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A Study of Teachers' and Learners' Perception and Competence on the Use of Digital Literacies in the English Language Classroom at the Maija Yang Institute of Education, Kachin State, Myanmar

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Abstract

This study is conducted in Maija Yang Institute of Education at Kachin State, Myanmar. There were two objectives posed: (1) to identify MIEd learners' and teachers' perception on the use of digital literacies in and outside the English language classroom and (2) to identify MIEd learners' and teachers' competence in using digital literacies in the English language the classrooms which are supported by two research questions. The study uses an explanatory mixed methods design using questionnaire and semi-structured interview to collect the data from 120 students and five teachers. The questionnaire has four domains: Knowledge Assembly, Content Evaluation, Internet Searching, and Hypertextual Navigation of digital literacies.

The domain Knowledge Assembly and Content evaluation answer the question one and the domain, Internet Searching and Hypertextual Navigation answer question two. The analyses show that students have very high perception in digital literacies as the findings show that the Knowledge Assembly has the $M = 4.52$ and $SD = 0.28$ while the Content Evaluation has the $M = 4.33$, $SD = 0.25$. In terms of competence, it was found that although Kachin State may lag behind compared with the students or teachers who live in Myanmar, both learners and teachers are found to have high competency in terms of using Internet Searching ($M = 4.64$, $SD = 0.50$) and Hypertextual Navigation ($M = 4.53$, $SD = 0.56$) as the result indicated in the survey).

Keywords: Digital Literacies, Teachers' and Learners' Perception and Competence, English language classroom, Kachin State, Myanmar

Introduction

Digital technologies are primarily shifting the scenery of information in common sense as they allow a further imaginative, active, cooperative, and individual way of constructing and communicating information throughout digital media technologies (Payton and Hague, 2010 and

Sharpe, 2011). This leaning has a big implication in the growth of technological English language learning (TELL) where shifts from a behaviorist to communicative and now constructivist and integrative approach are observed (Fitzpatrick and Davies, 2003). Kern (2000) rationalizes that as “literacy is adaptable and intimately tied to the socio-cultural practices of language use in a given society; hence, it is of central importance in teaching language and culture” (p. 25). Swaffar and Arens (2005) also emphasized that “a reflection of students understanding of literacy as socially bounded and contextual, no longer accessible solely through a command of language as traditionally presented in many (foreign language) classrooms” (p. 3). Kern and Schultz (2005) explained that digital literacy changes the way students’ use and learn languages.

In Myanmar, Bilingual education is not officially implemented but the rest of racial groups have prepared the regional public schools using bilingual education (native language and English) as the standard of teaching. One of these schools is the Maija Yang Institute of Education which conferred Diploma programs in Education and TESOL since 2014. This institution is located in the Kachin region and situated in China-Myanmar boulder, the northern part of Myanmar. Part of teaching in this school has relied on course book as materials for teaching. While most of the time, teaching tends to be about accomplishing teaching hours rather than focusing on students' needs. According to Naw Sant (2018), these inadequacies of teaching strategies have resulted in boredom and students' lack of attention to learning. As a potential attitudinal transformation when it comes to learning inspiration, digital literacies will be introduced as other strategies to help students.

This study investigates teachers’ and learners’ perception and competencies on the use of digital literacies at Maija Yang Institute of Education that can be helpful in teaching and learning.

Literature Review

There are numerous definitions of digital and information literacy. Digital Literacies and competency can all be utilized to illustrate the facility to guide a pathway throughout digital and information settings to discover, assess, and agree or decline information (Mcgill, Beetham, and Littlejohn (2009). Information and communications technology (ICT) is regularly employed as an expanded synonym for information technology (IT), but is a further precise word that tensions the function of combined communications and the combination of telecommunications (wireless signals and telephone lines), computers with essential project software, audio-visual systems, middleware, and storage, which facilitate users to contact, transmit, store, and control information (Hilbert and Lopez, 2011).

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Although a great deal is written in the name of digital literacy, agreement on a particular definition of the expression seems to be indefinable. Martin and Madigan (2006), for instance, investigate a variety of conceptions of digital literacy and how these conceptions are facilitated and sustained in diverse communities. Nonetheless, a large definition of *digital literacy* is presented by Martin (2005), who recognizes related "literacies" such as information literacy, media literacy, ICT literacy, and visual literacy which have increased new or enlarged significance in the digital surroundings. He explains digital literacy as "the facility to be successful in encounters with the electronic communications and devices that construct probably the world of the 21st century" (Martin, 2005, p. 131).

This view recommends that digital literacy is a requirement for learning in learner-centered instructive traditions. But learners require being knowledgeable and competent of identifying when information is necessitated, (Durodolu, 2016). These abilities are a vital basic component of the learning procedure in formal and informal teaching and learning and necessary for lifelong learning. According to Durodolu (2016), learners who have these abilities understand principal instruction which affects the growth of literacy skills necessary for individual learning (Williams and Wavell, 2006).

A quite dissimilar view of digital literacy is presented by Gilster (1997), who inscribes the digital revolution in his book, *Digital Literacy*. Gilster initiated the suggestion that individual digitally literate relates to the cognitive procedure of using electronic information, defining it as "the aptitude to comprehend and utilize information in many formats from a broad variety of resources when it is presented via computers." (p. 33). He observes the advantages of improvements in e-information, charting such advantages crossways day to day online activities such as catching up with newsgroup postings, checking investments, emailing, keeping up to date with news stories, and making travel arrangements throughout *Digital Literacy*.

Gilster's book lift ups two vital spots on digital literacy which are the central concept of being information savvy: first, expresses how the digital setting has transformed not only information-seeking but also information-handling performance and second, recommends that technical proficiencies may be less essential than a discerning view of what is established on the internet.

The early study of Warschauer and Healey (1998) how technology 'fits' with recent language learning patterns is evidently bringing enlarged opportunities to students both inside and outside the restrictions of our language classrooms. Therefore, consideration on how technology forces on language teaching approach are the locus of action in which this gradually replicates technology to English language classrooms.

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In 2005, The New Medium Consortium (2005) declared the technological areas that potentially supply to the meadow of education.

The first described as the Expanded Learning in which customary teaching and learning should be improved through new communication instruments or social networking sites; for instance, blogs, wikis, *Facebook*, and instant messaging. It was also mentioned that the procedure of teaching and learning should not lock up to the classroom setting any longer. Instead, utilize social networking in teaching and learning where students employ a communicative platform that they can “share discussion, switch views, and critical thinking” (Cheng, 2012, p.2).

The second is called Ubiquitous Wireless, which contracts with the “the fast access of wireless networks” (Jung, 2006, p.29), promoting learners’ suppleness in learning through the use of their suitable or mobile devices counting tablets, smartphones, laptops, and so on.

The third is Intelligent Searching which facilitates students to look for, categorize and retain data in a more successful method.

The fourth is Educational Gaming where it talked about the invention of games and recreations. All of these are considered learning devices which have valuable effects on inspiration, communication, critical thinking, and problem-solving abilities (Jung, 2006).

The above consortium and other studies mentioned have emphasized the benefits of information technology in language learning. Darasawang and Reinders (2010) affirmed that online language sustains methods assist and encourage learner autonomy and increase foundation to construct English learning more pleasurable (Dang, 2011). Therefore, the application of the digital materials obtainable to the inside and outside classroom actions can result in the improvement of their abilities in listening, speaking, reading, and writing. As Kelsen (2009) emphasized that material that can be found online such as “*YouTube*” has a possibility to foster genuine English knowledge essential for lifelong learning as students can exchange their thoughts, feelings, and emotions (p.3).

The integration of digital literacy into individual subject parts, for example in ELT within general curriculum has released up the opportunity of ‘killing two birds with one stone’ (Allen, C. (2015), in periods of classroom activities looking for at once not only to progress language proficiency but also to increase digital literacy (Shetzer and Warschauer, 2000). Since ICT has developed into essential in teacher teaching, there has been a necessitate for a practical

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construction for lesson setting up which demonstrates teachers how they might include different digital learning activities, sources, and instruments into the curriculum and classroom perform.

According to Lopez and Perea (2017), digital literacy refers to the skills individuals require to exist, coexist, cooperate and join forces in digital spaces. This refers to communicating with others, accessing and sharing information, participating in autonomous spaces and building mounting resourcefully and personally, and online and personal identity between others.

In eras of English language learning (ELL) in exacting, Craig and Patten (2007) note down that digital sources has been exposed to sustain learners in increasing oral interaction abilities, growing their vocabulary, and improving their reading understanding. Moreover, contact with the Internet and social media enlarges learners' intercultural proficiencies and advances international consciousness.

In this study, however, the focus is more on the skills on retrieving digital materials to be used in the English language classroom. This also includes different skills such as knowing how, when, what and where.

Research Methodology

The populations are the TESOL and Dip. Ed programs students and teachers in the Maija Yang Institute of Education. These consist of 120 students, 40 TESOL, and 80 Dip. Ed. Among 120 students 18 are males and 102 are females. Their age is ranging from 18 to 30 years old. This number is based on the academic year 2018-2019 MIEd calendar years.

In these two programs, there are only five teachers who teach English, two males and three females in which three teachers are teaching TESOL and two in Dip.Ed. As the number of students and teachers are quite limited, this study, therefore, used the purposive sampling using all 120 students and 5 teachers as participants of this research.

Research Design

To answer the research questions, mixed methodology design was used using the explanatory methods to gather both the quantitative and qualitative data. This method was also employed to obtain a complete understanding of the data to answer the research question.

An explanatory method is one of the straightforward mixed methods design according to Creswell, Plano Clark, Gutmann, & Hanson (2003), and it is employed extensively in applied linguistics research. The explanatory as the design proposes these following explanations: qualitative findings are utilized to assist refine, clarify, explain, or expand the quantitative



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results. Quantitative and qualitative data are gathered and investigated in series: first quantitative data were accumulated and evaluated, and then qualitative data were analyzed so this could be used to support the survey result. A characteristic example would contain conducting follow-up qualitative interviews of representative or intense cases to more deeply explore quantitative results.

Research Instruments

These are the following research instruments that were used to collect data.

1. Questionnaire

The questionnaire was used as the primary instrument for this study. The research questionnaire consists of survey questionnaires. The items of the questionnaires are adopted and adapted from different people using Gilster (1997) framework. According to Griffiths and Oxford (2014) encouraging the researchers to adopt the preexisting questionnaires to fit with the contexts of the study is better than developing a new questionnaire using various tools that may not yield validation. This is the reason why this study adopted and adapted Acharya (2015), Van Deursen, Helsper and Eynon (2014), Al Khateeb (2017), and He (2017).

The questionnaire was written in English and translated in Kachin because the participants are in elementary and pre-intermediate level based on their curriculum of English only. Translating the questionnaire in their first language (Kachin) is appropriate because this made sure the participants had a better understanding of the survey questions. Additionally, all Kachin translation was also evaluated by native speakers of the Kachin language.

The questionnaire has two main parts:

Part I is comprised of demographic questions related to the participants' gender, age, and study program.

Part II is the main body of the questionnaire divided into four adapted from Gilster (1997). This consists of 39 statements in relation to the framework using the four competencies involve in digital literacy.

The four domains are:

- (1) Knowledge assembly (For perception)
- (2) Content evaluation (For perception)
- (3) Internet searching (For competence)

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(4) Hypertextual navigation (For competence)

2. Semi-Structured Interview

The semi-structured interview was used to clarify the answers or information that the participants had provided to the survey questions and to further support the interpretation of the survey findings. The semi-structured interview was conducted to 5 teachers from TESOL and Dip. Ed program and 15 students from TESOL and Dip.Ed program who had answered the questionnaires. The interview was carried out in the local language while the answers from the interviews were translated into English. The purpose is to obtain more in-depth information.

Findings and Discussion

The MIED's learners' perceptions of the use of digital literacies in and outside the English language classroom

The answer the research question (1), the data were analyzed using descriptive analyses, first, find the frequency and percentage, followed by the mean (M) and standard deviation (SD). The result of the findings would be illustrated in the table based on the first Knowledge Assembly and content evaluation domain of digital literacies.

The results of students' perception are shown in Table 4.1 and 4.2 while the findings on teachers' perception would be explained and supported by the findings from the interview.

Knowledge Assembly

Table 1: The result of the analysis of students' perception of knowledge assembly on the use of Digital Literacies

Item	Frequency and Percentage					Mean	S.D	Interpretation
	1	2	3	4	5			
1. I believe using digital materials support my learning within and	-	-	2 (1.7%)	43 (35.8%)	75 (62.5%)	4.60	.52	Very high
3. I believe that teachers can demonstrate lessons better using digital materials in class.	-	-	1 (.8%)	46 (38%)	73 (60.8%)	4.60	.50	Very high
4. I believe finding information using the internet for a specific topic is important so students appreciate the usefulness of digital materials	-	-	5 (4%)	3 (30.8%)	78 (65%)	4.60	.56	Very high

better.								
8. I feel that when I read online texts such as in the SNS (social networking sites), this helps me to think critically.	-	-	1(.8%)	47 (39%)	72 (60%)	4.59	.51	Very high
9. I believe that the use of digital literacies can help improve my listening and speaking skills.	-	-	-	40 (33%)	80 (66.7%)	4.66	.47	Very high
Overall result			2.78%	37.4%	57.5%	4.52	.28	Very high

Note: Strongly Disagree = 1: Somewhat Disagree = 2: Neither Disagree nor Agree = 3: Somewhat Agree = 4: Strongly Agree = 5

Table 1 indicates that the result when it comes to the assistance of digital literacies to students' knowledge assembly was very high as illustrated by the $M = 4.52$ and $SD = .28$. The indication is that MIED students' perceptions of knowledge assembly on the use of digital literacies are quite positive especially on findings digital materials.

The result was also supported by the follow-up interviews from the participants based on their perceptions. Based on the Knowledge Assembly domain, these are the extracts of the students' interview.

S1 (Male): "I strongly support the use of digital literacies or online materials in the English language classroom because it is very useful for four skills of English teaching and learning."

S7 (Female): "I support the use of digital literacies or online materials in the English language classroom because we can search and learn all kinds of information when teachers give us an assignment."

Based on the interviews, the students feel that the use of digital literacies in their English language in and outside the classroom can be very helpful as these provide additional knowledge that teachers might not be able to provide in the traditional English language classroom. In addition, results tend to imply that through digital literacies, students demonstrate their interest in learning as most of the students in MIED indicated on the domain knowledge assembly.

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Darasawang and Reinders (2010) and Dang (2011) stated that online teaching materials are likely to support and promote learner's autonomy and a good foundation to build an enjoyable English learning (Dang, 2011). This illustrates the importance of the digital materials available to students inside and outside the classrooms as these have a tendency to develop students listening, speaking, reading, and writing abilities if used appropriately.

Content Evaluation

Table 2: The result of the analysis of students' perception of content evaluation on the use of Digital Literacies

Item	Frequencies and Percentage					Mean	S.D	Interpretation
	1	2	3	4	5			
11. I consider digital literacies will allow me to share my work with a wider and more varied audience.	-	-	9 (7.5%)	37 (30.8%)	74 (61.7%)	4.54	.63	Very high
12. I think today's digital literacies can help me show my	-	-	5 (4%)	41 (34%)	74 (61.7%)	4.57	.57	Very high
14. I believe that digital literacies encourage me to learn and connect me to resources about my topics of interest.	-	-	2 (1.7%)	33 (27.5%)	84 (70%)	4.66	.55	Very high
15. I consider the multimedia contents available online submerge me fully to topics I study.	-	-	1 (.8%)	29 (24%)	90 (75%)	4.74	.45	Very high
16. I believe that digital literacies help with my learning through the materials I download and videos I watch in English related to the topic I study.	-	-	1 (.8%)	36 (30%)	83 (69%)	4.68	.48	Very high
17. I think digital literacies can help me to interact with my classmates and teachers in and outside the language classrooms.	-	-	1 (.8%)	37 (30.8%)	82 (68%)	4.68	.48	Very high
18. I consider the uses of digital literacies to make my learning more enjoyable.	-	-	1 (.8%)	32 (26.7%)	87 (72.5%)	4.71	.47	Very high

19. I believe that digital Literacies reinforce my skills in the English language such as listening, reading, speaking and writing.	-	-	-	21 (17.5%)	99 (82.5%)	4.82	.38	Very high
Overall result	5.5 8%	4 %	2%	26%	61.59%	4.33	.25	High

Note: Strongly Disagree = 1: Somewhat Disagree = 2: Neither Disagree nor Agree = 3: Somewhat Agree = 4: Strongly Agree = 5

The score of content evaluation might not be as very high compared with the Knowledge Assembly domain but with $M = 4.33$, $SD = .25$ it is considered high looking at **item 13**, *Today's digital literacies do more to distract me from my learning than to help me*, still considered as very high as the item above is a negative question in which students answer 'strongly disagree'.

As illustrated in table 2 student have high perception in terms of digital literacies content evaluation. As the different items in table 4.2 have illustrated that the students are dominated with 'strongly agree' and 'very high' scaling, this, therefore, indicated that students have favorable and positive perceptions on the use of digital literacies in and outside the English classroom.

The implication based on the survey done is that the MIEd have a high expectation that digital materials are likely to contribute positive outcome to the 21st-century learning environment.

Few extracts from the students' interview related to the fourth domain supported the survey. The majority of the students believe that the use of digital literacies is likely to improve their four skills especially speaking and reading.

S 4 (Male): *"The use of digital literacies is very useful especially in improving my four skills because there are lots of online materials and other application that I can use to improve my speaking and reading ability."*

S 6 (Female): *"Using digital literacies is useful in improving the four skills that I can use in teaching and learning English language now and in the future."*

S 8 (Female): “Although there are many learning and teaching materials that I can use digitally sometimes it is hard for me as I don't know how to navigate and search for the appropriate materials to be used in my assignment, but friends help me.”

The majority (70%) of the students being interviewed has a strong inclination that digital literacies can help them improve their learning process, some face challenges on how to choose the right materials online.

In the region like Kachin where everything seems new with regards to digital literacies, choosing what is considered appropriate learning materials can be a challenge, thus knowing how to choose the right materials still need to be discussed among students and teachers or among peers. Thus, learning cooperatively might be able to help especially for those students who have still encountered difficulty in navigating online websites.

The MIED’s teacher’s perceptions on the use of digital literacies in and outside the English language classroom

As for the teachers' perceptions, the result of the interviews illustrates that teachers tend to have a positive perception of the use of digital literacies in terms of knowledge assembly and content evaluation. The majority of them stated that digital literacies are a necessity in the English language classroom and viewed as important for teaching and learning.

Knowledge Assembly

The following extracts of the interviews based on *knowledge assembly* is provided:

T 4 (Female): “I strongly support the use of digital literacies or online materials in the English language classroom because it is very important for developing students four skills also we can find and get the pieces of information wherever we are whenever we need them. ... I think the students/teachers need to incorporate digital literacies in and outside the English classroom as you can acquire them in your computer, laptop, smartphone, iPad once you have internet ... Not only that we can also use social media application such as wechat, fb, twitter, line for teaching and learning using these digital tools.”

This extract from the interview indicated that teachers are aware that the knowledge and the importance of digital literacies when utilizing in the English language classroom. Teachers perception on the domain, knowledge assembly, indicated that the incorporation of digital literacy into individual subject parts, for instance in ELT within general curriculum has the opportunity of ‘killing two birds with one stone’ (Allen, C. (2015), in periods of classroom



activities looking for at once not only to development language proficiency but also to raise digital literacy (Shetzer and Warschauer, 2000). As digital literacies are found necessary in teacher teaching, there has been a necessitate for a realistic structure for lesson setting which shows teachers employing different digital learning activities, sources, and instruments into the curriculum and classroom.

Content Evaluation

While teachers' perception of content evaluation is also quite positive though there are still teachers who are more traditional. Almost 80% of the teachers being interviewed believe that digital literacies will be able to help them find innovative materials which foster students' four skills, as well as, enable them to enjoy learning as the materials they can find on the internet are interesting. Digital materials also prevent monotonous teaching and repetitive activities.

One of the teachers explained during the interview.

T 4 (Female): “Digital literacies can enhance students’ four skills especially in communication and writing skills. There are different online resources that can be found which help students reading and listening skills. Using these innovative materials can help students to practice their listening or reading. As most of the students cannot speak and write well, these digital materials can be very useful not only for our students but to the teachers as well.” (Teacher 4)

“Even though the internet provides countless teaching materials that I can use in teaching, it is hard for me to find materials that suit students’ precise needs as everything seems good to me. I need someone to explain and guide me to choose the online teaching materials for the level of my students”.

T 5 (Female): In general, knowing what information the teachers' need can make teaching easy, as they can get important information that they can use in the classroom. Using digital materials is useful especially for listening because it can make and help students improve their listening skills. I strongly support the use of online materials in the English language classroom as it is a vital point for higher education. The facilities/devices that I think the students/teachers need to reinforce digital literacies so this can be used appropriately in and outside the English classroom to help students to progress in learning. However, this can be a big problem for my case, as I am confused about what the appropriate materials I might need are. I still need to learn more about evaluating right and appropriate digital contents for my teaching.

Based on the result of the interview it was implied that the teachers at MIEd Kachin State have a positive perception in the use of digital literacies in and outside the classroom as indicated in the interview results on Knowledge Assembly and Content Evaluation. Though some teachers found that it is a challenge to find suitable teaching materials that can cater to the different level of students, they expressed the importance and helpful implications of digital literacies to Kachin teachers once implemented in the English language classrooms. Thus, teachers would like to integrate digital literacies in the MIEd. Through these findings, teachers in Maija Yang Institute Education may gain new insights about the digital literacies and develop their understanding better on how 21st century be taught and learned in and outside the English language classroom.

Knowing how to use and exploit this innovative technique in learning might be able to promote an optimistic approach in teaching while constructing a wisdom of learning among the community of learners.

The competent learners in MIEd use digital literacies in the English language classrooms

The results of the analysis which answer the research question (2) were based on the three domains: Internet Searching, and Hypertextual Navigation.

Internet Searching

Table 3: The result of Internet Searching used by competent learners at MIEd English language classrooms

Item	Frequencies and Percentage					Mean	S.D	Interpretation
	1	2	3	4	5			
20. I use an online search engine to help me find information on the Web.	-	-	1 (.8%)	42 (35%)	76 (63%)	4.63	.50	Very high
21. I know how to find different materials such as articles, books, video files and other information in English from my computer.	-	-	3 (2.5%)	49 (40.8%)	68 (56.7%)	4.54	.54	Very high
22. I downloaded different materials such as articles, books, video files and other information in English and save to my computer for future use.	-	-	7 (5.8%)	35 (29%)	78 (65%)	4.59	.60	Very high

23. I know how to find and download television shows or movies online in English.	-	-	2 (1.7%)	42 (35%)	76 (63%)	4.61	.52	Very high
24. I watch television shows and movies online in English.	-	-	2 (1.7%)	35 (29%)	83 (69%)	4.67	.50	Very high
25. I use a social networking site (such as Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn or Skype) to communicate with my teachers and classmates.	-	-	4 (3%)	38 (31.7%)	78 (65%)	4.61	.55	Very high
26. I downloaded learning materials I found online – like songs, texts or images and use in my English assignments or projects.	-	-	2 (1.7%)	31 (25.8%)	87 (72.5%)	4.70	.49	Very high
29. I watch videos on the video-sharing site (such as YouTube or Google Video).	-	-	8 (6.7%)	33 (27.5%)	79 (65.8%)	4.59	.61	Very high
30. I always search for information from the internet when I have some problems with my homework.	-	-	1 (.8%)	34 (28%)	85 (70.8%)	4.70	.47	Very high
Overall result			3 %	33%	63.5%	4.64	.50	Very high

Note: Strongly Disagree = 1: Somewhat Disagree = 2: Neither Disagree nor Agree = 3: Somewhat Agree = 4: Strongly Agree = 5

Whereas the Mean score and Standard deviation of the second domain: Internet searching is very high as illustrated, M = **4.64**, SD = **.50**. This also shows among the items that the students have frequently used, ‘*downloading learning materials*’, ‘*search for the information used for homework*’ and ‘*watching English television shows and movies*’ are the first three internet searching areas the MIEd students are commonly visited as part of their learning tools.

The results above were supported by the interviews from the students. According to them through internet searching, they learned a lot many things.

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The extracts of the interviews are given as part of the examples:

S 2: (Male): *“I have learned how to do power point presentation (PPT) and slide show in the classroom presentation through the use of internet searching...”*

S4: (Male): *“I search in the internet information which is useful to develop my four skills especially reading, writing and speaking materials as I know these are essential for learning of English language. This helps me to improve my speaking and writing and be fluent in listening and reading.”*

As the result indicated, there is more useful information the students have learned through internet searching. This knowledge has a positive consequence to students learning skills such as taken from the extracts of the interviews. According to Lopez and Perea (2017), digital literacy refers to the skills individuals need to exist, coexist, cooperate and join forces in digital spaces. This refers to communicating with others, accessing and sharing information, participating in autonomous spaces and building mounting creativity personally, through online and personal distinctiveness between others.

Hypertextual Navigation

Table 4: The result of Hypertextual Navigation used by competent learners at MIEd English language classrooms

Item	Frequencies and Percentage					Mean	S.D	Interpretation
	1	2	3	4	5			
33. I am able to analyze information from multiple sources.	-	-	8 (6.7%)	37 (30.8%)	75 (62.5%)	4.55	.61	Very high
35. I am able to write appropriate responses to a post.	-	-	2 (1.7%)	52 (43%)	66 (55%)	4.53	.53	Very high
37. I am able to visually organize data taken from different sources for learning purposes.	-	-	5 (4%)	47 (39%)	68 (56.7%)	4.52	.57	Very high
38. I am familiar with different varieties of navigation, such as the use of PowerPoint, websites, blogs,	-	-	7 (5.8%)	39 (32.5%)	74 (61.7%)	4.55	.60	Very high

etc.								
39. I am aware of the difference in written, graphic or video representations.	-	-	2 (1.7%)	47 (39%)	71 (59%)	4.90	.63	Very high
Overall result			4.50%	40.7%	54.7%	4.53	.56	Very High

Note: Strongly Disagree = 1: Somewhat Disagree = 2: Neither Disagree nor Agree = 3: Somewhat Agree = 4: Strongly Agree = 5

Interestingly, the findings indicated that in terms of hypertextual navigation students MIED students seem to be fully competent as the result of the survey implies that they appeared to be fully aware and responsible on their actions when it comes to the internet navigation.

In this particular domain, the result shows that 54.7% of the participants, **M = 4.53, SD = .56**, are highly competent learners as they indicated that they know and utilize hypertextual navigation appropriately. Considering the result of the mean and standard deviation of this domain, this indicates 'very high' in terms of the users of this domain.

Based on the interview that can support the descriptive analysis which had shown on the table above:

S 1 (Male): *“Having a laptop and smartphone is important for learning in and outside the classroom as sharing files can be useful as long as you have the internet. Sending text online such as wechat and fb can be easy if you one of these gadgets with you.”*

S3 (Male): *“Navigating online is easy and comfortable whether you are in or outside the classroom, as there are lots of information, we can access which are useful for example listening and speaking.”*

Based on the interview students voiced their reasons why they need to use hypertextual navigation in and outside the classroom. For them knowing how to navigate online sources can provide extra help whether they are inside or outside the English language classroom. Their opinions illustrate that are advocating the use of digital literacy, as they found it a necessity for learning in a learner-centered informative tradition. Thus, it is necessary to be well-informed and competent of identifying the information required (Durodolu, 2016). These abilities are a fundamental and crucial part of the learning process informal and even informal teaching and learning which is essential for lifelong learning. According to Durodolu (2016), learners who

have these abilities, comprehend fundamental instructions which concern the improvement of literacy skills which are required for individual learning (Williams and Wavell, 2006).

The MIEd teachers' competency in the use of digital literacies in the English language classrooms

To answer the research questions (2), the result indicated that the teachers from MIEd are relatively competent in terms of internet searching and hypertextual navigation.

Internet Searching

Based on the interview, the teachers of MIEd are likely to be competent teachers when digital literacies are the subject matter. This result is supported by the extract from the interview conducted to them.

According to **T5** she normally used internet searching if she needed the information to be used in the classroom especially if she wanted her students to do group work. This implies that she seems to know what information she was looking for depending on her students' activity.

T5 (Female): *“It is easy for me to find important information on the internet especially if I use it in the classroom for my students' group work and assignment.”*

T3 (Male): *“I used internet searching as I know the materials I found are useful to improve their four skills. Because I can find all kinds of information for reading according to the level of students that I cannot find in the library. I can search and get songs, conversations materials from the Internet that can be used for listening, I can get dialogues for speaking, and I can obtain all sources that I can use for my students writing.”*

As indicated, teachers seem to be competent in Internet Searching domain of digital literacies. The findings of the interview imply that teachers used internet searching to help their teaching easier and valuable. As teachers emphasized, online teaching materials are a good source to help teachers to teach and learners to learn using some of the innovative materials that they can find online. Thus, to be able to prepare the next generation of teachers in MIEd, student and teachers need to be provided with teaching and learning materials which are up to date. This should be started with the institution with facilities equipped with technologies where students can come and use online resources. As Craig and Patten (2007) stated, at the height of digital technologies, English language learning (ELL) is best learned with digital resources where learners can keep up to the rise of new materials which help with their verbal dealing abilities, upward their vocabulary, and improving their reading considerably. Moreover, getting in touch with the Internet and social media enlarges learners' intercultural proficiencies and progress

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international realization. Furthermore, most of the teachers in MIEd have pointed out that internet searching provides extra help in teaching and learning. Hence, to be able to use digital technology in the English language classroom in and outside the classroom of MIEd might be able to change and develop teachers' attitude towards the English language teaching and create a sense of learning community among students.

Hypertextual Navigation

Another domain of digital literacies is the hypertextual navigation where internet users should be aware their responsibilities when navigating the information or knowing what is right and wrong, what information the students' need or what information needs to be followed or not.

Based on the result of the interview as far as the hypertextual navigation is concerned it seems like the majority of the teachers are competent in navigating some of the new technologies. Some of the navigations that they commonly used is the use of the power point, websites and reading blogs.

T 4 (Female): "I navigate all kinds of sources and information using computer and phone outside of the classroom and I choose which information is relevant to my teaching only."

