, Coleridge's ***Kublakhan*** and Bharathi's ***Kani Nilam Vendum*** etc., No doubt, the literary relation between English and Tamil has been a continuous one. The Tamil novel has developed a dynamic of its own. What began as trickle a century ago has now assumed the astounding proportions of a deluge. The one event which stirred both the

masses and the intellectual was the freedom movement. This subject has been treated in a number of novels. Kalki's ***Alai Osai*** (1950), Narana Durai Kannan's ***Seeman Suyanalam*** (1961), M.S. Kalyana Sundaram's ***Twenty Years*** (1965), Vallikkannan's ***Veedum Veliyum*** (1966), N. Chidambara Subramanian's ***Mannil Theiryuthu Vanum*** (1969), Naa. Parthasarathy's ***Aathmavin Ragangal*** (1969) and Ra. Su. Nallaperumal's ***Kallukkul Eerum*** (1969), belong to this category.

Many others have written novels analyzing the conditions of citizens in free India. Modern English novelists experimented with the stream of consciousness technique. It is claimed that individualism achieved its sublimation in the stream of consciousness technique. Despite the absence of such a situation here, Tamil novelists have been tempted to use this technique too. Puthumaipithan is believed to be the first Tamil writer who tried interior monologue in his short stories. Shades of this technique have been scattered in many such novels as ***Orunal*** by K.S. Subramanian, ***Bhudra*** by La. Sa. Ramamirtham, ***Panchum Pasium*** by Ragunathan, ***Kettavaram*** by Anuthma and ***Pallikondapuram*** by Neela Padmanabhan.

To conclude, out of profound literary relations between English and Tamil novels, it can be understood that these novels are indeed an artistic rendering of the society in which the novelists themselves move about in real life.

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Return of the Repressed in Amitav Ghosh's *Sea of Poppies*

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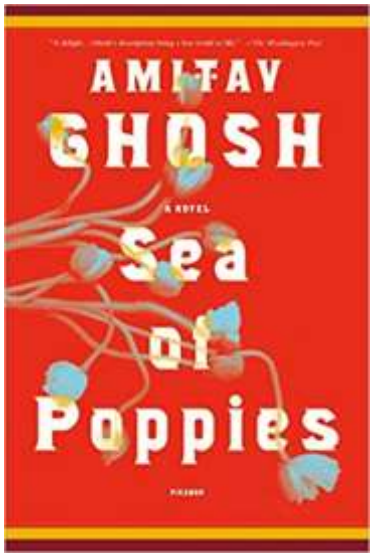

Courtesy: https://www.amazon.com/Sea-Poppies-Novel-Ibis-Trilogy/dp/0312428596/ref=sr_1_1?crid=2V0QT1R4IXLKC&keywords=sea+of+poppies+by+amitav+ghosh&qid=1575262048&s=books&sprefix=Sea+of+Poppies%2Caps%2C1298&sr=1-1

Abstract

Amitav Ghosh belongs to the group of Subaltern Studies project and all his novels are an attempt to deal with the history of the subaltern. His *Sea of Poppies* has been hailed as story where the focus shifts from the so called "mainstream" to the peripheral subjects. It is a story of a group of indentured labourers on board Ibis, a slave ship, on way to Mauritius. Ghosh makes the stove away convicts and few women as the centre of his story and narrates the story from their point of view. This is in line with the notion that the discursive focus should be on the marginalized rather than the hegemonic. The novel revolves around Deeti and Kalua, the main characters of the novel, who defy social norms and exert their will, at the same time face to face with hegemonic imperial power structures.

Keywords: Amitav Ghosh, *Sea of Poppies*, Subaltern, Women, Hegemony, Patriarchy, Colonialism

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The representation of postcolonial subaltern is based on the notion that discursive focus should be shifted from hegemonic to the marginalized. The main impulse of this transitional operation is to consolidate and centralize the subaltern's peripheral position in society in social and political terms, as both are a result of systematic and structural marginalization. In postcolonial idiom, standard history is regarded as monologic representing the dominant discourse. It is believed that Official historiography, while constructing historical facts, selects from past from a particular national and ideological perspective. Postcolonial writers and theorists believe that the historiography is used by the imperial powers in a discursive way as an instrument to construct reality on behalf of the colonizer; and such history inevitably leaves out the histories of the colonized. This inevitably leads to the marginalization of many groups who are denied an official voice by hegemonic powers. For example, Ranajit Guha calls the history of Indian nationalism "a sort of spiritual biography of the Indian elite" (Guha, 1988: 34-41).

Postcolonial novels that include references to the colonizer's version of historical facts, with a critical distance, try to destroy the hegemonic accounts of the past by means of introducing the suppressed voices of the 'Others,' whose histories are silenced under the monology of colonizer's history. This gives rise to history of the Subaltern. Such novels are studied in terms of how they highlight the silenced histories of marginalized groups such as ethnic and political minorities, women and the colonized, through rewriting historical facts within the different contexts that the novels draw on. The postcolonial rewriting of history, therefore, is an attempt to rewrite alternative histories of the colonized as opposed to the official history of the colonizer. Besides the traditional national histories also tend to be elitist rather than egalitarian and therefore leave out the low rungs of society, particularly women. Therefore, the main attempt of 'subaltern history' is to focus on past events, situations and personages that 'standard' history chooses to ignore and exclude. The excluded events and personages are foregrounded, and their stories are retold as alternative histories.

The concern about the representation of the subaltern 'other' in national historiography prompted Ghosh to look at history from below thereby challenging and simultaneously rewriting the so-called 'official standard history'. In *Sea of Poppies,* Ghosh makes an attempt to present an alternate version of history which otherwise would remain submerged and therefore absent from the pages of written history. Published in 2008, *Sea of Poppies* is the first book of Amitav Ghosh's famous Ibistrilogy, the second being *The River of Smoke* (2011) and the third *Flood of Fire*(2012). Deriving its content from the colonial past of India, Ghosh casts his gaze at the 19th century opium trade between Britain and China in which the British were forcing opium into China for their tea and silk. Seemingly, the main subject of the novel is migration of indentured laborers on the Ibis, yet, the forces that propel their lives, the existence of British colonialism, opium trade and the Indian caste system and other related issues are explored in depth.

According to Anupama Arora "this novel also pushes ahead Ghosh's project of investigating the multi dimensionality of postcolonial history and experience" as he "revisits themes and preoccupations of his earlier works and presents a historical novel of panoramic scope and great depth" (Arora, 2012: 21-42).

The novel throws light on the period when the East India Company forced the peasants, to turn over their lands into opium fields extracting huge dividends for itself while rendering the natives poor and hungry. Written in the backdrop of the Opium War of 1838, the novel not only traces the planned movements of British colonial subjugation but also reviews the extant social and traditional powers, which were often communal, racial, feudal and patriarchal in nature. In such a polarized society, the subjugated or subaltern people are condemned to suffer culturally, socially politically and economically at the hands of bourgeois class. They are helpless to raise their voice and powerless to resist the exploitation and humiliation by their masters. Though they remain inarticulate, yet they have a strong desire to come out of the mess in which they are submerged. *Sea of Poppies* is the representation of these subalterns and their identity that is why the focus shifts from centre to the periphery, which is the celebrated project of the subaltern school.

In this connection, Leela Gandhi asserts that the methodology of the Subaltern Studies group "Sketched out its wide- ranging concern both with the visible 'history, politics, economics and sociology of subalternity' and with the occluded 'attitudes, ideologies and belief system…Subaltern Studies defined itself as an attempt to allow the people finally to speak within the jealous pages of elitist historiography and in so doing, to speak for, or to sound the muted voices of the truly oppressed. (Gandhi, 2005:1-2)

In *Sea of Poppies* Ghosh brings together people from different cultures, belonging to different social strata with different cultural, economic, and social background, on an old slaving ship on river Hugli, whose motley crew is made up of sailors, stowaway convicts and the English men. Peopled with such characters and their multiple stories which are woven together by a common thread i.e., the slave ship Ibis and their journey as indentured laborers to Mauritius, *Sea of Poppies* creates a bright and lively world, and it is through these characters and their interaction with the colonial masters and elite powerful natives, that Ghosh tries to reveal the brutal side of colonialism and imperialism, patriarchy and racial discrimination.

To begin with, it is the story of different people belonging to different cultures and social strata, including an upper caste young widow Deeti, a heroic untouchable Kalua, daughter of a French botanist Paulette, a bankrupt raja Neel Rattan, a Parsee- Chinese convict Lei Leong Fatt, a freed American mulatto Zachary Reid who hides his identity from his British officials, a Muslim boat boy Jodu, a Krishna worshipper Nob Kissan who imagines himself as a woman, an

enigmatic lascar Serang Ali and a ruthless British businessman Mr. Burnham. All these people undertake a journey to Mauritius as indentured laborers and as crewmembers of the slave ship Ibis. There are some other characters also discussed in the novel. They also, for varying reasons, represent subaltern positions within the dominant structure of Indian society. They, along with the major characters struggle with the forces of class, caste and gender inequality and colonialism. At first, the stories of these characters begin separately but as the novel moves on, their fates become intertwined and the different strands merge into one, a story of those people who in one way or the other have been exploited and subjugated by the elite native powers or oppressed by British.

The novel focuses mainly on three characters, namely, Deeti the upper caste young widow who is driven to perform *sati* by her relatives, Kalua- an untouchable and the savior-lover of Deeti and Raja Neel Rattan Halder– a zamindar by birth but trapped in a case of forgery by the English businessman, Mr. Burnham. In this novel, Amitav Ghosh has also explored the predicament of the Indian woman and the plight of the untouchables or the lower castes of the Indian society through the characters of Deeti and Kalua. The novel opens with a description of Deeti, whom Ghosh describes as "Such was the colour – or perhaps colourlessness – of her eyes that made her seem at once blind and all – seeing" (Ghosh, 2008:5). She is the most important female character in *Sea of Poppies.* An upper caste woman belonging to an impoverished family and married to a crippled opium addict Hukum Singh, she becomes a victim of a deceitful marriage. On her wedding night, her in-laws drug her and to consummate her marriage, she is raped by her brother-in-law Chandan Singh with the full patronage of his mother. However, the reality of her marriage is kept hidden from her and she constantly faces the jibes from her brother-in-law who time and again reminds Deeti of her inferiority and vulnerability. This clearly defines her position as an oppressed and exploited individual, a subaltern in the male dominated society who is robbed of her dignity and identity on the very first night of her marriage. In the orthodox patriarchal society, sexual exploitation of a woman becomes an instrument for the assertion of male dominance over a female of which Deeti is an example. In the portrayal of Deeti's character, Ghosh does not glorify the pre-colonial past but puts forth various evils of pre-colonial India. In this type of society, sexual exploitation becomes a tool for torturing a woman physically. But at the psychological level it wounds her beyond repair. This results in her developing a sense of inferiority and further pushes her to the extreme recesses of the marginal position in the society. Deeti represents the double subalternity of woman in masculinist society where she is identified as the 'other', 'non-man', or 'second sex' despite her high position in the society.

Deeti's husband Hukum Singh worked in the opium factory of Ghazipur and because of his opium addiction, his health deteriorated drastically till he lost his consciousness and the responsibility of bringing him back home fell on Deeti's shoulders. As Ghazipur was far from

Deeti's residing place, she takes Kalua the carter with her. The untouchable Kalua is described as: "A man of unusual height and powerful build: in any fair, festival or mela, he could always be spotted towering above the crowd – even the jugglers on stilts were usually not so tall as he. But it was his colour rather than his size that had earned him the nickname Kalua – Blackie – for his skin had the shining, polished tint of an oiled whetstone" (Ghosh, 2008:54)

Kalua was an untouchable in the society where Deeti lived. He belonged to the class of 'chamars'- the leather makers. Hence he was not allowed to talk directly to the people of higher castes, consequently had to keep his face hidden from the other people of higher castes as it was "believed that the sight of his face would bode ill for the day ahead" (Ghosh, 2008:4). He became a victim of the wrath of the 'zamindars'. As a punishment and as an amusement sport for the 'zamindars', he was forced into a sexual act with a horse. Deeti, hiding nearby and witnessing this whole episode of Kalua's humiliation is forced to concede that "even a powerful giant of a man could be humiliated and destroyed, in a way that far exceeded his body's capacity for pain" (Ghosh, 2008:57). This inhuman treatment and enforced act of bestiality perpetuated by the drunken zamindars on Kalua reduces him to nothingness, and further pushes him to the margins. On seeing Kalua's powerless position, Deeti overcomes the ingrained sense of her higher caste, her fear of 'retribution', she cleans him and covers his naked body with some leaves. Her helping a person of lower caste is an act of resistance towards the Brahmanical society where even touching a person of inferior caste is supposed to pollute one's religious identity. Although physiologically different from each other, Deeti finds a kind of affinity with Kalua. Like herself, Kalua too is wronged by the people who consider themselves superior to him and therefore exert power on the powerless. The sense of powerlessness is a common thread that unites all the major characters on the ship. Kalua is an outcast, who cannot be allowed to co-exist peacefully with the 'touchable' communities and Deeti, being a woman, is more or less an 'untouchable' within the 'touchable' community who is oppressed by her own family.Regarding the oppression imposed on women by both patriarchal system and imperial power, Spivak states that "between patriarchy and imperialism (…) the figure of the woman disappears (…) into a violent shuttling which is the displaced figuration of the third-world woman caught between tradition and modernization" (Spivak, 1988: 102).

After the death of Hukam Singh, for Deeti it became virtually impossible to tolerate the sexual assaults of her brother-in-law. In a state of utter helplessness, she decides to be a *sati* instead of becoming his mistress. Instead of holding her back, her brother-in-law pushes her towards it, as it would benefit him materially by becoming the only inheritor of her property. Deeti, set to be a *sati,* is saved heroically by the untouchable Kalua from the funeral pyre of her husband. Deeti regards this miraculous rescue as her rebirth where she willingly chooses to live her whole life with Kalua:"She had shed the body of the old Deeti, with the burden of its karma;

she had paid the price her stars demanded of her, and was free now to create a new destiny as she willed" (Ghosh 2008:178).

Deeti becomes a symbolic personification of all subalterns, especially women, who are economically and socially marginalized, smothered by social injustice. She defies the very social norms of the society that bound, her by eloping with an untouchable. Their marriage is thus a resistance against prevailing caste divisions and an assertion to lead their lives based on their own feelings of love and equality, as opposed to subjugation to tradition and custom. For Spivak, "Patriarchal system creates a situation for the woman… whose minimal predication as indeterminate is already available to the phallocentric tradition" (Spivak, 1988: 82). This rebellion is an act of resistance against the very foundations of this society. Unlike most of the postcolonial novelists, Amitav Ghosh does not glorify the pre-colonial past of India but presents its unsavoury and unpleasant side too which comes to surface here through Deeti's sufferings. Pertinently, this episode of Deeti's rescue from the funeral pyre by the black Kalua can be seen as an attempt by Ghosh to subvert the colonialist representations in much British fiction like *The Far Pavilions* and *The Deceivers*, where the white man saves the victimized Indian woman from the brutalizing rite of Sati. In Ghosh's postcolonial rewriting, a black, powerless, marginalized untouchable becomes the savior of a helpless widow about to be consigned to flames alive, thus undermining and destabilizing what Anupama Arora calls "the white male rescue fantasy" Arora, 2012: 21-42).

Deeti's elopement with Kalua has many repercussions. In order to save themselves from the wrath ofdetractors, Deeti and Kalua decide to be '*girmityas'* or indentured labourers and so they board the *Ibis* which was taking the indentured labourers to Mauritius.It's on board Ibis that all the other characters of the novel meet and their stories are blended together. The tumultuous voyage of this motley array of sailors and labourers, stowaways and convicts down the Hooghly River into the Indian Ocean on the Ibis becomes the core of the novel. As they sail down the river, their previous identities and familial ties are washed away transforming them into new individuals who view themselves as "ship-siblings - jahaz-bhais and jahaz-bahens" (Ghosh, 2008: 356), building up a whole new world for themselves. Their vision of a community that stands for equality is an enthralling imagination. Ghosh paints the ship Ibis in a womanly image when Deeti thinks that "their rebirth in the ship's womb had made them into a single family". (Ghosh, 2008: 432)

Commenting on this new brotherhood forged by the sailors on board, Arora says: "Whilst life aboard the *Ibis* comes with its own rules, hierarchies and palpable dangers for crew and cargo alike, it is here, finally, that the schisms of Empire begin to come unstuck. Despite differences of caste, colour and creed, the characters come to view themselves as *jahaj-bhais* or

ship-brothers. As Deeti foresaw all along, from the *Ibis* an unlikely dynasty is to be born, which will span continents, races and generations. (Arora, 2012: 21-42).

This new brotherhood sows the seeds of resistance against the oppressors surrounding them and a subsequent mutiny that finally gets the better of their masters on Ibis. Bound into a new familial bond, the sailors, now *jahaz-bhais* and *jahaz-bahens,* come to view the vessel Ibis as "Mother-Father of her new family, a great wooden mai-bap, an adoptive ancestor and parent of dynasties yet to come" (Ghosh, 2008:356-357).

The Ibis has a British captain Mr. Crowley and a first mate Mr. Doughty, an American second mate Zachary Reid, Indian troops to maintain order, and a crew of Lascars. Amidst rising injustice and cruelty of the first mate Mr. Crowley towards the labourers on the ship particularly Jodu, Deeti rises to the occasion and leads a formidable resistance against the oppression.Deeti's courage is clearly shown when she raises her voice against the cruel Bhyro Singh, an Indian born British officer. "What does this mean? She said, in a show of defiance. Why did you want to see me alone? (Ghosh, 2008: 475).

Deviating from the old practice of calling the white masters as 'mai- bap', she calls the ship as their 'wooden mai - bap' and at the same time organises the labourers into a mutiny and insists on resisting the captain and his crew on the ship by making such a loud noise that would halt the ship amid the open sea. It is here in the dark basement on board Ibis that Deeti has her strange visions of the ship that she sketches out in one corner and starts worshiping it like a shrine. Deeti achieves mythic proportions and becomes a mouthpiece of all subalterns while reflecting on their emergence. The seeds of resistance sown by Deeti make their presence felt on the other parts of the ship also when Neel, Lei Leong Fatt and Serang Ali in connivance with Zachary Reid plan an escape from the ship. After much drama and bloodshed on the board Ibis in which Crowley and Subedar Bhyro Sing are killed, Neel, Ah Fatt, Jodu, Serang Ali and Kalua manage to escape in a small boat, unaware of the destination the sea waves would waft them to.
Like a true postcolonial novelist and a practicing member of the Subaltern Studies group, Ghosh in almost all his novels, imagines and reconstructs the world from the viewpoint of the dispossessed peoples and focuses on histories often relegated to the margins of Eurocentric narratives of history.

The coolies and convicts that Ghosh deals with here are subaltern characters who do not have the power to write history and make their presence known. Hence, Ghosh takes the liberty to imagine them and conjures up their stories based on whatsoever sources are available to him. Instinctively, he does so with the artistry of an anthropologist than a novelist. His selection and adoption of characters from diverse backgrounds is a device that Ghosh employs to highlight the many forms of repression common under the erstwhile British colonial rule, and also the

different forms of indigenous oppression women and lower caste are subjected to in pre-colonial times. At the same time, it records the resistance put forth by men and women who are victims of social, political and economic hegemonies. As in other novels, Ghosh in *Sea of Poppies* not only exposes their subalternity but also infuses energy into their lives to enable them to speak in an attempt to shift their position from 'margin' to the 'centre'. Disillusioned with the elitist mainstream historiography, he attempts to write his fictional history from below, exposing the injustice and exploitation meted out to the lowest strata of the Indian society particularly women like Deeti.

Dutta Nandana in "Amitav Ghosh and the Uses of Subaltern History" says that "Ghosh, by retrieving and giving place/voice to the historically repressed event in the fiction, achieves a swerve from simply 'righting the record' and releases the marginal as a referent in the present. Such fiction enters the realm of intervention in public discourse, or carries the potential, by introducing considerations that create public consciousness about historical injustices, successfully 'using' subaltern history"(Nandana, 2015: 14-31).

In his defiance against the repressive feudal and patriarchal practices, and the inhuman treatment and the abysmal indifference of the hegemonic powers towards the deprived and the dispossessed, Ghosh inscribes the marginalized history of the subaltern into the national/postcolonial historiography. Thus the novel undertakes the task of revising a lop-sided, elitist and exclusivist history by bringing in the history of the marginalized. In fact the engagement of Ghosh's fiction with history is radical than merely adding on the 'erased' subaltern history to the existing historical narratives. He contests the social, ideological, economic and political structures that silence the voice of the subaltern, makes them invisible and pronounces their narratives to be unworthy of record and transmission. Such a contestation is clearly visible in his contextualization of the individual characters like Deeti and Kalua within the larger socio-political economic and historical milieu. He views the lived life of the individual subaltern as the primary site of power play and politics of domination. Here Ghosh makes an attempt at rewriting the historical "givens" by depicting in his writings the struggle of the socially marginalized characters against the oppression and discrimination by the upper class elite. By making the 'Other' the marginalized, subject of most of his works, Ghosh interrogates the absence of their stories in both literary and standard history.

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Assessment of Working Memory in Monolingual Broca's Aphasia

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Introduction

An intact working memory (WM) effects have been found across a range of complex cognitive processes and language processing (Caplan & Waters, 1999; Engle,2002; Wright & Shisler, 2005). The predominant view of WM was first proposed by Baddeley and Hitch (1974). Working memory (WM) is "a multicomponent system responsible for active maintenance of information in the face of ongoing processing and/or distraction" (Conway et al., 2005) which facilitates goal directed behavior.

Researchers have reported that the language problems seen in aphasia go beyond an impaired linguistic system and involve a complex cognitive deficit (Helm-Estabrooks, Bayles, Ramage, & Bryant, 1995; Chapey, 2001). A number of researchers have explored the integrity of working memory in adults with aphasia. Miyake et al., (1994) proposed that comprehension deficits in aphasia were the product of reduced WM capacity for language. Caspari et al., (1998) administered a simplified version of the reading span task to 23 individuals spanning a wide range of aphasia types and severity levels. The authors concluded that "the ability of aphasic individuals to comprehend language is predictable from their working memory capacities". Friedmann and Gvion (2003) studied the relationship between verbal working memory and sentence comprehension in adults with conduction aphasia and agrammatic aphasia, and an NL group. Measures of working memory included several span measures: digit, word, nonword, a listening span task, and a 2-back task. The results of the study indicated that both aphasia groups presented with limited working memory abilities and performed poorly on sentence comprehension task.

Need

Results of the previous investigations indicate that individuals with aphasia have impaired working memory systems. Further, the working memory capacity deficit may contribute to the language processing difficulties of adults with aphasia. Evidence of improved language performance in individuals with aphasia given WM support is reported (Francis et al., 2003; Linebarger, McCall, Virata, & Berndt, 2007). Importantly, early identification of such deficits could play a crucial role in treatment for adults with aphasia.

Aim

The purposes of this study include:

1. To measure working memory ability in Kannada speaking individuals with Broca's Aphasia.
2. To compare the performance of individuals with Broca's Aphasia with healthy elderly individuals on working memory.
3. To find gender differences if any.

Method

Participants

Group-1 (G1) Reference group: 20 Kannada speaking healthy elderly individuals (10 Males; 10 Females) in the age range of 45 – 60 years (M-52.5) participated in this study. Participants were screened for speech, language, hearing, cognition, medical / neurological problem and vision by qualified professionals in the respective field. All participants completed 10th standard education.

Group-2 (G2) Clinical group: 10 Kannada speaking adults with Broca's aphasia (5 Males; 5 Females) in the age range of 45 – 60 (M-54.2) at the time of testing participated in this study. Years of education completed was 10th standard. All participants presented with one stroke unilateral left hemisphere damage subsequent to cerebrovascular accident (CVA); 6 months post onset; pre-morbid right-handed; and no history of dementia or other neurological illness; hearing acuity within normal limits; normal visual acuity. Type of aphasia was determined by performance on the WAB test.

Research Design

A Standard group comparison design was used.

Materials

Working memory was assessed for five tasks: 1. Word span (bisyllable words, each stimulus consisted of three words); 2. Non word span test (tri-syllable words); 3. Listening span (5 word sentence each); 4. Digit span test (2 digit numbers, each stimulus consisted of five numbers); 5. digit-ordering task (3 & 4 digit numbers, each stimulus consisted of five numbers). Each task consisted of 10 items. The stimulus was audio recorded.

Procedure

During the assessment phase, informed consent was obtained, the WAB was administered. Each participant was tested individually in a noise free room. Stimulus was presented through headphone at the comfortable level. Instructions were given to participants at each level of presentation. A score of '**1'** was assigned for each correct response, score of '**0'** for each incorrect and no response.

Results and Discussion

The data obtained were subjected to statistical analysis using SPSS-17 software. Statistical test used were Mann-Whitney U test and Independent sample t test.

I. In order to check for the presence of gender effect on various working memory task, Mann-Whitney U test was carried out. These analyses revealed that no significant differences at .05

level of significance were present among the genders in both the group. Hence, in the final analysis, data was combined.

II. Performance of adult with Broca's aphasia on various working memory task: 1. Word span: M=1.1; SD=.99; 2. Non word span: M=1.3; SD=.82; 3. Listening span: M=3.4; SD=.96; 4. Digit span: M=2.4; SD=.51; 5. Digit ordering span: M=1.7; SD=.67. Mean value for listening span and digit span task were slightly higher than for other three tasks.

III. Performance of healthy elderly individuals on various working memory task: 1. Word span: M=6.5; SD=.75; 2. Non word span: M=6.7; SD=.73; 3. Listening span: M=6.9; SD=.75; 4. Digit span: M=8.0; SD=.82; 5. Digit ordering span: M=8.2; SD=.85. Mean value for digit span and digit ordering span task were slightly higher than for other three tasks

IV. Performance between the group (adult with Broca's aphasia and healthy elderly individuals) on various working memory task: Healthy elderly individuals performance indicated (Mean=36.5; SD=2.1). Adults with Aphasia performance indicated (Mean=9.9; SD=1.9). The results between the two groups indicated significant differences at 0.05 level of significance.

The results of the present study indicated that, adults with Broca's aphasia performed poorly on all five tasks of working memory in comparison with healthy elderly individuals. These results are in support with the literature indicating that adults with aphasia present with a working memory deficit (Miyake et al., 1995; Caspari et al., 1998; Friedmann and Gvion, 2003). Results also indicated that, there was no significant difference in performance among the genders in both the group. Thus, highlighting the importance of measurement of working memory and incorporating these parameters in clinical rehabilitation strategies for adults with aphasia.

Conclusion

Theories of working memory are evolving in response to empirical findings of working memory ability in adults with and without aphasia. Different type of processing can be differently be affected by WM, and that the type of processing plays a crucial role in determining the effect the WM has on comprehension (Friedmann & Gvion, 2003). The present study adds on to the existing research on limitation of working memory in adults with aphasia. Future investigations of measurement and treatment of working memory are warranted to determine the role of working memory in language processing.

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Self-identity and Emptiness in Arun Joshi's *The Last Labyrinth*

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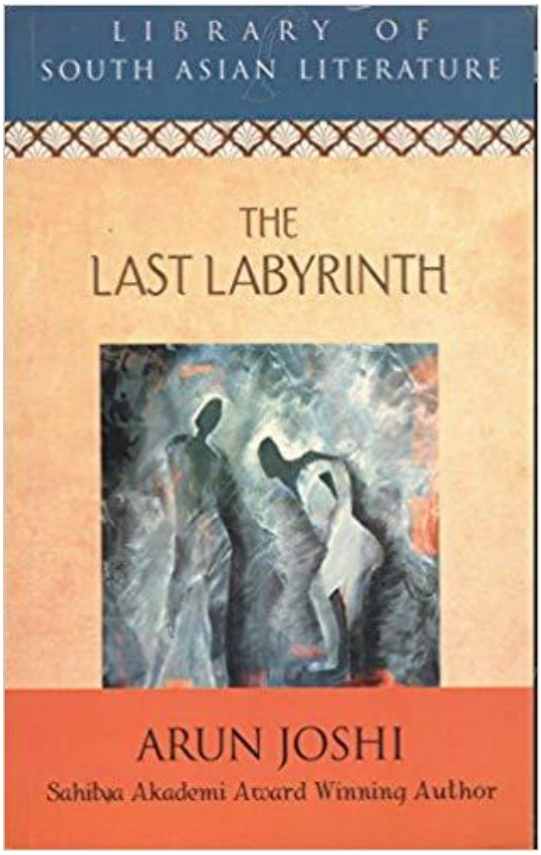

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Abstract

Arun Joshi's ***The Last Labyrinth*** was awarded the Sahitya Akademi Award for its excellent handling of the theme of contemporary Indian's existential dilemma. It was Arun Joshi's fourth novel dealt with the inner and outer world of a westernized Indian Aristocrat who had lost his spiritual roots. Arun Joshi is concerned with the predicament of modern man and is sensitivity alive to the various dimensions of pressures, exerted by the complex character and demands of the society in which contemporary man is destined to live. In ***The Last Labyrinth*,** Som was mentally disturbed and filled with anguish, self-hatred and self- pity, for they consider themselves as strangers in this physical world. Self was explored by in his fiction and brought a central focus of the self has to assess its alienation from the family and society. Joshi dealt with the modern man who had no sense of affinity to society amidst which he lived. He found own existence a burden. There is a two alternatives for the present day man with his tragic plight that is modern man either try to adjust to the others, system and hiding his true self or he may give efforts to keep and develop his individuality and therefore alienate himself from society.

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The novel ***The Last Labyrinth*** was surrounded by the world of human emotions. It dealt with restive search for a meaning in human survival, its treatment of the numerous levels of reality and challenging narrative technique. The story was not only about the fascination but also great love. In addition, it consisted of more conflicting themes. It was about a distressed man's search for his existence and search for a practicable substitution among materialism, corruption, alienation and loss in spiritual faith.

The main concern in this research is to explore the sense of alienation and void in the novels of Arun Joshi. Modern man finds himself alienated not only from his fellow men, but also from himself, having nothing to fall back upon in moments of crisis. The malaise of the contemporary man has been greatly irritated by the spiritual stress and strain which is the hallmark of the modern period. Today's world has shrunk in spirit, languishing in confusion, frustration, disintegration, and disillusionment and meaningless. The most troubling problems that man faces today are the problems of alienation and sense of void. The sharp inconsistency from philosophical viewpoint is that the novelist has mirrored the dilemma of those unbelievers who do not find any metaphysical control beyond this material world.

He remained as an alienated figure till the end of his life. The story located around mainly in Bombay and Benares, was an account of Som Bhaskar's business and love story. He rated Bombay superior to Benares in that it was filled with brilliant industrialists. Benares was only an ancient city of historical value to him and additional, it was often alive with dacoits. But Bhaskar felt that he experienced a sense of isolation and loneliness in both the places. Both were thickly occupied but neither of them was able to give him the sense of belonging he desired for and rid him of his able, intolerable, unexplainable sense of isolation. In Som, the sense of alienation was mixed with a sense of void. It characterized an extension of the theme of his earlier novels so as to project a presentational image of contemporary man's tormented perception challenging with the threat of absurdity. It even mixtures the themes of his earlier novels. When compared to the previous novel, it had been more powerful level of experience. Basavaraj Naiker said, "Som Bhaskar faces the threat of being sucked into a kind of black hole if his consciousness does not arm itself with adequate mental strength and resilience (123).

The novel centred on Bhaskar's conflict with the darkness of death and void in Lal Haveli where he had gone to buy Aftab's shares. It was its confusion passages and dark interior was situated at the end of a blind lane, weird and mysterious and served as a figurative setting for Bhaskar's controversy with the decisions in the psyche. Som Bhaskar was gifted with a highly intellectual and scientific mind which was constantly caught up in a turbulence of ideas, morals, problems of philosophy and metaphysics and was troubled by troublesome thinking. He found himself examining through the labyrinth of life and death, his very freedom being no different from a void in which he suspended in his attempt to get a fix on reality. It goes to the credit of Joshi, that Som Bhaskar in ***The Last Labyrinth,*** like his other westernized protagonists belonging to the upper crust of society, was a firmly rooted in an authentic Indian context as the characters of Raja Rao and R. K. Narayanan. The novel holds up a mirror to a certain section of the present day Indian society

with its cynicism, hedonism, loss of faith, confusion of values and anxieties. The last labyrinth brought out Som Bhaskar's route from the labyrinth of a modern society to the light of a primitive mountain God. He was acquainted with the western way of life, its pursuit for sophistication and materialism. Yet he knew that "money was a dirt, a whore, so were houses, carts, carpets" (TLL 9).

Som Bhaskar was a millionaire, industrialist at twenty-five years who inherited a gigantic plastic manufacturing industry. He was educated at the best of universities. He married Meena of his own choice and had two children. His wife was well-bred and beautiful and remains loyal to her husband in spite of his love affair with Leela Sabnis. She was a psychiatrist from Michigan and with Anuradha in Benares. But he suffered from an insatiable "hunger of the body and the spirit" (TLL 9). Joshi's existential vision became clearer and he seemed to insist upon the realization of the eternal self that leads to emancipation from all the anguishes of life. Like his wife if he possessed the inner poise of the spirit, he could derive consolation from his prayer to God. But as he was a non-believer that was out of question: "if I in God I could pray, may be run a rosary through my fingers. But that's out" (TLL 8). The experience of sense of void and meaningless in life were Som's feelings as a modern anti-hero embodying chaos and uncertainties. He suffered from in definable hunger and restlessness. He could not find answers to his moral and cultural alienation and cannot return to society. This character indicated the problems of alienation and identity. In the midst of wealth and sophistication, he felt a void within which led to his identity crisis. As Som sat with Aftab and Anuradha in the Haveli, he was reminded of the insignificance of his existence: "if someone, man or god, had watched my life, from a great height, would I have appeared to him an ant threading through a maze, knocking about, against one wall, then another?" (TLL47). The sad songs of Azizun taught Som the fact that all the struggles to climb the ladder of success were futile. Only a simple life led with faith, matters in the long run. The sad He had everything that was needed for worldly pleasures. But he felt restless and inconsolable and overcome by anxiety and fear of death.

The unanswered divided of the inner mind between his indistinct subjectivity and the intellectual balance of things, was set in the beginning at the end. Towards the end of the novel, Som Bhaskar was still there, hardly developed, formed, although focussed more sharply on the vision he experienced in Anuradha. In the opening of the novel, he said:

> Through the light of my days and the blackness of my nights and the disquiet of those sleepless hours beside my wife, within reach of tranquillisers. I had sung the same strident song: I want. I want. I want (TLL 9).

He had an unquenchable passion for possessions. He went on desperately living, clinging to one thing or person and trying to seek satisfaction in sex, wealth and fame. He felt a void, idleness and was lost in the labyrinth of thoughts. Som misunderstood the restless wanderings of his mind as hunger for sex and consequently experimented with several sexual affairs. Leila Sabnis psychoanalysed Som's character as followed "you are much too high stung without reason. You are a neurotic. A compulsive

fornicator" (TLL 72). In this novel the hero Som Bhaskar's conflict was not with the society, but with the forms and forces beyond the computation of reason and science.

Som's suffering was more intensified when he began his education in two cultures. He was born in India and brought up under a religion mother, he imbued religious faith and spiritual learning. During his study abroad, he came into contact with the western way of thinking. As a result, his belief in direct reason practical wisdom and the scientific attitude went sharper which was again reinforced by his father when he returned to India. Thus, he possessed a confused personality barren of faith and rest in mind. His life became a rudderless boat being tossed on turbulent waves horrified by "going forward and backward and sideways of the mind" (TLL 48). In order to settle himself and in search of the final answers to his wanting wishes, he turned in a compulsive fornicator and ran to different women to satisfy himself. Every affair fizzled out living him alone and puzzled and he failed to find out the true path. He found himself in a mist everywhere. He reminisces:

> I was a womanizer all right, and a boozer, but my womanizing and boozing had not settled anything. I had inherited the afflictions of both of them – for what were they if not afflictions, afflictions that had led me into unbearable entanglements. A year ago, although battered, I was getting by fairly reasonably. (TLL 144)

Som flied from one woman to another, from one business adventure to another made him all the more dissatisfied. His womanizing and boozing to shut up his voices in his incorrigible vacuums had not settled anything. His troubles got multiplied by an awareness of the irrelevance of life. He found the world meaningless and was convinced that life is full of complications "a labyrinth within labyrinth" (TLL 25). It was physical in Lal Haveli and Benares which were both included. At the second level of symbolic, the Lal Haveli stood for the maze of life and the last labyrinth was death itself. It was even more mysterious than existence itself. Som, was the creation of multicultural city. He found himself different in the ancient society stepped in superstition. The novel concerns Som's mad pursuit to possess Anuradha, but this mad pursuit lent metaphysical dimensions to it, as he encountered the mysteries of life, death, love and god. As Tapan Kumar Ghosh says:

> Som's obsession is one of love, a love that does not liberate him and sublimate his desires, as the love of Bilasia and Billy in ***The Strange Case of Billy Biswas***. It freezes him as he is ego centric and possessive. Som's hysterical and relentless pursuit of Anuradha is a tortuous affair that brings him face to face with the mistakes of life, death, love and god and constitutes what may be called the nucleus of the story. This complex affair in which the sensuous and the spiritual dimensions are interwoven inextricably, unfolds in an intriguing juxtaposition of locales (131-132).

For him everything was in a haze. He lost his attitudes and was affected with a sense of disturbance. He told Anuradha: "I am dislocated. Why am I here? Why do I come here? (TLL 97). These words of Som bear ample proof to his identity crisis. In ***The Last Labyrinth*** Arun Joshi explored Som Bhaskar's mind which was confused by the questions about life, existence and reality.

The opposing desires of intellect and intuition, doubt and faith, scepticism and blind submission pulled him in opposite directions with the result that he suffered from the crisis of consciousness. His every experience and relationship much to his depression, deepened his sense of insufficiency and he continued to walk through the maze of existence. The mysterious voices that he heard and the strange visions he saw which made him unhappy and restless. Sleeping pills, anaesthetic and hot baths failed to sooth his tortured mind and his cooked tensions. His psyche was affected deep down by his heredity. His mother's blind faith in Krishna and his father's doubtful and analytical outlook perplex him. The contradiction in the outlook and beliefs of his parents affects the synchronisation of balance of his personality.

In addition, he was attacked by the outcry of his inner voice. But he did not understand that it was the outcry of his inner voice to and mistakes it for one for worldly possessions. He, therefore, tried to reduce the disorder and disquiet of his consciousness through the pursuit of women and acquisition of business enterprises. He noted, "I had learnt another thing, one among the several cadenzas, simple and complex, with which I conducted my orchestras of discontent. I had learnt to corner companies." (TLL 9-10). Som was disillusioned with the contemporary society marked by images of "All those buses and cars and taxis and men scurrying like cockroaches. For what? (TLL 42). Even Benares which he visited repeatedly had become "diseased and bankrupt, wallowing in filth and humbug… a city of perversions" (TLL124) and these things symbolized the moral degeneration of society and seemed to make up of benighted creatures, strange murky shapes, drifting along aimlessly. His search for meaning in life turns out to be an exercise in futility when regarded himself as a bird flapping its easy wings, "not able, for all the striving to chart a course" (TLL 49). In fact, he found existence to be void, which worried him: "it is the voids of the word, more than its objects that bother me. The voids and empty spaces, within and without" (TLL 42). He became acutely aware of it when his mother died. As he recalled,

> You have to have a little 'incident' or get a telephone at midnight about so and so popping if fir catch your wife with another man or be told you have cancer to see the voids within. It was the voids and not the guava groves that I had walked through that morning my mother died; and voids too in her room in Bombay; and voids each time an affair ended; and the morning my daughter was born, and on and on. Voids all. (TLL 43).

This sense of unhappiness leads him to a sense of emptiness within and without. The first time he had his feeling of 'void' was when he visited the caves of Ajanta at 18, he deceived no emotions at the news of his mother's death. Even on the Manikarnika Ghats at Benares, the sight of funeral pyres, the smell of burning flesh and the sound of bursting bones gave him the same sense of emptiness. He didn't know the cause of this void and spends sleepless nights.

Sam Bhaskar was twenty-two, he felt superior, more in control. No totally in control and as he recalled, "I had the conceit of youth. Because I slept ten hours, had more money than I knew of, had laid half a dozen women… I felt certain I shall never get the boot." (TLL 24). His father, a scientist, had come to doubt the efficacy of science, and its being able to solve the problem of causes,

while confirming his belief in science, since he wondered, "Couldn't there be a First Cause that would explain everything, where nature might lie behind the natures of all the reset?" (TLL 24). Som Bhaskar dismissed his father's daydreams as the prattle of a confused mind responded with a cynical smile to his father's gentle rebuke. "But, surely, you want to understand, Som". (TLL 24). His mother's death shattered his satisfaction and undermined his faith not only in Lord Krishna whose ardent follower his mother had been but also, in himself, since his mother had continued to believe till her death that Lord Krishna would save her refusing to take any medicine for cancer from which she has been suffering. He lost in the Labyrinth of his mind "going forwards, backwards and sideways" (TLL 48) in trying to overcome the anxiety over death which became all the more accentuated when he experienced a cardiac arrest. He asked,

> For instance, why this little 'incident'? True, my father had a bad heart, but why had I been touched so early? What was now to happen to my pursuit of fame? (TLL 41).