T 3 (Male): "I normally use different kinds of teaching materials to support my teaching, so I discussed with my students the app that they need to go to find what I have given them. For example, the songs which are suitable for my students and information which are accurate so students could not be misled"

The Hypertextual Navigation with regards to digital literacies is one of the most important skills that Kachin students should possess as the internet has massive information. Knowing how to navigate various sources help the users such as the teachers in MIEd to know which information they have to believe and discard especially 'fake news' is everywhere. Therefore, teachers need to help students to be aware of what to believe, what is ethical and not ethical.

Conclusion

Although countless learning resources can be found online, students must be conscious that looking for the right digital materials need proper skills or knowledge in order to apply and use to language learning. Therefore, students need to make sure that they have sufficient literacy to appreciate the usefulness of different pieces of information online to fully appreciate what these materials can lead them into. For example, in **finding information**: as all information tends to be good, knowing which information is 'authentic' and 'fake' is vital. Thus, it is



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recommended to know the sources of the materials that a student is using. Once the materials a student read or use come from reliable source/s, the information you found is usable. **Ethical responsibility:** as the internet provides learning materials which help students to ease their learning development, they need to be aware that they are responsible to acknowledge the sources they use and give credits to authors who are responsible in providing reading or writing materials. For example, articles, images, videos or any texts found online. Students need to remember; using other people's work and not acknowledging the sources is unethical and has serious consequence to your life as a student and in your future career.

Furthermore, teachers need to be aware of the diverse learning styles of their students so that appropriate online learning materials can be selected in order to generate language lessons that can engage students in learning activities. Though the internet can provide different learning materials they need to teach, teachers need to understand that it is not about the materials alone but their teaching ability that matters most. Teachers need to be aware that online teaching materials that can be used as additional teaching tools can only be functional if these are used appropriately, understanding what type of teaching materials students' needs will depend on their learning ability and teacher's teaching skills. Therefore, incorporating digital materials to teaching and learning also needs some consideration as this involves different factors, such as the teaching approach, the settings or learning facilities, students' ability, teachers and students' competence of using technology, all of these should be taken into account.

Additionally, institutions need to be aware that to integrate digital materials and online literacies in the classroom. In the context of the MIEd, providing teacher training to in-service teachers or workshop seminars to assess their teaching ability or up to date teaching methods in the English classrooms is necessary. Once the institution supports this approach, integrating this method in the classroom can be easy as teachers and students will be aware of the set of rules in using digital teaching and learning materials. Although information technology has been used in different parts of the world for many years, in the context of Myanmar this is still a new phenomenon. Thus, in the context of teaching and learning the use of digital materials as scaffolding to teachers and learners is still a new undertaking. Thus, the vast teaching materials that can be found on the internet should be viewed as important resources with caution.

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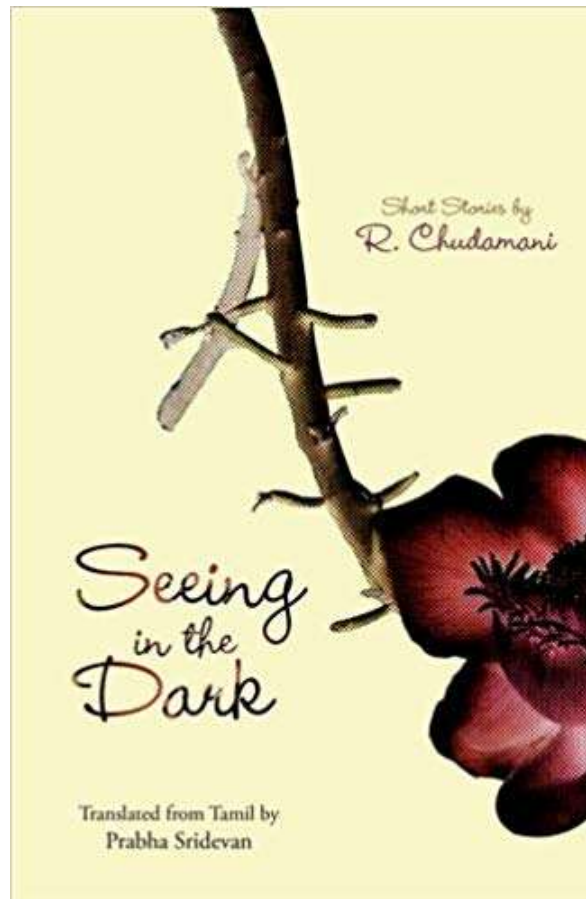
Marxist Feminist Approach to R. Chudamani's "We Don't Know"

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Courtesy: https://www.amazon.in/Seeing-Dark-R-Chudamani/dp/0199459673/ref=sr_1_1?keywords=R.+Chudamani&qid=1563250732&s=books&sr=1-1

Abstract

R. Chudamani was a much-admired Tamil creative writer in the recent past. She is known for her short stories. Chudamani's short stories deal with personal and public lives. The short story "We Don't Know" taken for this study deals with social issues in the society. It also

reveals how women are oppressed in the androcentric society. The plot revolves around the protagonist, Abhirami who was abused by antagonist, Velappan. This paper focuses on Marxist feminism. Marxist feminism emerged between 1960s and 1970s. It centres on women's liberation which, it is assumed, can be achieved by the eradication of class difference and capitalism alone. This paper also aims to analyse the characters in the short story, *We Don't Know* which determine the Marxist feminist approach.

Keywords: R. Chudamani, "We Don't Know," Marxist Feminism, Class Conflict, Caste, Women Oppression.

Introduction

R. Chudamani, a well-known Tamil writer in the contemporary Indian Literature, has penned numerous short stories, dramas and novels. She has written both in English and Tamil. Though her short stories were not well acclaimed in the beginning, she became the gallant descriptivist of society through her short stories. She focuses on the themes such as human values, women's rights, gender sensitivity, class division and social issues. Particularly in one of the short stories "We Don't Know," Chudamani has portrayed aspects of social issues in the story such as oppression of women, politics, discrimination between lower class and upper class, and others.

Feminism is the socio-political movement which fought for women's rights, women's identity, women's struggles and eradication of oppression in the patriarchal world. Feminism conceives the ideology that society is dominated by the power of patriarchy. According to Raman Seldon "feminism has sought to disturb that complacent certainties of such patriarchal culture, to assert a belief in sexual equality and to eradicate sexist domination in transforming the society." (125)

Marxist Feminism

Marxist feminism emerged slowly in the period of 1960s and 1970s. Marxist feminists played a vital role in this period. They argued that women's liberation can be achieved only through the eradication of capitalism and class difference. *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* by Engels was the first book to initiate the theory of Marxist Feminism. It pleaded that men and women are equal and are responsible for the domestic needs. It also added that in the past sexual relationships were heterogamous, and properties were passed down matrilineal. Growing social status of men questioned everything persisted so far. Thus, Patriarchy, monogamy and denial of property ownership were imposed on women. According to Engels, this process is almost like enslavement. Man fixed that women should be submissive and virginity and sexual purity are fixed as primary characteristics of women. This outlook took several dimensions according to social status and socio-economic system over the world. It is closely related to the system of apartheid and racism.

This paper is based on the theory of Marxist feminism.

R. Chudamani, is known for portraying the society in her short stories. Particularly the short story “We Don’t Know” provides the scope for Marxist Feminist analysis.

Framework of “We Don’t Know”

“We Don’t Know” is the short story which focuses on a working-class woman and their problems in the society. Chudamani doesn’t portray women as weak sex. She rather portrays them as strong and honest women who fight for their identity and justice. This story is a good example for that.

Abhirami is the protagonist of the story who was abused by a man, named Velappan. So Abhirami seeks for justice through the panchayat. The setting of the story opens in a panchayat where Abhirami complains against Velappan, who abused her. The Panchayat declared that Velappan is not an accused. She cannot tolerate this decision and in front of the whole village she shouted, “He was the one, and he is the one (as a criminal)”. But there is no witness, although all the people who saw Abhirami being dragged by Velappan belonged to the lower caste just as Abhirami did.

Armed, Yet Silent Witnesses

Abhirami, a low caste woman works in the field of the high-caste man in the village who has the power and money. One day Abhirami was ordered to work in the house of Periya Muthalali to take care of his grandson. After her work she takes care of the child. The problem started on the second day when two men came from the rice mill and asked Abhirami to go with them saying that Chinna Muthalaliyamma has asked them to bring her, since the gold chain worn by the child was missing. Abhirami doesn’t pay attention to their words and starts to work again. She knows that Chinna Muthalaliyamma will never say such things. She knew that it was the fake reason which was made by Chinna Muthalali (Velappan) who saw her the previous day. She avoids responding to the two men, but the Chinna Muthalali who followed them scolds her in harsh words and drags her to the mill. The fifteen people standing there with sickles in their hands watched it but did not raise their voice against this.

The next day, the panchayat gathers in the village where Abhirami complains that Velappan has sexually abused her. Without any fear standing in front of the panchayat, Abhirami points out that “He is the one who ruined me”. Velappan has both the power and the money and he belongs to the ruling party. Meanwhile, Velappan’s father met panchayat president and shared the message that they came from the “same ancestors”. The panchayat asked the lower caste people about the incident and the reply was “I don’t know”. Later the Panchayat declared that “Velappan is innocent”, purely because he hails from the higher-caste.

Brawn of the Phrase “I don’t Know”

After a month, Velappan went to Chennai for the political gathering with his people and the local secretary, since he wanted to contest in the forthcoming election. Unfortunately, the next morning he was found dead under the tamarind tree with sickle gashes. Velappan’s

father got raged and asked his hired men to set fire to the whole village. The police inspector made an investigation about the death and enquired the village people and the reply was “I don’t know”. One woman among the group of fifteen men and women who watched Velappan dragging Abhirami told the police that it might have been the work of “Sickle demon”. The police inspector was taken aback when the crowd stared at him. The story ends with the investigation report that “The simple villagers believe that the tamarind tree demon has done this.... they do not know anything else” (7) or may be the rival party from the nearby village might have murdered Velappan.

Eminence of Justice over Class Consciousness

Class and caste play a vital role in the society. Chudamani exposed the social problems through her characters. The characters in the story show how people are divided in the society in the name of caste and class. *A Reader’s Guide to Contemporary Literary Theory* defines that “Marxist feminism’s primary task was to open up the complex relations between gender and economy” (135). Here Abhirami has shown that she belongs to a lower caste most of whom are poor, so she needs to work for money under the upper class. But she was suppressed abused by the people who belong to ruling party. The power and money exploit the low class. Next, the fifteen people (both men and women) who belong to lower caste cannot raise their voice against their landlord who belong to upper caste. When Abhirami was dragged by Velappan, these fifteen people “... stood like a stone, petrified by his autocratic strength and the power of the two henchmen. Used as they were to living in servile fear, the grass bundles and sickles dead in their hands, they watched mutely...” (5). These fifteen people cannot fight against the higher caste people who have both political power and money.

The characters who belong to the upper classes are Velappan, his wife, his father and the panchayat president. Velappan is the one who abused Abhirami and behaved rudely with his words and behavior. Velappan scolded her as a “Thieving slut, what impertinence! You won’t obey if we send for you? You will, only if we drag you.” (4) In this story Velappan’s father is so close to panchayat president and he reveals this saying that they hail from the “same ancestors.” Next the Panchayat head says that “the men are not to be blamed. They do not approach the women on their own. It is the women who provoke men to rape them by their behavior, the way they dress, and their expressions.” (6) These things show how they think high of themselves and how women are looked down by the society and the upper class people in the village.

Firmness in Abhirami

Chudamani has displayed the woman who fits in the context of tradition and she doesn’t show the character Abhirami as a weaker one. Instead Abhirami is shown as a strong woman who “did not conceal what happened to her. She did not shrink with shame. She did not drown herself in a pond. Though she was tossed by grief, humiliation and rage, she stood up straight, looked at Velappan in the face, and pointed out, ‘He is the one who ruined me.’” (5)

Thus, in spite of being a working-class woman and down-trodden both in caste and economy, she seeks justice in front of the panchayat with courage. Though she was oppressed by the men of upper-class she stands for herself. But she doesn't get the justice she asked for. On the other hand, Velappan dies suspiciously under the tamarind tree with sickle gashes at the end of the story. The police inspector investigated the people and reported that the village people believed that the "tamarind tree demon had done this" or it might have been done by people belonging to the neighboring village because of his popularity in politics.

Conclusion

The analysis of the story "We Don't Know" gives a vivid picture of the society which is divided in the name of class and caste. It also brings out how the working-class women are oppressed by the upper class. The character Abhirami and the fifteen people who seek justice for her struggle for their justice to create an ideal society without any discrimination. Marxist feminism helps the readers to identify the problems of working-class women and what they seek as solution. It also reveals the challenges that they face in an androcentric society.

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Emergent Literacy: Knowledge and Belief of Preschool Teachers in Kerala

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Abstract

Emergent literacy skills are considered as very important precursors for the development of conventional literacy skills. Knowledge and belief of preschool teachers regarding emergent literacy are influenced by their educational qualification and number of years of experience. Classroom practices as well as academic performance of children are likely to differ based on the above two factors. The current study aims to investigate the knowledge and belief of preschool teachers in Kerala, a southern state of India about emergent literacy. A survey was conducted with 20-item questionnaire. Forty-eight female preschool teachers from 10 CBSE schools of south Kerala were selected for the study. Questionnaire was administered individually through an interview method. Results revealed that neither educational qualification nor years of experience have an impact on teachers' knowledge and belief. The results are discussed with reference to the in-service training programs offered to preschool teachers.

Keywords: Kerala State, preschool teachers, emergent literacy, knowledge and belief.

The academic success of an individual is influenced by a range of factors such as biological, environmental, social and instructional methods. Studies on instructional and environmental constructs have established the importance of early literacy skills (National Early Literacy Panel, NELP, 2008; Neuman & Dickinson; 2001), which are considered to be precursors of conventional literacy skills. Importance of preschool period in later reading success has been much investigated

in the recent years which resulted in the advancement and acceptance of *emergent literacy skills* (Adams, 1990; Clay, 1993; Teale & Sulby, 1986; Whitehurst & Lonigan, 1998). As per emergent literacy perspectives, literacy skills develop as a continuum of language acquisition and not solely with exposure to formal schooling. Emergent literacy skills are acquired through informal processes in which children develop an understanding about literacy skills when they are engaged in literacy related activities in the environment. In contrast, *reading readiness* perspective relies on the assumption that literacy skills should only be introduced to children only when they are ready for it. Few decades ago, strong conflict existed between these two perspectives, however emergent literacy skills established well through evidence based practices.

Emergent literacy skills or attitudes develop long before children enter formal schooling system. During the emergent literacy phase, children *learn about reading* rather than *learning to read* and they develop knowledge and attitudes about literacy in early childhood itself. Research in this area asserts that emergent literacy skills predict reading success in school years. Whitehurst and Lonigan (1998) developed a model for emergent literacy skills which encompasses outside-in processes and inside-out processes. The outside-in process includes oral language, narrative skills, print conventions, and emergent reading. Inside-out processes are code related skills like phonological awareness skills, rapid automatized naming, phonological memory, print motivation and phoneme- grapheme correspondence.

As emergent literacy skills develop prior to formal instruction, engaging the child with literacy-rich activities during this age becomes very important. Earlier, proponents of emergent literacy acknowledged only the importance of social interaction in the development of emergent literacy. However, due to increased academic expectations in the recent years, they also acknowledge the importance of direct instruction which refers to well-planned systematic guidance and not formal instructions. Hence, Sulzby and Teale (1991) stated that though emergent literacy is considered as a developmental continuum, it must be intentionally taught well before first grade. However, in the recent past, there is a general agreement that literacy environments have a key role in the development of emergent literacy skills (Gustafsson & Mellgren, 2002; Neuman, 2007). Carroll (2013) lists four factors that impact literacy development - parents who serve as their children's first teachers; access to high-quality preschool; kindergarten programs that help children catch up if they missed out on preschool; and skilled instruction in the first through third grades. The second and third factors are focused on the preschool environment.

Numerous studies on the role of preschool environment suggest that preschool and day-care environments positively influence children's emergent literacy (Bryant, Burchinal, Lau, & Sparling, 1994; Schliecker, White & Jacobs, 1991). Bryant et al., (1994) state that children's cognitive and achievement scores can be predicted using Early Childhood Environmental Rating

Scale (ECERS) scores used for measuring the daycare quality when the home environment was controlled. Preschool environment implicitly determines children's academic success by its influence on emergent literacy development. The quality of interaction in the preschool environments, daycare attendance, and preschool teachers' attitude is significant for children's motivation in the early literacy learning process. Teachers can facilitate emergent literacy development through play activities (Norling, 2014), and shared book reading (Carrol, 2013). Yet, emergent literacy perspectives are not widely accepted or used by preschool teachers even though there is a wide agreement about the importance of emergent literacy skills in later reading success. Apart from the preschool environment, majority of recent studies in this area are focused on preschool teachers' beliefs about emergent literacy in the various cultural background.

A growing body of research exists in the field of preschool teachers' belief about emergent literacy (Cunningham, Zibuksky, & Callahan, 2009; Lopes & Fernandes, 2009; Norling, 2014; Sandvik, van Daal, & Ader, 2014) suggests that classroom practices and subsequently children's outcomes are influenced by their belief. McMullen et al., (2006) reported that teachers' self-reported statements that revealed developmentally appropriate practice during playtime was contradictory to their actual classroom practices with more traditional methods. In contrast, a focused group interview conducted by Norling (2014) on 188 preschool staff in Swedish preschool affirm that preschool staff used emergent literacy approaches during the whole day. Very few studies have been focused on the relationship between teachers' belief and children outcome. A comparative study done by Cash, Cabell, Hamre, Decoster and Pianta (2015) about the language and literacy belief and knowledge of teachers and child development indicate that teachers' knowledge is a better predictor of language and literacy skills of children than their belief. They also suggested that this knowledge will help teachers to implement better practices and innovative strategies and thereby promote literacy success.

Lynch and Owston (2015) compared the preschool teachers' beliefs for code related skills, oral language skills, book reading and writing skills. The results revealed that code related skills such as print knowledge and phonological awareness showed lower evidence-based practices compared to oral language skills. They also found that teachers with less experience had beliefs that synchronize with research evidence. Studying teachers' beliefs can shed light on how teachers use and evaluate instructional practices (Nisbett & Ross, 1980; Shavelson, 1983; Shavelson & Stern, 1981). It may be expected that belief and practices of teachers can be influenced by variables like their years of experience, educational qualification, in-service training programs. Girolametto, Wietzman, and Greenberg (2006) investigated the influence of in-service program on teachers' practices and children's performance. Despite the improvement in teachers' practice, children's vocabulary and peer interaction were reported as inadequate. A focused group interview conducted by Lopes and Fernandes (2009) reveals that preschool teachers believe that rather than in-service

teacher education, experience has a significant role in influencing their beliefs and practices. The findings also assert that most of their daily practices do not involve emergent literacy-focused activities. Research on belief or attitudes of teachers in this regard shows that it varies with culture (Samuelsson et al., 2007; Sandvik et al., 2014) across countries (Cornoldi, Capodieci, Miranda, & Shepard, 2016). Thus, these aspects must be viewed within appropriate cultural context.

Very limited number of studies have been done in the field of early childhood education especially on teachers' belief and knowledge on emergent literacy in Indian context. Kerala is the first complete literate state in India as well as the first Indian state to achieve complete primary education (Shaju Philip, 2016). Studying emergent literacy beliefs and knowledge of preschool teachers in unique State like Kerala is very much desirable. Whether teachers are guided by earlier reading readiness perspective or the recent emergent literacy perspective is one of the concerns that led to conceptualization of the present study. Purpose of the study was to investigate the knowledge and beliefs of preschool teachers regarding emergent literacy. Research questions addressed in this study are:

- Does knowledge and belief of emergent literacy in preschool teachers differ,
- a) With regard to their years of experience?
 - b) With regard to their level of educational qualification?

Method

Participants

The sample consisted of 48 female preschool teachers from 10 CBSE schools of south Kerala who were selected through purposive sampling method. Age of the teachers ranged from 24-51 years with a mean age of 37 years. The years of experience ranged from one year to 22 years with a mean of 10 years. All teachers had undergone preprimary teachers training program. Educational qualification of teachers ranged from post SSLC /TTC (Teachers Training Course) through Post graduation. Participant details are presented in Table 1.

Table 1.

<i>Participant details</i>		
Particulars		Number of participants(N)
Age group	20-30	12
	30-40	18
	40-50	18
Teaching experience	0-5	14
	5-10	8
	10-15	12

	15-20	10
	20-25	4
Level of teacher education	TTC	20
	Graduation	14
	B. Ed.	10
	Post-Graduation	4

*TTC-Teachers Training Certificate, B. Ed- Bachelor of Education

Research Design and Instrument

Survey method was used to collect data from the sample. A 20 item questionnaire was developed in English for the study (See Appendix A for details). An extensive literature review of emergent literacy skills and knowledge and beliefs of preschool teachers on emergent literacy was used to develop the items for the survey. The current study used 3 points Likert scale for rating each item. Derrington's (2009) guidelines were followed to develop the questionnaire. As per this guideline, 2 or 3 reviewers need to read the survey question for ensuring the clarity of the phrase and the appropriateness of the content to the research context. So, the developed questionnaire was given to six B. Ed. students to check for the clarity, ambiguity and appropriateness of the phrases included in the questionnaire. Few items were edited further as recommended by the judges. Nine items were negatively stated to reduce false positive responses by respondents who might use a consistent pattern in giving responses. These negative statements were later reverse scored (Please see Appendix I for questionnaire). The questionnaire consisted of two sections. Section I contained questions about demographic details such as age, gender, educational qualification, years of experience and medium of instruction. In section II, 20 statements were included, and these statements were focused on knowledge and belief of preschool teachers on emergent literacy aspects, best teaching strategies, linguistic perspective on literacy development, the influence of environmental factors such as socioeconomic status, the role of teachers, and role of parents.

Procedure

Purpose of the study as well as the confidentiality was discussed with the school principals and permission was taken from the respective authorities. The questionnaire was administered individually by an interview method which took approximately 10 minutes to administer on each participant. The interview was carried out in a quiet room within the school. Participants were informed about the purpose of the study and the confidentiality of their responses. Informed written consent was taken from the participants. Participants were instructed to rate each statement on a three-point rating scale.

Statistical Analysis

The data was tabulated and analyzed using SPSS 17 version. Preliminary analyses to check for the normality revealed that the data was not following normal distribution ($p < 0.05$). Hence, nonparametric tests were used for further analyses. To address research questions, the data was analyzed using frequency distribution, median and chi-square tests.

Results

The participants were grouped into two groups based on the education level and years of experience. In order to address the first research question i.e. is there any difference in the knowledge and belief of preschool teachers with respect to their years of teaching experience, the entire sample was divided into two groups based on years of teaching experience- Group 1 (less than or equal to 10 years of experience) with 22 participants and Group 2 (more than 10 years of experience) with 26 participants. Frequency distribution of data based on years of experience revealed that 46% of the participants had less than 10 years of experience while 54% had more than 10 years of experience.

To address the second research question, i.e., is there any difference in the knowledge and belief of preschool teachers with regard to their level of educational qualification, grouping was made based on education level as well. Grouping was made using dichotomous pattern with graduation as the discriminating point. Therefore, Group 1 consisted of 34 participants with educational background below or equal to graduation, such as TTC or any graduation and Group 2 consisted of 14 participants with post-graduation or B. Ed. in special education. Table 2 depicts the frequency distribution of preschool teachers on the basis of years of experience and educational qualification.

Table 2

Grouping of teachers based on education level and years of experiences

Educational qualification	Number of teachers	Years of experience	Number of teachers
Group 1(TTC or degree)	34	Group 1 (≤ 10 yrs)	20
Group 2(Post graduation or B. Ed.)	14	Group 2(≥ 10 yrs)	28

*TTC-Teachers Training Certificate, B. Ed- Bachelor of Education

Data was analyzed using descriptive statistics for total scores and individual items. Frequency distribution, mean, median, and standard deviation for all the variables under study were calculated. The knowledge and beliefs of preschool teachers were scored for two groups with respect to the years of experience (Group 1; < 10 years of experience and group 2; > 10 years of

experience). Mean scores of group 1 and 2 were 24 and 25 respectively. Mann-Whitney U test was employed to examine differences between groups if any. As shown in Table 3 results indicated no significant difference between the two groups ($|z| = 1.13, p = 0.26$). This indicates that beliefs and knowledge of preschool teachers were not significantly different with respect to the years of experience.

Table 3

Mean values and pairwise comparison of belief and knowledge of emergent literacy

	Group 1	Group 2	Pairwise Comparison	
	Mean	Mean	$ z $	p
Comparison based on years of experience	24	25	1.13	0.26
Comparison based on educational level	24	25	1.13	0.26

To verify the association of teachers' beliefs and knowledge with their years of experience, Spearman's rho was also calculated as the data was not following normality. The results showed no significant association between teachers' knowledge and beliefs with their years of experience ($r = -.280, p = .054$).

The second research question addressed in the present study was to find out if any there is a difference in the knowledge and beliefs of preschool teachers based on their educational level. Even though 70% of teachers were in group 1 (below or equal to graduation level), there was no significant difference in their beliefs compared to the Group 2 with higher education background ($|z| = 2.290, p = .840$). Spearman's rho value ($r = .029, p = .845$) showed no significant association between the education level of preschool teachers and their total scores on knowledge and belief about emergent literacy. Table 4 illustrates chi-square values and level of significance for the twenty questions in terms of educational background and years of experience.

Table 4

Chi-square values and level of significance for educational background and years of experience across twenty questions.

Question no.	Education background (χ^2)	Sig.	Years of experience (χ^2)	Sig.
1.	.416	.816	2.528	.283
2.	1.850	.174	3.679	.055
3.	.960	.619	8.468	.014
4.	.917	.338	.125	.724

5.	.403	.525	.343	.558
6.	.803	.369	2.100	.147
7.	1.613	.204	.000	1.00
8.	.138	.710	.010	.922
9.	.071	.791	.240	.624
10.	2.501	.286	3.543	.170
11.	.878	.349	.578	.447
12.	2.249	.325	6.00	.050**
13.	2.724	.099	.002	.960
14.	7.594	.022	.865	.649
15.	.672	.412	2.286	.131
16.	1.948	.163	2.508	.113
17.	.004	.948	.361	.548
18.	.081	.776	1.714	.190
19.	.081	.776	.274	.600
20.	1.556	.459	.073	.964

A descriptive analysis of the data was done to answer the third question. Teacher's agreement in each of the statements was analyzed. Across the questions knowledge about code related skills (phonics, rhyming, print knowledge, alphabetic principle) role of school, and role of parents showed strong agreement among teachers. This indicates that their beliefs are more in line with the evidence based research for the above aspects. However, disagreement observed in case of oral language skills, early identification, teaching strategies and linguistic perspectives among teachers. This reveals the lack of coherence in the belief of preschool teachers with the evidence based research. Questions in which teachers were uncertain did not show any effect of educational level or years of experiences. This result contradicts the findings that teachers with less experience have beliefs more in line with evidence based research.

Discussion

Results of the current study revealed that there is no significant difference in the knowledge and belief of preschool teachers either with their years of experience or the educational level. These findings shed light on the fact that number of years of experience of preschool teachers is not a major concern in the area of early childhood education. In view of the absence of statistical significance, a qualitative analysis of the data was also done to compare the performance of teachers for each question. Teacher's agreement in each of the statements was analyzed. Among the questions, those which focused on belief about code-related skills (phonics, rhyming, print knowledge, alphabetic principle), the role of school, and the role of parents showed strong agreement among teachers.

This indicates that they have a positive belief and good knowledge about these aspects, suggesting that their knowledge and beliefs are more in line with the current findings from other countries (Lopes & Fernandes, 2009; (Sandvik et al. 2014). However, level of agreement was low in case of oral language skills, early identification, teaching strategies and linguistic perspectives among teachers suggesting that there is a wide scope to enhance the knowledge of teachers. Questions in which teachers were uncertain did not show any effect of educational level or years of experiences.

Irrespective of the level of educational qualification and years of experience preschool teachers have fairly positive belief and knowledge on emergent literacy skills, the role of teachers and parents, but were not sure about the teaching strategies and early identification. This is in contrast to earlier findings by many researchers, wherein they argued that beliefs of teachers were influenced by years of experience and educational qualification (Lynch & Owston, 2015; Lopes & Fernandes, 2009). Lynch and Owston (2015) assert that educational background doesn't have an impact on belief, whereas number of years of experience is strongly correlated with beliefs especially for domains like oral language and vocabulary development. In the present study, teachers with less experience had beliefs more in line with the research evidences. While, Lopes and Fernandes (2009) found that educational level of participants determines the oral language and print related activities, since teachers with a low level of training engaged children less in those activities.

Absence of no significant difference in knowledge and belief of preschool teachers on emergent literacy with respect to educational level, may lead to the assumption that though the teaching pedagogy of various teacher education programs are different, it has least significant influence on preschool teachers' belief and knowledge. The lack of difference with respect to educational background and years of experience may be attributed to the in-service training program that these teachers are provided with as a policy. Hence, this implies that, the in-service education programs are more important than the curriculum of teachers' education program or level of education of preschool teachers. These findings may also be due to the socially acceptable responses of preschool teachers.

As the topic of the study was explained to the participants prior to initiation of the study, the probability of preschool teachers providing socially acceptable responses would have led to the insignificant difference. As evidenced by various studies, beliefs of preschool teachers influence their practices which in turn have a substantial influence on later child outcomes (Fang, 1996; Foote, Smith, & Ellis, 2004). Examining measures of teachers' beliefs and knowledge assist in setting up goals for teacher education and teacher training curriculum.

As teachers in the current study showed a low level of agreement for teaching strategies and early identification, it indicates the need for more focus on this concern during the professional development and teacher training program. In addition to this, awareness regarding emergent literacy helps in early identification of children at risk of academic failure in future. Therefore, in-service training programs should also emphasize on research-based guidelines for promoting emergent literacy, strategies and tools to implement these strategies. Though, literacy awareness programs affect the belief of teachers, it did not influence the practice of preschool teachers significantly as evidenced by research (Sandvik, et al., 2014).

There is no evidence available on the effectiveness of in-service programs on the practice of preschool teachers in our scenario. However, these modifications can be included in the training programs if it has not been included at present, expecting to have an impact on their practice and later child outcome.