He tried in vain to get rid of the 'nagging fear or cold, cold death" (TLL66) through sex in the arms of a woman. When he happens to meet Anuradha, Aftab's mistress while trying to buy Aftab's shares, he found the need for a psychic language so as to communicate with her. He experienced what he had not experienced with any woman before:

> What do they know of Anuradha that I know, or of Gargi of Lal Haveli, that sepulchral, sensual den of Aftab's amidst the labyrinths of Benares? Even my dreams are not free of them. Strange murky shapes float through their tangled web. Animals and wheels of fire and brilliant suns blazing away in dark starless skies. I see myself grotesque, naked, my face distorted as if in a funny mirror. Anuradha, my poor Anuradha, walking shoeless across a burning desert. Gargi sitting in the middle of nowhere reading a book, throwing a cowrie shell, and saying to me: 'She is your Shakthi" (TLL21).

Som had a willpower to possess Anuradha, he shuttled between Bombay and Benares. She was beyond his comprehension. "She was like the ocean, one could never reach the bottom of her" (TLL 121). According psychological approach, in Som the Freudian id dominated ego and super ego. In the beginning, Anuradha was indifferent to Som's offer of love but his next visit to Benares, a slight change was occurred in Anuradha's behaviour and found Anuradha by his bedside at night in the Lal Haveli and she agreed to him. Som also realized that Anuradha was unavoidable to him and kept on visiting Lal Haveli for her sake and enjoyed "the nourishment of the shades thrown by her naked body under the chromatic shower" (TLL 111). Som rushed about in search of happiness and meaningfulness in life. His search for Anuradha made him a psychic wreck. According to Ramakrishna Rao, "Anuradha is a labyrinthine woman at once young and old, ancient and modern demoniac in her lust and divine in her love. She is every man's woman and no man's wife" (27). Internally and externally Som had been troubled for a long time by voids. He experienced the voids continually. The empty feeling did not leave him at peace with himself even for a minute. Every day he went to bed with the feeling of emptiness and wake up with the same feeling the next morning. He didn't know what and how to fill the emptiness with. He knew that there should be

something that can fill this vacuum. He found within himself: "Nothing but an empty roaring like the roar of the sea in conch" (TLL 105). He fought insomnia all night and sleepwalks throughout the night. He had tried to drown himself in drink and soothe his nerves with tranquilizers, but as soon as their effects were over, the disorder would return with a harsh ferociousness. He had many illegal affairs with innumerable women. But each of these affairs had ended in bitterness and frustration. It had been implied periodically that there was a bit of Meursault of the Outsider, and K of Trial in Som therefore he found his life absurd and can possibly have no solutions to his problem. All along his life, Som Bhaskar suffered from an inner crisis and Som's problems were to be examined in the context of the changed social and psychological realities in modern India. Lack of faith, Som did not do any good. He was suffering from tension, unhappiness, disturbance, hysteria, neurosis, some strange dreams and insomnia while others around him were happy even in sufferings and in the face of death. Som's suffering was on account of his fear of death. He admitted, "I was insecure… I was afraid of death. That made a little more sense. I was mortally afraid of death" (TLL 66). Som felt diffident and discontented and knew that "if discontent is my trademark, trust is Geeta's" (TLL 56).

In this way, the genetic traits and the social atmosphere made Som a split personality, split at many levels. In spite of his happy marriage with Geeta, a loving wife, Som had little fornications. To understand the cause, he consulted a psychiatrist. He suggested him a lot of things but the important thing he told Som was that his problems existed beyond and above the realm of psychology. He admitted open heartedly, "You know, Mr. Bhaskar, psychiatry doesn't allow certain approaches to problems like yours. The fact, however, remains that such problems existed much before the advent of psychiatry. Certain approaches were devised at that time" (TLL 66). Som was still puzzled. The psychiatrist convinced him to realize an entity beyond the realm of psychology and which may be a subject of religion. He told Som the truth:

> You can imagine this planet humming with souls, each wanting something. Of course, many might want the same thing. A soul might also imagine that his wants, desires are no doubt, is a big if. Until he meets this right soul there is no peace. When you meet the right soul then, of course, things might be peaceful, may even move on towards a higher goal… religions would not have been so successful if such a higher goal did not exist" (TLL 67)

The psychiatrist had revealed him a right track, but he was rational, and his mind was not ready to accept because "one has to find a proof of the existence of souls, though" (TLL 67). He had questioned still: "but what if nothing like a soul at all existed? What if nothing existed that could not be reasoned through as old Leela insisted? (TLL 68)

He was overwhelmed by a sense of void and of emptiness within him rusted by this overwhelming sense of disappointment, Som tried to settle his inner hunger by the possession of a business initiative and a beautiful woman named Anuradha. But nothing brought tranquillity and peace to his mind. He shared his problem with his friend and physician Dr. K, "You know, for many

years now, I have had this awful feeling that I wanted something. But the sad thing was it didn't make the slightest difference when I managed to get what I had wanted. My hunger was just as bad as ever" (TLL 174).

Som Bhaskar appeared to hear only the language of sex and in each of the women he pursued to find a different quality to meet a different need. In his wife, Geeta, he found a trust that is reasoning, and in Leela Sabnis, a philosophy professor, a fusion of his urge for freedom and his father's scientific quest for the first cause in everything. Leela with her analytical mind tried to reason with him and made him faced up to the reality.

> If man can go to the moon, surely, he can make a dent on understanding himself, he can at least make a dent. What can you do with mysticism? Take it or leave it. What good is doctrine that says: take me or leave me, do not analyse me. It is Descartes that you need to understand, Som Bhaskar (TLL 71).

The reaction of Som was that he had enjoyed her talk, worshipped in it, her talk mostly of him. Leela's prescription did not seem to help him as it implied the separation of the world of matter from that of the spirit. Som needs were, "something, somebody, somewhere in which the two worlds combined" (TLL 74). It was the clamorous voice within, "I want. I want" which seemed to have led him to Lal Haveli and its labyrinths which symbolised "the microcosmic labyrinth of life and reality". As Aftab told him, "There are rooms, corridors that only bring you back to where you started" (TLL32). Since the Haveli was built by his ancestors to puzzle their enemies. Dante's work ***Divine Comedy*.** But unlike Beatrice in Dante's work, Anuradha could only save him from phantasizing his self, instead of clarifying it for him. Anuradha told him, "You are not as clever as you think. You are wrong about many things. You are even wrong about yourself. You think you know a lot, when, in fact, you don't" (TLL 55). Significantly, Anuradha suffered as no other human being would have -- illegitimate child, insane mother, home, molested as a child. Witness to murder. Suicides, every conceivable evil in the world" (TLL 175). But she was pure like the high flame in the temple which burnt to ashes what was not pure. Its light gave gloom of Lal Haveli, filled with love. Once she said about her relationship with Aftab, "it is better not to be anybody's wife… you cannot marry everyone you love. So why marry anyone at all?" (TLL 39). In spite of his unhappy life, she was an ardent devotee of Lord Krishna and instead of running away from the corrupt world. She had chosen to remain and wage an unceasing battle against the forces of dehumanization, materialism and male egotism. At last, the light of Moksha emerged upon Som as if the whole universe had come out of void. Som believed that the only way to solve this problem was by obtaining information and struggles hard to come to terms with life and find out its meaning with the help of knowledge. But this only added to his confusion. A sense of void and the experience of feeling fragmented were fairly natural sensations for the present day generation. In spite of the unbelievable development made in the field of technology, we remained in a barbaric age, fighting confusion, void and problems of the self. Most of the characters in this novel especially Aftab, Anuradha and Som were anxious strugglers. Joshi made a hopeless attempt in the novel to lead Som in the path of self-realization with the help of the other characters.

Som Bhaskar's passion to possess her was strengthened by her denial to produce to him. She told to him, "you don't know what is wrong and you don't know what you want" (TLL 97). Som was unsatisfied by his failure to overcome Anuradha, he went to Europe with his wife Geeta hoping to get rid of his obsession with

> Benares, Aftab, Anuradha, their Haveli – all were bores, frogs stuck in their marshy wells. What I wanted, I decided, was to go abroad, get the hell away from this land of obsession (TLL 103).

"She was not self-conscious about her body of whose grace and sensuousness she seemed unaware" (TLL 36). The succeeding pages of the novel, mainly the first part, unfold Som's unconquerable hunger for sex. He was blinded by passion and he was to possess her again and again. Although Som had gone to deal with Aftab's company. Anuradha exercised such an overwhelming fascination over him that he ignored his business, his family and his health in an effort to win her. Though a typical product of denial and suffering. Anuradha had a perception of life, whereas, Som was devoid of it. She had deep faith in God and Som accepted that she was a woman:

> Gifted with a special vision, a vantage point high above the earth, from where she could see the melee below as ordinary men could not. And it was as though the vision always left her sadder, taking away from her the hope and the laughter with which she had been born. (TLL 52).

The relationship between Som and Anuradha was one of the most complex relationships in the novel. She became so much attached to him that he can't live without her. Though he returned to Bombay, he repeatedly went to Benares to meet her. Lal Haveli attracted him in some mysterious ways. Anuradha became a labyrinth itself and Som expected a transparency from her. Som Bhaskar, however was unable to forget Anuradha and his mounting passion for her made him important, making Geeta miserable. He cut short his holiday and rushed back to India.

An individual looked for an identity neither in possession nor in some group do activity because when an individual lost the accuracy given by his tradition. Som Bhaskar searched his identity in possession and he had an inordinate desire to possess Anuradha, Aftab's mistress and to acquire his business. His justifications were highly interesting. He wanted Aftab's business because the latter cannot run it well. He told Anuradha: "Not everybody has the brains to run a business, you know. (TLL 11). He wanted Anuradha because what he wanted was "something, somebody, and somewhere in which the two worlds combined" (TLL 74). Here Som mentioned the world of the spirit and the world of the matter. His problems originated out of the conflicting claims of his psyche, consciously he wanted to remain a westernized Indian, deep in materialism, but his hidden mind dragged him to the esoteric charms of his traditional culture. Robert Ross, an American critic scholar in his paper 'The Clash of Opposites' in Arun Joshi's *The Last Labyrinth*' finds the genesis of Som's troubles in his traditional bent of mind and western education. (25)

Arun Joshi's stated aim was to go outside psychology to the theoretical roots of human identity in consonance with the Indian custom of viewing psychology as an essential part of philosophy. His curious clinking up of this approach with Jung's definition of neurosis as the suffering of the soul had not yet discovered its meaning. Keith May's views on 'self' best illustrated this point. According to Keith, Reaching the self does not bring the end of trouble and sorrow but it does bring a considerable lessening of suffering and a total absence of obsession. It brings also a sense of empathy with the world at large so that by an outward irony the more a man becomes himself, the more he realizes his identity with the rest of nature.

Som's fascination with Anuradha was one of love, a love that did not liberate him and sublimate desires as the love of Bilasia did Billy in ***The Strange Case of Billy Biswas*.** It interrupted him as a self-centred and selfish. Som's agitated and harsh chase of Anuradha was a twisting affair that brings him face to face with the mysteries of life, death and God constitutes what may be called the nuclear of the story. Anuradha was a mysterious and Som had a thought that she would be the answer for his perplexing questions. Som shuttled between Bombay and Benares with a determination to possess her. Anuradha gave love and consideration on Som and unbelievably saved him from certain death of a heart attack.

Som's days were fulfilled only with his meeting with Anuradha. It was indecisive efforts to him to forget her and to remove her out of his life. He tried to shake her off as a dream, but he became conscious of the uselessness of his search and obsession for her. The more he was obsessed with Anuradha, the more acute sense of loneliness stricken his mind. Som's mothers had firm faith in God, Som was an agnostic. He had seen his mother dying inch by inch of cancer and Krishna. In a violent reaction to his mother's room. Thus, once and all, he rejected God and faith. Literary critics of various shades had offered their explanations of Som's quest. Rajeshwar Mittapillai , in his article "Orchestra of Discontent: Som's Quest in *The Last Labyrinth*" quoted Sanjay Narasimhaiah's words which diagnosed the major temptation of Som to his succumbing to "a deep rooted desire to know everything in life, ranging from the interest of his business shares to the outcome of man's belief in God and adds that his tragedy was that anything that cannot be known or logically conceived did not exist for him. And hence, his mental unrest" (133).

Gargi gave Som the much required-controlling shares of Aftab's company, made him to realize the meaninglessness of worldly pleasures. This search for the higher values of life involves many exploratory into the troubled labyrinth of the psyche. Unaware of the nature of his needs he wanted after Aftab's shares. The spiritual influence of Gargi was like comfort to his wounded soul but he refused to accept her spiritual guidance. Som's problem was the predicament of the modern man. Born out of the diverse cultural influences his problems disturbed him. He found himself examining through the labyrinth of life and death. He went to Europe with his wife Geeta because of the unfulfilled failure to win Anuradha and to get rid of his obsessions with Benares, Aftab and Haveli. Som could not forget Anuradha and his mounting passion for her made him impotent. Anuradha was not just a physical entity. Aftab began to cry and offered good night to Som. Later on, Som met Anuradha and forced her to go with him because anything could happen to her. Anuradha also

desired Som to go out from their life. Next day Som reached the Haveli and Aftab informed him that Anuradha had not returned from the temple where she had gone last night to celebrate *janmashatami*. Police failed to trace her. He received a letter from Aftab cursing Som that he had betrayed him like a backstabber. This traumatised Som through and through. The question of life and death kept on tormenting and he was once again left alone in the labyrinth of the inscrutable world "like an ant threading through a maze, knocking about, against one wall, then another (TLL 47)". He was defeated from his life. He could neither bang the unknown of Anuradha nor resolve his existential problem about God and death. He still stumbled in torture and failed to redirect any form of his desire extending from animalistic to the spiritual.

The western world of science and rationalism, the Indian world of faith and transcendentalism contribute to his already confused mind. He was completely alienated from his self and fumbled about in his search for identity. His mind was like a labyrinth where there were mazes. At length, he realised the futility of his running after wealth. Anuradha's disappearance left him psychologically and emotionally distressed. In utter anxiety he cried out and this marked the shift from hopelessness to helplessness. In his enormous sadness, he remembered God and made an intense passionate appeal to Anuradha to pray for him:

> Anuradha, listen. Listen to me wherever you are. Is there a God where you are? Have you met Him? Does He have a face? Does He speak? Does He heat? Does He understand the language that we speak? Anuradha, if there is a God and if you have meet Him and if He is willing to listen, then Anuradha, my soul, tell Him, tell this God, to have mercy upon me. Tell him I am weary. Of so many fears; so much doubting. Of this dark earth and these empty heavens. Please for me, Anuradha. He will listen to you. (TLL 205)

And towards the end when his urge to get Anuradha tumbled short of his own knowing her that she personified possibly a Jungian anima in her, he was still trapped in the conflict with which he began and he wanted to hold on to it, perhaps afraid of leave his prayers of ' I want I want'.

The novel, according to K.R. Srinivasa Iyengar in ***Indian Writing in English***, was a delineation of the pestilent-stricken modern world where people had lost their sense of identity. It was "a paradigm of the contemporary diseased world where discontents grow their own pestilential vapours, and self-doomed humanity – lacking faith, lacking Grace – is tragically resigned to being suffocated by them in ***The Last Labyrinth*** (243).

When the novel ended, Som, amidst his faith and doubt, having and possessing, made a suicidal attempt but Geeta saved him and shook him "gently as though rousing a man from sleep (TLL 206). The novel ended with leaving Som with his wife Geeta. The novel turned into a spiritual autobiography of a soul lost into the labyrinth of the world seeking the way to exit. In its artificial vision of Indian philosophy, this work summed up Arun Joshi's existential views with more intensity and from a viewpoint of changing pattern of individual relationships and experiences. Views relating to opposing forces, namely, faith and doubt, science and religion, illusion and reality,

god and death, etc., are presented in the novel. The above stated elements were joined together in order to analyse the difficulties of human being. The protagonist's personal name itself incorporates the opposite qualities of Moon (Som) and the Sun (Bhaskar). Accordingly, the warp and woof of the novel was woven out of the challenge of various opposing forces that we found in its protagonist.

Bhaskar's search in life was to find out why he should believe in the mystic concepts of Indian tradition. His search did not lead him to any positive conclusion. His father had voiced his doubts about the 'First Cause' in his son's presence. The father's intention was to discover the connection between cause and effect. The division became deceptive when Som's confusion was analysed in harmony with his psychological inheritance that his lineage had given him. He was a man of double inheritance. His father was a pleasure-seeking, fond of women and drinker and his father was a scientist and had excavated more deeply into truths that lie at the heart of the universe. Som had inborn the traits of both, the womanizing and material pursuits of his grandfather and the scientific temperament of his father to seek for the first cause from "Whence and how arose the universe" (TLL 142). Although his father taught him out of his experiences that "science could not solve the problem of the causes", it was this lack of stability in the developmental stage at home that had led to such an anxiety in life. The traditional views were learnt by an ordinary Indian as a child and he realised – their significance as he grew up in life. This advantage was denied to the children of wealthy Indian families in Joshi's novels. In the name of freedom and modernity the child had been forced to look after for himself where important issues like religious beliefs were concerned. He felt the insecurity of one in a rudderless boat right from childhood. No amount of material property can give the child the secure sense of identity he felt with his own people.

The analysis of the above story made clear that Arun Joshi sought Indian philosophy to render a way to affirmation for existential problem of his protagonist. The central pursuit was the hunger of the body and the hunger of the soul and these two pursuits had been yoked together in the novel.

Anuradha was supposed to conquer Som to bring about a change in him. In other words, she refused to meet Som anymore- and disappeared under mysterious circumstances. She was a sharp contrast to Som who was broken in parts that remained irresolvable. He even doubted the great sacrifice Anuradha made for his cure and survival. The quest for truth and also for integrated identity remained an unachieved torment. Tapan Kumar Ghosh remarks: "***The Last Labyrinth*** is a deep psychological exploration of a lost soul" (145). Ironically enough, Som's quest for identity remained questionable. Som Bhaskar represented the contemporary western educated rich middle-class who was excitedly searching for his roots.

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Siraji: A Phonological Description

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Abstract

The present paper takes up the Phonological description of Siraji with focus on the segmental part including consonants, vowels, diphthongs, syllables, including their distribution and arrangement in the language.

Keywords: Siraji, Consonants, Consonant cluster, Syllable, and Vowels, Diphthongs, Gemination

1. INTRODUCTION

Siraji is the language that is primarily spoken in the mountainous area called Siraj situated in the Chenab valley, of Jammu and Kashmir and falls partly in district Ramban and partly in district Doda. Siraji has been classified as a dialect of Kashmiri (Grierson 1919). In the 2011 census, Siraji has been reported to be spoken by around 125,000 speakers. The word 'Siraj' means 'The Kingdom of Shiva' and hence any 'wild mountainous country' and the speech variety became Siraji. Grierson (1919) regarded Siraji as a mixed language because it contains borrowings from other languages with which it is in contact like Bhaderwahi, Kishtwari, Poguli and Rambani**.** It doesn't have any script of its own and uses Arabic or Devnagri script. In this backdrop the present paper aims to provide a description of Siraji Phonology, wherein a detailed account of Siraji sounds would be given. The linguistic repertoire of Siraji speaker comprises of Siraji, Kashmiri, Urdu and English.

2. METHODOLOGY

The data used for the study was collected from the Siraji speakers settled in Neera Village of Ramban district of Jammu and Kashmir state. The data was collected in the months of January and February 2016. An extensive questionnaire consisting of words and sentences was prepared to elicit the data. The data was collected by using a highly sophisticated voice recorder. The collected data was later transcribed and subjected to analysis.

3. ANALYSIS

As already mentioned, the present paper focuses on the aspects of segmental phonology of Siraji.

3.1 SEGMENTALS

The segmental inventory of Siraji is observed to include 31 Consonants and 13 vowel sounds which are discussed below.

3.1.1 CONSONANTS

Based on the analysis of the distribution of consonantal segments, Table 1 represents the consonant sounds of Siraji on the basis of their place of articulation, manner of articulation and states of glottis.

Manner of Articulation	**Place of Articulation**								
		Bilabial	**Labio-dental**	**Dental**	**Alveolar**	**Retroflex**	**Palatal**	**velar**	**Glottal Stops**
Stops	vl.unasp	p			t	ʈ		k	
	vl.asp	pʰ			tʰ	ʈʰ		kʰ	
	vd.unsap	b			d	ɖ		ɡ	
	vd.asp	bʰ			dʰ			ɡʰ	
Affricates	vl.unas						ʧ		
	vl.asp						ʧʰ		
	vd.unas						ʤ ʣʤ		
	vd.asp								
Nasal		m			n			ŋ	

Trill					r	ɽ			
Lateral					l				
Fricative	vl		f		s		ʃ		h
	vd				z				
Semivowel			v				j		

TABLE 1: CONSONANT SYSTEM OF SIRAJI

Table 2 shows the distribution of consonants at initial, medial, and final positions of words, wherever possible.

Consonant	**Initially**	**Medially**	**Finally**
p	purnmaːʃiː 'full moon' pathar 'stone' paːniː 'water'	khoːpɽiː 'skull' sãpɨ 'snake' paːpaɽ 'papad'	taːp 'heat'
/p/ phoneme is found at all three positions of a word.			
pʰ	pʰul ɡoːbiː 'cauli flower' pʰeːrjeː vaːlaː 'hawker' pʰaːɽnaː 'to break'	bapʰaː 'scab'	……
/pʰ/ phoneme is not found at final position of a word.			
b	bũʧaːl 'earthquake' baːɽ 'flood' bula baːsaː 'valley'	kumbaː 'family' eːkkaː ʈabar 'relatives' kobuːtar 'pigeon'	ʤ iːb 'tongue' peʃaːb 'urine' ʤ ilaːb 'diarrhoea'
/b/ phoneme is found at all three positions of a word.			
bʰ	bʰãːʤ aː 'sister's son' bʰeʤ inaː 'to send' bʰãːʤ iː 'sister's daughter'	baːbʰiː 'brother's wife' bidaːn sabʰaː 'assembly' əbʰineːj 'acting'	……..
/bʰ/ phoneme is not found at final position of a word.			
t	taːp 'heat'	reːgistaːn 'desert'	reːt 'sand'

	təla:b ’pond’ təvi: ’river’	kudrəti: ’nature’ darti: ’world’	se:ht ’health’ ʧa:t ’ring’
/t/ phoneme is found at all three position of a word.			
tʰ	tʰukɨ ’saliva’ tʰa:li: ’plate’ tʰam ’pillar’	patʰar ’rock’ ha:tʰi: ’elephant’ mətʰa: ’forehead’	……..
/tʰ/ phoneme is not found at all final position of a word.			
ʈ	ʈanʈana: ’mithun’ ʈu:ŋge: ’hip’ ʈeʈi: ’stool’	miʈʈi: ’clay’ giʈi: ’pebble’ bo:ʈi: ’wife’	ko:ʈ ’coat’ ʈikaʈ ’ticket’ ra:ʤ e: na mukaʈ ’crown
/ʈ/ phoneme is found at all three positions of a word.			
ʈʰ	ʈʰãɖɨ ’cold’ ʈʰuʈi: ’chin’ ʈʰo:ɖɨ ’lip’	ko:ʈʰa: ’ceiling’ paʈʰa: ’brinjal’ mulaʈʰi: ’liquorice’	ʤ e:ʈʰ ’husband’s elder brother’ ũ:ʈʰ ’camel’ pe:ʈʰ̚ ’stomach
/ʈʰ/ phoneme is found at all three positions of a word.			
d	darti: ’world’ do:tra: ’daughter’s son’ da:di: ’father’s mother’	kudrəti: ’nature’ badal ’cloud’ kho:da: ’eunuch’ da:di: ’father’s mother’	dã:d ’bull’ amru:d ’guava’ kuma:d ’sugarcane’
/d/ phoneme is found at all the three positions of a word.			
dʰ	dʰu:l ’dust’ dʰuvã: ’smoke’	vidʰva: ’widow’ judʰɨ ’war’ adʰa: ’half’	sansadʰ ’parliament’ aʃirva:dʰ ’blessing’
/dʰ/ phoneme is found at all three position of a word.			
ɖ	ɖa:l ’slope’ ɖaɖu ’toad’ ɖəka:r ’belch’	ʈʰãɖɨ ’cold’ munɖa: ’boy’ rənɖi: ’prostitute’	ɖe:ɖ ’one and a half’
/ɖ/ phoneme is found at all the three positions of a word.			
k	kudrəti: ’nature’ kohra: ’fog’ kũva:ra: ’bachelor’	ʧikaʈ ’mud’ ləkʈi: ’wood’ gaʈkəna: ’thunder’	saʈak ’road’ batak ’duck’ kʰurk ’itch’
/k/ phoneme is found at all three positions of a word.			
kʰ	kʰo:da: ’eunuch’ kʰo:ta: ’donkey’ kʰu:n ’blood’	məkʰi: ’fly’ kʰa:kʰã: ’cheek’ ãkʰɨ ’eye’	ʤ õ:kʰ ’leech’ pa:kʰ ’pus’ mulakʰ ’country’

		dukʰna: ’ache’	
/kʰ/ phoneme is found at all three positions of a word.			
g	gufa: ’cave’ giʈi: ’pebble’ greh ’planet’	re:gista:n ’desert’ agɨ ’fire’ ʧamgidaʈ ’bat’	pi:lja: ro:g ’jaundice’ ba:g ’garden’ as lo:g ’we’
/g/ phoneme is found at all three positions of a word.			
gʰ	gʰusal kha:na: ’bath room’ gʰe:ra: ’fence’	siŋgʰɨ ’horn’	……..
/gʰ/ is not found at final position of a word.			
m	miʈʈi: ’clay’ mo:sam ’weather’ mã: ’mother’	ʤəmi:n ’ground’ purnma:ʃi: ’full moon’ asma:n ’sky’	bu:ʧam ’earth quake’ mo:sam ’weather’ malham ’ointment’
/m/ phoneme is found at all three positions of a word.			
n	ane:ra: ’darkness’ ne:ri: ’storm’ nu: ’bride’	pa:ni: ’water’ munɖa: ’boy’ ʤ ana:ni: ’female’	re:gista:n ’desert’ ʤəmi:n ’ground’ asma:n ’sky’
/n/ phoneme is found at all three positions of a word.			
ŋ	…….	ʤ aŋgal ’forest’ paŋgɨ ’feather’ aŋgli: ’finger’	lo:ŋ ’clove’
/ŋ/ phoneme is not found at initial position of a word.			
r	re:gista:n ’desert’ re:t ’sand’ rənɖi: ’prostitute’	ane:ra: ’darkness’ kudrəti: ’nature’ baraf ’ice’	pathar ’stone’ ʤ uva:r ’high tide’ lehar ’wave’
/r/ phoneme is found at all three positions of a word.			
ɽ	……..	a:ɽe: ’ember’ gaɽkəna: ’thunder’ saɽak ’road’	ba:ɽ ’flood’ ʧikaɽ ’mud’ gi:daɽ ’jackal’
/ɽ/ phoneme is found only at medial position of a word.			
l	lƏkɽi: ’wood’ lehar ’wave’ lo:mɖi: ’fox’	təla:b ’pond’ pi:li: ’ant’ ba:lu: ’bear’	bũʧa:l ’earth quake’ ʤ i:l ’lake’ ɖa:l ’slope’
/l/ phoneme phoneme is found at all three positions of a word.			

f	fakɨ ’husk’ fu:ɽi: ’mat’ fo:ʈu: ’picture’	gufa: ’cave’ fe:fɽa: ’lung’ ka:fi: ’coffee’	baraf ’ice’
/f/ phoneme phoneme is found at all three positions of a word.			
v	vidʰva: ’widow’ vəki:l ’advocate’ vja:m ’exercise’	ʤ uva:r ’high tide’ təvi: ’river’ hava: ’air’	nov ’nine’
/v/ phoneme phoneme is found at all three positions of a word.			
s	saɽak ’road’ səʤ i: ’ash’ su:raʤ ’sun’	re:gista:n ’desert’ mo:sam ’weather’ asma:n ’sky’	sasɨ ’mother in law’ o:s ’dew’ ma:s ’flesh’
/s/ phoneme is found at all three positions of a word.			
ʃ	ʃe:r ’lion’ ʃiri:r ’body’ ʃehad ’honey’	purnma:ʃi: ’full moon’ peʃa:b ’urine’ ʃi:ʃa: ’mirror’	ba:riʃ ’rain’ khuʃ ’happiness’ danuʃ ’bow’
/ʃ/ phoneme is found at all three positions of a word.			
z	…….	be:zti: ’insult’	taraz ’mercy’ hava:ji: ʤ ahaz ’aeroplane’
/z/ phoneme is not found at initial position of a word.			
ʤ	ʤaŋgal ’forest’ ʤi:l ’lake’ ʤuva:r ’low tide’	səʤ i: ’ash’ bəti:ʤ i: ’brother’s daughter’ ʧũʤ ɨ ’beak’	su:raʤ ’sun’ mara:ʤ ’bridegroom’ məri:ʤ ’patient’
/ʤ/ phoneme is found at all three positions of a word.			
ʧ	ʧikaɽ ’mud ʧa:nɨ ’moon’ ʧuva: ’mouse’	bũʧa:l ’earthquake baʧpan ’childʰood biʧu: ’scorpio’	ka:li: marʧ ’black pepper’ na:ʧ ’dance’ ba:d viʧ ’after’
/ʧ/ phoneme is found at all the three positions of a word.			
ʧʰ	ʧʰã: ’shade’ ʧʰa:ti ’chest’ ʧʰa:la: ’boil’	pənʧʰi: ’bird’ maʧʰɨ ’crocodile’ məʧʰi: ’fish’	pũ:ʧʰ ’tail’
/ʧʰ/ phoneme is found at all three positions of a word.			

h	har eːk ɡal ’echo’ hava: ’air’ hiran ’deer’	lehar ’wave’ kohra: ’fog’ məhmaːn ’guests’	ɡreh ’planet’ bijah ’marriage’ mũːh ’face’
/h/ phoneme is found at all three positions of a word.			
j	judʰɨ ’war’ jaːd karna: ’to remember’ ʤ aːgiː jeːna: ’to wake up’ jaː ’or	pijo: ’father’ taːjaː ’father’s brother’ bijah ’marriage’	……
/j/ phoneme is not found at final position of a word.			

TABLE 2: INITIAL, MEDIAL AND FINAL POSITIONS OF CONSONANTS OF SIRAJI

3.1.2 VOWELS

On the basis of the analysis of data Siraji has 13 vowels which are arranged in the Table 3

	Front	**Mid**	**Back**
High	/i/ /iː/	/ɨ/	/u/ /uː/
Mid	/e/ /eː/	/ə/	/o/ /oː/
Mid Low	/ɛ/		
Low		/a/ /aː/	

TABLE 3: VOWEL SYSTEM OF SIRAJI

Table 4 shows the distribution of vowels of Siraji at initial, medial and final positions of words wherever possible.

Consonant	**Initially**	**Medially**	**Finally**
/i/	ilɨ ’vulture’ imliː ’tamarind’ imtihaːn ’examination’	miʈʈiː ’clay’ reːgistaːn ’desert’ ʧikaʈ ’mud’	…….

/iː/	ĩːɽi ’brick’	ʤ əmiːn ’ground’ kiːɽa: ’worm’ ʤ iːna: ’alive’	səʤ iː ’ash’ miʈʈi: ’clay’ kudrəti: ’nature’
/e/	ethẽ: ’its’	lehar ’wave’ greh ’planet’ deji: ʧʰoːɽna: ’to return	tre ’three’
/eː/	eːkka: ʈabar ’relatives’ eːnak ’spectacles’ eːkɨ ’one’	aneːra: ’darkness’ reːgistaːn ’desert’ reːt ’sand	aːɽeː ’ember’ ethẽ: ’its’ uthẽ: ’itself’
/ a/	aneːra: ’darkness’ agɨ ’fire’ anɖa: ’egg’	ʈʰãɖɨ ’cold’ ʤ aŋgal ’forest’ ʧikaɽ ’mud’	……
/aː/	aːɽeː ’ember’ aːluː ’potato’ aːriː ’saw’	reːgistaːn ’desert’ bũʧaːl ’earthquake’ baːɽ ’flood’	gufaː ’cave’ aneːraː ’darkness’ ʧʰãː ’shade’
/o/	…….	kohra: ’fog’ ɖobri: ’gourd’ lovhaːr ’black smith’	……
/oː/	oːs ’dew’ oː ’that’ oːr ’and’	moːsam ’weather’ khoːta: ’donkey’ loːmɖiː ’fox’	loː ’light’
/u/	ullu: ’owl’ ũːʈʰ ’camel’ uparle: ʈʰoɖɨ ’upper lip’	gufa: ’cave’ bũʧaːl ’earthquake’ kũvaːra: ’bachelor’	ɖaɖu ’toad’
/uː/	……..	dʰuːl ’dust’ suːraʤ ’sun’ suːr ’pig’	nuː ’bride’ baːluː ’bear’ ullu: ’owl’
/ə/	əbhineːj ’acting’ əlmuːnijam ’alluminium’ əbrak ’mica’	səʤ iː ’ash’ ʤ əmiːn ’ground’ kudrəti: ’nature’	……..
/ɨ/	……..	sɨpeːra: ’snake charmer’ sɨtaːrãː ’seventeen’	ʈʰãɖɨ ’cold’ agɨ ’fire’ sasɨ ’mother on law’

TABLE 4: INITIAL, MEDIAL AND FINAL POSITIONS OF VOWELS OF SIRAJI

3.2 DIPHTHONGS

A diphthong in phonetics is a gliding vowel in the articulation of which there is a continuous transition from one position to another. It refers to two adjacent vowel sounds

occurring within the same syllable. Siraji has two diphthongs which usually occur in word medial and final positions. Table 5 shows the diphthongs of Siraji.

Diphthong	Example	Gloss
Ai	baibi: hats ʤai	'brothers's wife' 'scene'
ua:	gua:l dua:r	'cowshed' 'door'

TABLE 5: DIPHTHONGS OF SIRAJI

3.3 CONSONANT CLUSTERS

Different types of consonant clusters are found in Siraji language. Combinations like stop + /r/ is found at the initial place. Different types of clusters involve combination of sibilant + stop, nasal + stop, lateral + stop, stop + stop, affricate + fricative. However, tri-consonant clusters are absent in Siraji language. Some examples are provided below.

br	bra:nda:	'verandah'
pr	pra:	'brother'
tr	triɖa:	'cockroach'
mb	bamb	'bomb'
vj	vja:m	'exercise'
ɖr	ɖra:ma:	'village show'
sʈ	sʈa:pu:	'hopscotch'
nt	ʃa:nt	'sober'
nd	nana:nd	'sister-in-law'
ht	bo:ht	'many'

3.4 SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

A syllable is typically made up of a syllable nucleus (most often a vowel) with optional initial and final margins (typically, consonants). Syllables are often considered the phonological "building blocks" of words. Syllables have internal structure: they can be divided into parts. The parts are onset and rhyme; within the rhyme we find the nucleus and coda. A syllable may or may not have an onset and a coda. In Siraji syllabification has been done as:

i. Monosyllabic
ii. Disyllabic, and
iii. Polysyllabic words

I. Monosyllabic

1. V e: ’this’
2. CV tu: ‘you’
3. VC o:r ‘and’
4. CVC kun ‘who’
5. VCV utʰẽ: ‘at’

II. Disyllabic

1. CV-CV ɡoɽa: ‘horse’
2. V-CV e:kɨ ‘one’
3. CV-CVC naram ‘soft’
4. CVC-CVC ho:ʃja:r ‘smart’
5. CVC-CV dʰi:ma: ‘week’

III. Polysyllabic

1. V-CV-CV ila:ka: ‘state’
2. VC-V-CV aʈʰa:rã: ‘eighteen’
3. CV-CVC-CV ɡilehri: ‘squirrel’
4. CV-CV-CV bata:li: ‘forty two’
5. CV-CV-CV-CV ʃikaka:ji: ‘shikakai’
6.

3.5 Gemination

Gemination is found in Siraji.Table 6 shows the common geminates found in Siraji.

Consonant Combination	Example	Gloss
/ʈʈ/	kʰaʈʈo:	‘sour’
/ll/	killa:	‘fort’
/tt/	patto:	‘behind’
/nn/	panna:	‘emerald’
/dd/	addo:	‘half’
/mm/	amma:	‘mother’
/kk/	makkəɖ	‘monkey’
/ʧʧ/	baʧʧɨ	‘baby’
/ss/	rassi:	‘rope’

TABLE 6: GEMINATES FOUND IN SIRAJI

4. CONCLUSION

The present paper presented the phonological description of Siraji with focus on segmental part of the phonological system including consonants, vowels and diphthongs. It is observed that the consonantal system is rich consisting of 31 consonants while as 13 vowels are

also present. Siraji possess double consonant clusters at the word initial, medial and final positions. The present work presents insights and findings which are helpful for further study.

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A Systematic Examination of Literature Review in Turn-Taking Behavior During Conversations in People Who Stutter Since 1985

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Abstract

Stuttering is a communication disorder which is characterized by intermittent and involuntary speech disruptions. It afflicts around 1% of the population. Reappraisal of scientific literature indicates that examination of turn-taking behaviors during conversations in those who stutter has emerged as an interesting area among the speech-language clinicians, and linguists. The objective of this paper is to conduct a systematic examination of the research works carried on turn-taking behaviors during conversations in the field of stuttering disorder since 1985. This was conducted using the PRISMA guidelines. PubMed, Google Scholar, and other bibliographical references were scrutinized for locating relevant research articles (or, items) on the topic under consideration. Keywords containing such as "*Turn-Taking*", AND/OR "*Conversation Analysis*" were entered in the search engine tabs. The PubMed database generated a total of 31 items. An additional list of 41 items was located using the Google Scholar, and other bibliographical sources. Out of these 72 items, only 22 of them were considered based on the inclusion and exclusion criteria of the current study. The search was conducted between 01/07/2019 to 20/08/2019. The selected research articles were, then, discussed according to the turn-taking behaviors (i.e. verbal, and nonverbal behaviors), and recruitment of target participants (i.e. Children Who Stutter-CWS, and Adults Who Stutter-AWS) followed up in those studies. To sum up, the significance of conducting systematic examination stemmed from the realization that a successful application of turn-taking mechanism during conversation allows an uninterrupted flow of meaningful information between a speaker, and a listener at regular intervals. However, in the case of those who stutter, any level of social interaction is difficult because of the interference of speech impediment while speaking with others. This restricts their participation in the interacting process. Systematic production of research work with adults is necessary to understand the cause of communication breakdown in natural settings among AWS.

Keywords: Stuttering Disorder, Turn-Taking Behavior, and Literature Review

1. Introduction

Stuttering is an intermittent, involuntary and a neurophysiological communication disorder which afflicts around 1% of the population (Ambrose & Yairi, 1999, p. 1097). Although, stuttering has been repeatedly defined from various perspectives, Sheehan (1958, p. 121-167) emphasized the significance of looking at the disorder both at the surface level and at a deeper level. According to him, only 20% of the overt stuttering features are produced and are visible to the listeners, while the rest of the stuttering symptomology, which accounts for 80 % of the covert features, remains invisible to the outside world. The overt features mainly consist of (a) speech-related symptoms such as part-word, single-syllable whole word repetition, audible prolongation, and silent blocks (Yairi & Seery, 2015, p. 11); and (b) presence of secondary behaviors or physical concomitants such as gaze aversion, facial grimacing, tongue protruding, eye blinking, and extraneous movement of limbs (Woolf, 1967; Zhang, Saltuklaroglu, Hough, & Kalinowski, 2009). The covert features, on the other hand, mainly encompass (a) psychophysiological changes in the body, such as changes in the heart and skin conductance rates (Bowers, Saltuklaroglu, & Kalinowski, 2012; Zhang, Kalinowski, Saltuklaroglu, & Hudock, 2010), and alternation in the neuronal activities (Yairi & Seery, 2015, p. 13); (b) development of strong negative emotional reactions associated with their own speech such as shame, self-consciousness, embarrassment (Ginsberg, 2000; Riper, 1982), guilt (Riper, 1982; Sheehan, 1970), entrapment, anger, humiliation, and resentment (Riper, 1982; Yairi & Seery, 2015); and (c) application of predictive cognitive strategies such as circumlocution, substitution, and/or avoidance of sounds, and words to overcome the stuttering events (Bloodstein, 1995; Kalinowski, 2006). While an extensive body of research has focused on the effect of stuttering disorder from the perspective of AWS themselves (Fiedler & Wepman, 1951; Ginsberg, 2000; Green, 1999; Hugh-Jones & Smith, 1999; Kalinowski, Lerman, & Watt, 1987), the manifestation and progression of the disorder have also been investigated from an outside perspective by looking at its effect on the external environment accompanying the AWS and the conversational partner (CP) during conversations (Freud, Moria, Ezrati-Vinacour, & Amir, 2016, p. 509). This observation is significant, since research studies in the past had provided substantial evidence in recognizing the debilitating impact stuttering has on the functional communication ability of those who stutter in various speaking situations (Banerjee, Casenhiser, Hedinger, Kittilstved, & Saltuklaroglu, 2017; Craig, Blumgart, & Tran, 2009; Crichton-Smith, 2002; Klein & Hood, 2004; Klompas & Ross, 2004; Yaruss & Quesal, 2006) such as classroom participation, initiating a conversation, answering telephone, adjustments to new environment (Yairi & Seery, 2015, p. 13), vocation, romance, marriage, family relationships, and friendships (Zhang et al., 2009, p. 20).