As the current study measures belief and knowledge of preschool teachers, interpretation and generalization of the results has to be done with caution. There exists a debate regarding the efficacy of belief and knowledge measures in this area. Cash, et al., (2015) found that beliefs of preschool teachers show no significant association with children's skills whereas knowledge of language and literacy skills could predict the expressive vocabulary and print knowledge respectively. Preschool and elementary teachers overestimate their language and literacy knowledge and are confused with terminologies like phoneme, morphological awareness etc. (Cunningham, et al., 2009). Therefore, studies assessing the knowledge of language and literacy skills of preschool teachers would be more reliable and can be planned for future research. In conclusion, the current study reveals that preschool teacher's beliefs and knowledge about emergent literacy are consistent and are in line with research advances. But this is not attributed to their educational qualification or years of experience rather in the in-service training programs they would have attended.

Limitations

Though the current study is the first of its kind in this area especially in Kerala, it has a few limitations. As the research instrument used for this survey was newly developed, extensive piloting would have helped in refining the questionnaire. Regarding the validity of the questionnaire, only content validity was done for this tool. Further refinement of this tool by including other features of teacher's beliefs, a grouping of the question items into subscales would have given a clear picture of teachers' belief and knowledge. A five or six-point rating scaling would have given a better clarity of responses than the three-point rating scale used in this study. The other limitation of the current study is with respect to generalizing the findings to other areas and susceptibility of these findings to change in the future.

Future Research

Since there is no effect of educational level or years of experience the factor which contributes to their beliefs may be the in-service training program given to the preschool teachers in Kerala. Comparative studies of teacher's who are attending a training program and not attending can be done in future. This may help in improving the quality of education for preschoolers. As teachers' belief have a strong impact on classroom practices and academic success of children, studies relating teacher's beliefs, knowledge their practice and outcome can be considered as a future plan. Also, studies based on teacher's knowledge and classroom observations can be planned in future.

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APPENDIX 1

QUESTIONNAIRE -BELIF AND KNOWLEDGE OF PRESCHOOL TEACHERS ON EMREAGENT LITERACY

Demographic Details

Name: _____ Age & Gender: _____

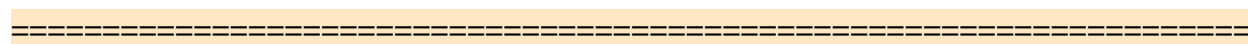
Educational qualification: _____ Years of experience: _____

Trained pre-primary teacher: Yes/No Medium of instruction for teaching: _____

Mobile no: _____ Email: _____

Sl. No	Questions	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
1.	Children at risk for learning disability can be identified at preschool			
2.	Children should be given literacy training only after a certain age.			
3.	Children's literacy development is related to socioeconomic status.			
4.	Emergent literacy is a skill which develops with formal schooling instruction			
5.	Emergent literacy is the knowledge of letters and numbers.			
6.	Successive reading is due to the quality of school and not due to emergent literacy skills			
7.	Emergent literacy skills cannot be facilitated by family members without the teachers support			
8.	Preschool children find it difficult to learn if taught in two languages.			
9.	Methods of teaching are similar irrespective of the languages taught.			
10.	Children at risk for learning disability if treated early overcome literacy failure.			

11.	Speech and language skills(Oral language skills) do not influence child's literacy development			
12.	Print knowledge (print conveys meaning, reading from top to bottom etc.) predicts literacy success			
13.	Storytelling and shared book reading facilitate literacy development			
14.	Phonics training in preschool helps children to develop better letter-sound knowledge and reading skills			
15.	Success in reading is not determined by the ability to rhyme, blend and segment speech sounds			
16.	Learning disability is often seen in children who are exposed to TV, cartoon films and show poor social interaction skills.			
17.	Book handling skills of a child has no role in literacy success			
18.	Children with learning disability cannot be cured because they have poor intelligence.			
19.	Occurrence of learning disability is increasing in recent years because of exposure to two or three languages.			
20.	Modification in educational system/ curriculum, training or support for preschool teachers can reduce the occurrence of learning disability.			



Functions of Translation and Translator

**Dr Anupam Kumar, Dr Anjali Singh, Dr Abha Mishra and
Ms. Abha Shree Pandey**

=====
With the advancements in every sphere of life in multi-ethnic and plurilingual society of India, the need of translation has become more vital and crucial in our times. The “unity in diversity” concept refers not only to nationality but also to language, culture, social organizations and philosophy. Translation is the only means of providing us a fresh view of oneness, unity and commonality. Translation has become more of a literary necessity and has begun to cater to the demands and needs, not only of the intellectuals, but of the common man too. The interdependence at several levels—individual, societal and national, and growing need for cross-cultural transfers, have brought translation to the very centre of communication. The common ideal must, of course, be the source of that nebulous “unity” we talk of. Literary translations into and from Indian and foreign languages also help us to unravel, capture and preserve this ideal.

This paper tries to examine the areas of both necessities and possibilities of translation for our literary literacy and literary pursuits. The paper will also discuss the various methods of translation. The paper will discuss the qualities of a good translator also.

Thus, the paper is designed to focus on the need of translation, about good, skilled translators and the quest for literary pursuit.

Keywords: *Translatore, Traitore, Co-creation, Re-creation, Intra-lingual, Inter-lingual, Target Language, Source Language, Ubhaybhashapraveen.*

Translator Not a Traitor Now

“Translatoretraitore” is an Italian phrase which means “A translator (is a) traitor” (<https://www.altalang.com/beyond-words/traduttore-traditore/>)
One may have the idea that translation may be a second-hand display of literary merit. But this is a literary pursuit of rather another kind. This becomes the need of our times. These thoughts form the edifice of the arguments of this paper. In recent times, translation has become more of a social necessity and has begun to cater to the demands and needs not only of the cultivated elite but also of the common man. The interdependence at several levels - individual, societal, and national - and growing needs for cross-cultural transfer have brought translation to the very

centre of communication globally. In order to cope with the explosion of knowledge and to understand one another and to appreciate different modes of thought and different lifestyle, translation has become a vital, crucial literary activity. It is even more vital and crucial in the multi-ethnic and plurilingual society of India.

We are of the opinion that unity in diversity has always characterized the Indian society. This unity in diversity refers not only to national but also to language, culture, social organization, and philosophy. Translation has given rise to the immediate need to look afresh at the very source of Indian unity and Indian sensibility, and Indian ethos. It has also become imperative to see and understand how this sensibility and ethos is crafted into creative forms.

We think the job of a translator is in no way inferior to that of a writer. Rather his task is more difficult. A writer writes what he himself thinks. A writer usually projects what is stored in his own mind. Contrary to it, a translator has to first peep into the mind of the writer and then project it through his own medium. He has, therefore, to know very well the language of the writer as well as the language in which he is trying to transmit the ideas of the writer. He has also to know the culture and the tradition in which the writer has been brought up. He should also be well acquainted with the history of the region of which the original writer is a product, for every writer while writing, writes his own times knowingly or unknowingly. Furthermore, he has also to know the mood of the writer, because sometimes a writer does not use a word only in its ordinary meaning. A good translator should be as near to the original as possible. This makes the job of translator really very hard. But challenge is challenge and those who are interesting in doing translation have to accept the challenges, otherwise there is no compulsion on him to translate at all. Thus, literary translation may be considered as a co-creative activity. It is an autonomous literary genre. The translator should not care about criticism. He should interpret understanding. To catch the life pattern, he may prepare himself with a reading of available criticism of the work. He should ignore criticism of the translation. He could employ a knowledgeable reader for the accuracy of his interpretation, privately. A good translator should have the intellectual understanding and aesthetic involvement with the work he translates. A translation should have the pulsating life within it. Empathy with the writer and his characters is a primary requisite of fictional works. When the empathy is established, fidelity is the next thing to be obtained in a translation. It is also a fact that a rigid one hundred per cent faithfulness from the translator cannot be expected. Any kind of unflinching loyalty, loyalty to each and every word or the original may prove to be a shackle to the translator. Every translator worth his salt knows this. A translator should be granted a certain trimming right.

In Indian context, as we think, translation becomes an effective means of affording a fresh view, in addition to what one gains from his or her own language. Thematically, like any true international literature, Indian literature may be viewed as an integrated unity that finds

expression in different languages. But this unity has still to be demonstrated convincingly. And this can be done through translation only. This sameness can be captured by the translator of literature. Literary translation into and from Indian languages can help us to unravel our culture and preserve its ideal. New education policy has accepted that translation has crucial role to play in the development and progress of Indian languages. Some critics think even an indifferent and bad translation is better than no translation. So far India is concerned, there has been a long Indian tradition of bilingualism and multilingualism and the concept of “*ubhyabhashapraveen*” (a language expert who knows two languages).

Translation works have different levels of difficulties. In poetry, the physical dimension is the most different/difficult to translate. It is almost impossible to translate the rhythmic patterns, meter and onomatopoeic words. The experience of one poet is bound to be different from another’s. So, the translator should study and master to the poet and his mood as well as context. Poetry itself is a translation of one’s feelings. Then why should the translator be deprived of the liberty of translating the text in his own way? It is true the message-oriented poetry can be translated easily but not the music oriented ones. It is also true a poet can translate his own material, but a non-poet cannot translate poetry. After all, poets are poets, and translators are translators.

In our opinion, some other areas that challenge the translator in poetry are the culture specific items, historical and mythological references and other allusion, idioms, proverbs, colloquial and archaic words, pens, symbols, images metaphases, etc. Prose fiction, though considered to be comparatively easier, has some problems in common with poetry, especially the problems related to culture specific terms, e.g. how would Ishwar, Brahman, Mangala-sutra or the word Samskara be translated into English? Local dialects, whose rhythm, idioms, nuances, etc., are rooted in local tradition, pose a serious problem for the translator. Other problem areas concern words and expressions related to festivals, seasons, family relationship, social norms, idiomatic expressions, and dovetailing of tenses, merging the past tense with the present in the same story, but this is not possible in the case of languages like English.

The problems confronted in drama by the languages group are quite similar to the ones confronted in prose fiction. In addition to culturally loaded expressions, e.g. forms of address pose a major problem. How would one translate good morning, good afternoon, etc.? Also, the intimacy captured in the second person singular usage, equivalent to the Hindi tu (you), would pose a problem while translating into English, French, German, etc.

There are many problems of translation. It is not possible to retain all the nuances of the original in the translation. Another problem that a translator faces, lies in translating technical, literary, scientific and other terms. Term and terminology are also parts of the mainstream of the

language. While translating one must manipulate the terms and design them so that they are absorbed within the language. Further, a literary convention like the theatre of the Absurd would be difficult to translate into an Indian language.

We should consider the fact that a translation is not a re-creation of the original but a creation of one of its many possibilities. And for this a translator must know the basic disciplines related to translation theory, such as linguistics, semiotics and literature theories.

Taking the semiotic perspective, a three way distinction can be established between Intra-lingual translation, inter-lingual translation and inter-semiotic translation. Dealing with the structure and organization of literary text, different layers and levels of linguistic organization can be identified such as sounds, words, sentence structure and meaning. At the level of phonology, the questions of metrics, rhythm and principles of sonority, assonance and consonance can be discussed. Special attention should be paid to the distinction between stress-timed prosody and syllable-timed prosody. At the level of fiction, question of synonymy, antonymy and hyponymy should be discussed with examples drawn from some pre-selected text. With regard to syntax, the problem of grasping and translating complex structures should be discussed.

The process of translation has three stages- decoding, transform and encoding. There are three stages in the translation process. The role of a translator, the role of a reader, and the role of a bilingual literary craftsman. A competent translation comes into being only when the translator is able to perform all the three roles successfully. The process of translation involves two kinds of problem – problem of literary interpretation on the one hand, and on the other, problems of meaning or transfer through adherence to the principles of equivalence. Translation is not a monolithic activity, rather it is multifaceted and multi-dimensional enterprise. Translation may be of different types, depending on the type of text involved, the target readers the aim of the translator. Now-a-days, group translation is preferred to individual translation, as the collective effort could smooth out the problems better and lesson the confusion of the readers. There is a new method of back and forth translation, where a process of multiple translation is involved. It is from source Language (SL) to Target Language (TL) to Source language (SL) and again to target language (TL).

There are at least three requirements of a good literary translation. First, the translator should be faithful to the original and he should not make any addition or alteration in the original. Second, idioms used in the source language can be recreated in the target language to give the original colouring to the translation. Third, the translation should be as lively as the original. As translation is not a monistic composition but an interpretation and conglomeration of

two structures, so it needs bilingual competence. Thus, only the study of literary translations can become a valuable comparative critical exercise.

The primary consideration of a translator should not be to get his work absorbed within the native literature of the target language; but rather to present the work which can confront the target readers as an alien work. In this process the target language should change- and acquire newer shades – under the process of the source language. This will not only enhance the quality of translation but enrich the target language in a specialized way. In fact, language making or building up of new nuances is another purpose that a translation serves. A translator must weigh each word of the original and examine its connotations.

The idea of an absolutely faithful translation is non-scientific, as it is not simply a lexical business. Two similar words could have different or contradictory meanings in two languages. The more introvert the piece is, the more difficult it is to translate, irrespective of its being prose or poetry. The readers of the target language are the ultimate judge of the success of a translation. Since the translator is an interpreter, he should not be a blind hunter of words but a careful explorer into the realm of equivalence of meaning that is enlarged and elaborated by context. An interpreter is not really the one who distorts, but one who expounds, as scansion is the duty of an interpreter, and hence of a translator too.

The translators are also creative artists in their own terms. The literary critics and scholars usually have scant regard for translation, though its general usefulness as well as its importance in the creative activity of a writer are acknowledged. We can emphasize the amphibilingual status of a translated text. There is a need for translation as it is virtually impossible for the readers to know more than a few languages. In the USSR all the regional languages have a great importance. Since the regional languages of India share the same ethos and social norms, the problems arising of the difference in language structure are considerably lessened while translating. But while translating from western literature the problems are more due to the totally different social milieu. Translation has its own value.

Dwijendra Nath Tagore, the elder brother of Ravindra Nath Tagore, had once wondered why the latter was translating his own works. He was of the opinion that it was the responsibility of others to translate the poet's works. But he was proved wrong. Translations did have a great role to make Tagore an international literary figure. Nobody can deny this verdict now.

The translation of a literature work differs vastly from that of a non-literary work. A literal translation, transforming the factual meaning of sentences, could not be enough for the translation of creative literature. Though not fundamentally creative the translation of creative literature is also creative in a sense. One feels the need of translation while teaching comparative

literature. A translator is often called traitor. But through translation we have been acquainted with the variety of the literature of the world. We often judge the excellence of a foreign work through the English version. Translation are important for the third world countries, especially. If we want to reach out and build bridge amongst us, translation is the only effective method to help speed up integrating. For this a translator should have a fair amount of knowledge about the both languages. A good translator plays the role of a critic also. A passionate involvement with the original work helps a lot in doing the job nicely. He must have a knack to understand the attitude, temperament and philosophy of the author. Last but not least, translation helps reaching good literature to a wider audience across linguistic and geographical barriers. It carries emotions, feelings and fine nuances from one language to another language. Thus, it enriches the literary and cultural heritage of people. Hence translation is carried on as a baton of the relay race to the newcomers.

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**PHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES IN MALAYALAM-SPEAKING 5-6 YEAR
OLD URBAN AND RURAL CHILDREN**

AZHARUDHEEN C V

Register No. 169570603

**A dissertation submitted as a part of fulfillment for fourth semester of
“MASTER IN AUDIOLOGY AND SPEECH LANGUAGE PATHOLOGY”**



MANGALORE UNIVERSITY



DR. M. V. SHETTY COLLEGE OF SPEECH AND HEARING

Maladi Court, Kavour, Mangalore-575015,

MAY-2018

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled “**PHONOLOGICAL PROCESS IN MALAYALAM SPEAKING 5-6-YEAR-OLD URBAN AND RURAL CHILDREN**” is the bona fide work in part fulfillment of fourth semester of Master in Audiology and Speech Language Pathology of the student with **Register No.169570603**.

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May 2018

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled “**PHONOLOGICAL PROCESS IN MALAYALAM SPEAKING 5-6 YEAR OLD URBAN AND RURAL CHILDREN**” has been prepared under my guidance and supervision.

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation entitled “**PHONOLOGICAL PROCESS IN MALAYALAM SPEAKING 5-6-YEAR-OLD URBAN AND RURAL CHILDREN**” is the result of my own study under the guidance of Mr. Satish K., professor, Dr. M. V. Shetty College of Speech and Hearing, Mangalore, and has not been submitted earlier at any other university for any other diploma or degree.

May 2018

Mangalore

AZHARUDHEEN CV

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DEDICATED
TO
MY LOVING
FAMILY & FRIENDS

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“If you are grateful, I would certainly give you more; and if you are ungrateful, My chastisement is truly severe.” (14:7)

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Azharudheen C V

Phonological Processes in Malayalam-Speaking 5-6 Year Old Urban and Rural Children 6

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(alaku, alphi, pandy (Elizabeth my 6 year friend) jemi, jibi, aakram (Priyanka),sebu, shiyoo, sneha & sru.....)

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Thank You All...

Azharudheen cv

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CHAPTER-1

INTRODUCTION

Language refers to a rule based system of symbolic communication involving a set of small units (syllables or word) that can be combined to yield an infinite number of larger language forms (Hoff & Naigles, 2002).

Phonology is a branch of linguistics concerned with the systematic organization of sounds in language. It has traditionally focused largely on the study of the system of phonemes in particular language

Phonological processes are pattern of sound errors that typical children simplify their speech as they are learning to talk. They do this because they don't have the ability to coordinate the lips, tongue, teeth, palate and jaw for clear speech. As a result, they simplify complex words in predictable ways until they develop the coordination required to articulate clearly, for example, they may reduce consonant clusters to a single consonant like, "pane" for "plane" or delete the weak syllable in a word saying, "nana" for "banana." There are many different patterns of simplifications or phonological processes namely Syllable Structure processes, Substation processes, and Substitution processes

Researches in western languages have focused on phonological development and various processes seen in developing children. Also several Indian studies focused on the similar area in a variety of Indian languages like Tamil, Kannada, Hindi, and Malayalam (Bharathy, 2001; Ramadevi & Prema 2002 and Rahul, 2006).

Stewart (2003) concluded that phonological process most frequently used were cluster reduction (77%), final consonant deletion (41%), stopping of affricate (25%), gliding of liquids (24%) and vowelization of /r/ (22%) in children aged 2years.

Manish and Kumarasamy (2011) compared phonological processes in Hindi speaking 3-4-year-old urban and rural children and found higher phonological processes in rural children when compared to urban children.

Simon and Kumaraswamy (2015) concluded that children in both rural and urban groups demonstrated a wide array of phonological processes. The higher percentages of phonological processes were noticed in rural children.

The knowledge of phonological development has a great significant in the clinical population to determine whether a child is phonologically disordered and needs intervention. However, a limited understanding of phonological development and a scarcity of data to evaluate the differences between the language conditions seen in urban and rural children might lead to a risk of misdiagnosis. Hence, the present study focuses on comparing the phonological processes across urban and rural in typical Malayalam speaking children.

CHAPTER- 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The child's language development is commonly divided into paralinguistic behavior, vocalization prior to the first true word and linguistic development, which starts with the appearance of these first words.

Phonological development is the acquisition of speech sound form and function within the language system (Mandel, Jusczyk & Pisoni, 1995). The acquisition of various speech sounds are intricately connected to the child's overall growth in language (Bauman- Waengler, 2004). The speech sound development refers, primarily to the gradual articulatory mastery of speech sound forms within a given language.

Phonological process is defined as systematic sound change or simplification that affects a class or sequence of sounds (Bernthal & Bankson ,1988). All children use these processes while their speech and language are developing. For example, very young children (ages 1 to 3) may say 'wa-wa' for water or "tat" for "cat". Other children may leave out the final sound in a word (for example, "pi" for "pig" or "ha" for "hat"). Up to age 3, these are appropriate productions. As children mature, their speech they stop using these patterns to simplify words. In fact, by age five, most children stop using all phonological processes and their speech sounds are more like adults. As children stop using phonological processes their speech becomes more understandable. This allows them to become better at communication.

According to Gurnwell (1985) Phonological processes can be characterized into three major categories:

- 1) Syllable Structure Processes
- 2) Substitution Processes
- 3) Assimilation Processes

1. **Syllable structure processes** are changes that affect the syllabic structures of a target word. Common Syllable Structures are Weak Syllable deletion, Cluster reduction, Deletion of Final consonant and Glottal replacement.

Weak syllable deletion (unstressed syllable deletion): an unstressed syllable is deleted, often at the beginning of a word, sometimes in the middle.

Eg: Telephone (tefon)

Potato (teto)

Consonant deletion: most often affect the final consonant, though initial and medial consonants may also be omitted.

Eg: Book (bu)

Cap (ka)

Diminutization: it is the processes of adding /i/ or consonant plus /i/ to a word. The resultant word is considered as immature speech pattern.

Eg: Hat (h ti)

Dog (dagi)

Doubling: Stoel-Gammon & Dunn (1985) defined “doubling” as the process of repetition in a word. Although some writers view use of reduplication as a developmental stage that all children pass through, others maintain that reduplication, like other phonological processes, represents an individual strategy characterizing the speech of some but not all children at some developmental point. In reduplication, usually a monosyllabic word, results in a multisyllabic word. This process is similar to the process of reduplication which has been categorized as harmony or assimilation process.

Eg: Ball (baba)

Bed (bebe)

Glottal replacement: Glottal replacement is the process of substituting a glottal stop for a consonant. Weiner (1979) hypothesized that it serves as a marker for an omitted consonant

Eg: Bath (b)

Fishing (fiʔin)

Cluster reduction: like other reduction processes, cluster reduction alters syllable structure also closely related to the segment substitution process in that the specific consonants omitted are typically those difficult to produce as singleton consonant. Cluster reduction is the process in which one of the consonants of a consonant cluster is omitted.

Eg: Park (pak)

Break (bek)

Coalescence: When two phonemes are substituted with a different phoneme that still has similar features.

Eg: Swim (frm)

Snow (nov)

Reduplicating: A syllable or a portion of a syllable is repeated, or target word is repeated.

Eg: Dad (dada)

Water (Wawa)

Epenthesis: refers to the addition of a vowel.

Eg.: School (sakul)

Black (balk)

2. Substitution processes: one sound is substituted for another, with the replacement reflecting changes in the place of articulation, manner of articulation, or some other change in the way a sound is produced in standard production.

Stopping: fricatives or affricates are replaced by stops.

Eg: Zoo (du)

Peach (pit)

Fronting: when velar or palatal sounds, like /k/, /g/ and /sh/ are substituted with alveolar sounds like /t/, /d/ and /s/

Eg: cookie (tooties)

Backing: when alveolar sounds, like /t/and /d/, are substituted with velar sounds like /k/and /g/

Eg: dog (gog)

Deaffrication: When an affricate like /ch/ or /j/ is replaced with a fricative or stop like /sh/ or /d/

Eg: chips (ships)

Affrication: fricatives are replaced by affricates.

Eg: sun (ts n)

Shoe (t u)

Palatalization: Palatalization occurs when a sound is produced as a palatal rather than as a non-palatal. This occurs on sibilants and clusters (Hodson, 1980).

Eg: Soup (up)

Cream (im)

Vowel Neutralization: Nasal vowels tend to be changed into oral vowels and vowels in general are often centralized, i.e. (a) or (ɪ).

Eg: juice (ju)

Depalatalisation: when a palatal sound is substituted with a non-palatal sound

Eg: tie (pie)

Gliding: prevocalic liquids are replaced by glides.

Eg: run (w n)

Rain (wen)

Vocalization: liquids or nasals are replaced by vowels.

Eg: Bird (bed)

Bottle (bado)

3. Assimilation processes: It is a common phonological process by which the phonetics of speech segment becomes more like that of another segment in a word.

Velar assimilation: a non-velar sound is changed to a velar sound because of the influence of the velar.

Eg: Duck (g k)

Nasal assimilation: a non-nasal sound is assimilated because of the influence of a non-nasal consonant.

Eg: Fun (n n)

Nose (none)

Alveolar assimilation: It refers to the case when non alveolar sound is changed to alveolar consonant in the presence of an alveolar sound in the adult standard.

Eg: doggie (d di)

Cat (t t)

Voicing assimilation: There are two types, prevocalic voicing and final consonant voicing

Eg: Big (bib)

Lag (d g)

Syllable harmony: this refers to the repetition of all or part of a syllable.

Eg: water (wawa)

Bottle (baba)

Labial assimilation: a non- labial sound is assimilated to a labial consonant.

Eg: Boat (bop)

WESTERN STUDIES

Smith, Hoffman (2018) evaluated phonological skills in Forty-four Bilingual children using measures designed for monolingual English speakers who were at risk for misdiagnosis of speech sound disorder. Children's single-word speech productions were examined on Percentage Consonants Correct-Revised and accuracy of early, middle, and late-developing sounds. Consonant accuracy in English was compared between monolinguals and bilinguals with and without speech sound disorders. Percentage Consonants Correct-Revised was found to be a good indicator of phonological ability in both monolingual and bilingual English-speaking children at the age of 5. No significant differences were found between language groups on any of the measures examined. Results suggest that traditional measures of phonological ability for monolinguals could provide good diagnostic accuracy for bilingual children at the age of 5 years.

Smith, Goldstein (2010) investigated the contribution of language interaction to phonological acquisition in bilingual Spanish-English speaking children. Single word and connected speech samples were obtained for 24 typically developing children. This study examined interaction between the two languages of bilingual children during phonological acquisition through the measurement of (a) transfer (the frequency and types of phonological transfer present in the speech of bilingual children); (b) deceleration (a slower rate of acquisition for bilinguals as compared with monolinguals); and (c) acceleration (a faster rate of acquisition for bilinguals as compared with monolinguals). The results indicated that transfer, deceleration, and a possible variation of the acceleration hypothesis occur in bilingual phonological acquisition.

Stewart (2003) took spontaneous speech sample of 8 children of 2 years of age of African American English speaking children in playful condition and sample of audio and video was taken. These children used the 18 phonological process as identified by ISPA (Interactive System for Phonological Analysis). Each process was calculated by using the total number of occurrences divided by the total number of opportunities for that process to occur. This calculation yielded a percentage for each process for all the participants. The process most frequently used were cluster reduction (77%), final consonant deletion (41%), stopping of affricate (25%), gliding of liquids (24%) and vowelization of /r/ (22%).

Goldstein & Washington (2001) conducted a collaborative study to investigate phonological patterns in 12 typically developing 4 year old bilingual (Spanish- English) children. The results indicated that there were no significant differences between the two languages on percentage of consonant correct; or percentage of occurrence for phonological process. Most commonly occurring phonological process included stopping and final consonant deletion in English and liquid simplification and cluster reduction in Spanish.

Goldstein and Iglesias (2001) examined the effect of dialect on phonological analysis in Spanish speaking children. Result indicated that the number of consonant errors, percentage of consonants correct, number of errors within individual sound classes, and percentage of occurrence for phonological process, all were different based on the accounting of dialect features.

James (2001) examined the occurrence of 3 phonological processes in 50 Australian children across the range of 2-7.11 years. Result showed that the greatest reduction in phonological process was between 3-4 years of age. Phonological process that persist beyond 4 years of age were velar fronting & cluster reduction.

INDIAN STUDIES

In situations where the child's native language is not English or when a child speaks a language it would not be appropriate to apply the sound development norms for an English phonological system. It is important to become familiar with the phonological (sound) and linguistic system of the child's primary or dominant language.

The literature on phonological process is mostly from the Western studies and is inadequate in Indian languages. Therefore, we know relatively little about the phonological development in Indian languages. However, in the recent past a number of such studies have been attempted in several Indian languages focusing on the normal phonological process usage and these have been briefly reviewed in table below.

AUTHOR	LANGUAGE	AGE GROUP	COMMON PROCESS OBSERVED
Sunil (1998)	Kannada	3-4years	Fronting, cluster reduction, Initial consonant deletion and affrication.
Sameer (1998)	Malayalam	3-4 years	Cluster reduction, final consonant deletion ,epenthesis, affrication, de affrication etc.
Jayashree (1999)	Kannada	4-5years	Fronting, cluster reduction, and retroflex deletion.
Ranjan (1999)	Hindi	4-5years	Cluster reduction, partial reduplication and aspiration.
Bharathy (2001)	Tamil	3-4years	Epenthesis, cluster reduction, gliding, nasal assimilation, voicing, de-affrication, stopping, and fronting.
Santhosh (2001)	Hindi	4-5years	Cluster reduction, partial reduplication aspiration.
Ramadevi (2002)	Kannada	5-6years	Stridency deletion, de aspiration, and

			retroflex deletion.
Sreedevi, Jayaram & Shilpashree (2005)	Kannada	2-3years	Retroflex fronting, trill deletion, depalatalization.
Rahul (2006)	Hindi	2-3years	Retroflex fronting, affrication, de aspiration, de nasalization, stopping.
Merin & Sreedevi (2010)	Malayalam	3-3.6years	Cluster reduction, epenthesis, stopping.
Manish & Kumarasamy (2013)	Hindi	3-4years	Consonant deletion, weak syllable deletion epenthesis fronting, palatalization, stopping, and aspiration.
Simon and Kumarasamy (2015)	Malayalam	3-4years	Cluster reduction, Consonant deletion, weak syllable deletion epenthesis fronting, palatalization, fronting, gliding, aspiration, nasal assimilation being the common types

Table 2.1: Studies on phonological processes in Indian language

NEED OF THE STUDY

The knowledge of phonological development has a great significance in the clinical population to determine whether a child is phonologically disordered and needs intervention. However, a limited understanding of phonological development and a scarcity of data to evaluate difference between the language conditions seen in urban and rural children might lead to risk of misdiagnosis. Hence, the present study focuses on comparing the phonological processes across urban and rural in the Malayalam speaking children.

AIM

The present study aimed to examine the phonological process seen in 5-6 years typical Malayalam speaking urban and rural children.

CHAPTER-3

METHODOLOGY

The present study aims to compare the phonological processes in typical Malayalam speaking 5-6 years old urban and rural children with following objectives.

- a) To describe the percentage and types of phonological processes exhibited by 5-6 year old typical Malayalam speaking urban and rural children.
- b) To compare the percentage and types of phonological processes across the group (urban Vs rural) children.

PARTICIPANTS

A total number of 40(20 from urban and 20 from rural) from Calicut and Pathanamthitta typical Malayalam speaking children in the age range of 5-6 years (mean age of 5.5years) participated in the study.