Face-to-face conversation is often conceived as one of the most intriguing, universal and distinctive ethological features of the human communication system (Bavelas, Hutchinson, Kenwood, & Matheson, 1997; Clark, 1996; Fillmore, 1981; Holler, Kendrick, Casillas, & Levinson, 2015; Levinson & Torreira, 2015; Linell, 2005; Stivers et al., 2009). During normal dyadic or multiparticipant interaction, an uninterrupted flow of information between a

speaker, and a listener is exchanged at appropriate intervals. This is largely operated by a whole set of structured and organized principles of conversational mechanism (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974) or, as suggested by Yngve (1970), and Goffman's personal communication on 5th June, 1970 (Duncan, 1972, pp. 283) independently in their research work, the "*Turn-Taking Mechanism*" (Duncan, 1972, pp. 283). Nevertheless, turn-taking is an underlying mechanism for any successful conversation between two conversational partners (CPs). The verbal communicative actions made by the interlocutors during conversations are systematically synchronized with the messages delivered in the discourse (Clark, 1996; Garrod, 1999). This is made possible primarily by mutual coordination of signals (Duncan, 1972; Wiemann & Knapp, 1975), and finding acoustic accommodation (Gregory Jr. & Hoyt, 1982, p. 35) between the interactants during conversation. However, the problem gets aggravated when a person with a communication disorder fails to exchange speaking turns with his or her CP during an interaction at appropriate intervals. In the case of people with stuttering disorder, any level of social interaction (irrespective of the dyad, triad or multiparticipant interaction) seems to be difficult because of the interference of their speech impediment during transmission of a message to the listener. This eventually restricts their participation in the interaction process. At the time of speaking, they often have to implement complex cognitive strategies such as avoidance of sounds and words, substitutions and circumlocutions to overcome the fear of communication breakdown, as demonstrated in (*figure 1*), and continue to be part of the interacting group. Those who fail to apply these strategies, within a stipulated time frame, may either prefer to withdraw and collect all the negative experiences from the conversational situation, irrespective of their level of interaction. Or, they decide to remain silent most of the times by not contributing their views in the group. In sum, their participation in future social engagements depends on choosing any of these two options.

To date, a plethora of research work has been dedicated to the understanding of different facets of turn-taking behaviors during successful conversation among normal fluent speaking population over the years (Bedrosian & Wanska, 1988; Donald, 2000; Dubois, Boutin, & Sankoff, 1996; Duncan, 1972; Garrod & Pickering, 2015; Hilbrink, Gattis, & Levinson, 2015; Hirvenkari, Ruusuvuori, Saarinen, Kivioja, & Parakyla, 2013; Levinson & Torreira, 2015; Magyari & de Ruiter, 2012; Martinez, 2018; Pour & Yazd, 2015; Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff, 2000; Sidnell, 2001; Wilson & Wilson, 2005). However, in the case of people with stuttering disorder, the examination of turn-taking behaviors has found to be an emerging field of interest among the speech-language clinicians, and linguists.

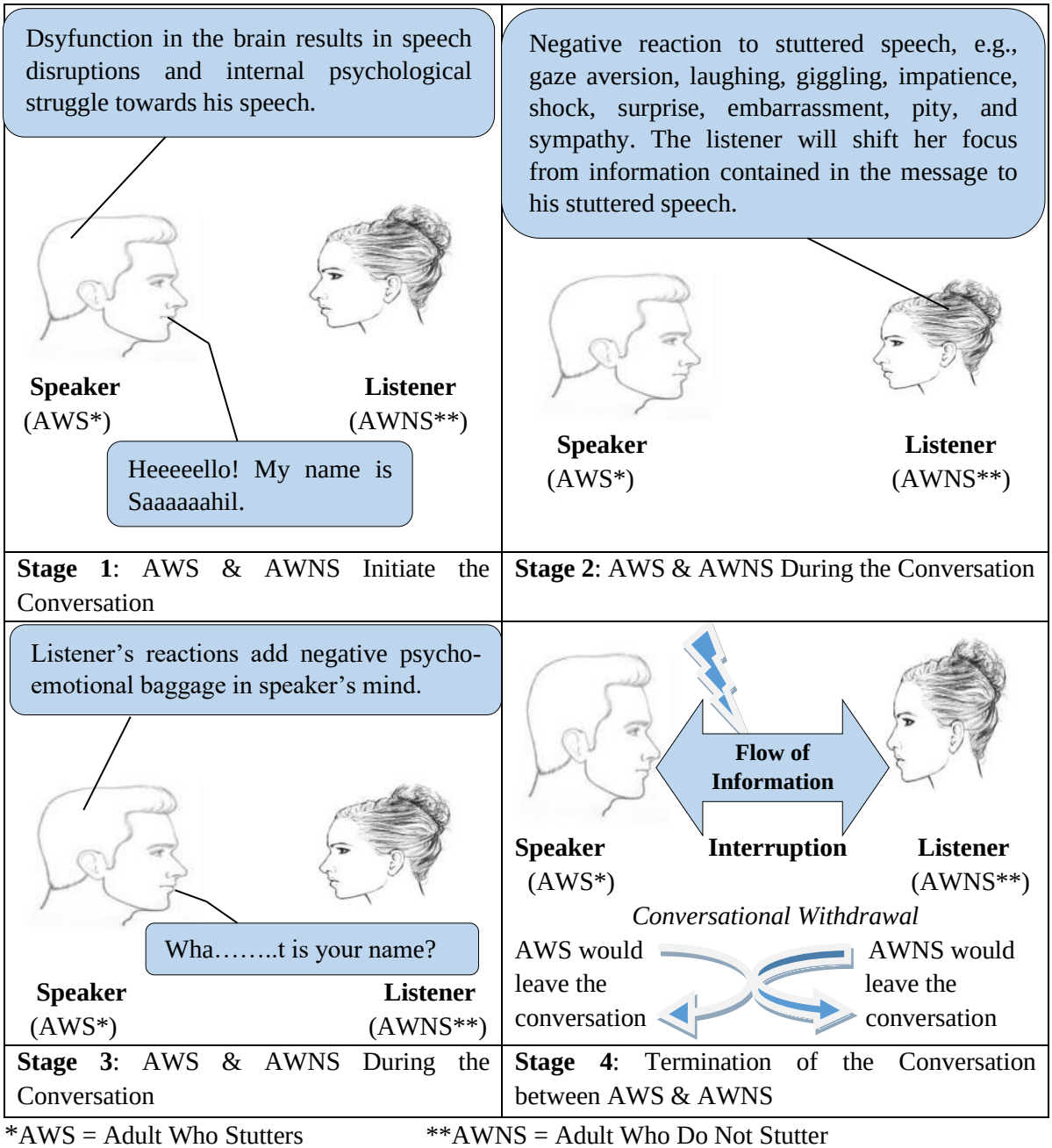

Figure 1: Stages of Communication Breakdown in Adults Who Stutter

Except three research studies involving adults with stuttering disorder (Freud et al., 2016; Lee, Van Dulm, Robb, & Ormond, 2015; Lee, Robb, Van Dulm, & Ormond, 2016), most of the studies in the field of stuttering disorder, to date, have significantly focussed either on examining the role of alternation in the communicative style, speaking rates and other verbal behaviors of parents when talking to CWS (Byrd, Coalson, & Bush, 2010; Byrd, Logan, & Gilliam, 2012; Dehqan, Bakhtiar, Panahi, & Ashayeri, 2008; Kelly, 1994; Kelly & Conture, 1992; Kloth, Janssen, Kraaimaat, & Brutten, 1994; Logan, 2003; LaSalle & Conture, 1995; Meyers & Freeman, 1985a, 1985b; Miles & Ratner, 2001; Millard, Nicholas, & Cook, 2008;

Millard, Edward, & Cook, 2009; Ryan, 2000; Sargent, Robb, & Zebrowski, 2006; Stephenson-Opsal & Ratner, 1988; Tetnowski, Damico, Bathel, & Franklin, 2004; Weiss & Zebrowski, 1992; Winslow & Guitar, 1994), or looking at the production of nonspeech behaviors in CWS during conversations (Conture & Kelly, 1991).

Therefore, the objective of this paper is to conduct a systematic examination of the research works carried on turn-taking behaviors during conversations among stuttering population since 1985. The paper is intended to serve as a resource material for the research scholars to identify the significant research articles published from this time-period in this area and utilize it according to the research questions and methodology to be addressed in their own scientific studies.

2. Research Methodology

2.1 *Protocol*: The systematic examination of scientific literature on turn-taking behaviors during conversations in stuttering population was conducted using the *Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses* (PRISMA) guidelines (Liberati, Altman, Tetzlaff, Mulrow, GØtzsche, Loannidis, Clarke, Devereaux, Kleijnen, & Moher, 2009).

2.2 *Source of Information*: PubMed, Google Scholar, and bibliographical references were scrutinized for finding the research articles on the topic under consideration.

2.3 *Search Guidelines*: Relevant research articles were identified using the PubMed database, and Google Scholar browser by entering keywords such as "*Turn-Taking*" AND/OR "*Conversation Analysis"* in the search engine tab. Bibliographical references were also searched for locating relevant research articles. The search of research articles was conducted between 01/07/2019 to 20/08/2019. Applying the PRISMA guidelines, all the research articles had to undergo the four stages of selection processes (refer, *Figure 2*). These were as follows:

(i) Identification Stage: The PubMed database generated 31 relevant research articles. An additional list of 41 research articles were located using the Google Scholar, and other bibliographical sources. A total of 72 research articles were identified at this stage.

(ii) Screening Stage: Out of 72 research articles, 46 of them were excluded from the study because they were either published before 1985, or full-text research articles were not available, or only abstracts, and conference papers were available online. Therefore, after screening, a total of 26 research articles were generated at this stage.

(iii) Eligibility Stage: Three review articles and one research article based on sharing of personal experiences of AWS with clinician in dyadic fashion were also removed from the

list, generating then a total of 22 research articles. Only those research articles (n[1] = 22) that investigated either turn-taking behaviors, including verbal and/or non-verbal behaviors, or other aspects of turn-taking behaviors with those who stutter were considered in the study. These full-text research articles (n = 22) were then moved to the last stage of the selection process, i.e. Inclusion stage.

(iv) Inclusion Stage: Each of the 23 research articles at this stage was supposed to meet the inclusion/exclusion criteria of the study. Only those available full-text research articles were considered which were (i) available in English language, (ii) easily accessible, (iii) recruited either children or adults who stutter as research participants, (iv) published since 1985, and (v) focussed on "developmental" instead of "acquired" aspect of stuttering disorder. Those articles which failed to meet the inclusion criteria were excluded from the study.

3. Results & Discussion

A total of 22 relevant research articles addressing turn-taking behaviors during conversations in those who stutter since 1985 are being reported in this literature review. The selected research articles were initially classified into verbal (n = 21 research articles) and nonverbal/nonspeech behaviors (n = 1 research article). Each of the two categories was then further classified based on the type of research participants (CWS, or AWS) recruited in those studies. This classification, therefore, resulted into 18 research articles in the category of verbal behavior studies with CWS, 3 research articles in the category of verbal behavior studies with AWS, & 1 research article in the category of nonverbal/nonspeech behavior study with CWS. Research studies, examining both verbal (CWS & AWS) and nonverbal behaviors (CWS), were further scrutinized at the level of measurements followed in understanding the nature of interpersonal engagements between individuals. This resulted in categorizing research articles under the category of verbal behaviors studies measuring (a) language complexities (n = 2) and turn-taking behaviors (n = 1) in AWS; (b) clinical (n = 2) and non-clinical studies (n = 16) in CWS; and (c) secondary behaviors (n = 1) in CWS. The clinical studies discussed in this literature review examined the effectiveness of the Parent-Child Interaction Therapy (PCIT), & the effect of speech modelling by mothers in contributing to childhood stuttering. The non-clinical studies, on the other hand, examined varieties of paralinguistic behaviors, such as *Communicative Styles*, *Speaking Rates*, etc., and turn-taking behaviors, such as *Interruptions*, *Response Time Latencies* (RTL), etc. in CWS (refer, *Figure 3*). Three summary tables (Table 1, Table 2, & Table 3) are collapsed at the end of the article, providing important details such as methodology, sample recruitment, task applied, and main findings regarding the verbal, & nonverbal studies are reported in the *Appendix*.

[1] 'n' denotes number of research articles.

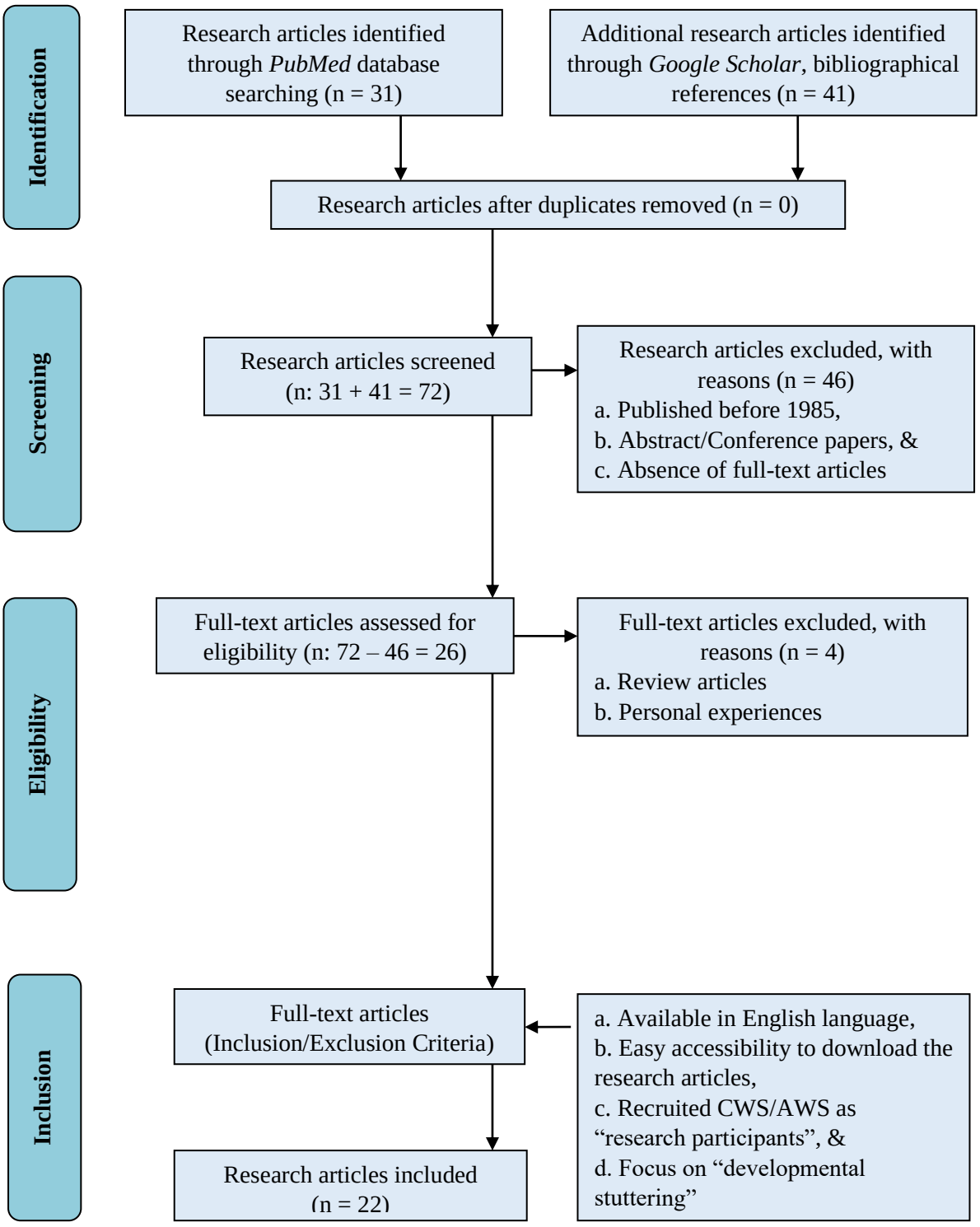

Figure 2: Flowchart Diagram of Systematic Selection of Research Articles

(**Adapted From**: Moher, D. Liberati, A., Tetzlaff, J., & Altman, D. G., The PRISMA Group. (2009). Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses: The PRISMA Statement. PLoS Med, 6(7): e1000097. doi:10.1371/journal.pmed.1000097)

(a) Verbal Behavior Studies with Adults Who Stutter (AWS): There is no ambiguity in accepting that stuttering affects the functional communication abilities in day-today activities of those who stutter. This has been substantiated by several empirical evidences exhibiting the debilitating impact of the disorder on the lives of AWS (Craig, Blumgart, & Tran, 2009; Klein & Hood, 2004). In 2015 & 2016, Lee and group conducted two research studies with AWS to explore the communicative behavior in AWS (Lee et al., 2015; Lee, et al., 2016). The research group was precisely interested in examining the type of language being used by AWS by measuring their language productivity, language complexity, modality and appraisal produced during speaking situations. In the first study, the group recruited 20 AWS & 20 AWNS (Adults Who Do Not Stutter) sex and age matched participants to collect language samples from them. The language sample was analysed using the Systematic Analysis of Language Transcripts-New Zealand (SALT-NZ). Each participant had one-to-one conversation with the clinician on a range of conversational topics. The group reported that AWS produced less language output when compared with AWNS. They further added that AWS produced simple utterances, fewer modal operators, and more comment adjuncts than AWNS. In the following year, the group performed a pre- and post-treatment study with the same group of participants to examine following language measures: productivity, complexity, transitivity, modality, and appraisal. The group reported of finding an increase in the production of language output, and complexity; employing more modal operators, and appraisals during conversations. They also emphasized the significance of developing functional tools to be employed in the clinical and research settings to better understand the nature of communication restrictions in AWS in daily activities.

While, the previous two studies discussed the linguistic features exhibited by AWS during various speaking situations, another group, Freud et al. (2016), examined three selected verbal turn-taking behaviors (i.e. *Interruptions*, *Sentence*/*Word Completions*, and *Reinforcers*) exhibited by CPs during their interaction with speakers, i.e. AWS and AWNS. The study demonstrated that the turn-taking behaviors of CPs were similar towards adults both with and without stuttering disorder. It only differed significantly, however, in terms of CPs, using more verbal turn-taking behaviors (i.e. Interruptions, & Reinforcers) towards stuttered speech of AWS, as compared to fluent speech. The researchers reiterated that noticeable change in usage of turn-taking behaviors was observed when CPs were confronted with stuttered speech, and not with the person having stuttering disorder (For more details about the study, refer *Appendix: Table 1*).

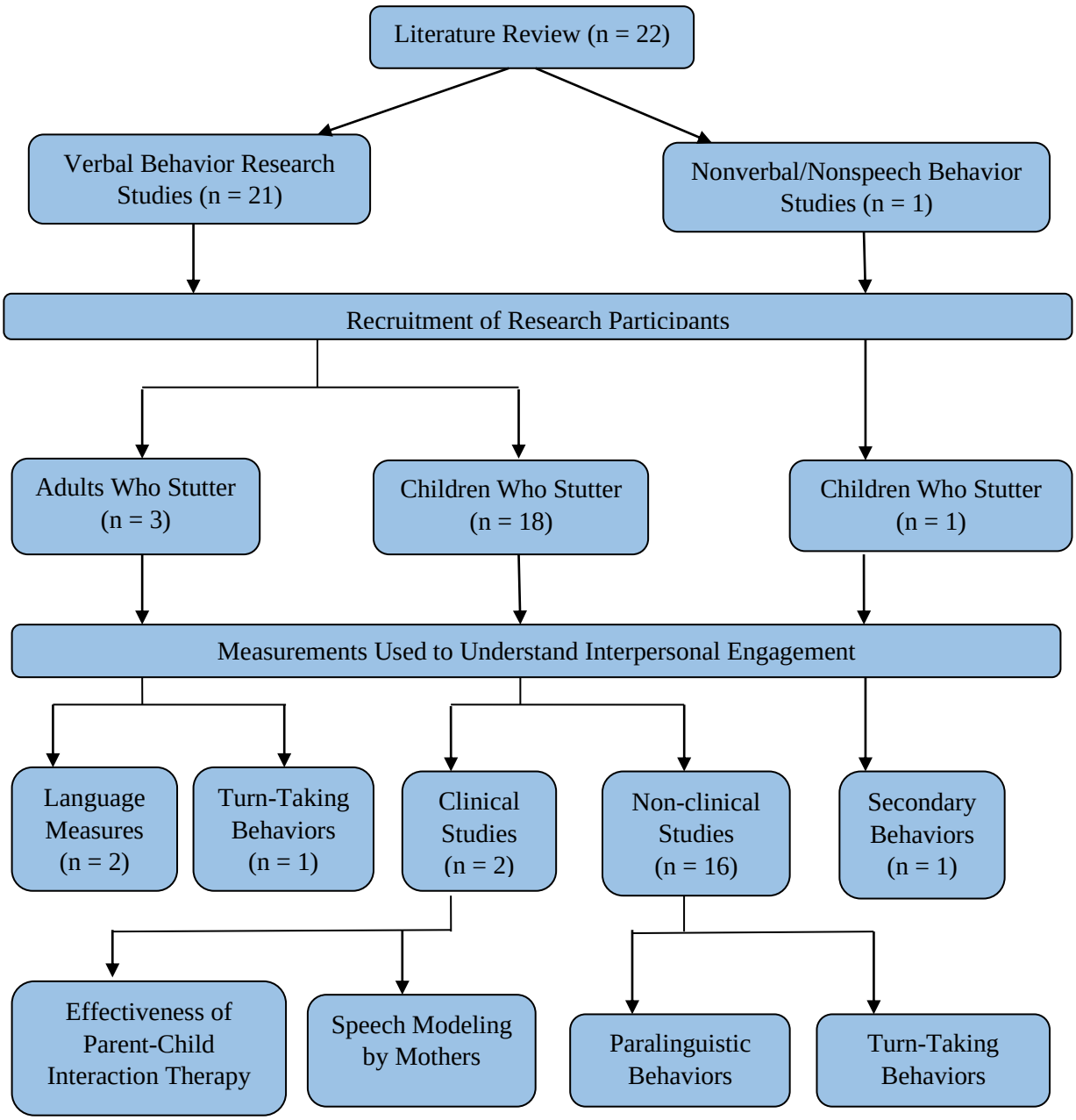

Figure 3: Flow Chart Diagram of Classification of Selected Research Articles

(b) Verbal Behavior Studies with Children Who Stutter (CWS): Research studies with respect to the examination of verbal communicative behavior in CWS have dominated this field for more than thirty years now. While the actual cause of the disorder is still unknown, the field has continued to offer various perspectives on understanding the elusive nature of this communication disorder. In this section of the literature review, the discussion has been subdivided into two parts, i.e. clinical studies, and non-clinical studies. The objective of this division is to understand the effectiveness of parent-child interaction in the domains of both outside and inside the clinic room.

Reappraisal of scientific literature shows that during the early stages of physical, emotional, and linguistic development, children tend to spend most of their times with caregiver or mother. Since, the onset of stuttering disorder (~ 2 years old) also coincides with the actual spurt of linguistic growth in young children (Bloodstein, 1995) that speech-language clinicians and researchers have consistently emphasized the significance of involving parents in the therapeutic sessions with children who stutter (Dehqan et al., 2008). For example, Stephenson-Opsal, & Ratner (1998) performed a pre-and post-instructional study with two mothers and their children with stuttering disorder to understand if the speaking rate of mothers have an effect on child's stuttering rates. The study collected conversational speech samples from the two dyads on five occasions. During the pre-instructional stage, the researchers asked the mothers to interact with their children normally. However, during the post-instructional stage, mothers were told to model their speech in such a way that they could produce slower speaking rates while talking to their children to reduce the stuttering behaviors. The findings of the study indicated that slower speaking rates of mothers resulted in the production of reduced stuttering rates in CWS. Another research study by Millard, Nicholas, & Cook (2008) was conducted with an aim to involve parents in the indirect therapeutic programs. The parent-child interaction therapy (PCIT) was designed to be conducted both at home and clinic. The study recruited six pre-schoolers who stuttered and their parents. The therapy provided substantial evidence in finding that four out of six children had significantly reduced stuttering with both parents after the therapy. The findings of the study underlined the significance of providing clinicians an option to consider this therapy as an indirect method of therapy especially for those children who are at the risk of developing persistent stuttering.

Non-clinical studies, on the other hand, have focused primarily on examining paralinguistic behaviors such as speaking rates, variously termed as *speech rates* or *communicative styles*, and articulatory rates; and turn-taking behaviors, such as interruptions, and response time latencies (RTL) in young children who stuttered while conversing with either of their parents in normal environment. Although, a wide range of research studies have been conducted since 1985 on understanding the mechanism of turns in young children who stutter, very little conclusive evidence has so far been produced. Of course, absence of consensus among the speech-language clinicians and researchers affects the efficacy of the therapy techniques. But it is also necessary to understand that the cause of the disorder is still not clear. For example, inconclusive evidence has been reported in explaining the role of altered parental speaking rate in the increase or decrease in stuttering events in young children who stutter (Kelly & Conture, 1992; Kloth et al., 1995; Meyers & Freeman, 1985a; Schulze & Johannsen, 1991; Stephenson-Opsal & Bernstein Ratner, 1988; Tetnowski et al., 2004; Yaruss & Conture, 1995); and shown repeated interruption of speech of children who stutter by their parents (Kelly & Conture, 1992; Meyers & Freeman, 1985b). In addition, some research studies have also reported mothers either displaying varying conversational speech styles when speaking to children who have either recovered from stuttering or continue to stutter (Kloth et al., 1995), or producing linguistic variabilities (Byrd, Coalson, &

Bush, 2010; Logan, 2003). Therefore, the contribution of parental speech behavior in the enhancement or diminution of stuttering events in children who stutter has remained controversial till this date. (For more details about the study, refer *Appendix: Table 2*).

(c) Nonverbal/Nonspeech Behavior Studies with Children Who Stutter (CWS): Communication does not encompass verbal components only. People do much more while talking with others such as moving their hands and arms, maintaining eye contact, making head movements and producing various facial expressions, to name a few. These behaviors, although nonverbal in nature, carry essential meaning and emotional component which is exchanged between a speaker, and a listener at regular intervals. In stuttering population, nonverbal behavior associated with stuttering disorder, also known as *accessory behaviors*, or *secondary behaviors*, or *physical concomitants*, has been of much interest to both the speech-language clinicians, and the researchers. However, there is substantial variability in the progression and the manifestation of these behaviors in those who stutter. Therefore, to understand the nature of these behaviors which are often produced during stuttering events objectively, it is necessary to measure these behaviors using a reliable and standardized research tool. In recent times, one such research tool, known as the *Facial Action Coding System* (FACS), is found to be objective, comprehensive, reliable, and standardized in nature. It is an anatomical-research tool. It is used for measuring human facial expressions by providing inference- and intention-free descriptions. This tool was developed by Paul Ekman and research group in 1978 (Ekman, 1982) and has been used extensively in other research studies (Camras, 1980; Bullock & Russell, 1985; Wiggers & Van Lieshout, 1985; Unzner & Schneider, 1990). It describes each observable facial movement based on *Action Unit* (AU). Conture & Kelly (1991) had implemented the FACS to measure the nonverbal/nonspeech behaviors associated with CWS and CWNS (Children Who Do Not Stutter) during instances of stuttering and fluent utterances. The researchers reported that young CWS produced significantly larger proportion of nonspeech behaviors during stuttered words than did CWNS. In addition, they also reported of finding a significant number of more left head turns, blinks, and raising of upper lip during instances of stuttering events by CWS than CWNS (Conture & Kelly, 1991, p. 1050). The findings of the study were found to corroborate with previous research studies (Schwartz & Conture, 1988; Schwartz, Zebrowski, & Conture, 1990) and the authors concluded that assessment of certain varieties of nonspeech behaviors in children can be used to differentiate them from fluent peers at the onset of stuttering disorder, with an emphasis on conducting further empirical investigations to support their claims (For more details about the study, refer *Appendix: Table 3*).

4. Conclusion

Although, to date, many research studies have continued their exploration in understanding the conversational dynamics between parents and CWS, very few research studies have actually focused on other features of turn-taking behaviors such as nonverbal behaviors in CWS, or verbal behavior in AWS. To our understanding, communication is a free flow of information between individuals. In this cyclic process, both verbal and

nonverbal modalities play an integral role in making the conversation successful. But, people with speech impairments tend to have communication difficulties in sending across their messages successfully. It is, therefore, necessary to study both the modalities in integration and, not in isolation, to better understand the negative impact the disorder has on the quality of life of people with stuttering disorder outside the clinical settings.

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Appendix

Table 1: Verbal Behavior Studies with Adults Who Stutter (AWS)

Study	Method	Sample	Task	Main Findings
Lee et al. (2015)	Conversational samples were transcribed using the SALT-NZ*** software.	Recruitment of age and sex-matched participants 20 AWS (*14M **6 F) (AWS Mean Age = 27.2 years) 20 AWNS (*14M **6F) (AWNS Mean Age = 27.4 years)	One-to-one conversation between the participants and the examiner (CP) for 10 minutes on open-ended topics was performed	Reported of finding less production of language output by AWS than AWNS. Verbal avoidance strategies used by AWS during stuttering events results in reduced language output. Also found to produce simpler utterances, fewer modal operators, and comment adjuncts than AWNS.
Freud et al. (2016)	Manual transcription of conversations	Speaker: *2M AWS (39 & 51 years) *2M AWNS (50 & 60 years) CP: *5M **5F (Mean Age = 24.6 years)	10 CPs conversed with 4 speakers generating a total of 40 conversations	CPs did not show significant differences on Turn-taking Behaviors (*Sentence/Word Completions*, *Interruptions*, & *Reinforcers*) when conversing with AWS & AWNS. CPs showed different TTBs to stuttered speech of AWS only.
Lee et al. (2016)	Conversational samples were transcribed using the SALT-NZ*** software	Same number of participants were recruited from Lee et al. (2015) study. Recruitment of age and sex-matched participants 20 AWS (*14M **6 F) (AWS Mean Age = 27.2 years) 20 AWNS (*14M **6F) (AWNS Mean Age = 27.4 years)	Similar task of data collection procedure was followed at pre- and post-treatment session at two treatment centers (NZ & USA). One-to-one conversation between the participants and the examiner (CP) for 10 minutes on open-ended topics	Reported of finding increase in utterance complexity after the treatment sessions in AWS. Treatment sessions facilitated AWS in the production of linguistically complex output. Relative increase in the usage of language appraisals post-treatment sessions.

*M = Male **F = Female ***SALT-NZ = Systematic Analysis of Language Transcripts-New Zealand

Table 2: Verbal Behavior Studies with Children Who Stutter (CWS)

Study	Method	Sample	Task	Main Findings
Meyers & Freeman (1985a)	Transcription of each conversation into English orthography by a trained coder	Total: ^24M Children-Mothers (CWS Age Range = 4 yrs, 0 months to 5 yrs, 11 months) *CG: 12 CWNS-Mothers **EG: 12 CWS-Mothers	10-minute of free play interaction between child (CWS/CWNS)–respective mothers	Increase in the stuttering severity rate in CWS leads to decrease in speech rate of CWS. Mothers tend to speak faster with their children who stutter when there is decrease in the speech rate of CWS.
Meyers & Freeman (1985b)	Transcription of each conversation into English orthography by a trained coder	Total: ^24M Children-Mothers (CWS Age Range = 4 yrs, 0 months to 5 yrs, 11 months) *CG: 12 CWNS-Mothers **EG: 12 CWS-Mothers	10-minute conversational sample between child (CWS/CWNS)-respective mother	Disfluent speeches produced by CWS were less interrupted by the mothers of CWS than mothers of CWNS. All mothers interrupted disfluent speech more often than fluent speech. Children tend to be disfluent when interrupted by mothers.
Stephenson-Opsal & Ratner (1988)	Transcription of 100 utterances in English orthography made.	^1M CWS-respective mother (CWS Age = 3 yr, 3 months) ^1M CWS-respective mother (CWS Age = 6 yr, 2 months)	2 dyads (CWS-mothers) observed on 5 occasions at their respective place for 10 weeks. Pre-instruction Stage: 10-minute free play activities on each occasion between CWS-mother. Post-instruction Stage: Modeled conversations were used by mothers with their CWS.	Slower maternal speech rate did not slow down the speech rate of CWS.

Kelly & Conture (1992)	Transcription of each mother-child pair conversation into English orthography by the first author	^13M CWS-respective mothers (CWS Mean Age = 4:0) ^13M CWNS-respective mothers (CWS Mean Age = 4:0)	Audio-video recording of child (CWS/CWNS)-respective mother conversational dyad for approximately 30-35 minutes.	No significant differences reported on speaking rates, response time latencies, interrupting behaviors between CWS-CWNS. Significantly faster speech rates of mothers of CWNS than either of the talker groups (CWS-CWNS). Strong positive correlation reported between stuttering severity index of CWS and overlapping duration of their mother's simultalk.
Weiss & Zebrowski (1992)	Transcription of parent-child conversations orthographically.	8 CWS - 8 respective parent dyads 8 CWS (^5M ^^3F) 8 respective parents (2 Fathers, 6 Mothers) (CWS Age Range = 4 yrs, 0 months to 10 yrs, 7 months)	Video recording of parent-child pair's conversation of 10-minutes.	Responses made by CWS contained significantly less disfluencies in response to the questions directed by parents. Irrespective of the production of questions or assertions, longer and complex utterances by CWS were predicted to contain more disfluencies than otherwise. Parents favored more question types of responses than assertions to lower the levels of demand in conversations.
Kelly (1994)	Transcription of each father-child dyadic conversations	^11M CWS-respective fathers (CWS Mean Age = 5:1) ^11M CWNS-respective fathers (CWNS Mean Age = 5:1)	Video recording of approximately 45- minute of free play interaction between child (CWS/CWNS)-respective father spontaneous conversation dyad	Fathers produced faster speaking rates, higher frequencies of interruptions, & shorter response time latencies than their sons (CWS-CWNS). No significant differences reported

				between fathers of CWS & fathers of CWNS on paralinguistic behaviors. No significant differences reported between CWS & CWNS on paralinguistic behaviors. Significant positive correlation reported between the Stuttering Severity Index (SSI) scores of CWS & dyadic speaking rates of CWS & their fathers. Identified potential differences on paralinguistic behaviors between fathers and mothers in their approach towards interaction with their children.
Winslow & Guitar (1994)	Transcription of dinner-time conversations conducted under different conditions of structured versus unstructured turn-taking	^1M CWS (5-year-old) Single-subject design	Tape recording of dinner-time conversations	Findings indicated that the rate of disfluencies decreased when structured conversational turn-taking conditions were implemented whereas, the rate of disfluencies increases when structured conversational turn-taking conditions were not implemented.
Kloth et al. (1995)	Transcription of each mother-child pair conversation	93 children = (^45M ^^48F) (Mean Age = 39 months) Shortlisted participants: 26 CWS-Mothers 67 CWNS-Mothers	30-minute free play interaction between mother & child	Communicative style and speaking rate of mothers of CWNS does not contribute to the development of stuttering.

LaSalle & Conture (1995)	Transcription of children's speech in English orthography.	30 CWS (^24M ^^6F) (Mean Age = 51.2 months) 30 CWNS (^24M ^^6F) (Mean Age = 51.5 months)	Audio-video recording of approx. 30-35 minutes of conversations between mother-child dyad.	Speech disfluencies produced by CWS was found to be more than speech disfluencies produced by CWNS. More number of phrase repetitions was produced by CWS. Consistent findings with previous research works. Also, reported of finding significantly greater number of particular sequence of disfluencies than other combinations in CWS.
Ryan (2000)	Transcription of 10-minute conversation was conducted by trained coder.	20 CWS (^15M ^^5F)-respective mothers (CWS Mean Age = 4 years, 4 months) 20 CWNS (^15M ^^5F)-respective mothers (CWNS Mean Age = 4 years, 5 months)	Two 10-minute conversational speech samples collected from CWS/CWNS-respective mother dyad. First 10-minute conversation took place when the mother and the child conversed while playing Lego. Second 10-minute conversation took place when the mother and the child conversed without playing with any toys.	Speaking rates of both mothers and CWS differed while interrupting behavior did not prove to be a contributing factor in evoking stuttering events. Conversational statements produced by CWS were found to be accompanied with stuttering.
Miles & Ratner (2001)	Transcription of each conversational speech using the Codes for the Human Analysis of Transcripts (CHAT)	12 CWS (^10M ^^2F)-respective mother (CWS Mean Age = 36.7 months) 12 CWNS (^10M ^^2F)-	Audio-video recording of dyadic conversations between mother-respective CWS	Did not find convincing evidence to support the claim that CWS mothers differed from CWNS mothers. Both mothers of CWS & CWNS

	Program conventions	respective mother (CWNS Mean Age = 35.5. months)		were equally sensitive to the linguistic abilities of their children. CWS did not perform well when compared with CWNS on standardized measures indicating slower progress in language learning skills.
Logan (2003)	Orthographical transcription of each conversational speech	15 CWS (^14M ^^1F)-respective parent (CWS Mean Age = 48 months) 15 CWNS (^14M ^^1F)-respective parent (CWNS Mean Age = 49 months)	Video recording of approx. 25-mintues of conversation between CWS-respective mother.	Reported of finding multiple utterances-turns produced by CWS to be linguistically longer, more complex, & fulfilling language assertive functions than single utterances-turns. Production of multiple utterances evokes long and complex utterances in CWS. Researcher emphasized the significance of considering conversational turn length as an important variable during clinical evaluation & assessment in CWS.
Tetnowski et al. (2004)	Data analyzed using the Computerized Speech Research Environment (CSRE)	Father AWS (M, 40 years old) Daughter CWS (2.7 years old, F)	Data collected during diagnostic sessions at home and in-clinic for over 8 months. Interaction between the father (AWS), daughter (CWS), & 2 clinicians.	Father (AWS) stuttered less when used Child-Directed Speech (CDS) with his daughter.
Sargent, Robb, & Zebrowski	Speech samples collected during dyadic	Group 1: 5 CWS-5 PCWS (Parent of Children Who	Audio-video recording of spontaneous conversation	PCWS differed from PCWNS on speaking rate. PCWS produced

(2006)	conversations were acoustically analyzed. Speaking rate, articulatory rate, & pauses were measured according to Robb et al. (2003) protocol	Stutter) Average Stuttering Severity Rate (CWS) = 9 % CWS = ^3M ^^2F CWS Mean Age = 4 years, 4 months PCWS = 3 Mothers 2 Fathers Group 2: 5 CWNS-5 PCWNS (Parent of Children Who Do Not Stutter) CWNS = ^3M ^^2F CWNS Mean Age = 4 years, 5 months PCWNS = 4 Mothers 1 Father	between one of the parents-respective children.	slower speaking rate than PCWNS. No statistical differences between PCWS & PCWNS reported on articulation rate. But, found to have different pausing pattern between the two groups. Consistent with previous studies, CWS had slower speaking rate than CWNS. Speaking rates of parent-child did not differ significantly between the two groups.
Dehqan et al. (2008)	Transcription of each conversational sample was orthographically conducted by the first author	35 pairs of mothers-CWS CWS (^29M ^^6F) (CWS Mean Age = 8.5 years)	Audio-video recording of approx. 15-minutes of dyadic conversation between mother-respective CWS on action pictures	As the speaking rate of mothers of CWS increases, the stuttering severity of CWS also increases. Increase in stuttering in CWS led to decrease in speaking rate of CWS. Emphasized the significance of involving mothers as main communication partner during therapeutic process for CWS.
Millard, Nicholas, & Cook (2008)	Orthographical transcription of 15-minutes of the later part of the video recording	6 CWS (^4M ^^2F)-respective parents (CWS Age Range = 3 years, 3 months to 4 years, 10 months)	Video recording of free play interaction between CWS & respective parent for 20-minutes. Multiple child speech data were collected at pre- (one recording/week for 6 weeks);	Out of 6 CWS participants, 4 of them were reported of producing significantly less stuttering with their parents at the end of the therapy sessions. This therapeutic technique seems to reduce stuttering in preschoolers

			during (one recording/week for 12 weeks); and post-therapy sessions (one recording/month).	CWS. Adds to the growing evidence of providing structured intervention with CWS.
Byrd, Coalson, & Bush (2010)	Transcription of each mother-child dyadic conversation	15 CWS (Mean Age Range = 2 years, 4 months to 7 years, 10 months)-respective mothers	Video recording of approx. 15-minute conversation between CWS & their respective mothers	Language length and complexity contributes to speech disfluency. Difficulties in maintaining speech fluency is facilitated by the production of assertive speech acts than responsive speech acts by AWS.
Byrd, Logan, & Gilliam (2012)	Using the Systematic Analysis of Language Transcripts (SALT), conversational speech sample was transcribed by a trained coder.	22 CWS (Divided into younger and older groups) Older CWS: Mean Age = 9 years, 5 months CWS = ^10M ^^1F Younger CWS: Mean Age = 6 years, 11 months CWS = ^9M ^^2F 22 CWNS (Divided into younger and older groups) Older CWNS: Mean Age = 9 years, 6 months CWNS = ^10M ^^1F Younger CWNS: Mean Age = 6 years, 11 months CWNS = ^9M ^^2F	Structured conversation and narration sessions were performed between the examiner and children (CWS/CWNS)	During narration, CWS produced more instances of stuttering like disfluencies (SLDs) than during conversation sessions. In comparison with older CWS, younger CWS produced a greater number of normal disfluencies in conversational sample. Acknowledged the incorporation of narration-based sessions in the assessment of stuttering disfluencies in CWS.