SUBJECT SELECTION CRITERIA

Inclusion criteria

- Native speakers of Malayalam and attending normal school.
- Normal oral speech mechanisms

Exclusions criteria

- history of speech, language, or hearing problems.
- neurological deficits.
- reported difficulties in behavioral and / intellectual functioning.

Stimuli

The study included compilation of speech samples using two stimuli. Picture card depicting nature chosen from the 1st grade Malayalam test book was used for picture description task. Single word production – a Malayalam articulation test was administered on each child after presenting adequate test trail and instruction. The test included 100 isolated words with target consonants, diphthongs and vowel tested in all initial, medial and final position.

Equipment

The speech samples were recorded using external micro phone in to the HP laptop. PRAAT voice recording and analysis software 5.3 14 version (Boersma and Weenink ,2007) was used.

Test environment:

Samples were collected in a quiet room with adequate illumination. One child was taken at a time for recording and one foot distance was maintained between the client and examiner seating. Child was asked to repeat the stimuli after the researcher and describe the picture card given.

Procedure and analysis

A rapport was built up with the child before eliciting the target speech sample. Each child was made to describe the picture presented to him/her in a complete sentence. Malayalam articulation test was administered. Each child was presented with words and child was response to repeat it back. Maximum attempts were made to obtain the spontaneous production of all the target words. The audio recorded samples were transcribed using International Phonetic Alphabets (IPA)-5 by a speech language pathologist and analyzed sound by sound and syllable by syllable. The phonological processes were identified by analyzing the whole word and the entire target phoneme in the word. Later, these were grouped into three major categories namely Syllable Structure process, Substitution process and Assimilation process.

The obtained data was statistically analyzed, and the results are described in next chapter.

CHAPTER- IV

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The present study aimed at studying the phonological processes occurring in 5-6 years old typically developing Malayalam speaking Urban and Rural children. The comparison of two groups Urban and Rural and in terms of percentage of subjects is indicated in tables and graphically represented in figures.

Syllable structure process:

syllable structure processes	Group	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Mannwhitney test p value	
weak syllable deletion	Urban	20	.00	.000	.317	NS
	Rural	20	.05	.224		
initial consonant deletion	Urban	20	.00	.000	.152	NS
	Rural	20	.10	.308		
final consonant deletion	Urban	20	.05	.224	.037	sig
	Rural	20	.40	.681		
cluster reduction	Urban	20	.75	.786	.001	HS
	Rural	20	1.85	.875		
diminutization	Urban	20	.00	.000	1.000	NS
	Rural	20	.00	.000		
epenthesis	Urban	20	.35	.489	.043	sig
	Rural	20	.85	.813		
doubling	Urban	20	.00	.000	1.000	NS
	Rural	20	.00	.000		
coalescence	Urban	20	.00	.000	1.000	NS
	Rural	20	.00	.000		
glottal replacement	Urban	20	.00	.000	1.000	NS
	Rural	20	.00	.000		

Table 4.1: Rural and Urban children exhibiting phonological processes in category of syllable structure processes

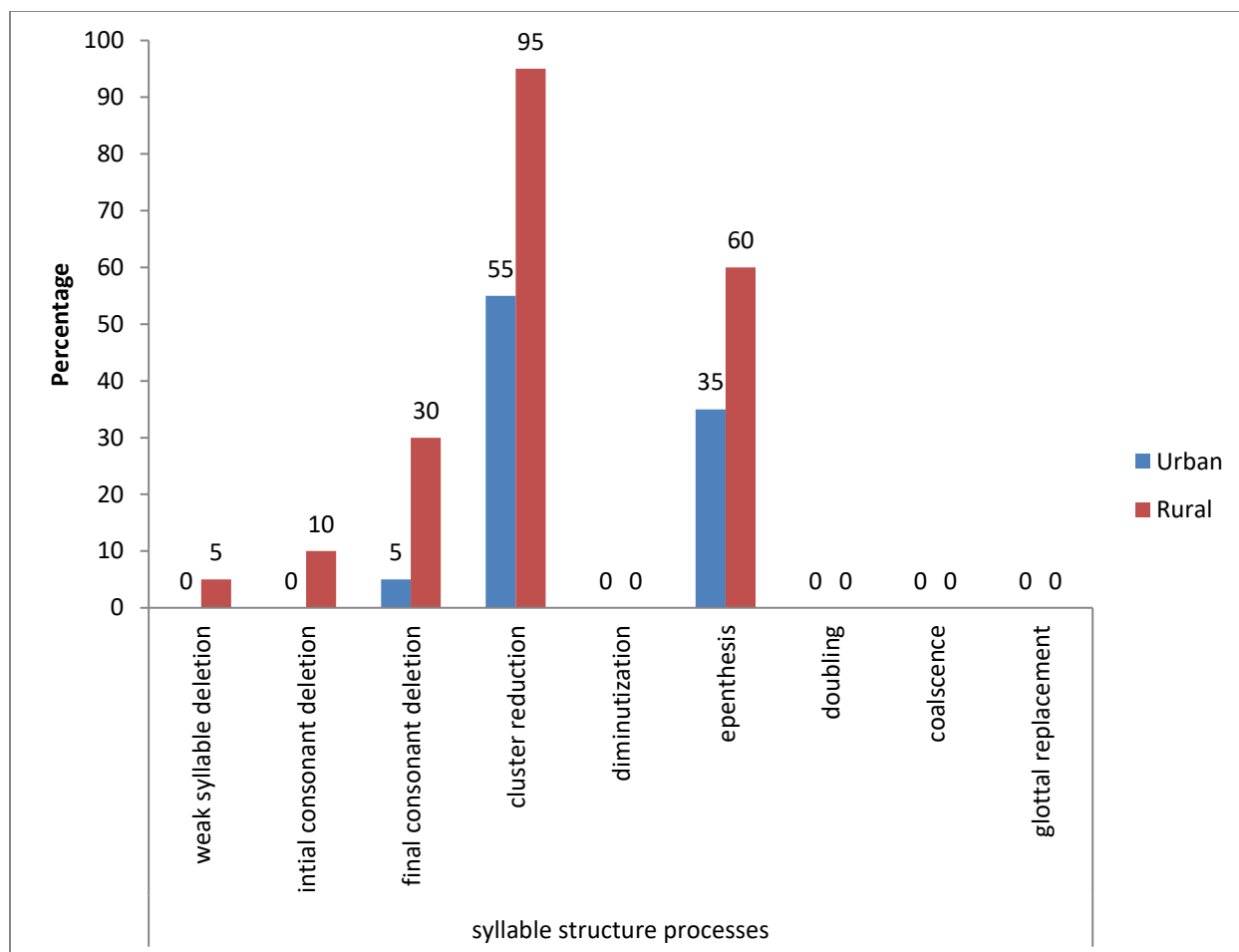


Fig 4.1: Percentage of subjects exhibiting different phonological processes for Rural & Urban children

No significant difference was seen for weak syllable deletion ($p=.1156$), initial consonant deletion ($p=0.073$), diminutization ($p=1.000$), doubling ($p=1.000$), coalescence ($p=1.000$), and glottal replacement ($p=1.000$)

Significant difference was noticed for final consonant deletion ($p=0.037$), epenthesis ($p=0.043$).

Highly significant difference was noticed for cluster reduction ($p=0.001$).

Substitution process:

substitution processes	Group	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Mannwhitney test p value	
stopping	Urban	20	.15	.366	.004	HS
	Rural	20	1.05	1.191	.	.
fronting	Urban	20	.10	.308	.204	NS
	Rural	20	.35	.745		
backing	Urban	20	.00	.000	1.000	NS
	Rural	20	.00	.000		
affrication	Urban	20	.15	.489	.041	sig
	Rural	20	.45	.605		
deaffrication	Urban	20	.00	.000	.152	NS
	Rural	20	.10	.308		
palatalization	Urban	20	.05	.224	.317	NS
	Rural	20	.00	.000		
depalatalization	Urban	20	.00	.000	1.000	NS
	Rural	20	.00	.000		
gliding	Urban	20	.20	.410	.002	HS
	Rural	20	1.20	1.196		
vocalization	Urban	20	.00	.000	1.000	NS
	Rural	20	.00	.000		
vowel neutralization	Urban	20	.00	.000	1.000	NS
	Rural	20	.00	.000		

Table 4.2: showing phonological processes in category of substitution processes for rural & urban children

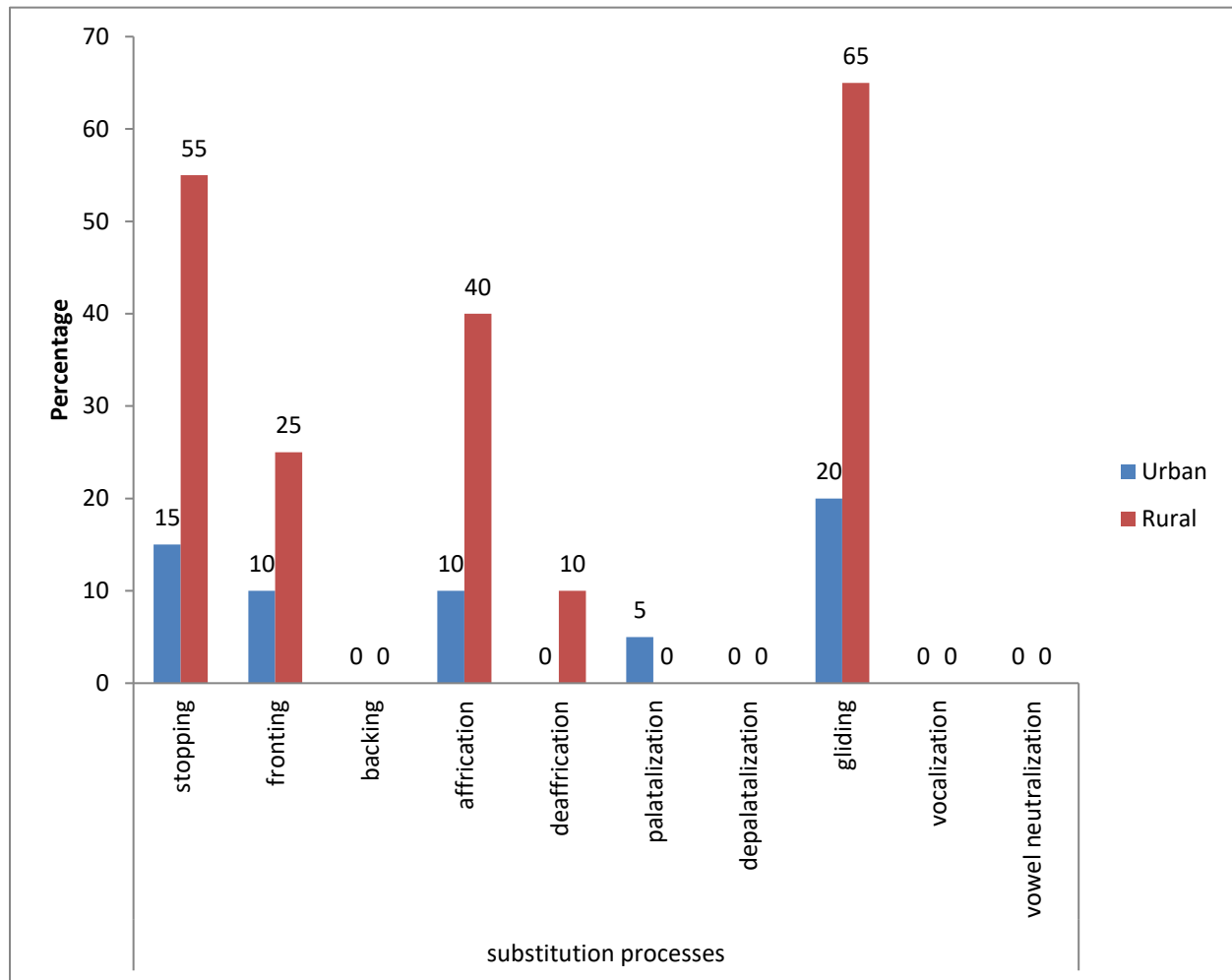


Fig 4.2: Percentage of phonological processes for rural & urban children

No significant difference was seen for fronting (0.204), backing (1.000), deaffrication (0.152), palatalization(0.317), Depalatalization (1.000), vocalization(1.000), vocal neutralization(p=1.000)

Significant difference was seen for affrication(p=0.041),

Highly significant difference was noticed for stopping(p=0.004), gliding(p=0.002).

Assimilation process:

Assimilation	Group	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Mannwhitney test p value	
velar assimilation	Urban	20	.00	.000	1.000	NS
	Rural	20	.00	.000		
alveolar assimilation	Urban	20	.00	.000	1.000	NS
	Rural	20	.00	.000		
nasal assimilation	Urban	20	.00	.000	1.000	NS
	Rural	20	.00	.000		
voicing assimilation	Urban	20	.00	.000	1.000	NS
	Rural	20	.00	.000		
syllable assimilation	Urban	20	.00	.000	1.000	NS
	Rural	20	.00	.000		

Table 4.3: Rural and Urban children exhibiting phonological processes in category of Assimilation process

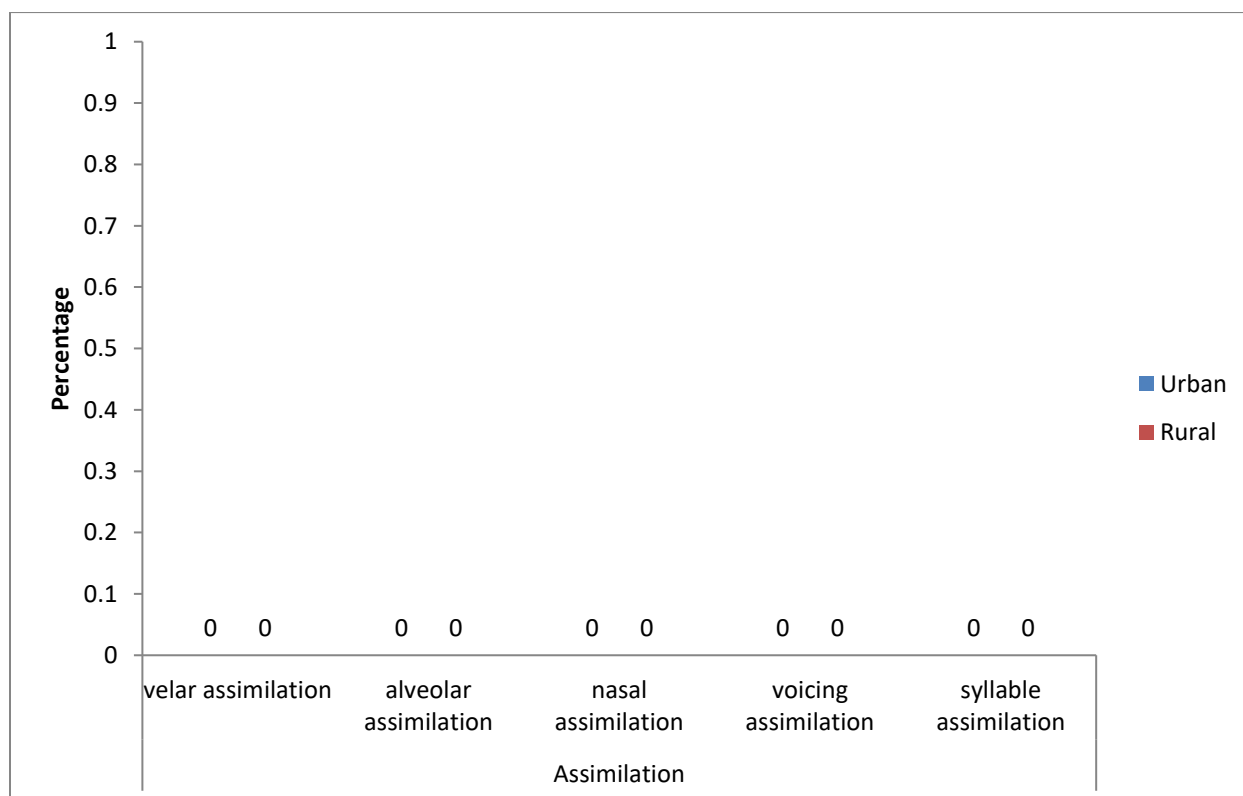


Fig 4.3: Percentage of phonological processes for rural & urban children

No significant difference was seen for velar assimilation, alveolar assimilation, nasal

Assimilation, voicing assimilation, syllable assimilation (p=1.000)

DISSCUSION

In 5-6-year-old urban children weak syllable deletion, initial consonant deletion, diminutization, doubling, coalescence, glottal replacement, backing, depalatalization, deaffrication, vocalization and vowel neutralization were absent. While cluster reduction was found to be more frequent. And final consonant deletion, epenthesis, stopping, fronting, affrication, palatalization and gliding were found to be less frequent.

In rural children diminutization, doubling, coalescence, glottal replacement, backing, palatalization, depalatalization, vocalization and vowel neutralization was found to be absent while cluster reduction, epenthesis, stopping and gliding were found to be more frequent. And weak syllable deletion, final consonant deletion, initial consonant deletion, fronting, affrication and deaffrication were found to be less frequent.

The second finding of the study revealed lower percentage of correct responses and hence higher phonological processes in Rural children when compared to those in Urban children. The limited educational facilities and lack of parental attention given to a child's utterance can be attributable to the greater number of errors seen in rural children. It was noted during the study that people living in urban areas have much better living and health condition rural areas in India. Rural areas are generally economically very poor when compare to urban areas, especially in india, and the amount of attention and care given to children is very limited. Thus, perhaps the rural children make more errors (simplification) of sounds without any means of learning the correct production. Also, in rural India, parents seldom educate their children, and even if they do the quality of educate is much lower than that in urban areas. This might lead to less developed metalinguistic and cognitive skills. Thus, being one of the major reasons for more phonological

processes. The standard of living, health care and other facilities might also minimally contribute to the linguistic differences seen in urban and rural children.

CHAPTER- V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Language is referred as a system of communication using sound or symbols that enables us to express our feelings, thoughts, ideas and experience (Thomson 2008). Children express their vocabulary of word; they also demonstrate an emerging phonological system. Developmental phonologies have observed that a young child usually makes these substitution and omissions in predictable ways. Phonological process is defined as the linguistic sounds suffering a great quantity of changes valuable both in the normal flow of the language and in the course of time. The knowledge of phonological development has a great significance in the clinical population to determine whether a child is phonologically disordered and needs intervention.

In the present study an attempt was made to study the different phonological processes occurring in 5-6 typical Malayalam speaking urban and rural children. In a total of forty children, twenty each in the urban and rural group were included in study. The study involved single word production using Malayalam Articulation Test which included target consonants, diphthongs and vowels to be tested in both initial and final positions. The elicited target words were audio recorded and later analyzed for identifying various phonological processes as Syllable structure processes, Substitution processes, Assimilation processes.

In 5-6-year-old urban children weak syllable deletion, initial consonant deletion, diminutization, doubling, coalescence, glottal replacement, backing, depalatalization, deaffrication, vocalization and vowel neutralization were absent. While cluster reduction was found to be more frequent. And final consonant deletion, epenthesis, stopping, fronting, affrication, palatalization and gliding were found to be less frequent.

In rural children diminutization, doubling, coalescence, glottal replacement, backing, palatalization, depalatalization, vocalization and vowel neutralization was found to be absent. While cluster reduction, epenthesis, stopping and gliding found to be more frequent. And weak syllable deletion, final consonant deletion, initial consonant deletion, fronting, affrication and deaffrication were found to be less frequent.

Implication of the study

- The study provides detailed understanding of phonological development among Malayalam speaking urban as well as rural children. Thereby, highlighting the difference between the two groups which would help in further assessment and intervention of these children in clinical settings.
- Provides an overview over emerging and suppressing patterns of phonological processes among native Malayalam speaking 5-6-year-old children.
- The study also provides basis for planning of phonological remediation.

Limitations of the study

- Test does not account for dialectical variation.
- Equal number of boys and girls are not considered in the study.

Future directions

- Future studies should focus on broader data collection.
- Furthermore, future studies should involve comparison across children of different age groups.
- The study can also be extended to different Indian languages.

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APPENDIX

Picture discrimination





Manju Kapur and Feminist Issues in Her Novels

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Abstract

The various manifestations that have been portraying women by the Indian Women novelists have recently gained advanced attraction during the Post-Colonial period which has attained a remarkable and tremendous change by the great Indian women novelists notably Kamala Markandaya, Nayantara Sehgal, Anita Desai, Shashi Deshpande, Bharathi Mukherjee, Manju Kapur, Githa Hariharan and so on. They have portrayed the women characters as individuals who fight against suppression and oppression of women by the patriarchal society. They portray women as rebelling against the traditional role, breaking the shackles of exploitation and oppression, awakening with search for identity, to assert their individuality. Manju Kapur is one of the prominent new voices making her presence felt. Her novels speak about women's frustration, refusals, retaliations, and their breach of conventional expectations. She raises the voice against male chauvinism to claim the rights of economic independence of women. The present paper explores the utmost excitement and anguish of some of the protagonists such as Virmati of *Difficult Daughters* in their quest for Self-Identity and Emancipation and protest against the blind dogmas of socio-cultural as well as patriarchal clutches guised as traditional customs.

Keywords: Manju Kapur, Feminist Issues

Introduction

The novels of Manju Kapur disclose that deviations in modernity have led to the hollowness in our society and the modern life. As one of the strongest Feminist Indian authors she has insisted on the up-lift of women empowerment and strength. She has written five great novels, namely *A Married Woman*, *Custody*, *Difficult Daughters*, *Home* and *The Immigrant*.

Besides these novels, Kapur has written short stories- The Necklace, The Birth of a Baby, The Power behind the Shame and Speaking up for Inter-Community or Cross Marriages.

In all her novels, the readers get to experience the woman of modern era, her problems and her desire to become independent. The husband-wife relationship has been taken up as a major theme in all her novels. She exposes the exploitative trends of the patriarchal society in which male plays the dominating role and portrays the woman who want changes in the norms of traditions. She has also contributed more than 50 articles. This paper presents the highlights of her notable novels to demonstrate the distinct trends of their representations.

Virmati, a strong character in the novel *Difficult Daughters* that has been portrayed to find space in the world of patriarchal supremacy, where female marginality and centrality of stereotypical definition of women are defined well. Through the doors of this beautiful novel Kapur weaves a tale that is set in the British India of forties about a woman Virmati, who defies the rigidity of her traditional household, dares to fall in love with a married man, enlightens her mind through studies and finally gets married to live as a co-wife of her beloved. The novels depict both the submissive and rebellious women and explore their bonding with their mother, siblings, friends and other relatives. It also explains the psyche of the urban, educated middle-class women who are trapped between tradition and modernity.

Virmati struggles hard to find a place of her own amidst the chaos in her family that finds expression in the political upheaval of those times gets inspired by a inspirable character Lahore and she discovers a possibility of freedom to have a chance to get redemption by overcoming her inhibitions by participating in the Indian freedom struggle to taste the modernity which allures her. Instead, she chooses to fight for her personal struggles – with her family, her morality, and her will to marry the man she loves. Although she is able to lead her life on her own terms, she is never able to find a total reconciliation within herself. As the novel narrates eventually Virmati finds another Virmati in her own daughter, Ida- who refuses to tread on the path defined by her and later becomes a *Difficult Daughter* for Virmati just like herself, where she inherited the quality of being the difficult daughter like her mother Kasturi.

The novel, *Home*, exposes the still prevalent narrow-minded attitude towards the upbringing of a girl child in India. Kapur traces the painful journey of the protagonist, Nisha, from childhood into adulthood in search of self-identity. The analysis reveals Nisha's search for a home i.e. search for a place of shelter and security. Home is not a place of comfort and relaxation and it does not ensure them any emotional security, nonetheless, it sometimes does not provide them any physical security to a woman in India. The novel describes the story of an ordinary middle class joint family, settled in Delhi. The physical abuse of children, in the hands of their own relatives, is also discussed through Nisha's sexual abuse by her own cousin, Vicky.

A girl is considered as an object of sexual arousal, thus it is expected that she should take care of her physical appearance, to be able to grab the attention of people as a perfect marriageable girl. Nisha's mother, Sona, always shoves her to be neat and well-dressed like a princess. She does not allow her to play in parks with other children because her complexion may become dark. The displacement that protagonists suffer and the suffocation that they face in the traditional limits of marriage and family is clearly brought out by the novelist.

The novel *A Married Woman* brings out the frustrations and adjustment of modern marriages. Marriage is defined as a legal and social certified union between two persons, which is legalized by the culture and traditions that recommend the rights to the partners. It refers to the rules and regulations which define the rights and duties after marriage. She beautifully insists on the fact that marriage implies the equal partnership and intimate union between a male and a female which is a strong association that connects not only two individuals, but also builds up a relationship between the two families. It brings stability and essence to human relations, which is incomplete without marriage. Its strongest function is concerned with the care of children, their upbringing and education. The concept of marriage varies from culture to culture, but its meaning is the same that is the union of two individuals of the opposite sex. This bond is supposed to be lifelong and special. The traditional concept of a husband and wife's status and role is slowly changing in contemporary Indian society; the tradition-oriented concepts of male dominance still largely conquer.

Custody, Manju Kapur's fifth novel, exposes the life of Metropolitan cities where people have become the victims of modernity. It is inspired by globalization and economic liberalization. With the initial surge of foreign investment which stormed in India, it was a period of economic and financial boom. The deluge was welcomed by investment bankers, bureaucrats, industrialists whether big or small, along with Government officials. The protagonists quite naturally have materialistic pursuits. The novel is about the stressed life between Raman, a developing marketing executive, his wife Shagun and Ishita. The present research is an effort to focus on a number of key aspects of the novel *Custody*, like- marriage versus freedom, polygamy, extramarital affairs, infertility, infidelity, manipulation of children in the hands of their divorced parents and the indifference of Indian judicial system. There is the ultimate picture of exploitation, manipulation, victimization and suffering. Each character has a unique mind-set, reflecting the modern virtues that have been adapted. The author manages to create a sublime atmosphere that exposes the various disasters that a family goes through and is beautifully portrayed in the novel.

Conclusion

Manju Kapur registers her concern for the Indian woman and deals with various feministic issues like female education, their empowerment, financial independence, eradication

of child marriages, the abolition of the dowry system, elimination of a woman's sexual abuse, etc. Kapur who herself was an English lecturer at Miranda House Delhi, has taken up cudgels to fight for woman's cause. She narrates important issues of class and nationhood and connects them to the emerging sense of female identity in postcolonial India.

The novelist is quite down to earth in her feminist approach to the woman's problems. All her protagonists protest against the social rules to become self-dependent, but finally compromise for the sake of social harmony. She is aware of the seriousness of the Indian woman's dilemma and her generation old struggles behind it, but she believes that a positive change in her social status can materialize by bringing about a change in her mind-set and making her literate and well-informed. Kapur truly considers her role as Indian feminist as humanist-feminist.

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**Woman as Good Mother
in *Proverbs* and *Tirukkural***

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Abstract

This paper is an attempt to depict the feminine responsibilities in society as ‘picturized in *Proverbs* and *Tirukkural* which are different from other ethical and spiritual works and both of the works belong to the category of wisdom, literature. In both the works, the role of woman as mother, life companion and responsible woman in the society are pictured with apt examples for picturization.

Keywords: *Proverbs*, *Tirukkural*, Spiritual Wisdom, Idleness, Virtues, Sacrifice, Universal truth.

There is no denying the fact that *Tirukkural* being rich in thought and wisdom has inspired much appreciative writing in Tamil as Shakespeare has in English. Many thinkers throughout the ages have given their thoughts to mankind. *Tirukkural* focuses on the importance and value to the flowering of the individual as a perfect human being. Likewise, *Proverbs* which belongs to the category of wisdom literature of the Ancient Near East deals with the kind of human experience common to all, ascribed to King Solomon having a collection of more than 3000 proverbs giving counsel, moral and social values, which are applicable to people of all nations and all times irrespective of their different social, religious and political creed.

Both *Proverbs* and *Tirukkural* deal with a great variety of subjects – love and hate, anger and meekness, wealth and poverty, industry and idleness, relationship between God and man, kings and subjects, husband and wife, parents and children, man and woman and friend and enemy. E.M. Blaiklock suggests, “Solomon had contacts with Egypt. He married Pharaoh’s daughter and from

1000 B.C. The cultural interchange between the lands could have been wide. Solomon, the brilliant monarch of Israel's golden Age is claimed as the author and compiler of separate but similar collection of pithy wisdom" (P 100). As regards the *Tirukkural*, the style of structuring the couplets and the mode of expression of ideas belong to one person. "There is considerable internal evidence to show that the whole text belongs to one person. Apart from the prosodic metre which is the throughout the same, the general pattern to which the text is made to conform, and certain mannerisms of expression go to show that the text is from the pen of one and the same author" (Subramanian 13).

Though the *Proverbs* and the *Tirukkural* belong to Ancient Near East of the 4th century B.C. and Tamil Nadu of 3rd century A.D. respectively, in spite of their diverse authorship, the role of woman as mother, life companion and responsible woman in society in both the societies is the same with regard to such basic facts as her elementary feelings and passions, her virtues and responsibilities. Though women did not take an active part in public life, her role as wife, mother and a responsible woman in society is found to be essential. Unlike the woman of the Ancient Near East who gets strength from her fear of God, a chaste woman rises to honour through husband-worship i.e., respect for her husband, and divinity is attached to woman in accordance with the Tamil cultural tradition. In *Proverbs*, mother is a teacher who is considered as the second source of wisdom and children are exhorted to listen to the instructions of both father and mother. But Tiruvalluvar makes father intellectually superior to mother and makes him responsible for children's education. However, a close reading of both these texts *Proverbs* and *Tirukkural* show insights into the virtues, responsibilities of woman as mother, wife, social being, companion, etc.

From a comparative standpoint, S.S. Prawer writes:

"Comparative literature can be defined as an examination of literary texts including works of literary theory and criticism in more than one language through an investigation of contrast, analogy, prominence or influence or a study of literary relations and communications between two or more groups that speak different language" (P 8).

Woman is considered as an invaluable treasure due to her indispensability for the conjugal life of the householder to whom she is subordinate in both the cultures. The woman of *Tirukkural*, unlike the woman of *Proverbs*, confines herself to home in accordance with the ancient Tamil cultural tradition and skillfully manages the economy of the family by making both ends meet. But the woman in *Proverbs* not only manages the household finance but also adds to her husband's income. In both *Tirukkural* and *Proverbs*, mother is described as the one who deals with the general attributes of mother, her joy over her children's wisdom, her duty to children, interrelationship between mother and children and also a mother's position in society.