*CG = Control Group **EG = Experimental Group ^M = Male ^^F = Female

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Table 3: Nonverbal/Nonspeech Behavior Study with Children Who Stutter (CWS)

Study	Method	Sample	Task	Main Findings
Conture & Kelly (1991)	Frame-by-Frame analysis of audio-video recording	CWS (*28M **2F)-respective mothers (CWS Age = 54 months) CWNS (*28M **2F)-respective mothers (CWNS Age = 54 months)	Audio-Video recording of 30-minute semi-structured child-mother conversations	Certain types of non-speech behaviors in children can be indicative of presence of stuttering disorder. Presence of certain non-speech behaviors may be associated with cognitive, emotional, linguistic, & physical events of childhood stuttering.

*M = Male **F = Female

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The Language- Orthography in Mackenzie Kaifiyats

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SUMMARY OF THE ARTICLE

Village Local Record is called 'Local history ' or 'Village history ' in Telugu. Between 1793-1816, Mackenzie collected Kaifiyats (Arabic word for records) when he was Surveyor General in South India during the East India Company. These are called Mackenzie Kaifiyats because these were collected by Mackenzie. They are useful in determining the historical, geographical, social, cultural and linguistic features of villages. After British came to power in India, that is, since 18th century, they used colloquial style language for Revenue, Police, and Law, etc.

Language Structure

Inscriptions in Telugu land are most important to know the structure of Telugu language. Yet, the language of the inscriptions is not necessarily a contemporary language. The language of the inscriptions is also limited to the limited purpose of the administrative language. Kaifiyats are written by karanas (traditional accountants/record keepers) and villagers so it became local language. In all administrative affairs, there are many words and non-native words that may not be understood now. For these reasons, it is said that the Telugu language has become a modern tongue and that Mackenzie started it with Kaifiyats. McKenzie's is very similar to the scriptural approach to the laws of the Kaifiyats. By observing phonemic and morphemic distribution, meanings, etc., from the scientific viewpoint of the Kaifiyats, we can understand the orthographic changes in language.

Languages and Orthographic Changes

Inscriptions and Kaifiyats are the main sources to understand the Evolution of Telugu Language. In the Kaifiyats we can see the language used in village administration particularly revenue, agricultural and cultural language. From the second half of the nineteenth century,

we can find the changes in the writing of language because of modern education system. We can find 15 types of Orthographic changes in Kaifiyats.

The aim of this paper is to study these Orthographic changes in the Telugu language.

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మెకంజీ కైఫియత్తుల్లో భాష - లేఖన పద్ధతులు

డా।। కొల్లేటి రవిబాబు
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కైఫియత్ (Village Local Record) అనే పారశీక పదాన్ని తెలుగులో 'స్థానికచరిత్ర' లేదా 'గ్రామచరిత్ర' అని పిలుస్తున్నాం. 1793 - 1816 ల మధ్యకాలంలో మెకంజీ ఈస్టిండియా కంపెని పాలనా కాలంలో దక్షిణ భారతదేశంలో సర్వేయర్ జనరల్ గా ఉన్నప్పుడు కైఫియత్తులు సేకరించాడు. వీటిని మెకంజీ సేకరించడం వలన మెకంజీ కైఫియత్తులు అని పిలుస్తున్నారు. గ్రామాలకు సంబంధించిన చారిత్రక, భౌగోళిక, సామాజిక, సాంస్కృతిక, భాషా విశేషాలు తెలుసుకోవడానికి ఇవి ఉపయోగపడుతాయి.

భాషా స్వరూపం

తెలుగు భాషా స్వరూపాన్ని తెలుసుకోవడానికి శాసనాలు ప్రధానమైనవి. అయినప్పటికీ శాసనాల్లోని భాష అంతా సమకాలీనమైనదని అనలేం. శాసన భాషకి పరిమితమైన ప్రయోజనం ఉండటం వలన శాసనాలలోని భాషా స్వరూపం కూడా పరిమితంగానే ఉంటుంది. కైఫియత్తులని కరణాలు, గ్రామస్తులు రాయడం వలన అవి అప్పటి స్థానిక వ్యవహార భాషలో ఉన్నాయి. పాలనా సంబంధమైన అన్ని వ్యవహారాలలో అప్పటి వాడుకలో ఉండి ఇప్పుడు అర్థంకాని ఎన్నో పదాలు, అన్యదేశ్య పదాలు వ్యవహారంలోకి ప్రవేశించాయి. ఈ కారణాల వలన తెలుగు భాష ఆధునిక స్వరూపంలోకి మారడం మెకంజీ కైఫియత్తులతో ప్రారంభమైనట్లని చెప్పవచ్చు. మెకంజీ కైఫియత్తులలోని లేఖన విధానానికి శాసనాలలోని లేఖన విధానానికి సారూప్యం ఉంది. కైఫియత్తులలో భాషని శాస్త్రీయ దృష్టితో వర్ణనాత్మక పద్ధతిలో పరిశీలించడం వలన వర్ణ స్థాయి, పద స్థాయిలలోని లేఖన పద్ధతులు తెలుస్తాయి.

1. లేఖన పద్ధతులు (orthography)

మెకంజీ కైఫియత్తుల(18వ శ.)లో లిఖితరూపంలో ఉన్న భాషను పరిశీలించడం ద్వారా లేఖన పద్ధతులు, ధ్వనిపరిణామం తెలుస్తాయి. కైఫియత్తులలోని భాషకు ఆ కాలానికి చెందిన శాసనాలలోని భాషకు సారూప్యం ఉంది. కైఫియత్తులలో కొన్ని శాసనాల

నకళ్లు కూడా ఉన్నాయి. కాబట్టి రెండింటిలోని భాషా లక్షణాలను సమన్వయం చేయవచ్చు. కైఫియత్తులలోని భాష ఆ కాలంనాటి వ్యవహారంలోని భాష అని చెప్పలేము. దానిలో గ్రాంథిక భాషారూపాలు, వాడుక భాషారూపాలు కలగాపులగంగా ఉంటాయి. అది కావ్యేతర రచనావ్యవహారాలకు అంటే సామాజిక వ్యవహారాలకు లిఖితరూపంలోని భాషాశైలి. ఇది రాయవాచకంలోని భాషాశైలిని పోలి ఉంటుంది. 19వ శతాబ్ది ఉత్తరార్ధం నుంచి ఆధునిక విద్యావవస్థ స్థిరపడుతూ వచ్చింది. అందుచేత రచనాభాషలో మార్పు కనిపిస్తుంది. 20వ శతాబ్ది ఆరంభం నుంచి ఆధునిక లిఖిత భాషారూపం రూపొందుతూ వచ్చి 20వ శతాబ్ది ఉత్తరార్ధానికి ఆధునిక ప్రామాణిక రూపం ఏర్పడినట్లు చెప్పవచ్చు. అయినా కైఫియత్తులలోని భాష దస్తావేజులు వంటి రచనల్లో కొనసాగుతూ వస్తోంది. దీనిని ప్రత్యేకంగా పరిశీలించవలసిన ఆవశ్యకత ఉంది. ప్రస్తుత పరిశీలనలో లేఖన పద్ధతుల ద్వారా ఈ కింది అంశాలు తెలుస్తున్నాయి.

1.1. లేఖ్యాక్షర సంకోచం

కొన్ని పదాలలో అచ్చును లోపింపచేయడం చేత అక్షరసంకోచం ఏర్పడుతుంది. ఇది కైఫియత్తుల లేఖనంలో విస్తారంగా ఉంది. ఇప్పటి దస్తావేజులు వంటి వాటి రాతలో 'గార్కి' వంటి రూపాలు పూర్వపు లేఖన పద్ధతికి కొనసాగింపు. నాల్గు (నాలుగు), కల్గి (కలిగి) వంటివి ఛందస్సుకోసం పద్యకవిత్వంలో ప్రయోగించడం ఉంది. 'ఎన్మిది, పద్మూడు' వంటి కొన్ని పరిమిత పదాలు మాండలిక స్థాయిలో కూడా ఉన్నట్లు చెప్పగలం. కానీ కైఫియత్తులలోని ఎక్కువ పదాలు ఉచ్చారణతో సంబంధం లేనివే. ఇది ఒక లేఖన పద్ధతిగా ఏర్పడిపోయిందని ఉచ్చారణకు సాధ్యంకాని చ్ని (చిన), స్కల (సకల) వంటి రూపాల ద్వారా చెప్పవచ్చు. ఈ లేఖన విధానం 17, 18 శతాబ్దాల శాసనాలలో ఉండడం" (రంగనాథాచార్యులు. 2010: 168) ద్వారా దీనిని కావ్యేతర రచనల లేఖన పద్ధతిగా గుర్తించవచ్చు.

ఉదా: వర్కు (శ్రీ.18), గార్కి (పగో.2), వెన్క (విజయ.4), తెల్పు , (గు.2.1), చెర్కు (కర్నూలు.13), చద్వు (చో.30). ఇదేవిధంగా పన్స, అడ్వి, శల్వు, చెర్వు, కొడ్కు, నాల్గు, మొదలైనవి కైఫియత్తులలో ఉన్నాయి. ఈ కిందివి అచ్చును లోపింపజేసినవే కానీ ఉచ్చారణను బట్టి ప్రకటించే పదాలని చెప్పలేము.

ఉదా: త్న, త్మ (పగో.1,5), లెక్క (శ్రీ.18), పయ్కి (గు.1.26), యిదిగ్కా, యాయ్నకు మొదలైనవి.

1.2. ద్విత్వానునాసికం ముందు పూర్ణబిందువు

ద్విరుక్త అనునాసికాలకు ముందు పూర్ణానుస్వారంతో ఉన్న రూపాలతోపాటు లేని రూపాలు కూడా ఉన్నాయి. కైఫియత్తుల భాషలో అనుస్వారం ఉన్న రూపాలే ఎక్కువగా ఉన్నాయి. ఇది పూర్వాచ్చు ఆనునాసిక్యానికి చిహ్నం కావచ్చునని ఊహింపబడింది" (రంగనాథాచార్యులు. 2010:169).

ఉదా: హొంన్ను (పగో.1), గ్రామముంన్ను (గు.1.1), తెలిసికొన్నాడు (విజయ.4,5), దంమ్మన్నగారు, వుండుకున్న, మెముంన్ను, కత్తిన్నర (కృ.3), సూరంన్న, సూరన్న, వుంన్నారు, నిన్ను(పగో.2,3), వృత్తులకుంన్ను మొదలైన ప్రయోగాలు కైఫియత్తులలో కనిపిస్తున్నాయి.

1.3. పూర్ణబిందువు తరువాతి హల్లుకు ద్విత్వం

తెలుగులో అనుస్వారం స్పర్శ వర్ణాల ముందే ఉంటుంది. ఇది లేఖనంలో నిండు సున్నతో ప్రకటితమౌతుంది. శాసనాలలో నియతంగా కాకపోయినా, హల్లును పూర్ణబిందువు తర్వాత ద్విత్వంతోనూ, అర్ధబిందువు తర్వాత అద్విరుక్తితోనూ రాయడం కనిపిస్తుంది. క్రమంగా లిఖిత ప్రతులలో అర్ధానుస్వారం లేకపోయినా పూర్ణానుస్వారానికి ఇదే విధానం కొనసాగింది. (శ్రీరామరాజు.1996:39). కైఫియత్తులలో పూర్ణబిందువు తరువాతి హల్లు ద్విత్వంతోనే ఎక్కువగా ఉంది. అద్విరుక్తి ఉన్న ఉదాహరణలు తక్కువగానే ఉన్నాయి. అర్ధానుస్వారం లేదు.

ఉదా: అంత్తట, వుండిరి (విజయ.4), కుంట్ట, వుండ్డ, కింద్ద (పగో.5), కట్టించ్చి (గు.1.1), అంద్దుకు (గు.2.13), వుంచ్చేది, వుంచేది (కర్నూలు.43), సాధించ్చి, నంద్దన, సంవ్వత్సరం (గు.1.60), కొంత్త (కర్నూలు.117), మంద్ది, వుంటుంద్ది, జమాబంద్ది, తదనంత్తరం, సంగ్గతి, పోయినంత్తలో, అవుతుంద్ది, యెంద్దువల్లనంట్టే, చేసుకుంట్టా, రవంత్త, యండ్డదు, కొంచ్చెం, శంక్కరులు మొదలైనవి.

1.4. ద్విరుక్త 'ళ'కారం ముందు బిందువు

కైఫియత్తులలోని కొన్ని పదాలలో మూర్ధన్య పార్శ్వకమైన ళకారం ద్విత్వ సహితమైనపుడు బిందుపూర్వకంగా ఉంది. ఉదా: కంళ్లు (శ్రీశైలం.3) వాంళ్ళు, దేవంళ్ళకు, పెంళ్ళాము మొదలైన రూపాలు కైఫీయత్తులలో కనిపిస్తున్నాయి.

1.5. 'మ'కారానికి పర్యాయంగా బిందుపూర్వక 'బ'కారం

కావ్యభాషలో ప్రత్యయ ముపర్ణ స్థానంలో ద్విరుక్తి మకారంగాని, పూర్ణ బిందుపూర్వక బువర్ణంగాని పర్యాయంగా వస్తుంది.

ఉదా: వృక్షము, వృక్షమ్ము, వృక్షంబు. (బాల. తత్సమ.42) ఈ ధ్వని లక్షణమే సాంబ్రాజ్యము (గు. 1-57), (కర్నూలు. 50), జంబ్బిమాకు, జంబ్బిచెట్టు (క. 2-3) వర్షంబులు(గు. 2-26) (ఈ పదం అన్ని చోట్ల ఈ విధంగానే ఉంది), యేతద్ధర్మంబ్బులు శాసన స్తంభంబుల మీద (గు.4-27) అనే ఉదాహరణల్లో పదగతమైన మకారం దగ్గర కనిపిస్తోంది. (సామ్రాజ్యము, జమ్మిమాకు, జమ్మిచెట్టు). బిందుపూర్వక 'బ'కు 'మ' తో యతిమైత్రి (బిందుయతి) చెల్లడంలోనూ ఈ ధ్వని లక్షణాన్ని సమన్వయించవచ్చు.

1.6. పదాంతంలో 'ము' ప్రత్యయం/పూర్ణబిందువుల పర్యాయత

పదాంతంలోని 'ము' ప్రత్యయగతమైన అచ్చు లోపించిన రూపం (సమయం), లోపించని రూపం (సమయము) రెండూ కైఫియత్తుల భాషలో ఉన్నాయి. ఉత్వం లోపించగా మిగిలిన మకారం లేఖనంలో పూర్ణబిందువు రూపంలో ఉంటుంది.
ఉదా: నిమిత్తము, తదనంతరం (పగో.16), గ్రామము, ప్రకారం (కృ. 3,4). కొంచెం, గుండ్రం, దొరతనము, పట్నం, ప్రాకారము, పందుము, మంట్టపం, వాహనం మొదలైనవి.

1.7. వలపలగిలక

రేఫ మొదటి హల్లుగా ఉండి అన్యహల్లుతో కూడిన సంయుక్తాక్షరాన్ని (గర్వం) రాసేటప్పుడు అన్యహల్లును అచ్చుతో కలిపి ముందుగా రాసి తర్వాత రేఫను వలపలగిలకలా రాసే పద్ధతి (గర్వం) కైఫియత్తులలో నియతంగా ఉన్నట్లు కనిపిస్తుంది. ఈ లేఖన పద్ధతి సుమారుగా 20 వ శతాబ్ది ప్రారంభం వరకూ ఉంది.

ఉదా: విదర్భదేశం, ముత్తుజాంన్నగరు (విజయ.1), స్వర్గలోకం (విజయ.4), జమీందార్లు, కర్నల్ (పగో.27), అర్థవంత్తులు(గు.2.1), సామర్థ్యం(నె.116), పిడవర్తి(గు.1096-9 అముద్రితం), వార్తలు, గర్భితములు, దిగ్విజయార్ధం మొదలైనవి.

1.8. 'ఇ/యి', 'ఎ/యె/య' ల పర్యాయత

పదాదిలో తాలవ్యాచులకు పూర్వ యకార సహిత తాలవ్యాచులకు భేదకత్వం లేదు. (ఇ/యి, ఎ/యె). కైఫియత్తుల భాషలో పదాదిలో తాలవ్యాచ్చులకు బదులు యకారసహిత తాలవ్యాచ్చులు (యి,యీ,యె, యేలు) నియతంగా కనిపిస్తున్నాయి.

ఉదా: యితణ్ని (నె.147), యివి (గు.2-23), యీ లాగున, యీశాన్యం (నె.139), యివ్వక, యిచ్చెను, యిచ్చుకుంటున్నాను మొదలైనవి. యెందుకు (నె.139), యేలూరు, యేనుగులు (పగో.20, 21), యేమంటె (కర్నూలు.146), యెత్తుకొని, యెక్కడెక్కడ, యెందువల్ల, యెవరు, యేమి, యేరు మొదలైనవి కూడా ఇందుకు ఉదాహరణలని చెప్పొచ్చు.

పదాదిలోని ఎకారానికి పూర్వయకార సహిత అకారంతో అభేదం కనిపిస్తుంది. (ఎ/య). పదాది యకారం మీది ఎకారానికి, అకారానికి భేదకత్వం పోవడం (యె/య) 12వ శతాబ్దం నుంచి కనిపిస్తోంది. ఈ వర్ణభేదకత్వ తటస్థీకరణ (Neutralization of Phonemic Contrast) పదమధ్యంలో కూడా 16వ శతాబ్ది నుంచి ఉంది. అకారం పరంగా ఉన్నప్పుడు ఎకారం అర్ధవివృతంగా వినిపిస్తుంది. ఈ కారణంచేత యల్ల (<యెల్ల< ఎల్ల),యాబై(<యేబై< ఏబై) వంటి రూపాలు ఏర్పడ్డాయి. (రంగనాథాచార్యులు. 2010:169).
ఉదా: యెన్ని (శ్రీ.19), యన్ని (శ్రీ.21), యాబై, యవరు (విజయ.4), యనిమిది, యడ్లు (గు.4-135), అవియయ్యవి(కొండవీడు.1096-9 అముద్రితం), యదురు, యర్రటి,(నె.162), యంత్త, యడల, యక్కడ, యండ్డదు, , యందుచాత, యన్నడు, యందుకు, యదుట, యరకపడకుండా, పాయను (పోయెను) మొదలైనవి.

1.9. ఉ/వు, ఒ/ఓ/వ ల పర్యాయత

పదాదిలో ఒష్ట్యాచ్చులకు పూర్వవకార సహిత ఒష్ట్యాచ్చులకు భేదకత్వం లేదు (ఉ/వు, ఒ/వొ). కైఫియత్తుల భాషలో పదాదిలో ఒష్ట్యాచ్చులకు బదులు వకార సహిత ఒష్ట్యాచ్చులు (వు,వూ,వొ,వో‌లు) నియతంగా కనిపిస్తున్నాయి.

ఉదా: వుండి (పగో.12), వుదయాన (క.2-2), వూరు (గు.2-13), వుత్తరం (గు.2-17), వున్నట్లు, వుదకం, వున్నతమైన, వుత్సవం, వుద్భవించి మొదలైనవి. వొఖరు(చి.35), వొఖ(చొ.35) వొడలు, వొక్క, వొడ్డున, వోరుగల్లు (కర్నూలు.58), వోశాసనం(కర్నూలు.5) మొదలైనవి.