Thiruvalluvar does not deal with mother's duty to children but the Proverbs wisdom writer does. The basic facts with regard to mother's attitude to children have been the same irrespective of their different religious, racial and cultural creed.

A mother is one who gives birth to children and rears them up into persons of uprightness and integrity. While in *Proverbs*, the wisdom writer considers children as the crown of old men, Thiruvalluvar in *Tirukkural* considers them as goodly ornaments. Both the writers do contribute to the same idea of children being the glory of one's family. The differences in the role and position of mother and woman in family and society are due to their different cultural background.

In *Pennin Perumai*, Thiru V. Kalyana Sundaram writes:

“The sages in Tamil Nadu have divided womanhood into 7 stages and they have given the years into which each stage falls – Pedai (1-7 years), Pedumbai (7-11 years), Mangai (11-13 years), Madanthai (13-19 years), Arivai (19-25 years), Therivai (25-31 years) and Perilam Pen (31-40 years). After the fortieth, year, a woman passes into old age. They have made this classification in accordance with the climatic conditions. A woman becomes marriageable in Mangai stage and her marriageable stage can extend upto Madanthai. It is a wise act to give woman in marriage before Arivai state which is a suitable period for conjugal Bliss” (203-204).

In the olden days, a woman became a mother even in Mangai stage. Truly speaking a mother's love for her children is genuine and sacrificial, for she does serve her children without expecting anything in return. “In a mother lies the prosperity as well as the destruction of the world. What will be the condition of the future world if her children are reared up in evil ways! If so, we cannot find a life of love in this world” (Sundaram 16).

Taking into consideration the value and importance of mother, the fifth of the Ten Commandments given to the Jews by Yaweh through Moses is the commandment with a promise as:

“Honour thy father and thy mother;
that thy days may be long upon
the land which the Lord thy God
giveth thee” (Exodus 20:12).

What is to be understood in common terms is that the primary aim of a women's birth in this world is to serve the world in the person of mother. According to the Tamilian conception, “Mother

and Father are the visible gods” (Krishnaswami 15). In the true sense of the term, children from the crown and glory of a family which is blessed with a greatness of a mother.

In *Proverbs*, it is stated that “children are the crown of old men; and the glory of children are their fathers” (Proverbs 17:6). They were considered as unlimited blessing and the reward of God in the ancient world. “So, children are an heritage of the Lord; and the fruit of the womb is his reward” (Psalms 127: 3). Hence, children are regarded as the reward from God. James Hurly observes:

“For most Israelite woman, the great events of their lives were birth, marriage, giving birth and death. A woman who had given birth especially to a son who could carry on the family name and inheritance had a special place of honour. Without children, she lamented her fate and was sometimes scorned” (P 42).

In *Tirukkural*, Tiruvalluvar wants the family life to be adorned with virtuous children. Good children are the goodly ornaments of a family are given in *Tirukkural* 60:

“A woman’s housewifely excellence, they say, is a blessing and begetting good children is an embellishment to the excellence” (Couplet 60).

It means, “Family life is nothing but a bed of roses and incense when adorned with a loving wife and gifted children.” In a word, “The house’s ‘blessing’, men pronounce the house-wife excellent. The gain of blessed children is its goodly ornament” (Pope).

Children were so much valued that Tiruvalluvar gives the view that “away all the benefits that may be acquired, there is no greater benefit than the acquisition of intelligent children” (Kural 61). It simply means that the world gives so many blessings and delights, but nothing is so great a bliss as getting virtuous, intelligent children:

There is no denying the universal truth that intelligent and knowledgeable offspring are invaluable assets of a family. In *Proverbs*, wise children are considered to be the rewards from God but in *Tirukkural*, they are regarded as one’s wealth because in their belief, it flows to them through the deeds which they perform in their behalf”.

“Good children are the wealth of men; their wealth flows from their actions” (63).

So, Tiruvalluvar epitomises the view of the Hebrew sages with regard to the value and importance of children in couples 61 & 63). Parents have their five senses satisfied by means of their children who possess greater wisdom and good disposition free from vice. Thus, children were regarded as wealth and ornaments of family which is blessed with the excellence of a wife.

In both *Proverbs* and *Tirukkural*, mother gets the deepest joy when she sees her children growing and developing into persons of wisdom, uprightness and integrity. In *Proverbs*, it is made explicit how both father and mother rejoice over wise children and feel broken-hearted over the foolish children: “A wise son maketh a glad father; but a foolish son is the heaviness of his mother” (Proverb 10:1). If the children act up to the family’s honour and preserve the fame, their “father and mother shall be glad and she that bore them shall rejoice” (Proverbs 23:25).

The story of broken-hearted king David mourning over his son Absalom is a good illustration given in *II Samuel* 19:1 of the Bible. By means of wise children, the parents can subordinate the opponents. The wisdom writer says that wise children enable him to answer the opponents who reproach him. Hence children’s wise living makes the parents lead a life of significance and human values in all respects.

In *Tirukkural* also, a mother’s joy overhearing her son being wise is greater than the joy she felt at the time of his birth:

“Elation of a mother hearing others praise her
Children is greater than the pleasure of begetting them”
(Kural 69).

It means in that hearing from the mouth of others that her son is a worthy gentleman the mother feels a delight that far exceeds the delight she had had while giving to him. Unlike the wisdom writer of *The Proverbs*, Tiruvalluvar makes it clear in Tirukkural – couplets 64, 65 & 66 - how a mother’s love for her children expresses itself in the innocent pleasures of bodily contact. The very touch of children turns ordinary food into sweet ambrosia. A mother bears a special responsibility for the future quality of her children. The mental health and happiness of her children depend on the love and maternal care provided during early childhood. Hence “home is the primary and most important factor in the education of a young person” (Interpreter’s Bible 860). The mother’s part in educating children is indicated while the wisdom writer – instructs children to “keep their father’s commandment and forsake not the law of their mother” (P 786).

Mothers had the practice of instructing and influencing their children at all stages of life. What is given in *Proverbs* chap-31 are the words of king Lemuel that his mother taught him. In the pen portrait of the virtuous woman given by Lemuel’s mother, she is pictured as a good teacher from which one can understand that much of the teaching activity in that time took place at home. A good mother is one who “openeth her mouth with wisdom and in her tongue is the law of kindness” (Proverbs 31:26). Mothers seem to have good education and training in those days. A mother here is

regarded as a second source of wisdom. *Proverbs* pays rich tribute to mothers. The volume-IV of *The Interpreter's Bible* states:

“The instruction of mothers may be less stern than that of a father but it may provide the climate of love and affection in which the best attributes can grow. A mother provided the emotional security which is needed by everyone” (P 957).

These lines make one think rather obviously that mothers also played an important role along with fathers in moulding the personality of children by giving them instruction and emotional security which would stand them in good stead in times of need and crisis. Besides giving instruction to children to lead them in the right way, she is a good provider for the physical needs of her children and manages the household chores.

Tiruvalluvar believed that the prosperity of the family lies in the hands of the *illal*, even though “in those days women did not enjoy a good status in society as they were deprived of their rights and remained in ignorance” (Murugaratnam 15). Despite the fact that Tiruvalluvar does not make woman directly responsible for children’s education, it is clear that to obtain knowledge which is more pleasing to all men of this great earth, a sense of emotional security, self-sufficiency and nutritious diet can be offered only by a mother. Tiruvalluvar makes father and mother share equal responsibility in rearing children as the wisdom writer does though he makes father intellectually superior to mother.

Though it is not given explicitly in Tirukkural, mothers in Tamil Nadu might have instilled noble ideals and virtues such as courage, fearlessness, hospitality and charity into the hearts of their children for which many illustrations can be had from Purananuru. While sending her son to the battlefield, a courageous mother gives instruction to her son in the absence of her husband. Hence, mothers are said to have played a significant role in moulding the personality of their children, thereby providing emotional security along with love, courage and manly virtues to them at all levels possible;

“In the Old Testament, speaking generally, woman is thought of wholly from the point of view of man marriage is for man’s benefit; she is useful to him in looking after the household chores, ministering to his comforts and bearing children” (Osterley 81).

In *Proverbs*, woman is wholly responsible for domestic happiness though she does not involve herself in public life. The virtuous woman is praised by husband, children and society at large:

“Her children arise up and call her blessed;
her husband also and he praiseth her.
Many daughters have virtuously; but
thou excellest them all” (*Proverbs* 31:28).

Hence, the virtuous mother has an honourable place in Jewish society. In *Tirukkural* also, the virtuous woman who possesses domestic excellence is highly respected by husband, children and society. By guarding herself, taking care of her husband and children and preserving an unsullied fame, she makes herself praise-worthy. In Tamil tradition, man has the duty to educate children and woman rises to honour through humility and committed sacrifice to family and society along with respect for her husband and emotional security for her children.

In the society as described by Tiruvalluvar in *Tirukkural* and the wisdom writer in *Proverbs* it is futile to ask who is indispensable to the family and society. It is almost like asking whether day or night is more necessary. “Tamil scholars used such terms as kilavan, kilati, Talaivan, talaivi and katalan and katali to suggest the importance of woman in the society” (Manickam 217). In both *Proverbs* and *Tirukkural*, descriptions of virtuous woman who serve as life’s companion and mother and also the weak women who lure weak-willed man for the sake of their wealth are given. The portrait of a virtuous woman who is a good wife, her responsibilities and her status in the society are given in *Proverbs* - chapter 31:

“The adulteress who is referred to
as the strange woman, wife of another man
who forsaketh the guide of her youth
and forgetteth the covenant of her God” (2: 17).

In the well-organised community, ‘illal’ has her responsibility for husband, children, household and society at large. In *Proverbs*, there are high tributes to virtuous woman who has qualities of thrift, frugality, industry, love for husband and honour. She is regarded as an invaluable treasure and a gift from God. She has a worthy place in society. According to Tiruvalluvar, womanhood is more to be esteemed than the manhood that perform the behests of wife.

“The dignity of modest womanhood excels
His manliness, obedient to a woman’s law
who dwells” (Kural 907).

What Tiruvalluvar means by this couplet is that women of modesty are far higher in glory than men who fancy their errands or acts that suit their delicate hands. In the words of Tiruvalluvar,

there is nothing more excellent than a chaste wife and hence a chaste wife is invaluable. The same idea is conveyed in *Proverbs* also in the comparison of the virtuous woman to rubies where the writer says that her price is far more valuable than rubies. Woman, according to Valluvar, has the power to make rain fall instant at her words:

“No God adoring, how she bends before her Lord,
Then rising serves: the rain falls instant at her words.”
(Tirukkural 55)

To conclude, it may be stated that both *Proverbs* and *Tirukkural* bring home the essential point that woman is not only a provider of wisdom and emotional security to her children in domestic life but also a virtuous and potential woman of modesty far higher even in the societal commitment joining hands with her husband for the flavoring of love, for children, responsibility for husband, cherishing qualities of thrift, frugality, industry, household and societal culture at large.

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Articulation and Fluency Disorders in a Four Year Old: An Unfolding Scenario

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Abstract

Speech disorder is a type of communication disorder that affects normal speech. This may occur as a result of damage to some parts of the brain or vocal organs. This work is an original study of a developing case of speech disorder in a four year old child who lives in Benin City, Edo State, Nigeria. The child (henceforth Osayame) was electrocuted in an enclosure containing an electric transformer during a play session with his friends. The effect of the electrocution and the trauma Osayame went through after the terrible incident however revealed a case of fluency and articulatory disorders. These issues became evident in his speech some months after the accident; a condition that later affected or reduced his academic performance. This paper is a simple report on the situation. In doing this, the situation of the child before the incident is presented; the incident itself and the child's condition after the incident are also presented. Data for this paper are collected via participant observation and interview method in which the parents, teachers and the doctor of the child are interviewed. Our research instruments are a digital voice recorder and writing materials. The conclusion highlights the hazards posed by neglected facilities and stresses the importance of the linguist in handling issues of stuttering and articulation disorders in children not born with them, such as Osayame.

Keywords: Nigeria, Accident, Speech, Fluency, Articulation and Disorder.

Introduction

Clark and Clark (1997:3) opine that language stands at the center of human affairs from the most prosaic to the most profound. Language is useful only when in use, as it permeates our lives in all sorts of different ways. Raja (2010) asserts that life without language for a human is lifeless. According to Emenanjo (2012:6), human language is one of the two most important artifacts designed and made by man in his bid to conquer the universe and to make the best out of life and creation. No wonder Alagbe (2012) describes it as a specific human attribute which occupies the center of human affairs from time immemorial. Linguistics as a discipline, burdened with the task of language and its nature, has advanced in recent times in the management of

language and speech disorders in developing children (and even adults). It is on this premise that this work is based.

This paper reports a case of stuttering and articulation disorders in a four year old boy called 'Osayame', who was electrocuted by an electric transformer. This goes to unfold the simple truth that the case before us is not genetic or caused by any medical ailment, but rather, originated from the incident in which the child was electrocuted. The resultant effect of that incident, however, displays mainly the issues of fluency and articulation disorders which originally were not present in the child's speech before the incident.

For future occurrences to be arrested, it is of utmost importance that it is examined first, by knowing the situation before and after the incident. The diagnosis will therefore decide the type of medication to be administered to the child.

Study Design

The study is on a four-year old residing in Benin, Edo State, Nigeria. His name is Osayame whose birth and upbringing are very well known to the writer. This study adopts the descriptive survey and participant observation method. The interview method was employed in gathering data and information needed for this study. Here, the parents, class teachers and his doctor were interviewed. Unfortunately, all efforts to get the doctor's report on the issue proved abortive. However, we were able to gather some data for this study through the various interactions with him. Our research instruments were a digital voice recorder, a notebook and a bic which we employed in recording important points and illustrations.

Speech and Articulatory Disorders

Speech and communication disorders are subsets of learning disorders. Speech is one of the major ways through which we communicate or pass information from one person to the other (Bowen, 1998). Speech disorders are those problematic conditions which deter an individual from forming the speech sounds needed for the purpose of communication. There are various types of speech disorders, but the three basic ones are: articulation disorders, voice disorders and fluency disorders. These types of disorders are regarded as phonological disorders. Ferguson et al (1992) defines phonological disorder as that which may reflect an inability to articulate speech sounds, with the communication difficulty involving a motoric component. Such difficulties are described as being phonetic in nature as it concerns how sounds are produced. However, features peculiar to phonological disorders, as noted by Shriberg et al (1986) includes the inability to articulate words with many syllables (ie syllable drop), repetition of a part or the whole of a word and also the inability to produce certain sounds at the end of words (sound drop).

This paper examines the cases of stuttering and articulation disorders which involve the difficulties in articulating specific types of sounds. Speech disorders have various causes: damaged vocal cords, brain damage (caused by a stroke or head injury), and muscle weakness as well as accident. In the case of our present subject, the child developed the articulatory disorder as a result of an accident in which the child was electrocuted. This kind of disorder affects the phonetic level of speech of the individual so affected.

There are four categories by which the errors made by children with speech disorders can be grouped:

- i. **Substitutions:** This involves errors in which a sound is replaced with another (reg instead of leg).
- ii. **Omission:** This involves the removal of a sound from a word (foo instead of food).
- iii. **Distortions:** this involves the production of a sound in an unfamiliar way.
- iv. **Additions:** this has to do with the errors in which a sound is inserted into a word (bureak instead of break).

The Child and the Situation Before the Incident

Osayame is a four year old boy. His parents are from Edo State, Nigeria; and are living together in Benin City. They speak English and Edo fluently. He is the fourth child of his parents. He was physically and morally stable and has never at any point in his life been diagnosed of any serious medical ailment. There is no history of stuttering in his family. As a normal healthy child, in the process of acquiring language, he produced meaningful utterances (or words) before he was two years old. At that age, he modeled his behavior after his siblings. He is proficient in English only.

At the age of three, Osayame could pronounce the sounds/letters of the alphabet of the English Language fluently. He could also write the letters A- Z and numbers 1 -10 correctly without being aided. He also pronounced words correctly. His class teacher claimed that he was one of the intelligent students in her class and that he possessed a good retentive memory as he hardly forgot what he was taught, although he was always fighting in the class.

At home, he was admired by everyone for his fluency and smartness. As a very inquisitive child who struggled to know about every issue, he always demanded to know the meaning of every new word he heard and also attempted using it. He was good with his studies and use of English. All this was in the past.

The Incident

The incident which led to Osayame's present condition occurred on the 17th of December 2010 at about 5:30pm. Osayame and his friends were playing round the estate in a game of 'hide and seek'. According to our informant, at the time of the incident, there were no adults around the vicinity.

Osayame ran faster than the other children so that he could hide away from them. It was at this point that he saw the enclosure containing the electrical transformer open. Unaware of what was inside the enclosure, he ran in in order to hide away from his friends. When his friends passed by that point a little without seeing or hearing his voice, they began calling his name. It was at this point he got up from his squatting position to show himself to the others. As he did this, he got attracted to the fanciful fuses on the transformer.

Out of curiosity, Osayame put his right arm on one of the fuses, touching a component that made the transformer spark, thereby electrocuting him and letting out fire which hurt his right hand from his palm up to his elbow. Fortunately for the child, on electrocution, the current threw him away from the transformer and in the process, he hit the right side of his head against the wall and fell. In a half-conscious state, he got up and staggered back home. Just a little away from his apartment, he slumped. It was the cry and screams from the other children that alerted everyone in the estate to the scene of the incidence. However, Osayame survived the electrocution as he was immediately rushed to the hospital for proper medical attention.

The Situation After the Incident

Immediately after the incident, Osayame was taken to the hospital where several tests were carried out on him and all the results were reported to have been good. According to the child's doctor, Osayame is a strong and lucky child who survived the electrocution under two conditions:

- i. As at the time of the incident, the child was putting on a pair of rubber slippers which made it impossible for the current to form a complete circuit.
- ii. The current was not retained inside his body as there were outlets (such as the big burnt spots on his right arm, the last toe of his left foot that was badly burnt and the right side on the top of his head) from which the current exited.

During the first three week of the incident, the child was diagnosed to be stable in spite of the injuries which he sustained from the accident. He could speak fluently, and his speech was coordinated as it was before. From the tests conducted on him, the doctor claimed that there was no damage done to his brain and heart which revealed his stable condition.

By the sixth week after the incident, some strange changes were observed in his speech:

- i. Distortion in the fluency of his speech
- ii. Certain sounds are now pronounced differently
- iii. The child is no longer as active as he used to be.
- iv. The child no longer writes the numbers 1-10 or letters A-G correctly.

Osayame's class teacher began to notice strange happenings with the child. In her words:
'Osayame lacks concentration and I advise you take time to find out what is wrong with him.'

On hearing this, the child was taken back to the hospital to see his doctor. His doctor stated that these issues must have arisen as a result of the trauma that the child went through. He also added that he might display some other symptoms but advised against administering drugs to him. He advised that the child should be placed under strict observation and bring him back in the next six weeks. He also advised that we should attempt starting the learning process all over again to help correct these issues.

Discussion

The concern of the linguist in a situation like this is the effect of the accident on the speech of the subject. Did the accident affect the subject's speech, language or both? Can the linguist answer them by reference only to the speech corpus? There is a distinction between speech disorder and language disorder.

In Osayame's case, there is no difficulty understanding whatever is said to him. He is also very capable of sharing his thoughts, ideas and feelings to others around him. It is indeed amazing as the child acquires complex words and is able to employ them correctly in sentences, but he is unable to pronounce some of these words correctly and fluently as he used to.

In this paper, we present the speech pattern and features of Osayame's speech. We however, noticed some pronunciation errors, cases of sound, syllable and word repetitions as well as cases of the insertion of vowels.

Sound Change

Below is a set of data showing words and how they were pronounced before and after the incident:

S/N	Pronunciation Before the Incident	Pronunciation After the Incident	Target Orthographic Form
1	lɜg	reg	leg
2	lɔk	ruk	look
3	liv	riv	leave
4	leik	reik	lake
5	laik	raik	like
6	laf	raf	laugh
7	laiz	raiz	lice
8	flai	frai	fly
9	fleu	freu	flow
10	flaet	fraet	flat
11	frend	fɪənd	friend
12	frai	fɪə	fry
13	flæʃ	fras	flash
14	rulə	rura	ruler
15	milk	mi:k	milk
16	piləu	pireu	pillow
17	galə	gara	gala
18	bləu	brəu	blow
19	klæz	kraz	class
20	kæʃ	kas	catch
21	keibl	keibu	cable
22	teibl	teibu	table
23	flæsk	frask	flask
24	fɔd	fu	food
25	gɔd	gu	good
26	eibl	əbu	able

Based on the data above, we observed that the sounds affected are:

- i. [l] is pronounced as [r] at word initial and medial positions.
- ii. [l] is pronounced as [u] at word final position.
- iii. [r] is pronounced as [w] only at word initial position.
- iv. [ʃ] is pronounced as [s] at word final position.
- v. [s] is pronounced as [f] at word medial position.
- vi. [r] is pronounced as [i] at word medial position.

- vii. [d] is omitted at word final position.

Repetition

In addition to the articulation difficulty observed in Osayame's speech, we also noticed that he cannot speak fluently as he stutters whenever he is communicating with anyone. Stuttering as a speech disorder involves the repetition of sounds, syllables or words and this disrupts the normal flow of speech. These disruptions are usually accompanied by struggling behaviors such as rapid eye blinks or tremors of the lips. In the case of Osayame, his speech was usually accompanied with tremors of the lips only. A few selected lexical items to show the different classes of repetition are given below:

1. **First Syllable Repetition:** in this class of repetition, it is observed that the first syllable having the pattern CV is repeated. Consider the following examples:
 - i. /lei-leitə/ 'later'
 - ii. /wi-wining/ 'winning'
 - iii. /tə-tə-tədei/ 'today'
 - iv. /bei-bei beibi/ 'baby'
 - v. /mΛ-mΛ-mΛmi/ 'mummy'

2. **Incomplete Syllable Repetition:** for this type of repetition, we observe that as the child struggles to produce the monosyllabic word, the first part produced usually sets in as an incomplete version of the second part produced
 - i. /ki-kip/ 'keep'
 - ii. /ti-ti-tink/ 'think'
 - iii. /gi-gi-giv/ 'give'
 - iv. /Mu-muv/ 'move'
 - v. /gre-greit/ 'great'
 - vi. /jɜ-jɜz/ 'yes'

3. **Complete Word Repetition:** With this type of repetition, the whole word having the syllable patterns CV or CVC is repeated twice or thrice as shown below:
 - i. /ju-ju-ju/ 'you'
 - ii. /ti-ti/ 'tea'
 - iii. /mi-mik/ 'milk'
 - iv. /mi-mi/ 'me'

Vowel Insertion

Apart from the case of repetition of word or syllable in Osayame's speech, we also noticed the case of vowel insertion. This usually occurs when he tries producing words with clusters of

consonants having the syllable patterns CCVC. CCCV and CCCVC. Consider the Examples below:

/gi-giræb/ ‘grab’

/bi-bi-bireik/ ‘break

/si-si-sipælj/ ‘splash’.

/si-sikræfj/ ‘scratch’.

/si-sitrei/ ‘stray’

/bu-bu-burum/ ‘broom’

Intervention Strategies

Linguistics as the science which studies language and its structure holds a grip on every human being’s life. It is in this regard that Crystal (1981) asserts that linguists have a role to play in diagnosing and remediating issues of language and speech disorders through language therapy. Language therapy involves language techniques employed in handling issues of language disorder. It is no wonder that Uwajeh (2008) asserts that it is important that the therapist of communication disorders should be capable of differentiating between a communication disorder where a language disorder is the cause and a communication disorder where the communication process is faulty. In the case of the child Osayame, our observation is that it is an issue that deals with the communication process and not the language used for that communication. He already has a grip of the language and the process seems to be disorganized therefore, diagnosed of having speech disorder.

Our suggestion to help improve on the situation of the child is that intervention strategies should begin early as it is more efficient at this stage of the problem, the condition of the child is remediable and in managing this situation in the child, we suggest that the traditional articulation therapy approach should be employed.

Bowen (1998) asserts that traditional articulation therapy involves ‘behavioral techniques focused on teaching children new sounds in place of error sounds or emitted sounds, one at a time and then gradually introducing (i.e. new sounds) into larger and longer utterances and eventually into normal conversational speech’. In adopting this model, the teaching of a child should involve a gradual process since the child is reported by his teacher as losing concentration if he is kept for a long time during his study period.

The approach suggested above can also be employed in resolving Osayame’s fluency deficiency. After the linguist has repeated the sounds to him, identified the errors and after using the sounds in shorter utterances, the child can be made to use these sounds in longer utterances. In doing this the child should be trained into speaking fluently by reducing his speaking rate. He

should be made to gradually tell stories or can be asked questions which require long utterances as answers. These should be done frequently in remediating the situation.

Conclusion

This paper reported a current situation of speech disorder in a four year old child. The condition was precipitated by an accident (electrocution) and not by any medical ailment. Thus, among other things, speech disorder can be generated by partial electrocution.

As an expert in language and structure, the linguist has a major role to play in the remediation of certain speech disorders. Following Uwajeh (2008) for a satisfactory therapy, the therapist must have a correct knowledge of what language is.

The treatment of speech disorders however should not only address fluency but must also focus on language and its various components, such as the sociolinguistic background of the subject, to ensure that there are no neglected areas that may later have adverse effect on the future of the child. By so doing, language techniques become adequate and reliable in improving issues concerning speech disorders in children.

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Analysis of Figurative Language Comprehension in School Going Adolescents

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Introduction

‘To read between the lines’ is the ability to understand the inner or underlying meaning of a sentence apart from the literal meaning. Figurative language, as the name implies provides a possibility to imagine and come up with a new meaning for the statement that is not directly stated. It provides a ground to utilise the inferential abilities of a person and is considered to be a meta-linguistic process. Although figurative language comprehension can be found among children, this comprehension gets progressively more sophisticated during childhood, adolescence and adulthood, (Nippold, 1988). Adolescent period is considered to be important in development of figurative language. The students come across figurative expressions in their textbooks and classrooms, though the usage of such expressions is limited in outdoor social situations, Kerbel & Grunwell (1997).

The modalities chosen for teaching the children also plays a major role in the comprehension of linguistic aspects as teachers use both the modalities interchangeably inside the classroom setup. In auditory modality the prosodic factors like inflection and punctuations like comma play an important role in figurative language comprehension. Comma and the prosodic break disambiguate the ambiguous sentences before the critical lexical element, despite the fact that clear evidence is only found in the auditory modality. Comma and prosodic break thus have parallel functions in both the modalities respectively (Kerkhofs, 2008). Though it is believed in general that the syllabus followed in schools has got nothing to do with the academic performance of a student, the syllabus followed by the students determines their language abilities to an extent. In India, the two major syllabus in schools are Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE) and State syllabus undertaken by Central and State Governments with CBSE syllabus to have set higher standards in English language practiced as a part of their curriculum.

Objectives

- To investigate the age and gender difference in performance on reading and auditory verbal comprehension of figurative language comprehension in adolescents.
- To compare the performance on reading and auditory verbal comprehension of figurative language of adolescent students following CBSE and State syllabus.
- To compare the performance on reading and auditory verbal comprehension of figurative language of adolescents.
- To compare the performance on reading and auditory verbal comprehension of figurative language of adolescent students with above and below average academic performance.

Method

Participants

The total numbers of participants selected for the study were 120 (G) school going adolescents between the age group 10-16 years.

- ✓ Adolescent students attending English medium schooling since lower primary classes of the specified age range were included for the study.
- ✓ Individuals who are mentally or physically challenged (sensory loss, motor deficits) and individuals with language learning disability are excluded from the study.

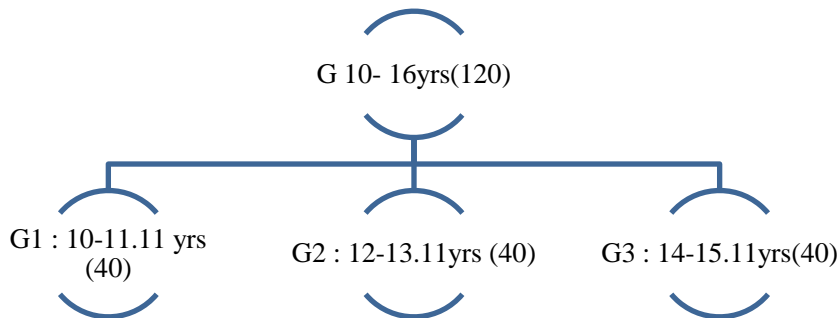


FIGURE 1: Grouping the subjects on the basis of age

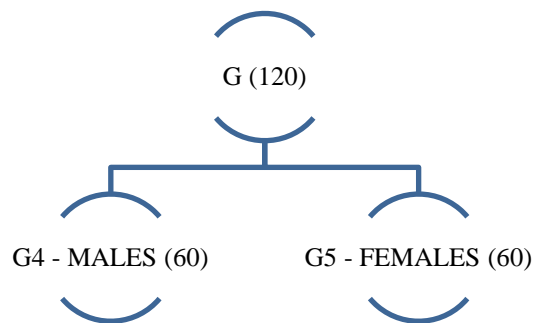


FIGURE 2: Grouping the students on the basis of gender

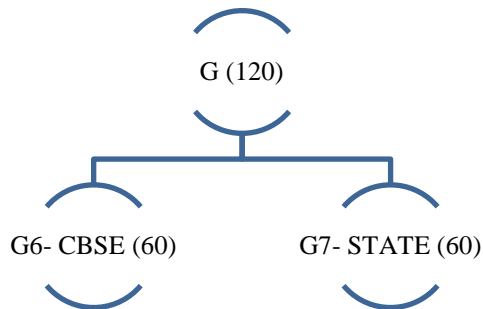


FIGURE 3: Grouping the students on the basis of syllabus followed in school.

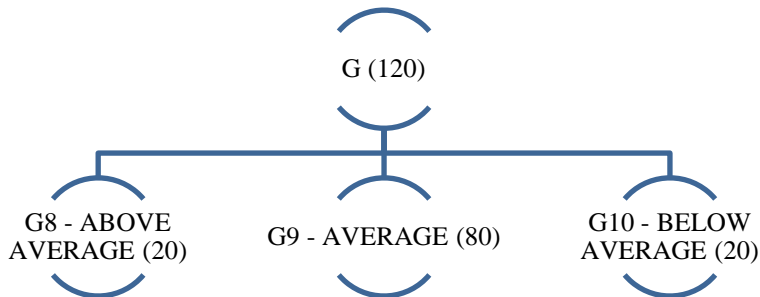


FIGURE 4: Grouping of students of three age groups on the basis of academic performance.

The same classifications had been followed when administering the test material in both auditory and visual modalities.

Materials

- Grade level assessment checklist
- Language Experience and Proficiency- Questionnaire (LEAP-Q).
- Standardised test material, Manipal Manual of Adolescent Language Assessment

Phase 1: Development and validation of Grade level assessment checklist

A grade level assessment checklist consists of 2 parts, Part A and Part B, which was developed for the study. Part A included demographic data regarding age/gender, grade, school name and Syllabus followed (CBSE/ Kerala STATE syllabus), general health and associated health conditions, sensory and motor developmental issues, hearing loss, misarticulations, language disabilities, learning disabilities, dysfluencies. Part B addresses academic performance based ratings: A 3 point rating scale (0-2) is used for scoring with a total score of 60. Above average performance for each task will be scored as 2, average performance for each task scored as 1, and below average performance for each task will be scored as 0. Students obtaining a total

score between 60-40 are categorised as above average academic performers, students obtaining a total score between 40-20 are categorised as average academic performers, students obtaining a total score below 20 are categorised as below average academic performers.

Phase 2: Administration of the developed checklist for grouping the subjects into above and below average scholastic performance and administration of Language Experience and Proficiency- Questionnaire (LEAP-Q).

LEAP-Q and Grade Level Assessment Checklist were given to randomly selected participants of grade 5th to 10th. LEAP-Q was used to screen and select the students who were proficient in English language. The Grade level Assessment Checklist were given to the respective class teachers to assess their students' general academic performance. The student's yearly progress reports along with teacher's feedback about their general academic performance were also taken. Based on the results after administering LEAP-Q and the Grade Level Assessment Checklist, the total sample size selected for the study were 120 (G= 120). According to the scores obtained, the participants were grouped into G8 and G9 and G10. Group G8 (N=20) consisted of participants who obtained highest scores and so categorised as above average academic performers and G10 (N=20) consisted of participants who obtained lowest scores and thus categorised to be below average in academic performance, and G9 (N=80) consisted of participants who obtained in between scores were categorised as average performer respectively.

Phase 3: Administration of the standardised test material in visual (reading) and auditory (verbal instruction) modality.

All the selected participants were administered with the figurative language domain from the test material, Manipal Manual of Adolescent Language Assessment developed by Karuppali and Batt, (2016). The domains assessed were proverbs, idioms and similes. The scoring with respect to each domain is as follows:

DOMAIN 1: Proverbs/idioms

15 Proverbs

0- Incorrect score

1- Literal meaning

2- Figurative/ Indirect meaning

TOTAL SCORE = 15*2 =30

15 Idioms

0. Incorrect score

1. Literal meaning

2. Figurative/ Indirect meaning

TOTAL SCORE = 15*2 =30

Total score- Domain 1: Proverbs + idioms = 30 + 30 = 60

30 Similes

0- Incorrect response

1- Correct response

TOTAL SCORE= 30*1 = 30

Total score- domain 2 similes = 30

The test is initially administered through visual modality (reading task) and then after one month the same test was administered to these participants through auditory (verbal instruction) modality. This is to avoid subjective bias as a result of familiarity effect. The time taken for administration of the standardised test material in visual modality took 10-15 minutes whereas in auditory modality it took 15-20 minutes for each subject. The scores obtained after the assessment procedures were collected and compared within each group for the domains of figurative language in the test and were further documented for statistical analysis.

Phase 4: Statistical Analysis

Test statistics were used for the comparison of the respective groups based on each objective. Suitable parametric or non-parametric test were used. Recent version of Statistical Protocol for Social Sciences (SPSS) was used for statistical analysis. The mean and standard deviation values have been derived for all the participants across all the domain in the standardised test material. Paired t-test and Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was employed to determine the significant difference between the groups and the different domains.

Results and Discussions

1. To investigate the age and gender difference in performance on figurative language comprehension in adolescents.

1a) Age difference: across groups G1, G2, and G3.

Mean and standard deviation of each domain was calculated for the three age groups. ANOVA was employed to determine the significant difference between groups G1, G2, and G3.

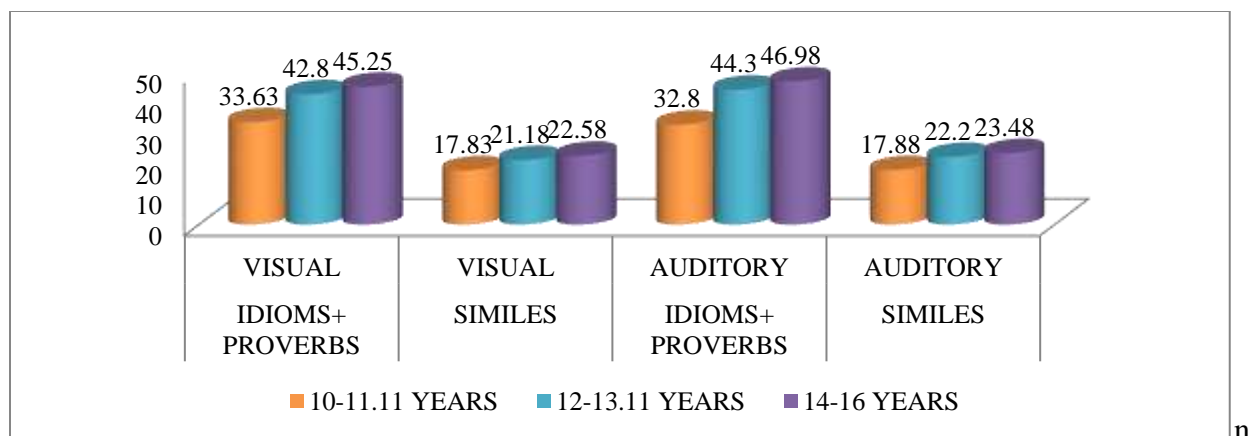


Figure 5a: Mean values of groups G1 (10-11.11 years), G2 (12-13.11 years), and G3 (14-16 years) across the domain idioms + proverbs and similes for both auditory and visual modalities.

TABLE 2a: Mean, Standard Deviation and ANOVA results of proverbs/idioms and similes

Mean scores obtained for group G1 (10-11.11 years) for proverbs/idioms task when testing stimulus presented in visual modality shows higher scores when compared to auditory modality.

	Age	N	Mean	SD	Median	ANOVA	P value	
proverbs/idioms– Auditory	10 – 11.11	40	32.80	10.60	30.00	41.846	.000	HS
	12 – 13.11	40	44.30	6.25	46.00			
	14 – 15.11	40	46.98	3.35	47.00			
	Total	120	41.36	9.56	45.00			
proverbs/idioms– Visual	10 – 11	40	33.63	9.02	33.00	31.490	.000	HS
	12 – 13	40	42.80	6.65	45.00			
	14 – 15	40	45.25	4.19	45.50			
	Total	120	40.56	8.49	43.50			
similes – Auditory	10 – 11	40	17.88	4.39	18.00	35.784	.000	HS
	12 – 13	40	22.20	2.28	23.00			
	14 – 15	40	23.48	2.11	24.00			
	Total	120	21.18	3.91	22.50			
similes – Visual	10 – 11	40	17.83	4.09	19.00	23.682	.000	HS
	12 – 13	40	21.18	2.67	22.00			
	14 – 15	40	22.58	2.52	23.00			
	Total	120	20.53	3.73	22.00			

Whereas for similes the scores were better in auditory modality. It was observed during the testing procedure in auditory modality that the students of this age group had difficulty in comprehending idioms and proverbs which were complex and lengthy while listening. This may

be the possible reason of lower scores for the proverbs/idioms domain in auditory modality when compared with visual. Mean scores obtained for group G2 (12-13.11 years) and G3 (14-16 years) for both proverbs/idioms and similes tasks when testing stimulus presented in auditory shows higher scores when compared to visual modality. The highest mean scores were obtained for group G3 (14-16 years), lowest scores obtained for group G3 (14-16 years) and group G2 obtained mean scores falling between the other two groups. The results reveal that there is a highly significant difference in performance of students of the three age groups respectively.

1b) Gender difference:

Mean and standard deviation of each domain was calculated for groups. Paired t-test was employed to determine the significant difference between groups G4 (males) and G5 (females).

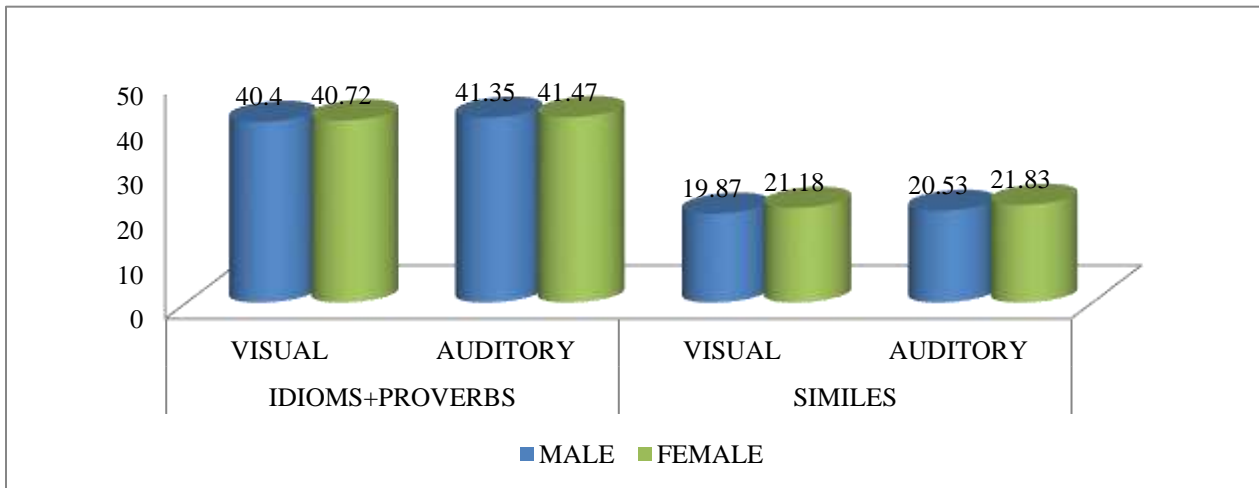


Figure 5b: Mean values of groups G4 (Males) and G5 (Females) across the domains proverbs/idioms and similes in auditory and visual modalities.

TABLE 2b: Mean, Standard Deviation and paired t-test results of groups G4 (Males) and G5 (Females) across the domains proverbs/idioms and similes for both modalities.

	Sex	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Median	t value	P value	
proverbs/idioms– Auditory	Male	60	41.25	9.15	45.00	-.124	.902	NS
	Female	60	41.47	10.04	46.00			
	Total	120	41.36	9.56	45.00			
proverbs/idioms– Visual	Male	60	40.40	8.06	42.00	-.203	.839	NS
	Female	60	40.72	8.97	44.00			

	Total	120	40.56	8.49	43.50			
similes – Auditory	Male	60	20.53	4.18	22.00	-1.841	.068	NS
	Female	60	21.83	3.53	23.00			
	Total	120	21.18	3.91	22.50			
similes - Visual	Male	60	19.87	3.86	21.00	-1.957	.053	NS
	Female	60	21.18	3.50	22.00			
	Total	120	20.53	3.73	22.00			

Mean scores obtained for group G4 (males) and G5 (females) for both proverbs/idioms and similes tasks when testing stimulus presented in auditory shows higher scores when compared to visual modality. During the testing procedure it was observed that the female participants tend to be more focused and dedicated in doing the tasks than compared to male participants who seemed to be more distracted and impatient in completing the testing procedures. In this study, though there is a greater mean score values obtained for female participants, the results reveals that there no gender based differences in figurative language comprehension in adolescents as there is no significant difference in performance of male and female participants

2) To compare the performance on reading and auditory verbal comprehension of figurative language of adolescent students following CBSE and State syllabus.

Mean and standard deviation of each domain was calculated for the two groups. T-test was employed to determine the significant difference between groups G6 (CBSE) and G7 (STATE).

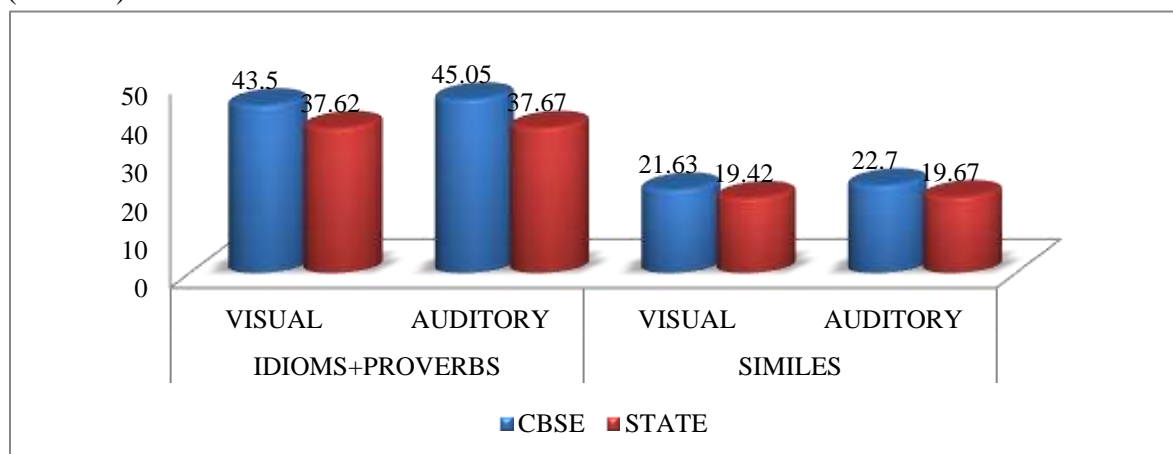


Figure 6: Mean values of groups G6 and G7 across the domains proverbs/idioms and similes for both auditory and visual modalities.

TABLE 3: Mean, Standard Deviation and t-test results of groups G6 and G7 across the domains proverbs/idioms and similes for both modalities. Mean scores obtained for groups G6 (CBSE) > G7 (STATE).

DOMAIN	SYLLABUS	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Median	t value	p value	
proverbs/i dioms –	CBSE	60	45.05	6.15	47.00	4.568	.000	HS
	STATE	60	37.67	10.90	40.50			
Auditory	Total	120	41.36	9.56	45.00			
proverbs/i dioms –	CBSE	60	43.50	6.80	45.50	4.029	.000	HS
	STATE	60	37.62	9.04	38.00			
Visual	Total	120	40.56	8.49	43.50			
similes – Auditory	CBSE	60	22.70	2.85	23.00	4.599	.000	HS
	STATE	60	19.67	4.24	20.00			
	Total	120	21.18	3.91	22.50			
similes - Visual	CBSE	60	21.63	3.33	22.00	3.398	.001	HS
	STATE	60	19.42	3.80	20.00			
	Total	120	20.53	3.73	22.00			

Mean scores obtained for group G6 (CBSE) in both proverbs/idioms and similes tasks when testing stimulus presented in visual modality shows higher scores when compared to auditory modality.

Mean scores obtained for group G7 (STATE) for both proverbs/idioms and similes tasks when testing stimulus presented in auditory shows higher scores when compared to visual modality. It was observed during the testing procedure that students following STATE syllabus frequently asked for word meanings and demanded for more clarifications related to the test items provided to them. The chances of verbal assistances for the completion of their task was more when the stimulus were presented in auditory modality by the clinician. This probably lead to better scores for them when testing done in auditory modality. The result reveals that there is a highly significant difference between the groups G6 (CBSE) and G7 (STATE). This implies that it may be due to the difference in curriculum followed by both the group which lead to better understanding of figurative language domains such as similes, idioms and proverbs.

3) To compare the performance on reading (visual modality) and auditory verbal comprehension (auditory modality) of figurative language of adolescent students.

Mean and standard deviation of each domain was calculated for the two groups. Paired t-test was employed to determine the significant difference for auditory and visual modalities.

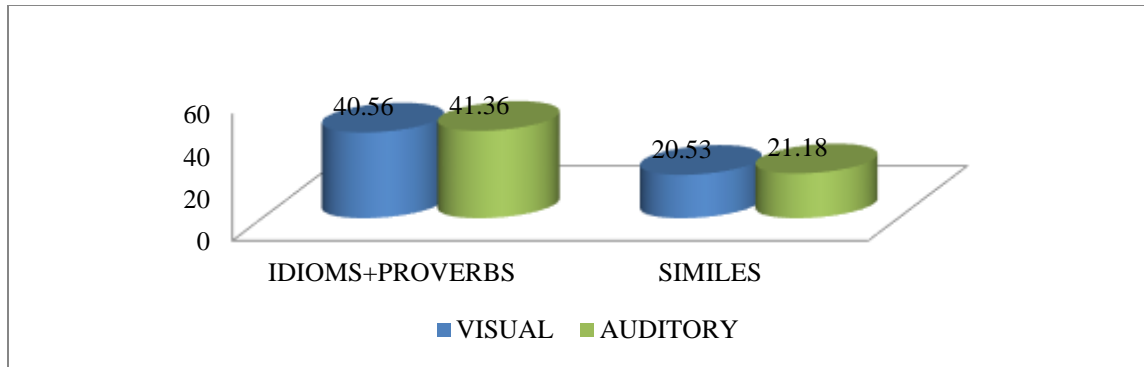


Figure 7: Mean values for auditory and visual modalities across the domains proverbs/idioms and similes.

TABLE 4: Mean, Standard Deviation and t-test results for auditory modality across the domains proverbs/idioms and similes.

	Mean	Std. Deviation	t value	P
Proverbs/idioms - Auditory	41.36	9.56	3.456	.001
Proverbs/idioms – Visual	40.56	8.49		HS
similes – Auditory	21.18	3.91	5.442	.000
similes - Visual (30)	20.53	3.73		HS

Mean scores obtained for both proverbs/idioms and similes tasks when testing stimulus presented in auditory shows higher scores when compared to visual modality. There is a highly significant difference in presenting the testing stimulus in auditory and visual modalities. The results reveal that students comprehend figurative language tasks when presented in auditory modality better than visual modality. One of the possible reasons for this findings may be familiarity effect of the testing stimulus as it was administered initially in visual modality one month before.

4) To compare the performance on reading and auditory verbal comprehension of figurative language of adolescent students with above average, average and below average academic performance.

The total participants (N=120) were assessed with a Grade level assessment checklist and also on the basis of yearly progress reports and teachers feedback about their general academic performance.

The Grade level assessment checklist consist of 2 parts, Part A and Part B, which was developed for the study. Part A included demographic data and part B addresses academic

performance based ratings: A 3 point rating scale (0-2) is used for scoring with a total score of 60. Above average performance for each task will be scored as 2, average performance for each task scored as 1, and below average performance for each task will be scored as 0.

Students obtaining a total score between 60-40 are categorised as above average academic performers, students obtaining a total score between 40-20 are categorised as average academic performers, students obtaining a total score below 20 are categorised as below average academic performers.

4a) Mean and standard deviation of each domain was calculated for the three groups. ANOVA was employed to determine the significant difference between groups G8 (above average), G9 (average), G10 (below average).

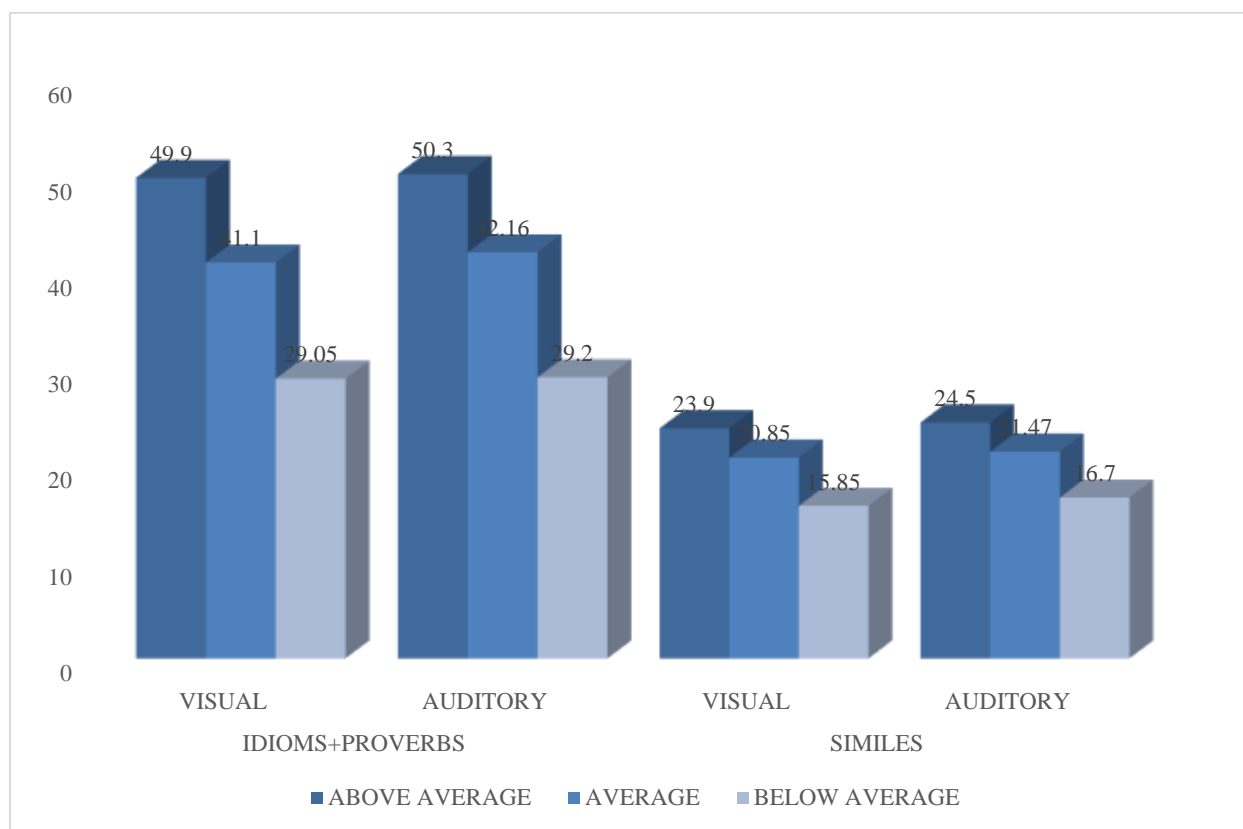


Figure 8a: Mean values of groups G8, G9, and G10 across the domains proverbs/idioms and similes for both auditory and visual modalities.

TABLE 5a: Mean, Standard Deviation and ANOVA results of groups G8, G9, and G10 across the domains proverbs/idioms and similes for both auditory and visual modalities.

DOMAIN		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	ANOVA	P
Proverbs/idioms- Auditory	Below average	20	29.20	9.41	42.957	HS .000
	Average	80	42.16	7.57		
	Above average	20	50.00	1.62		
	Total	120	41.35	9.56		
Proverbs/ idioms- visual	Below average	20	29.05	7.74	62.005	HS .000
	Average	80	41.10	6.13		
	Above average	20	49.90	1.71		
	Total	120	40.55	8.49		
Similes- auditory	Below average	20	16.70	4.53	30.987	HS .000
	Average	80	21.47	3.13		
	Above average	20	24.50	1.05		
	Total	120	21.18	3.90		
Similes- visual	Below average	20	15.85	4.00	40.174	HS .000
	Average	80	20.85	2.84		
	Above average	20	23.90	1.41		
	Total	120	20.52	3.72		

Mean scores obtained for all the three groups for both proverbs/idioms and similes tasks when testing stimulus presented in auditory shows higher scores when compared to visual modality.

The results reveal highest mean scores for above average performers, lowest mean scores for below average performers and average performers means scores falling between these two groups. There is a highly significant difference between performance of above average, average and below average students.

This indicates that there is a positive correlation between academic performance and language tasks which implies to a better the understanding of language and metalinguistic abilities greater there is a chance of better academic performance. Language and communication skills in general play an inevitable role in the academic achievements of students.

5b) Mean and standard deviation of each domain was calculated for the three groups. Paired t-test was employed to determine the significant difference both auditory and visual modalities across the groups G10 (above average), G11 (average), G12 (below average).

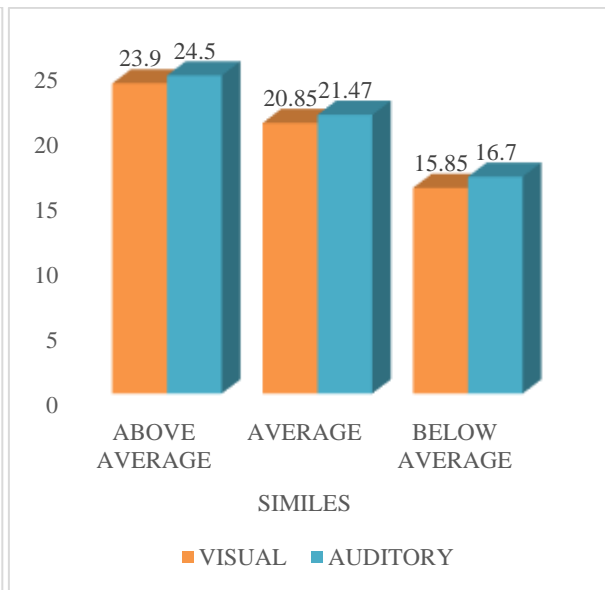
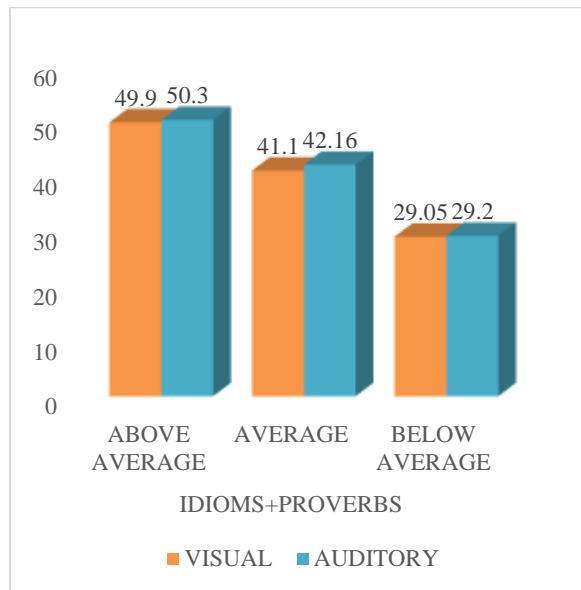


Figure 8b: Mean values of groups G8, G9, and G10 for the domain proverbs/similes across auditory and visual modalities.

Figure 8c: Mean values of groups G8, G9, and G10 for the domain similes across auditory and visual modalities.

TABLE 5b: Mean, Standard Deviation and ANOVA results of groups G8, G9, and G10 across the domains proverbs/idioms and similes for both auditory and visual modalities.

		Mean	Std. Deviation	t value	P
Below average	proverbs/idioms – Auditory	29.2000	9.41779	.213	.834
	proverbs/idioms – Visual	29.0500	7.74240		NS
	similes – Auditory	16.7000	4.53176	2.095	.050
	similes - Visual (30)	15.8500	4.00362		NS
I	proverbs/idioms – Auditory	42.1625	7.57986	3.633	.000
	proverbs/idioms – Visual	41.1000	6.13477		HS

	similes – Auditory	21.4750	3.13403	4.218	.000
	similes - Visual (30)	20.8500	2.84227		HS
Above average	proverbs/idioms – Auditory	50.3000	1.62546	1.798	.088
	proverbs/idioms – Visual	49.9000	1.71372		NS
	similes – Auditory	24.5000	1.05131	4.485	.000
	similes - Visual (30)	23.9000	1.41049		HS

Mean scores obtained for groups G8 (above average) for the domains proverbs/idioms and similes when compared across auditory and visual modalities showed higher scores for auditory modality when compared to visual modality but had no significant difference between groups. Mean scores obtained for groups G9 (average) for the domains proverbs/idioms and similes when compared across auditory and visual modalities, auditory modality showed higher scores compared to visual modality and was highly significant between groups. Mean scores obtained for groups G10 (above average) for the domain proverbs/idioms when compared across auditory and visual modalities showed higher scores for auditory modality when compared to visual modality but had no significant difference between groups. Whereas, mean scores obtained for groups G10 (above average) for the domain simile when compared across auditory and visual modalities showed higher scores for auditory modality when compared to visual modality and was highly significant between groups. The result reveals that mode of communication also plays a significant role in academic performance. Auditory modality seem to be more comprehensive in case of figurative language tasks for mainly average students.

Summary and Conclusion

The importance of language in the life of any human being needs no emphasis. Adolescent period is crucial for the development of meta-linguistic abilities such as figurative language comprehension. In this context the objective of teaching languages is not simply to make the students learn language skills but to enable them to play their communicative roles effectively. In this context, the study is of importance as it investigate the age and gender difference in figurative language comprehension of adolescents, reading and auditory verbal comprehension of adolescents following CBSE and State syllabus, and also to compare the performance in figurative language comprehension tasks of students categorised as above average, average and below average academic performance.

In the study, performance in figurative language tasks by adolescent students was better as their age increased. Though there were no clinically significant difference in performance of male and female participants, females were observed to outperform males in comprehension of

figurative language tasks though no clinically significant correlation between gender and figurative language comprehension in adolescents. Results reveal a significant correlation between the curriculums based teaching strategies and figurative language comprehension in adolescents. On the basis of the results it was concluded that students following CBSE syllabus had better comprehension of figurative language tasks. The possible reason which lead to this result may be the differences in curriculum, as CBSE syllabus emphasis is on a more language oriented curriculum for students. Fourthly, higher mean values were obtained for auditory modality when compared to visual modality and showed highly significant difference between both the domains.