పదాదిలోని 'ఒ' కారానికి పూర్వ 'వ' కార సహిత 'అ' కారంతో అభేదం కనబడుతుంది (ఒ /వ). పదాది 'వ' కారం మీది 'ఒ' కారానికి 'అ' కారానికి భేదకత్వం పోవడం (వొ /వ) 17. వ శ. నుంచి కనిపిస్తోంది. (రంగనాథాచార్యులు.2010:170) ఇది వక (<వొక< ఒక)వంటి రూపాలలో కనబడుతుంది.

ఉదా: వక (ఒక) (నె. 107, కర్నూలు.52), వఖ (నిజయ.68) వకనాటి, వకడు, వకరు, వరంగల్లు మొదలైనవి.

1.10. పద మధ్యంలో తాలవ్యాచ్చుకు ముందున్న 'య'కు, ఒష్ట్యాచ్చుకు ముందున్న 'వ'కు లోపం

పదాదిలో ఇ/యి లకు, ఉ/వు లకు వచ్చిన అభేద లక్షణం పదమధ్యంలో కూడా కనిపిస్తుంది. లేఖనంలో ఒక పద్ధతి ఏర్పడకపోవడమే దీనికి కారణమనిపిస్తుంది. ఇది 17వశతాబ్ది శాసనాలలో కూడా ఉంది. (రంగనాథాచార్యులు. 2010:170). శాసనాలలోనూ, కైఫియత్తులలోనూ ఒకే ఉదాహరణలుండడం గమనించదగింది.

ఉదా: అఇదు, చెరుఉ

1.11. అ/ఒ ల పర్యాయత

తాలవ్యాచ్చుకి ముందున్న కంఠ్యాచ్చుకు ఒష్ట్యాచ్చుకు అభేదం కనిపిస్తుంది. ఈ లక్షణం శాసనభాషలోనూ ఉంది. (రంగనాథాచార్యులు.2010:170).
ఉదా: తొవ్వించి (త) (కర్నూలు.46, చి.32), పాయను (పోయెను) (చో.31)

1.12. 'అయి/ఐ' ల, 'అవు/ఔ' ల పర్యాయత

తెలుగులో అయిదు, అవుడు వంటివి త్వరితోచ్చారణ చేత అయ్ దు, అవ్ డు వంటివిగా ఏర్పడతాయి. అయ్ అవ్ లు సంస్కృతంలో స్వతంత్ర వర్ణాలైన ఐ ఔ లతో అభేదతను పొందాయి. తెలుగు లేఖనంలో ఐదు ఔడు వంటి రూపాలుగా ప్రచారంలోకి వచ్చాయి. తెలుగులో ఈ పర్యాయత ప్రాఙ్నన్నయ కాలం నుంచి ఉండగా, ఇది తత్సమ పదాలలో 15వ శతాబ్ది నుంచి వ్యాపించింది. కైఫియత్తుల భాషలో అన్ని పదాలూ అయి, అవులతోనే ఉన్నాయి. ఒక్క సంఖ్యావాచకాలలో ఇరవై, ముప్పై అని, కై అనే విభక్తి ప్రత్యయంలోనూ ఐ లేఖనంలో కనిపిస్తుంది. మౌజే, కౌలు అనే పదాలలో 'ఔ' కనిపిస్తుంది.

ఉదా: వగయిరా (శ్రీ.21), వయిఖానసుడు (గు.1-100), జయినులు (గు.2-23), వయిరానికి, వయిపు, వయినం, వయిద్యం, రయితులు, ఇరవై, యితరమయిన, కయిఫియ్యతు, కయింకర్యము, అవుతుంది మొదలైనవి.

1.13. 'స/శ', 'శె/శ', 'చే/శా', 'చా /శా' ల పర్యాయత

1. తాలవ్యాచ్చులకు ముందున్న దంతమూలీయ సకారానికి తాలవ్య శకార ఉచ్చారణ వచ్చింది. స శ లు రెండూ ఊష్మాలే. ఈ లక్షణం కైఫియత్తులలో విశేషంగా కనిపిస్తుంది.

ఉదా: స/శ – చెశి (గు.1-84), చేశిన (నె.141), చేశ్ని, వ్రాశి, సంన్యాశి, వెంచేశి, తీసి-తీశి, సీమ-శీమ, పోశి, వెలశినందున, మురిశిపోయినది, పారవేశెను, తెలిశెటట్లు, కోశెడు, శేవించి మొదలైనవి. కంఠ్యాచ్చు ముందున్న దంతమూలీయ సకారానికి కూడా తాలవ్య శ కారోచ్చారణ వచ్చింది.

ఉదా: శారాంశము (కర్నూలు.51)

2. ఇక్కడ తాలవ్య శకారం మీద ఎ/అ లకు భేదకత్వం పోవడం (శె/శ) మరొక అంశం.

ఉదా: శట్టి (శెట్టి), శావ (సేవ/శేవ), పదివీశల గంధం మొదలైనవి.

3. అలాగే ఊష్మాలైన చే/శా/శే ల మధ్య కూడా భేదకత్వం పోయింది.
ఉదా: యరికశాయగా (చే) (కర్నూలు.46), శేయుచుండగా (చే) (కర్నూలు.109), మనవిశాయగా మొదలైనవి.

4. అలాగే చా/శా ల మధ్య కూడా భేదకత్వం పోయింది.

ఉదా: శానావిశ్వాసం, శానాదినములు. ఇది 17వ శతాబ్దం నుంచి శాసనాలలో కనిపిస్తుంది. (రంగనాథాచార్యులు.2010:173).

1.14. 'ఉ/యు', 'ఒ/యొ', 'అ/ య' లకు అభేదం

ఇవి కావ్యభాషా ప్రభావంతో వచ్చిన యడాగమ రూపాలు అయి ఉంటాయి.

ఉదా: యుండిరి (ఉండిరి), యుమావల్లభ, యున్నది. యొక (ఒక). యాకారం(ఆకారం) (గు.2-17) మొదలైనవి.

1.15. దీర్ఘాలకు బదులు హ్రస్వాలు రాయడం

ఎకార ఒకారాల దీర్ఘాల్ని రాయవలసిన చోట హస్వాల్ని రాయడం కైఫియత్తుల భాషలో ఎక్కువగా ఉంది. ఇది ఉచ్చారణలో లేకుండా లేఖనంలో వచ్చిన ఒక ప్రత్యేక

లక్షణంగా గుర్తించాలి. ఇది దేశ్య తత్సమ భేదం లేకుండా అన్ని పదాలలోనూ కనిపిస్తుంది.

ఉదా: అనె, అనెక, చెసెను, సమెతులైన, నెను, చెసి, పెరు, చెత, తెనె, లెవు, లెకుండా, సెవిస్తూ, లెదు, యెది, బెరిజు, జరిప్పించెది, నాగెశ్వరుడు, వుండ్లెది, మున్లెవర్కు, ఛెదించి, క్షెత్రపాలకుడు, వెగెశ్వరస్వామి, వయ్యేరు, దెవాలయం, కెవలము, శ్రెయస్సు మొదలైనవి. కొనెరు, వెణుగొపాల, భొగెశ్వర మొదలైనవి.

ఈ విధంగా మరికొన్ని మార్పులూ ఉన్నాయి. వాటిలోనూ ఇదే విధమైన లేఖనా పద్ధతును భాషా స్వరూపాన్ని బట్టి గుర్తించవచ్చు.

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Shakespeare's Sonnets: A Critical Study

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Abstract

William Shakespeare needs no introduction to **the scholars** of English **generally,** and poetry **especially**. As a sonnet writer, he penned 154 sonnets which became extremely popular among the readers of all the ages throughout the world His sonnets are measured a continuation of the sonnet tradition that swept through the Renaissance from Petrarch in 14th-century Italy and was finally introduced in 16th-century England by Thomas Wyatt and was given its rhyming meter and division into quatrains by Henry Howard. With few exceptions, Shakespeare's sonnets observe the stylistic **sort of English** sonnet—the rhyme scheme, the 14 lines, **and therefore the** meter. But Shakespeare's sonnets introduce such significant departures of content that **they appear** to be rebelling against well-worn 200-year-old traditions.[2] Instead of expressing worshipful love for an almost goddess-like yet unobtainable female love-object, as Petrarch, Dante, and Philip Sidney had done, Shakespeare introduces a young man. He also introduces the Dark Lady, who **is not any** goddess. Shakespeare explores themes **like** lust, homoeroticism, misogyny, infidelity, and acrimony in **ways in which** may challenge, but which also open new terrain for the sonnet form. Shakespeare's Sonnets are some of the most fascinating and influential poems written in English.

Keywords: Shakespearean sonnets, Italian model, Theme of love, compensation and separation, Wyatt and Surrey's style, Youth-hood.

English poetry is modeled upon Italian poetry. The Italian poets Petrarch, Dante, Tasso, Ariosto, Michelangelo and Colonna cultivated fine poetry. Petrarchian style of poetry, particularly the sonnet in 14 lines with Octave (rhyming abba abba) and a sestet (with several rhyme schemes) came into vogue. Octave provided the subject and sestet provided the resolution. Petrarchan sonnet had a turn (volte) at the end of octave. The English sonneteers did not follow it, and they adopted varied rhyme schemes in sestet. Petrarchan sonnets spoke of love and chivalry. The Italian, French and English sonneteers used the sonnet as if a literary exercise.

The English poet Sir Thomas Wyatt (1503-1542) introduced the Italian sonnet form in England. Henry Howard, Earl of Survey (1517-1547) broadened the scope of the English sonnet.

The poems of Wyatt and Surrey circulated in manuscript during their lifetime and were included in *Songs and Sonnets* (1557), the first printed collection of English verse, better known as *Tottel's Miscellany*, which became a source of inspiration for later poets.

A poet by name Thomas Watson published his collection *Hekatompathia* in 1582. His sonnet had eighteen lines. His book *Tears of Fancy* (1593) had a sequence of sonnets on a compact theme. Sir Philip Sidney (1554-1586) wrote *Astrophel* and *Stella*, a sonnet sequence, speaking of the speaker's feelings for his mistress. He achieved originality and first rate poetry. Shakespeare improved upon Sidney. Many others followed the suit.

The sonnet books of Samuel Daniel, Henry Constable, Thomas Lodge, Barnaby Barnes, Michael Drayton and Edmund Spenser have close affinities**.**

Shakespeare made use of the knowledge about sonnet from all those poets including Petrarch and Sidney, and he wrote 154 sonnets. Francis Mere's *Palladis Tamia* (1598), a contemporary work throws light on his poetry. Shakespeare's sonnets as he calls 'sugred sonnets' were already popular, and Shakespeare's sonnets of the number 138 and 144 appeared in *The Passionate Pilgrim* in 1599.

Shakespeare began writing sonnets in 1592, and went on doing it, and many of his sonnets have appeared in his plays. His play *Love's Labor's Lost* speaks of his keen interest in sonnet. C.K. Hillegass observes:

The sonnets are filled with what appears to be allusions or references to persons, events, or specific years or seasons; and these have been used by critics in an attempt to date them from the late 1580's to 1609. For example, those who believe that the young man addressed in the first 126 sonnets is either the Earl of Southampton or the Earl of Pembroke.[1]

Thomas Thorpe published Shakespeare's sonnets in 1609. The book's first 1 to 126 sonnets refer to a fair young man called 'WH.' This 'WH' should be William Harvey, who married the mother of the young Earl of Southampton in 1598. This brings us to the two more leading candidates. Henry Wriothesley, third Earl of Southampton, who must be given first position, and William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke. The Southampton identification, first made by Nathan Drake (in his *Shakespeare and His Times*, 1817) was inevitable in view of Shakespeare's dedication of *Venus* and *Adonis* to him and the circumstances relating to efforts to get him to marry. The young earl loved poetry and drama and may well have sought out Shakespeare and offered himself as the poet's patron.

The 1625 First Folio was dedicated to William Herbert. Shakespeare scholars have been bothering about the **ordering** of sonnets since the sonnet's second publication in 1640.

Malone and Stevens, in their 1780 edition of Shakespeare's works, initiated in England the still widely held belief that the first 126 sonnets were addressed to a man, and that the rest of the poems were addressed to a woman. By and large, this remains what may be called the orthodox view. Modern scholars believe that Thorpe's arrangement is Shakespeare's. C.A. Brown's theory is autobiographical. For Brown, the sonnets are really six 'poems' – five addressed to Shakespeare's friend, each ending with an Envoy; the sixth addressed to the poet's mistress.

An Analysis

The 'WH', the earl of Pembroke as spoken of in 1 to 126 sonnets is a handsome youth. Sonnet 20 tells his beauty was of feminine cast. He is an aristocrat. If the youth can be gracious and kind, he is not without his faults. Much to the poet's regret, he is on occasion given to wantonness, as we learn from sonnets 35, 40, 42 and 89. He even wins the favors of the Poet's mistress. He is described as the poet's 'master-mistress,' hinting at homosexuality.

There are many dominant themes in the sonnets.

The Young Man: Youthood and offspring: Time is viewed as an enemy of youthhood and beauty. The word time is used 78 times in these sonnets 1 to 126. The first 17 sonnets deal with the young man's unmatched beauty. One should marry and get children, and thus defeat time.

Shakespeare develops the theme in three quatrains, wherein he generalizes; then, in the final couplet, he particularizes, addressing the young man directly. The argument and plea are continued in sonnet 2, wherein Shakespeare finds another metaphor, a martial one, to make his case:

When forty winters shall besiege thy brow,
And dig deep trenches in thy beauty's field,
Thy youth's proud livery, so gazed on now,
Will be a tattered weed (garment) of small
Worth held….[2]

The argument is carried forward in the sonnet 3 by means of a metaphor from husbandry:

For where is she so fair whose unheard (untilled) womb
Disdains the tillage of thy husbandry?

The poet insists that the youth is the image of his mother, and that in him she 'Calls back the lovely April of his prime.' The poem (sonnet 3) ends with the dire prophecy: 'Die single and thine image dies with thee.'

Sonnet 4 provides a kind of explication of all the Poet has been saying so far.

Sonnets 5 and 6 are a set of closely related poems in which the individual's mortal partaking of immortality finds expression in the erotic image of distillation, the use of which does not make for an obtrusion of its physical nature.

A second set, sonnets 9 and 10, deserves some special attention. In these poems, the Poet develops the argument that,

Beauty's waste hath in the world an end,
And kept unused, the user so destroys it….

Sonnets 12, 15, and 16 constitute a final set of closely related poems. Here especially the Poet inveighs against devouring Time, making reference to 'Time's scythe' and to 'this bloody tyrant Time.'

The Importance of Poetry: The beauty of poetry and the beauty of youth are powerful enough to defeat time. One of the best sonnet 18 introduces this theme.

There are many classical and medieval antecedents for such a self-claim of immortality. In sonnet 19, the Poet assures the young man that his 'love shall in (his) verse ever live long'; in Sonnet 38, he addresses the youth, urging him to be the tenth Muse and 'let him bring forth/Eternal numbers to outlive long date.'

The Theme of Love: The theme of love is explicit in the first 125 sonnets. The concept of love that defeats the tyranny of time is explicit in sonnets 22, 25 and 62 :

'Tis thee, myself, that for myself I praise,
Painting my age with beauty of thy days.

The Theme of Compensation: The youth's love more than compensates for his adverse fortune. Better known is sonnet 29, with its magnificent simile in the third quatrain. This deserves quotation in full:

When in disgrace with Fortune and men's eyes,
I all alone between my outcast state,
And trouble deal heaven with my bootless cries,
And look upon myself and curse my fate,
Wishing me like to one more rich in hope,

Featured like him, like him with friends possessed,
Desiring this man's art, and that man's scope,
With what I most enjoy contented least;
Yet in these thoughts myself almost despising,
Haply I think on thee, and then my state,
Like to the lark at break of day arising
From sullen earth, sings hymns at heaven's gate:
For thy sweet love rememb'red such wealth brings,
That then I scorn to change my state with kings.

In Sonnet 37 there is an even more explicit treatment of this. The poet thinks youthhood is a great compensation for life's deficiencies. (for 'Sea of trouble')

The Theme of Separation: Many sonnets like 36, 46 and 57 speak of separation, or absence and grief.

In the next sonnet he complains against 'injurious distance' which has separated him from the young man but expresses satisfaction in the fact that 'nimble thought can jump both sea and land' so that mentally he is united with his friend.

In Sonnet 47, the Poet finds solace in a picture of the young man which he carries with him:

So, either by thy picture or my love,
Thyself away are present still with me….

Farewell Sonnets: The Poet talks of bidding adieu to his friend in sonnets 87 to 93.

Farewell, thou art too dear for my possessing,
And like enough thou know'st thy estimate (value).

This is clearer is sonnet 88:

Such is my love, to thee I so belong,
That for thy right myself will bear all wrong.

In sonnet 89, he again speaks on behalf of the friend he is about to lose:

Thou canst not, love, disgrace me half so ill,
To set a form upon desired change,
As I'll myself disgrace, knowing thy will.

Dear Lady Theme: The Dark Lady, as spoken of in sonnets from 127 to 152 may be the poet's wife Anna Hathway."[3]

Real or fictitious, the Dark Lady is a fascinating creature. She fascinates by some nameless spell; she can turn the heart hot and cold. Assuming that just one lady is referred to, one first finds reference to her in Sonnet 40, in which, along with the next two sonnets, the Poet laments the fact that his friend has sought out the lady, who is tempted by his beauty and 'straying youth.' The Poet expresses his grief, but forgives the Fair Young Man. She reappears in sonnet 127 and thereafter is the dominant figure in the poems. The Poet praises her dark beauty and especially her eyes of 'raven black.' In sonnet 128, we learn that she is an accomplished musician.

Subsequently, the Poet dwells upon her cruelty, her 'proud heart.' In sonnet 141 he states that, although he cannot help loving her, he discerns 'a thousand errors' in her. He then speaks of his 'sinful loving,' the 'false bonds of love,' and her infidelity. In sonnet 152, he charges the Dark Lady with being 'twice foresworn,' one who has broken her bed-vows:

For I have sworn thee fair, more perjured eye,
To swear against the truth so foul a lie.

It is apparent that love as it is revealed in the sonnets was a stormy one, marked by deep passion and often violent emotion.

Shakespeare valued the dark too. This is anti-Petrarchan attitude rather. It will be recalled that the Poet practically boasts that 'black wires,' not golden strands, grow on his lady's head, and that he sees no 'roses damasked red and white' in her cheeks. In sonnet 132 he praises the dark beauty of his lady love, concluding wittily:

Then will I swear beauty herself is black,
And all they foul that thy complexion lack.

Love and Lust: Shakespeare values love over lust. His sonnet 129 speaks of this:

Past reason hunted, and no sooner had,
Past reason hated as a swallowed bait
On purpose laid to make the taker mad…..

Religion: Shakespeare's sonnet 146 speaks of the theme of religion. Edward Hubler thinks Shakespeare presents Christianity without apology. 'Man needs to be spiritual,' he thinks.

The Rival Poet: This poet is spoken of in sonnets from 100 to 103. M.A.L. Rowse thinks he might be Christopher Marlowe. In addition to Marlowe, Michael Drayton, Samuel Daniel, George Peele, Thomas Nash, Thomas Lodge, Richard Barnfield, Barnaby Rich, Robert Greene, Edmund Spenser, George Chapman, and Ben Johnson have their champions, as the rival poet.

Reception and Criticism: Shakespeare's sonnets have been warmly received, and softly criticized over the centuries though his 1-126 sonnets are an adoration of a young man. In his *Supplemental Apology* (1797) George Chambers established himself as the first to criticize the Shakespeare of the sonnets adversely. He found them to be obscure and tedious. He did credit Shakespeare with 'many happy phrases and elegant lines,' but added that these are "generally darkened by conceit and marred by affectation.'[4]

J.W. Mackail in his book observed that Shakespeare's sonnets should be read as poetry for its own sake. We need not adopt historical and biographical approaches for their study. He thinks Shakespeare's sonnets are the best in the English language.

Thomas Seccombe and J.W. Allen in their book *The Age of Shakespeare* think that Shakespeare's passion is tragic with the tragedy of youthful that both Shakespeare and John Donne wrote the best kind of sonnets in the Middle Ages. Seccombe and Allen conclude: "Two poets – and only two – of the Elizabethan Age produced love poetry in which the true note of absolute passion is struck – Shakespeare and Donne." In comparison to Donne, who "seems sometimes to set down his impressions hot and crude, in Shakespeare the passion is always mastered by the artist."[5]

Thomas Marc Parrott is among those who remind us that the sonnets indeed gain by selection. "All the sonnets are (not) of great and equal value."[6]

C.S. Lewis thinks Shakespeare's sonnets are the supreme love poetry. W.H. Auden said, "that they have become the best touchstone for separating the sheep from the goats"-that is, those who love and understand poetry, and those who only value poems either as historical documents or because they express feelings or beliefs of which the reader happens to approve."[7]

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