At the American Speech-Language-Hearing Association (ASHA) Convention in 2016, a group of university and school-based speech-language pathologists (SLPs) were discussing the evolution of speech-language services in the schools. As it often happens at the ASHA Convention, great discussion ensued, and the seed for this clinical forum was planted. Each SLP agreed that the landscape of school-based service delivery models has evolved over the last decade. So, to conclude, Adolescent population should be addressed by SLPs to identify and progress monitor critical language/literacy skills such as listening comprehension and oral narratives skills measures that will discriminate students with inadequate language skills and curriculum-based assessment and intervention strategies should be given more emphasis, which is useful to determine the effectiveness of language/literacy in this population. Evaluations and interventions by SLP's would be helpful for this population to improve their overall language learning abilities which involves higher level thought processes and thereby enhancing their general academic performance.

Implications of the Study

1. The present study gives emphasis to the influence of language abilities in general academic performance of adolescents.
2. It serves as an academic research focusing on the impact of differences in choices for the mode of presentation of language in schools.
3. It gives an insight to emphasising the importance of cognitive linguistic strategies in school curriculum right from primary classes for stronger foundations in dealing with language learning issues.

Limitations of the Study

1. Small sample size.
2. The testing procedure was time consuming as the testing stimulus was lengthy.
3. There was only one month gap between the administration of the test material in auditory and visual modalities.

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4. Second language was used as the medium for the assessment.

Future Directions

1. The study can be carried out in a different population, such as children with developmental language disorders and other communication disorders.
2. Other figurative language tasks can be chosen for the study such as sarcasm, irony, etc.
3. Similar study can be done after adopting the standardised test material to a language which is the mother tongue of the participants.
4. A comparative study of adolescent comprehension of figurative language can be carried out in school going students in urban and rural areas.
5. Similar studies can be carried out using a larger population size and with early adolescents or pre-adolescents.

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Assessing Language Endangerment: A Methodological Review

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Introduction

Of the 7105 languages listed in the 17th edition of *Ethnologue* 33.5% of them are said to be endangered languages. These languages that are under the threat of losing its speakers by choice: as language shift wherein the number of speakers dwindles within the ethnic community. Speakers of these endangered languages cease to speak their heritage language in favor of languages that are socially, politically and economically dominant.

Language shift and language loss are not a new phenomenon, historically many languages have been lost through a process of gradual shift or change, but what worries us is today's language shift occurs when speakers cease to speak their heritage language in favor of the other. What are the reasons for such language shifts or loss? In very rare instances, language loss occurs as a result of the loss of the entire population through natural disasters or war. The most common form of language loss results from language shift and attrition, a more gradual kind of loss, where speakers of a language make a conscious decision to stop using their language or stop speaking it to their children. In such case of language loss, speakers shift or abandon their languages as they see their heritage language as an obstacle to socio-economic mobility, and instead prefers to use the language of a dominant group. In cases like India language shift is motivated as a result of flawed educational policy, which until recently restricted the use of minority language in educational institutes¹. Most scholars (Krauss (1992), Crystal (2000) Fishman (1991), and others) have acknowledged that the language loss is not a new occurrence, but the rate at which it is presently happening is. The reason of language shifts is motivated by a complex set of systemic nurtured factors stemming from local language ecologies to regional, national, and global levels.

Cause of language shift, as Grenoble (2011) notes, often centres around the uneven

1 National Policy on Education 1968, adopted the All India Council for Education 1956 recommendation of the Three Language Formula (TLF) 'which includes the study of a modern Indian language, preferably one of the Southern languages, apart from Hindi and English in the Hindi speaking states, and of Hindi along with the regional language and English in the non-Hindi-speaking states at the Secondary stage.' The recent National Curriculum framework 2005 on other hand has laid the foundation for Multilingual Education.

concentration of power and prestige between the minority language and culture on the one hand and the languages of wider communication and dominant cultures on the other hand. While the specifics of such power equation may vary by situations, three common overreaching causes are identified in Grenoble (2011) a) Urbanization, b) Globalization, and c) Social and Cultural Dislocation.

In modern times, *Urbanization* emerges as one of the key causes; it brings people from different language and culture into the same working space. They are necessarily required to communicate with each other, and so they turn to an established lingua-franca or a language of wider communication. Secondly, *Globalization*, the modern practice of trade and commerce, demands that all those who are indulged in it communicate with each other as opposed to the traditional set up where only the key figures in the state are expected to be able to communicate in a global language, this puts pressure on the people to communicate in a global language. Skill to communicate in a global language in the developing nations today is seen as a prerequisite for 'success'. Both Urbanization and Globalization have, in a way, achieved a socio-cultural homogenization, leading to *Social and Cultural Dislocation*. Lack of prestige and power is one of the most powerful motivating factors for language shift. This situation often stems from unequal levels of power and often results in the minority community being socially and economically disadvantaged. Disadvantaged in concert terms means that the minority community as compared to the dominant community are politically powerless and are less educated and less wealthy². One common outcome of this is the change in attitudes towards the heritage language of the minority community. Members of the minority community often view the knowledge of their heritage language and culture as an impediment to socio-economic development, further knowledge of the dominant language comes to be perceived as the key to socio-economic development: the result is the renunciation of heritage language and culture; thus this situation has been called *social and cultural dislocation*.

In this context, Language endangerment can be defined as a threat with the extinction of a language, may be conceptualized as a continuum of language vitality. At one end of the continuum, there are dominant languages like Hindi, an official language of the Indian State³, broadly used in the media and education, and the sole lingua-franca in most parts of India. And at the other end, some languages are on the verge of extinction or languages that are extinct languages like Present Greater Andamanese, a language spoken in the Strait Island of Andaman Islands, India. Its speakers have shifted to Andamanese Hindi, a language of the dominant class and a State language of Andaman and Nicobar, showing only a symbolic fluency in their heritage language⁴. In between these, there are languages of varying degree

2 Harbert, Wayne. "Endangered Languages and Economic Development." *The Cambridge Handbook of Endangered Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011. 403-422.

3 Through Article 343 of the Indian Constitution the State has declared Hindi as the official language and English as the co-official language.

4 Anvita Abbi, Bidisha Som and Alok Das "Where Have All The Speakers Gone? A Sociolinguistic Study of

of vitality. As Grenoble (2011) observes, factors assessing Language endangerment are broadly characterized along three important dimensions: 1) the nature and number of persons who identify as the speakers of the language (ethnolinguistic population), 2) domains of use (function) and 3) internal and external pressures/support that exists for a language.

Nature and number of the speaker base are one of the most significant factors in measuring the vitality of the language. A language is endangered when fewer and fewer people identify with it, and hence they neither use it nor pass it on to the next generation. On the dimension of *domains of use*, a language used in fewer and fewer domains of daily activity gradually lose the characteristic of being closely associated with the community and when it finally loses the 'Home' domain it ceases to exist. Finally, one of the most important factors that motivate language shift is *internal and external pressure or support that exist for a language*. By EXTERNAL Pressure or Support here, I refer to the governments' attitudes and policies toward minority languages. Like, in a state where all languages are given equal status minority languages have external support, on the contrary, if a States treats few or one language as official and the rest as subordinate, then the speakers of the minority languages are under constant pressure to adapt to the language of the dominant class. On the other hand, INTERNAL pressure or support refers to the communities' attitude towards their heritage language: a positive attitude towards their heritage language will be a support, while a negative attitude will act as pressure.

The main concern in assessing language endangerment lies in quantifying these factors. While authors vary in several factors, they all agree that no one common factor can be pointed as the reason for language loss. These factors are not solely restricted with the demography of the speakers, and the language use, they are multifaceted in nature. Further, they also agree that these factors are not universal; rather they are dependent on the 'language ecology'⁵ in which the said language is spoken.

The greatest challenge that one immediately faces in assessing language endangerment in India and South Asia at large is the 'societal multilingualism'. Any tool that seeks to assess endangerment must shed its traditional 'Europeanized' notion of 'language' and 'language use' before it can take the work in Hand. In the sections below, will provide a methodological overview and the assessment of two tools that have been broadly used in Indian settings, Ethnologue's EGIDS- Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale and UNESCO's LVE-Language vitality and Endangerment Index.

Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale

In the seventeenth edition, Ethnologue introduced a new category of information: Language Status, providing a summary of the status of the language use in a country. As per Ethnologue's website, the status element of a language entry includes two types of information: The first is an estimate of the overall development versus endangerment of the

the Great Andamanese”, Indian Linguistics; 68.3-4: 325-343

5 As conceptualised by Haugen in his seminal paper The Ecology of Language (1971)

language using the EGIDS scale (Lewis and Simons 2010), and the second is a categorization of the Official Recognition given to a language within the country.⁶ In the treatment below, a summary of the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale is provided.

Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale, according to Ethnologue “provides both an estimate of the level of endangerment of languages which are losing ground and an estimate of the state of development of those languages which are gaining functions in the communities where they are used.”⁷ EGIDS was developed by Lewis and Simons (2010) based on 'Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale' first developed by Joshua Fishman. The disruption of intergenerational transmission was the only factor used to create a typology of language endangerment⁸, whereas EGIDS, according to its developers, is an attempt to expand the scope of these categorisations.

An Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale according to Lewis 2009 is an attempt to measure and organise languages vitality on a 13 grade scale (level), starting from zero (safe) to ten (extinct), based on data that are indicators of two major dimension of language use: *absolute number of speakers and the use of language in certain domains or functions*. Each of this level (graded scale) is given a distinct one or two-word label that identifies with the major functional category of the level. A summary of these levels is given in the table below.

Level	Label	Description
0	International	The language is widely used between nations in trade, knowledge exchange, and international policy.
1	National	The language is used in education, work, mass media, and government at the national level.
2	Provincial	The language is used in education, work, mass media, and government within major administrative subdivisions of a nation.
3	Wider Communication	The language is used in work and mass media without official status to transcend language differences across a region.
4	Educational	The language is in vigorous use, with standardization and literature being sustained through a widespread system of institutionally supported education.
5	Developing	The language is in vigorous use, with literature in a standardized form being used by some though this is not yet

6 <http://www.ethnologue.com/statistics/status>

7 <http://www.ethnologue.com/about/language-status>

8 Fishman in his seminal Paper (1991) notes that intergenerational transmission - whether parents passed on the language to their children - was critical in determining the continuity of a language. He developed a scale with eight levels, in which the first six levels (1–6) the language is being maintained. In the last two levels (7 & 8) parents stopped transmitting their native language and shifted to other languages.

Level	Label	Description
		widespread or sustainable.
6a	Vigorous	The language is used for face-to-face communication by all generations, and the situation is sustainable.
6b	Threatened	The language is used for face-to-face communication within all generations, but it is losing users.
7	Shifting	The child-bearing generation can use the language among themselves, but it is not being transmitted to children.
8a	Moribund	The only remaining active users of the language are members of the grandparent generation and older.
8b	Nearly Extinct	The only remaining users of the language are members of the grandparent generation or older who have little opportunity to use the language.
9	Dormant	The language serves as a reminder of heritage identity for an ethnic community, but no one has more than symbolic proficiency.
10	Extinct	The language is no longer used, and no one retains a sense of ethnic identity associated with the language.

Table-1 Levels in Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale

Note: Adapted from Lewis and Simons 2010 p. 11

Assessment in EGIDS

According to Lewis and Simons (2010), the current status of a language can be assessed by answering a set of five key questions about community and language use. These questions are based on a set of seven parameters of language endangerment (Lewis 2008): 1) Age; 2) Demography; 3) Language use; 4) Language Cultivation/Development, Literacy, and Education; 5) Status and Recognition; 6) Language Attitudes; 7) Amount and quality of documentation. These five questions are listed below. Answers to the five key questions identify some of the major factors that need to be addressed in any language maintenance, revitalization, or development project. These factors are identity, vehicularity, the status of intergenerational transmission, literacy acquisition status, and a societal profile of generational language use.

Key Question #1: What is the current identity function of the language? There are four possible answers to this question: Historical, Heritage, Home, and Vehicular.

Answer	Description	EGIDS Level
Historical	The language has no remaining speakers and no community which associates itself with the language as a language of identity.	EGIDS Level 10 (Extinct).
Heritage	There are no remaining L1 speakers, but there may be some emerging L2 speakers or the language may be used for symbolic and	EGIDS Level 9 (Dormant).

	ceremonial purposes only.	
Home	The language is used for daily oral communication in the home domain by at least some. Here the trajectory of language shift or retention becomes an important factor in order to determine the EGIDS level; answering Key Question #3 is necessary.	Answering Key Question #3 is necessary to determine the EGIDS Level
Vehicular	The term vehicular refers to the extent to which a language is used to facilitate communication among those who speak different first languages. If a language is characterized here as being Vehicular, it is used by others as an L2 in addition to being used by the community of L1 speakers. The language has an identity function that goes beyond the local community most closely associated with it.	When this response is selected, Key Question #2 must be answered in order to determine the EGIDS level.

Table 2 EGIDS -Key Question #1: "What is the current identity function of the language?"
(Note: Adapted from Lewis and Simons 2010 p. 16)

Key Question #2: What is the level of official use? This question helps to distinguish between the possible EGIDS levels when a language is serving the Vehicular identity function. There are four possible answers which correspond to EGIDS levels 0 through 3.

Answer	Description	EGIDS Level
International	The language is used internationally as a language of business, education, and other activities of wider communication.	EGIDS Level 0 (International).
National	The language has official or de facto recognition at the level of the nation-state and is used for government, educational, business, and other communicative needs.	EGIDS Level (National).
Regional	The language is officially recognized at the sub-national level for government, education, business, and other functions.	EGIDS Level 2 (Regional).
Not Official	The language is not officially recognized but is used beyond the local community for intergroup interactions. These may include business (trade), social or other communicative functions.	EGIDS Level 3 (Trade).

Table 3 EGIDS-Key Question #2: "What is the level of official use?"

(Note: Adapted from Lewis and Simons 2010 p. 17)

Key Question #3: Are all parents transmitting the language to their children? This question must be asked when the answer to Key Question #1 is Home. There are two possible answers.

Table 4: Key Question #3: Are all parents transmitting the language to their children?

Answer	Description	EGIDS Level
Yes	Intergenerational transmission of the language is intact, widespread and ongoing.	One more question (Key Question #4) must be answered in order to determine if the community is at EGIDS Level 4, 5, or 6a.
No	Intergenerational transmission of L1 is being disrupted. This response would characterize incipient or more advanced language shift.	One additional question must be answered (Key Question #5) in order to determine if the community is at EGIDS Level 6b, 7, 8a, or 8b

Table 4 EGIDS-Key Question #3: "Are all parents transmitting the language to their children?" (Note: Adapted from Lewis and Simons 2010 p. 18)

Key Question #4: What is literacy status? If the response to Key Question #3 is "Yes", then the status of literacy education in the community needs to be identified. There are three possible answers to this question.

Answer	Description	EGIDS Level
Institutional	Literacy is acquired through a system of education supported by a sustainable institution. This is typically the government education system, though other community-based institutions (such as the church or cultural organization) may provide literacy education.	EGIDS Level 4 (Educational).
Incipient	Literacy in the language has been introduced into the community but has not been acquired by most community members through well-established publicly-accessible institutions.	EGIDS Level 5 (Written).
None	There is no significant literate population, no organized means of acquiring literacy skills, or those who are literate read and write only in a second language. There are no institutions supporting local-language literacy, or if such institutions exist, they have not yet had a significant impact on the community.	EGIDS Level 6a, Vigorous.

Table 4 EGIDS Key Question #4: "What is the literacy status?" (Note: Adapted from Lewis and Simons 2010 p. 18)

Key Question #5: What is the youngest generation of proficient speakers? When the response to Key Question #3 (Intergenerational Transmission) is “No”, it is necessary to know how far along language shift has progressed in order to assess the current EGIDS level. The youngest generation of proficient speakers in an unbroken chain of intergenerational transmission provides an index to the progress of language shift. By “proficient speaker” we mean a person who uses the language for full social interaction in a variety of settings. Specifically excluded is the partial and passive ability that typically characterizes the first generation that embraced the second language.

Answer	Description	EGIDS Level
Great Grandparents	The youngest proficient speakers of the language are of the great grandparent generation. Language shift is very far along.	EGIDS Level 8b (Nearly Extinct).
Grandparents	The youngest proficient speakers of the language are of the grandparent generation. Language shift is advanced.	EGIDS Level 8a (Moribund).
Parents	The youngest proficient speakers of the language are the adults of the child-bearing age. Language shift has begun and is clearly in progress.	EGIDS Level 7 (Shifting).
Children	The youngest proficient speakers of the language are children. However, language shift may be in its beginning stages since full intergenerational transmission is not in place (Key Question #3).	This corresponds to EGIDS Level 6b (Threatened).

Table 4 EGIDS Key Question #5: "What is the youngest generation of proficient speakers?"
(Note: Adapted from Lewis and Simons 2010 p. 19)

According to it, developers EGIDS is proposed as harmonization of the existing three evaluative methods: GIDS, UNESCO, and Ethnologue vitality categories (old). These methods are used to assess the language vitality and evaluate a language status by answering the above five key questions regarding the languages' identity function, vehicularity, state of intergenerational language transmission, literacy acquisition status, and a societal profile of generational language use. This status, according to Ethnologue, provides the baseline information for language planners and policymakers in their projects to revitalize endangered languages.

UNESCO'S Language Vitality and Endangerment

At the 31st Session of the UNESCO General Conference (October 2001), all the state

members unanimously-adopted 'Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity' and recognized a relationship between biodiversity, cultural diversity and linguistic diversity. UNESCO's action plan recommends that the Member States, in conjunction with speaker communities, undertake steps towards:

1. sustaining the linguistic diversity of humanity and giving support to expression, creation and dissemination of the greatest possible number of languages;
2. encouraging linguistic diversity at all levels of education, wherever possible, and fostering the learning of several languages from the youngest age;
3. incorporating, where appropriate, traditional pedagogies into the educational process with a view to preserving and making full use of culturally-appropriate methods of communication and transmission of knowledge, and, where permitted by speaker communities, encouraging universal access to information in the public domain through the global network, including the promotion of linguistic diversity in cyberspace.

To attain these goals, an ad hoc expert group on Endangered languages was constituted, to assess language endangerment and urgency of the need for documentation. The ad hoc group identified six factors to evaluate a language's vitality and state of endangerment, two factors to assess language attitudes and one factor to evaluate the urgency of the need for documentation. Taken together, these nine factors are considered useful for characterizing a language's overall sociolinguistic situation. Except for one factor, the rest of the eight factors are graded on six-point scale 5 (safe) to 0 (extinct).

Six Factors of Language Vitality Assessment

Factor 1: Intergenerational Language Transmission

The most commonly used factor in evaluating the vitality of a language is whether or not it is being transmitted from one generation to the next (Fishman 1991). Endangerment can be ranked on a continuum from stability to extinction.

Degree of Endangerment	Grade	Description
Safe	5	The language is spoken by all generations. There is no sign of linguistic threat from any other language, and the intergenerational transmission of the language seems uninterrupted.
Unsafe	4	Most but not all children or families of a particular community speak the language as their first language, but it may be restricted to specific social domains (such as at home, where children interact with their parents and grandparents).
Definitively endangered	3	The language is no longer being learned as the mother tongue by children in the home. The youngest speakers are thus of the parental generation. At this stage, parents may still speak

		the language to their children, but their children do not typically respond in the language.
Severely endangered	2	The language is spoken only by grandparents and older generations; while the parent generation may still understand the language, they typically do not speak it to their children.
Critically endangered	1	The youngest speakers are in the great-grandparental generation, and the language is not used for everyday interactions. These older people often remember only part of the language but do not use it, since there may not be anyone to speak with.
Extinct	0	There is no one who can speak or remember the language.

Table 8 UNESCO's "Factor 1- Intergenerational Language Transmission"
(Note: Adopted from Brenzinger, et al. 2003, p. 8)

Factor 2: Absolute Number of Speakers

This is the only factor, which is not in an interpretable scale, as the expert group believes 'it is impossible to establish a hard and fast rule for interpreting absolute numbers, but a small speech community is always at risk. '

Factor 3: Proportion of Speakers within the Total Population

The number of speakers in relation to the total population of a group is a significant indicator of language vitality, where 'group' may refer to the ethnic, religious, regional or national group with which the speaker community identifies.

Degree of Endangerment	Grade	Description: Proportion of Speakers Within the Total Reference Population
Safe	5	All speak the language.
Unsafe	4	Nearly all speak the language.
Definitively endangered	3	A majority speak the language.
Severely endangered	2	A minority speak the language.
Critically endangered	1	Very few speak the language.
Extinct	0	None speak the language.

Table 8 UNESCO's "Factor 3-Proportion of Speakers within the Total Population."
(Note: Adopted from Brenzinger, et al. 2003, p. 9)

Factor 4: Shifts in Domains of Language Use

Where, with whom, and the range of topics for which a language is used (domains of language use) directly affects whether or not it will be transmitted to the next generation.

Degree of Endangerment	Grade	Description: Domains and Functions
Universal use	5	The language is used in all domains and for all functions
Multilingual parity	4	Two or more languages may be used in most social domains and for most functions.
Dwindling domains	3	The language is used in home domains and for many functions, but the dominant language begins to penetrate even home domains.
Limited or formal domains	2	The language is used in limited social domains and for several functions
Highly limited domains	1	The language is used only in a very restricted number of domains and for very few functions.
Extinct	0	The language is not used in any domain for any function.

Table 9 UNESCO's "Factor 4-Shifts in Domains of Language Use."

(Note: Adopted from Brenzinger, et al. 2003, p. 10)

Factor 5: Response to New Domains and Media

New areas for language use may emerge as community living conditions change. While some language communities do succeed in expanding their own language into new domains, most do not. Schools, new work environments and new media, including broadcast media and the Internet, usually serve only to expand the scope and power of a dominant language at the expense of endangered languages. If the communities do not meet the challenges of modernity with their language, it becomes increasingly irrelevant and stigmatized.

Degree of Endangerment	Grade	Description: Domains and Functions
Dynamic	5	The language is used in all new domains.
Robust/active	4	The language is used in most new domains.
Receptive	3	The language is used in many new domains.
Coping	2	The language is used in some new domains.
Minimal	1	The language is used only in a few new domains.

Inactive	0	The language is not used in any new domains.
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Table 10 UNESCO's "Factor 5-Response to New Domains and Media."

(Note: Adopted from Brenzinger et al. 2003, p 11)

Factor 6: Availability of Materials for Language Education and Literacy

Education in the language is essential for language vitality. There are language communities that maintain strong oral traditions, and some do not wish their language to be written. In other communities, literacy in their language is a source of pride. In general, however, literacy is directly linked with social and economic development. Books and materials on all topics for various ages and language abilities are needed.

Grade	Accessibility of Written Materials
5	There are an established orthography and a literacy tradition with grammars, dictionaries, texts, literature and everyday media. Writing in the language is used in administration and education.
4	Written materials exist, and at school, children are developing literacy in the language. Writing in the language is not used in administration.
3	Written materials exist, and children may be exposed to the written form at school. Literacy is not promoted through print media.
2	Written materials exist, but they may only be useful for some members of the community; for others, they may have a symbolic significance. Literacy education in the language is not a part of the school curriculum.
1	A practical orthography is known to the community, and some material is being written.
0	No orthography is available to the community.

Table 11 UNESCO's "Factor 6-Availability of Materials for Language Education and Literacy" (Note: Adopted from Brenzinger et al. 2003, p 12)

Language Attitudes and Policies

The maintenance and abandonment of languages are not just dependent on the Language use and Users, Language attitudes and policies by the dominant and the state play a crucial role in influencing the choice of the community. Linguistic attitudes can be a powerful force either for promotion or for loss of a language. Similarly, a community member's attitude towards their own language also plays a crucial role in accessing the vitality of a language. Factor 7 and 8 seeks to incorporate these two in accessing the Language Endangerment.

Factor 7: Governmental and Institutional Language Attitudes and Policies, Including Official Status and Use

A country's government may have an explicit language use policy for its multiple languages. At one extreme, one language may be designated as the sole official language of the country while all others are condemned. At the other extreme, all languages of a nation

may receive equal official status. Governments and institutions have explicit policies and/or implicit attitudes towards the dominant and subordinate languages. These can be graded as follows:

Degree of Support	Grade	Official Attitudes towards Language
equal support	5	All languages are protected.
Differentiated support	4	Minority languages are protected primarily as the language of private domains. The use of the language is prestigious.
Passive assimilation	3	No explicit policy exists for minority languages; the dominant language prevails in the public domain.
Active assimilation	2	The government encourages assimilation to the dominant language. There is no protection for minority languages.
Forced assimilation	1	The dominant language is the sole official language, while non-dominant languages are neither recognized nor protected.
Prohibition	0	Minority languages are prohibited.

Table 12 UNESCO's "Factor 7-Governmental and Institutional Language Attitudes and Policies, Including Official Status and Use."

(Note: Adopted from Brenzinger, et al. 2003, p. 14)

Factor 8: Community Members' Attitudes towards Their Own Language

Members of a speech community are not usually neutral towards their own language. They may see it as essential to their community and identity and promote it; they may use it without promoting it; they may be ashamed of it and, therefore, not promote it; or they may see it as a nuisance and actively avoid using it. When members' attitudes towards their language are very positive, the language may be seen as a key symbol of group identity. However, if members view their language as a hindrance to economic mobility and integration into mainstream society, they may develop negative attitudes towards their language. To access this, the following grades are provided as per the category:

Grade	Community Members' Attitudes towards Language
5	All members value their language and wish to see it promoted.
4	Most members support language maintenance
3	Many members support language maintenance; others are indifferent or may even support language loss.
2	Some members support language maintenance; others are indifferent or may even support language loss.
1	Only a few members support language maintenance; others are indifferent or may even support language loss.

0	No one cares if the language is lost; all prefer to use a dominant language.
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Table 13 UNESCO's "Factor 8-Community Members' Attitudes towards Their Own Language" (Note: Adopted from Brenzinger et al. 2003, p. 15)

The urgency of the Need for Documentation

Factor 9: Type and Quality of Documentation

As a guide for assessing the urgency of the need for documenting a language, the type and quality of existing language materials must be identified. Of central importance are written texts, including transcribed, translated and annotated audiovisual recordings of natural speech. Such information is important in helping members of the language community, formulate specific tasks and enables linguists to design research projects together with members of the language community.

Nature of Documentation	Grade	Language Documentation
Superlative	5	There are comprehensive grammars and dictionaries, extensive texts, and a constant flow of language materials. Abundant annotated high- quality audio and video recordings exist.
Good	4	There is one good grammar, and several adequate grammars, dictionaries, texts, literature and occasionally updated everyday media; adequate annotated high-quality audio and video recordings exist.
Fair	3	There may be an adequate grammar or sufficient numbers of grammars, dictionaries and texts but no everyday media; audio and video recordings of varying quality or degree of annotation may exist.
Fragmentary	2	There are some grammatical sketches, word-lists and texts useful for limited linguistic research but with inadequate coverage. Audio and video recordings of varying quality, with or without any annotation, may exist.
Inadequate	1	There are only a few grammatical sketches, short word-lists and fragmentary texts. Audio and video recordings do not exist, are of unusable quality or are completely un-annotated.
Undocumented	0	No material exists.

Table 14 UNESCO's "Factor 9-Type and Quality of Documentation"
(Note: Adopted from Brenzinger, et al. 2003, pp. 16-17)

Assessment Case Studies

To assess the strength and weakness of these two tools, in Table 15, I apply UNESCO's LVE and EGIDS to three languages. Angika: An eastern Indo-Aryan language spoken in Northern Bihar and some parts of Nepal, Gondi: A Central Dravidian language spoken in Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh, and Kachchi: A western Indo-Aryan language spoken in the Rann of Kutch area of Gujarat.

Factors	Angika Iso 639 Code anp	Gondi Iso 639 Code gno	Kachchi Iso 639 Code kfr
Intergenerational Language Transmission	5	4	4
Absolute Number of Speakers	725,000	2,050,000	823,000
The proportion of Speakers within Total Population	3	3	3
Trends in Existing Language Domains	3	3	3
Response to New Domains and Media	2	2	1
Materials for Language Education and Literacy	2	1	0
Official Status and Use: Governmental & Institutional Language Attitudes, Policies	2 The government encourages passive assimilation to the dominant language. By classifying Angika under Hindi. ⁹	2	2
Community Members' Attitudes toward Their Own Language	1	-	-

9 "Languages in the Eighth Schedule". Ministry of Home Affairs. Retrieved on 18-11-2013

Amount and Quality of Documentation	1 ¹⁰	3 ¹¹	0 ¹²
EGIDS ¹³	Status 5 (Developing)	Status5 (Developing)	Status 6a (Vigorous)

Table 15: LVE score sheet & EGIDS

Interpretation

Angika is safe when we only consider 'intergenerational Language Transmission' (factor 1), a look at the other crucial factors (3&4) does not give such a hopeful picture. Overall Angika, is Vulnerable even though intergenerational transmission of the language remains strong. If the language is to thrive, new language domains are needed, and additional documentation would be advantageous. Gondi and Kachchi are clearly endangered, vulnerable from the perspective of Factor 1 and coupled with the loss of speaker base (factor 3), dwindling domains (factor 4) and lack of educational material (factor 6) put both these languages in Definitely Endangered categories.

On the hand using EGIDS, Since Angika and Gondi are categorised as Status 5 as the Intergenerational Language Transmission is ongoing. Kachichi is placed in Status 6(a) Vigorous even after the child-bearing generation is no longer transmitting the language.

Critical Assessment

In the **Unesco's LVE framework** there are several crucial caveats,

- None of the factors should be used alone; they should be used in together to assess language vitality.
- All factors cannot be treated equally; they have to weigh as per their relevance. Factor 1, 3, & 4 are of crucial importance to all languages.
- The grades from the assessment of factors not meant for quantitative analysis, rather they are indicators for qualitative interpretations.

Apart from these, there are certain shortcomings in the framework:

1. Lack of clarity in the definition of notions like 'speaker' and 'reference community' is not clear. At one hand, it is very difficult to identify the total number of speakers; data from a reliable source are mostly scarce in nature while working with minority groups. On the other hand, it is also equally difficult to decide on whom to include in the reference question is left unanswered, in a country like India attitudes such as pride and shame are associated with language situations.
2. It would be more insightful in assessing whether the community than assessing their availability actively uses materials for language educations and literacy. In the case

10 <http://glottolog.org/resource/languoid/id/angi1238> Retrieved on 18-11-2013

11 <http://glottolog.org/resource/languoid/id/gond1265> Retrieved on 18-11-2013

12 <http://glottolog.org/resource/languoid/id/kach1277> Retrieved on 18-11-2013

13 As per information provided in <http://www.ethnologue.com>

study above, Angika and Kachchi, orthography is available, yet the total number of publications and other activities associated with literacy does not show active community participation¹⁴.

3. Reminiscence of the western dominance of One Language, One Nation and/or community was found throughout the tool. It fails to take in to account the societal multilingualism while assessing language vitality. In the Indian context, multilingualism has been the norm, languages here coexist in the additive¹⁵ framework.
4. The tool relies heavily on secondary data, from sources like census and other governmental agency, the accuracy of the data is not guaranteed in such cases. Further, the available data is also not adequate and relying on data from a single informant does not yield consistent response across the community. Thus, detailed field work is necessary

In **Lewis & Simons (2006) EGIDS** proposal heavily focuses on Intergenerational transmission, it provides a more detailed description of the levels and between the levels. Overall EGIDS proposal simplifies the assessment, in a sense, it does not take in to account the difference between the absolute and relative speakers' strength, community's language attitude, government's policies, and existing documentation. Further, the notion of language and language use is 'Pre-Andreson', and their strict adherence to the monolingual model¹⁶ highly constrains its reliability.

In conclusion it can be stated that UNESCO's LVE is novel in considering, (1) not only existing but also new language domains (Factor 5); (2) both absolute and relative population numbers (Factors 2 & 3); (3) internal and external prestige (language attitudes and policies, Factors 7 & 8), and (4) the amount and quality of documentation (Factor 9). The UNESCO tool is broad and gradient enough to have a language show comparative strength in some areas (such as the intergenerational transmission of Kuchchi), while overall showing a more problematic picture (as kuchchi scores zero in several other key domains). The strength of the UNESCO model is that it does not look at languages that are disappearing; rather, it looks for changes in the language's ecology that render the sustainability of language impossible. Thus, it allows the language policymakers to pinpoint and acts on the most problematic area. If only a rough estimate is desired, then EGIDS is an easier and faster alternative, but they may be misleading.

14 Only four Magazines are published in Angika http://rni.nic.in/rni_display_language.asp Retrieved on 18/11/13, and in Kachchi none are to be found http://rni.nic.in/display_state.asp Retrieved on 18/11/13.

15 Additive multilingualism produces not just a numerical increase in languages, but the added languages add new nodes to the existing network of languages. Annamalai (2003)

16 "... through the description of some direct measures of language vitality such as changes in the number of speakers or in the use of the language in certain domains or functions. Less directly, an increase in bilingualism, both in the number of bilinguals and in their proficiency levels,..."
<http://www.ethnologue.com/endangered-languages> Retrieved on 18/11/13.

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Word Order in Lairamlo
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Abstract

The present paper is an attempt to describe the order of grammatical elements in Lairamlo such as the order of noun and verbs, order of genitive and noun, order of nouns and adjectival, order of nouns and numerals, order of nouns and demonstrative, order of noun, numeral and adjectival, order of verbs and question particle, order of verb and negative particle, order of adverbs and verbs and so on. The paper will also examine how far the Lairamlo word order conforms to the language universals proposed by Greenberg (1963). The data are collected from Ringpam village of Chandel district of Manipur through questionnaire and interview method.

Keywords: Lairamlo, Tangkhul Naga, Word Order, noun, adjective, verb, adverb, numeral

1. Introduction

Word order is one of the primary ways which make languages differ from one another. All the languages of the world have the basic word order typology. Logically, there are six possible orders: SVO, SOV, VSO, VOS, OSV and OVS (Greenberg 1963). Of these six orders, SVO, SOV, VSO are the dominant orders and the other three VOS, OSV and OVS are least dominant. Like many other SOV Tibeto-Burman languages, Lairamlo follows the SOV order.

2. Overview of the Language (Dialect)

Lairamlo is one of the dialects of Tangkhul. Tangkhul is one of the recognized schedule tribe of Manipur which belongs to the Kuki-Chin-Naga subgroup of the Tibeto-Burman sub family of languages (*Grierson's LSI*, 1903). Ethnically, they are Mongoloids. Tangkhul has a large number of dialects which are mutually unintelligible to each other. The language which is spoken by the tribe is known as Tangkhul language or Standard Tangkhul. Arokianathan (1987) noted that there are 219 Tangkhul villages and it is found that each village has its own dialect or speech form name after the village. The intelligibility among the village varies according to the distance between them. That is farther the village more the unintelligibility. Mortensen (2003) made the same statement that Tangkhuls are quite diversified linguistically, and the speech

varieties of most of the Tangkhul villages are mutually unintelligible with those of neighbouring villages (though the similarities are large enough to facilitate the rapid learning of another's languages). Lairamlo is also one of the dialects of Tangkhul spoken by the Ringpam people in Ringpam or Momlo Ringpam village in the Machi sub-division of Chandel District of Manipur, which have 540 (approximately) speakers. The term Ringpam is a compound word *ring* 'alive' and *pam* 'land' which literally means 'living land'. Lairamlo belongs to the Kuki-Chin-Naga sub-group of Tibeto-Burman family (*Grierson's LSI, 1903*).

Like many other tribal languages and dialects of Northeast India, Lairamlo is an endangered undocumented dialect of Tangkhul. Lairamlo do not have their own script. Language is written in the Roman script with some modifications. It is also observed that younger generation is used to learn Meitei script as it is taught in the schools under the government of Manipur. Like many other tribal people of Manipur, there is no written literature in Lairamlo, but they have a rich oral literature which has not been recorded or documented. It is interesting to note that most of the younger generations of Lairamlo are not well aware of their heritage oral literature in the form of folk songs, folk tales, oral narratives etc., as it plays a crucial role to enhance their literature in great extent. Moreover, Lairamlo oral literature depicts Lairamlo society in which it flourished such as the ways of life, customs, joys, sorrows etc. which are inherited from their forefathers. Interestingly, this unwritten, unexplored literature has been orally transmitted from generation to generation, but in recent times their villages committee have published some of their oral literature in the language of Standard Tangkhul.

Typologically, Lairamlo exhibits many more features of Tibeto-Burman languages namely tonal, mono-syllabic verb root, natural gender, decimal numeral system etc. and it also shares areal features of South Asian languages like SOV order and reduplication etc.

3. Word Order in Lairamlo

Word order is one of the primary ways which make languages differ from one another. All the languages of the world have the basic word order typology. Logically there are six possible orders: SVO, SOV, VSO, VOS, OSV and OVS (Greenberg 1963). Of these six orders, SVO, SOV, VSO are the dominant orders and the other three VOS, OSV and OVS are least dominant. Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages and their dialects, Lairamlo is an SOV Tibeto-Burman dialect which has different word patterns in both clausal and phrasal levels. The various order of word in the language is discussed below.

3.1. Basic Word Order

3.1.1. Word Order in Transitive Clause

Like many other TB languages of Southeast Asia, the order of words in Lairamlo in an unmarked sentence is subject, object and verb (SOV) as exemplified below.

- (1) *a čiyak kə-če-we*
 1SG rice NMZ-eat-SIM
 ‘I eat rice’.
- (2) *nəŋ čiyak kə-če-we*
 2SG rice NMZ-eat-SIM
 ‘You eat rice’.
- (3) *a-ne nəŋ-lo kʰə-me-i-we*
 1SG-NOM 2SG-ACC NMZ-see-SIM
 ‘I saw you’.
- (4) *nəŋ-ne ute-we kʰə-me-i-we*
 2SG-NOM bird-ACC NMZ-see-SIM
 ‘You (sg) see the bird’

Furthermore, the alternative order of words in the dialect is OSV i.e., the verb follows object and subject. In this connection, Zograph (1982) pointed out that “**The normal order of words in the Tibeto-Burman sentence is SOV- Subject, object, predicate, though this is not always and everywhere rigorously observed.**” Thus, the OSV alternative order is one of the typical features of SOV languages (Greenberg, 1963) as shared by the language. Consider the following examples.

- (5) *čiyak a kə-če-we*
 rice 1SG NMZ-eat-SIM
 ‘I eat rice’
- (6) *čiyak nəŋ kə-če-we*
 rice 2SG NMZ-eat-SIM
 ‘You eat rice’.
- (7) *nəŋ-lo a-ne kʰə-me-i-we*
 2SG-ACC 1SG-NOM NMZ- see-SIM
 ‘I saw you’.
- (8) *ute-we nəŋ-ne kʰə-me-i-we*
 bird-ACC 2SG-NOM NMZ-see-SIM

‘You (sg) see the bird’

3.1.2. Word Order in Intransitive Clause

In the language, the order of subject and verb in intransitive clause are [S V]. In the dialect, subject always precedes the verb as illustrated in the following examples:

- (9) *a čət-p^he*
1SG go-DECL
‘I go’
- (10) *nəŋ ce-p^he*
2SG eat-DECL
‘You eat’
- (11) *a kə-se-we*
1SG NMZ-sing-SIM
‘I sang’
- (12) *hinuŋ kə-čət-we*
3SG-NOM NMZ-go-SIM
‘She went’
- (13) *nəŋ kə-čət-we*
2SG NMZ-go-SIM
‘You went’

From the above analysis, the consistency of verb in the word final position is noticed in Lairamlo. Hence, it is a verb final dialect of Tangkhul spoken in Chandel district of Manipur.

3.1.3. Indirect Object Precedes the Direct Object

Objects are classified by direct and indirect objects. In the language, an object usually follows the subject and precedes the verb. However, both the direct and indirect objects are present in a clause or sentence, the indirect object usually precedes the direct object, The order of words is **Subject – Indirect Object – Direct Object – Verb** (S-IO-DO-V) as discuss in the following examples:

- (14) *rohən-ne a-lo larik kə-pi-we*
Rohan-NOM 1SG-DAT book NMZ-give-SIM
‘Rohan gave a book to me.’

- (15) *rita-ne a-lo čit^{hi} t^ha-k^hə-waŋ-we*
 Rita-NOM 1SG-DAT letter sent-NMZ-come-SIM
 ‘Rita sent a letter to me.’
- (16) *ram-ne sənzit-lo kədeironŋ kə-pi-we*
 Ram-NOM Sunjit-DAT money NMZ-give-SIM
 ‘Ram gave money to Sunjit.’

From the above analysis example illustrated that *Rohan, Rita, Ram* is the subject, *alo, sənzit* is direct object *larik* ‘book’, *čit^{hi}* ‘letter’, *kədeironŋ* ‘money’ is the indirect object and *kə-pi-we* ‘gave, *t^ha-k^hə-waŋ-we* ‘sent is the verb in the sentence.

3.1.4. Order of Noun and Adjectival

In the language, the adjectival may follow or precede the head noun in a sentence. The preferred order is [NOUN + ADJECTIVAL] or [ADJECTIVAL + NOUN]. Consider the following examples:

- (17) *ŋəle kə-p^hre*
 girl NMZ-be good
 ‘Beautiful girl’
- (18) *kəta ŋim*
 large house
 ‘The large house’
- (19) *k^həŋo tumin*
 white cat
 ‘The white cat’
- (20) *hewe t^hiŋhe-we ipekkəta-p^he*
 DEM leaf -DET large-DECL
 ‘This is a large leaf’.
- (21) *imiŋ-ne t^hənot^ha kəta če-əm-e*
 3SG-NOM mango big eat-PROG-DECL
 ‘He ate a big mango’.
- (22) *hewe k^hun-we kə-p^hre-p^he*

DEM village-DET NMZ-be good-DECL
'This is a beautiful village'

From the above analysis, it can be said that Lairamlo conforms to the Universal no. 19 as proposed by Greenberg (1963) "When the general rule is that the descriptive follows, there may be a minority of adjectives which usually precede, but when the general rule is that descriptive adjectives precede, there are no exceptions."

3.1.5. Order of Genitive and Noun

In Lairamlo, the genitive always follows the governing noun and precedes the possessed noun and the order of same is [GOVN NOUN – GENETIVE – POSS NOUN] as many other SOV languages do. Consider the following examples:

(23) *rohit-we larik*
Rohit-GEN book
'Rohit's book'

(24) *malem-we larik*
Malem-GEN book
'Malem's book'

(25) *Pritam-we ima*
Pritam-GEN 3SG-brother (E)
'Pritam's brother'

(26) *rohan-we biyak*
Rohan-GEN bed
'Rohan's bed.'

3.1.6. Order of Noun and Numeral

In Lairamlo, the numeral always follows the noun in a sentence. In other words, the constituent order of noun and numerals can be construct as **NOUN-NUMERAL (N-NUM)**. Consider the following examples;

(27) *a-we fim kədo hədi kʰəla-we*
1SG-GEN house small two EXIST-SIM
'I have two small houses'.

- (28) *a-we* *əniye-impeniye* *hədi* *kʰəla-we*
 1SG-GEN baby-boy two EXIST-SIM
 ‘I have two sons’.
- (29) *imiŋ-ne* *tʰənotʰa* *hətʰum* *kə-če-we*
 3SG-NOM mango three NMZ-eat-SIM
 ‘He eats three mangoes’.

From the above analysis it can be stated that the reverse order is not possible in the language as ungrammaticality of the following examples.

- (30) **a-we* *hədi* *fiŋ* *kədo* *kʰəla-we*
 1SG-GEN two house small EXIST-SIM
 ‘I have two small houses’.
- (31) **imiŋ-ne* *hətʰum* *tʰənotʰa* *kə-če-we*
 3SG-NOM three mango NMZ-eat-SIM
 ‘He eats three mangoes’.

3.1.7. Order of Noun, Numeral and Adjectival

In Lairamlo, the order noun, numeral and adjectives is schematized as Noun may followed or precedes and numerals always followed noun and adjectives. The order of noun, numeral and adjectives in a sentence is **ADJECTIVAL – NOUN – NUM or NOUN – NUM – ADJECTIVAL (N-NUM-ADJ) or NOUN – ADJECTIVAL– NUM (N-ADJ-NUM)** as can be seen in the following examples:

- (32) *kʰəŋo* *tumin* *hədi*
 white cat two
 ‘Two white cats.’
- (33) *tumin* *kʰəŋo* *hədi*
 cat white two
 ‘Two white cats’
- (34) *kəta* *fiŋ* *məli*
 large house four
 ‘Four large houses’

- (35) *ʃim kəta məli*
house large four
'Four large houses'
- (36) *k^hun hit^he hədi-we kə-p^hre-we*
village DEM two-DET NMZ-be good-SIM
'These are two good villages'.
- (37) *inuŋ-piyəŋ medi kə-p^hre hədi k^həla-we*
2SG-GEN skirt NMZ-be good two EXIST-SIM
'She has two beautiful skirts'.
- (28) *k^hun kə-p^hre hədi k^həla-we*
village NMZ-be good two EXIST-SIM
'There are two good villages'.
- (39) *a-piyəŋ məlakpuyet kə-p^hre hədi k^həla-we*
1SG-GEN doll NMZ-be good two EXIST-SIM
'I have two beautiful dolls.'

3.1.8. Order of Noun and Demonstrative

The order of noun and demonstrative in the language, demonstrative may precede or follows the noun in a clause or a sentence. In additional words, the orders noun and demonstrative can be present as **NOUN-DEMONSTRATIVE** or **DEMONSTRATIVE-NOUN**. Consider the following examples:

- (40) *larik hewe polo*
book DEM read-IMP
'Read this book.'
- (41) *a hewe tərot-we kə-piyam-e*
1SG DEM story-DET NMZ-be like-DECL
'I like this story'.
- (42) *hewe əŋku-we tei de-dum-e*
DEM child-DET dawn fall-IRS-DECL
'This child will fall dawn'.

- (43) *a hewe larik-we kə-piyam-we*
 1SG DEM book-DET NMZ-be like-SIM
 ‘I like this book’.

3.1.9. Order of Adverbs and Verbs

Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages of South Asia, adverbs always precede the verb. The order of adverbs and verbs is **ADVERB-VERB** as can be seen in the following examples.

- (44) *inuŋ-ne kət^hiyək-čəŋ čət-əm-e*
 3SG-NOM fast-ADV go-PROG-DECL
 ‘She walks fast’.
- (45) *ipe-we naknəno čə-əm-e*
 3SG-DET slowly eat-PROG-DECL
 ‘He eats slowly.’
- (46) *tomba-we kət^hiyək-čəŋ ŋəwaŋ-əm-e*
 Tomba-DET quick-ADV run-PROG-DECL
 ‘Tomba runs quickly.’
- (47) *t^hoibi-we kəhuya-čəŋ i-əm-e*
 Thoibi-DET slow-ADV write-PROG-DECL
 ‘Thoibi wrote slowly’

3.1.10. Order of Specifier and Adjectival

In the language, the order of specifier and adjectival is [SPEC-ADJ]. In other word specifier always follow the adjectival in a phrase or sentence as illustrated in the following examples.

- (48) *larik hewe kə-p^hre-čəŋ-p^he*
 book DEM NMZ-be good-SPEC-DECL
 ‘This book is very good’
- (49) *a luŋk^haŋa -čəŋ-p^he’*
 1SG happy-SPEC-DECL
 ‘I am very happy’
- (50) *u-we kə-čik-cəŋ-p^he*

dog-DET NMZ-be black-SPEC-DECL
'The dog is very black'

- (51) *leipiyet-we kə-p^hre-cəŋ-p^he*
flower-DET NMZ-be good-SPEC-DECL
'The flower is very nice'

3.1.11. Order of Noun and Quantifiers

As in many Tibeto-Burman languages, quantifier always follows the noun in the dialect. Thus, the order of noun and quantifier in a phrase or a sentence as can be constructed in the following way **NOUN – QUANTIFIER** as shown in the following examples:

- (52) *intu ičiyehət p^huŋ-waŋ-lo*
water some bring-come-IMP
'Bring some water'
- (53) *impeniye ičiyehət məlak-əm-e*
boy-small some play-PROG-DECL
'Some boys are playing'
- (54) *impeniye ičiyehət ŋəriye-əm-e*
boy-small some play-PROG-DECL
'Some boys are playing'
- (55) *eto leipiyet kəčuŋčəŋ k^həla-we*
there flower many EXIST-SIM
'Many flowers are there'

From the above analysis, it's observed that quantifier cannot precedes the noun as it is shown from the ungrammatically of the following construction as in (56) – (59)

- (56) **ičiyehət intu p^huŋ-waŋ-lo*
some water bring-come-IMP
'Bring some water'
- (57) **ičiyehət impeniye məlak-əm-e*
some boy-small play-PROG-DECL
'Some boys are playing'

- (58) **ičiyehat* *impeniye* *ŋəriye-am-e*
 some boy-small play-PROG-DECL
 ‘Some boys are playing’
- (59) **eto* *kəčuy-čəŋ* *leipiyet* *kʰəla-we*
 there many-very flower EXIST-SIM
 ‘Many flowers are there’

3.1.12. Order of Noun Plus Adjectival and Quantifiers

The order of noun, adjectival and quantifier in language is: [NOUN – ADJECTIVAL – QUNT]. In other word, quantifier always follow the adjective and the noun. However, adjectival also follow the noun as illustrated following examples:

- (60) *leipiyet* *kə-pʰre* *kəčuyčəŋ*
 flower NMZ-be good QUNT
 ‘Many beautiful flowers’
- (61) *intu* *kə-se* *čəŋ*
 water NMZ-be hot QUNT
 ‘Very hot water’
- (62) *əŋki* *kəta* *kəčuyčəŋ*
 basket big QUNT
 ‘Many big baskets’

3.1.13. Order of Adverb, Verb and Imperative Marker

Adverb precedes the verb and imperative marker always follows the verb in the language. In other words, the imperative marker is post posed to the verb. Thus, the order of adverb, verb and imperative marker is constructed by the following way: **ADV – VERB – IMPERATIVE**. The order of **V – IMP** is very common in most of the Tibeto-Burman languages of Northeast India namely Korbong, Manipuri, Rongmei, Kharam, Chorei etc as illustrated in the following examples:

- (63) *kahuya-čəŋ* *məlo-lo*
 Slow-ADV speak-IMP
 ‘Speak slowly’
- (64) *kəkən-čəŋ* *čəp-lo*
 Loud-ADV cry-IMP

‘Cry loudly’

- (65) *kə^hiyak-čəŋ* *wəŋ-lo*
Quick-ADV come-IMP
‘Come quickly’

3.1.14. Order of Verb and Negative

The order of negative particle and verb is that the verb may precede or follow the negative particle. It is also worth mentioning here that the reverse order is not possible in the dialect as exemplified below.

- (66) *pi-də-lo*
give-DIR-IMP
‘Don’t sleep’

- (67) *bi-də-lo*
give-DIR-IMP
‘Don’t give’

- (68) *t^hənot^ha če-tə-lo*
mango eat-DIR-IMP
‘Don’t eat mango’

- (69) *ramu-we* *həmuŋ-do* *a-wəŋ-p^he*
Ramu-DET tomorrow-LOC NEG-come-DECL
‘Ramu will not come tomorrow’

- (70) *nəhənte-wo* *larik* *a-po-e*
2PL-DET book NEG-read-DECL
‘You (pl) are not reading’

- (71) *a* *həmuŋ-do* *a-wəŋ-e*
1SG tomorrow-LOC NEG-come-DECL
‘I shall not come tomorrow’

3.1.15. Order of subject and copular

In Lairamlo, the order of subject of copular verb in a clause or sentence is that the subject is always precedes the copular verbs. The order of subject and copular is [SUBJECT – COPULAR] as shown in the following examples.

- (72) *dev-wo silčər-do bam-əm-e*
 Dev-DET silchar-LOC COPL-PROG-DECL
 ‘Dev is at Silchar.’
- (73) *ihente fim čum-do bam-əm-e*
 3PL house inside-LOC COPL-PROG-DECL
 ‘They are inside the house’
- (74) *adope-nte lele adonuŋ-te fim-to bam-əm-e*
 1-brother-PL and 1-sister-PL home-LOC COPL-PROG-DECL
 ‘My brothers and sisters are in the house’
- (75) *ihente fim čum-do bam-əm-e*
 3PL home inside-LOC COPL-PROG-DECL
 ‘They are inside the house’

3.1.16. Order of Subject and Copula

In Lairamlo, the order of subject and copula verb is that the subject always precedes the copula verb as the order of subject and lexical verb is made. The order of subject and copula verb is [SUBJECT + COPULA VERB] as illustrate in the following examples.

- (76) *a doktər-ve*
 1SG doctor-COP
 ‘I am a doctor.’
- (77) *imiŋ oza-ve*
 3SG teacher-COP
 ‘He is a teacher’
- (78) *inuŋ oza-ve*
 3SG teacher-COP
 ‘She is a teacher’
- (79) *imiŋ fiŋlai-ve*
 he Shinglai-COP
 ‘He is Shinglai.’
- (80) *hewe a-we fim-ve*
 DEM 1SG-GEN home-COP

‘This is my home’

3.1.17. Order of Verb and Question Particle

The order of verb and question particle is schematized in the following way: V-QP i.e., the question particle always follows the verb. In other word, the question markers occur in sentence final position like many other SOV languages do as exemplified below:

(81) *nəŋ kə-čə-ma*
2SG NMZ -ill-Q
‘Are you ill?’

(82) *nəŋ-ti kə-čə-la*
2SG-what NMZ-eat-Q
‘What do you eat?’

(83) *hinuŋ-we nəŋ-we i-donuŋ-ma*
3SG-DET 2SG-GEN 3SG-sister-Q
‘Is she your sister?’

From the above analysis, it can be said that Lairamlo conforms to the Universal no. 9 as proposed by Greenberg (1963) “**With well more than chance frequency, when question particles or affixes are specified in position by reference to the sentence as a whole, if initial, such elements are found in prepositional languages, and, if final in postpositional.**”

3.1.18. Order of relative clause and noun

In Lairamlo, the relative clause is formed by the relativizer. In the dialect, the relative clause usually precedes the relativized noun. In other words, the relative clause occurs in the pre-nominal as shown in the following examples.

(84) *iheŋsuŋ a-ne meihɪŋtuwok-nuŋ-wo hinuŋwe-we*
yesterday I-NOM meet-FM-REL DEM-woman-DET-SIM
‘This is the woman whom I met yesterday’

(85) *nəŋ-ne kuma so-əm-nuŋ-wo nuŋ-lo həkəp^hit-we*
2SG-NOM dance do-PROG-FM-REL girl-ACC beat-SIM
‘You beat the girl who dance’

(86) *əŋkuniye-pe-lo həŋka-wo hewe ɰ-ne-we*
baby-boy-ACC bit-REL DEM dog-NOM-SIM
‘This is the dog that bit the boy’

3.1.19. Order of Conditional Clause and Conclusion

Conditional clause in Lairamlo is formed by the morpheme *wo* which always occurs clause finally. In other word, conditional morpheme follows the verb and other of the same in [VERB + CONDITIONAL]. In Lairamlo, the conditional clause also precedes the conclusions as many other SOV languages do as shown in the following examples:

- (87) *nəŋ-ne* *kʰə-maŋ* *wo* *a-ne* *če-dum-e*
 2SG-NOM NMZ-drink CONDI-NOM eat-IRS-DECL
 ‘If you drink, I will eat’
- (88) *tithehətle* *nəŋ-ne* *kʰə-waŋ* *wo* *a* *kətʰei-do*
 if 2SG-NOM NMZ-come COND 1SG market-LOC
we-dum-e
 go-IRS-DECL
 ‘If you come, I will go to the market.’
- (89) *a-ne* *kəpo-wo* *ŋamba le* *po-tum-e*
 1SG-NOM NMZ-read-COND Ngamba-CS read-IRS-DECL
 ‘If I read, Ngamba will read.’

Lairamlo conforms to the Greenberg’s Universal no. 14. **“In conditional statements, the conditional clause precedes the conclusions as the normal order in all languages”**.

4. Conclusions

From the above analysis, the following conclusion may be drawn that Lairamlo follows the subject-object-verb word order with OSV as alternative order. As an SOV language, adjectival in the language may precede or follow the noun. However, the preferred order is NAdj. Interestingly, in this language, the genitive always follows the governing noun and precedes the possessed noun. The numeral always follows the noun in a sentence. The order of noun, numeral and adjectival is organized as noun may follow or precede the adjectives and numerals always follows the noun. In the language, demonstrative may precede or follow the noun in a clause or a sentence. Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages of South Asia, adverbs always precede the verb. The question particle and imperative always follows the verb in the language. In the language, the relative clause may precede the relativized noun. Similarly, the negative particle may precede or follow the verb. Lastly, the conditional clause also precedes the conclusions as many other SOV languages.

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Abbreviations

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Word Order in Lairamlo

ACC	Accusative
ADJ	Adjectival
COND	Conditional
COP	Copula
COPL	Copular
CS	Conjunctive suffixes
DECL	Declarative
DEM	Demonstrative
DET	Determiner
FM	Female
GEN	Genitive
GOVN	Governing
IRS	Irrealis
LOC	Locative
NOM	Nominative
POSS	Possessed
POST	Postposition
Q	Question Mark
QUNT	Quantifier
1SG	First person singular
2SG	Second person singular
3SG	Third person singular
*	This form is ungrammatical or reconstructed

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Forensic Speaker Identification: A Review of Literature and Reflection on Future

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Abstract

Forensic speaker identification is a decision-making process which determines whether a given utterance has been spoken by a particular person or not. To achieve this goal, a number of speech and voice features are evaluated. The process of Speaker Identification results in either positive identification, i.e. affirming that two voice samples belong to the same speaker or it results in the negative identification, i.e., eliminating the possibility of two voice samples coming from the same speaker. Earlier studies in speaker identification have tried to explore the components of human voice such as pitch, intensity, amplitude, intonation etc. and how they have modulated in ways that it becomes different for different individuals. A number of studies, conducted previously, show that pitch proves to be an excellent parameter in speaker identification. Pitch and intensity have been studied in various contexts such as a text-dependent vs. text-independent, single word utterance vs. continuous speech, monolingual vs. multi-lingual, reading text vs. spontaneous speech, same-sex vs. different sex etc. However, despite much research in this area, there remains uncertainty around robustness of these voice features. The present paper, therefore, besides sharing the origin and long tradition of research in speaker identification, offers a view of research gaps in this area.

Keywords: Forensic Speaker Identification; Fundamental Frequency; Speaker Identification; Language and Gender Independent Variables, Voice Cues

Forensic speaker identification is a branch of forensic phonetics which falls within the scope of applied phonetics. It is a decision-making process that uses some features of the speech signal to determine if a particular person is the speaker of a given utterance. But unlike fingerprints, the conclusion or the outcome in the process of FSI is not absolute, it is always probable. The aim of FSI is, 'to identify an unknown voice as one or none of a set of known voices' (Naik, 1994, pp. 31-8). There are unknown speech samples available from the crime scene which are matched against the known samples of suspects. The purpose is to determine whether the utterance in the unknown sample is produced by one of the suspects in the known sample or not. (Nolan, 1983).

In a number of cases of threat calls, bribery, kidnapping, terrorist activities, etc., audio tapes play a vital role in the judgment process. These audio samples help in identifying the person involved in the case concerned and can be very useful either in determining the crime of the criminal or proving the innocence of the suspect. This can be done by acoustically analyzing the recorded speech sample using the sound spectrogram. Then there is a visual comparison of graphic patterns between the question sample and suspect sample. The spectrographic analysis is the primary tool used in FSI while, the visual comparison of spectrograms helps in giving a subjective judgment about the identity of a speaker. As opinions from forensic experts are increasingly sought in courtrooms, FSI proves to be an effective tool in both conviction and acquittal of suspects.

A forensic linguist may have to identify a speaker in three different situations:

1. There are one questioned sample and one suspect.
2. There are one questioned sample and many suspects.
3. There are one questioned sample and no suspect. (Rose, 2002)

Identification of speakers by their voices may be seemingly easy under ideal conditions. This has already been manifested by automated identification systems. Humans recognize familiar voices, fairly successfully all the time. This probably entitles us to assume that different speakers of the same language do indeed have different voices. So, we do have to deal with variations between speakers, usually known as between-speaker or inter-speaker variation.

There are differences in the speech of the same speaker as well, known as within speaker or intra-speaker variation. For FSI to work effectively, these variations in speech have to be evaluated correctly. These differences are mostly audible, and always measurable and quantifiable. FSI involves being able to tell whether the inevitable differences between samples are more likely to be within-speaker differences or between-speaker differences. In this review paper, we have shared the history of speaker identification and current developments in the recent years. By presenting a comprehensive overview of research studies in the area of Forensic speaker identification, the paper helps in identifying the gaps pertaining to research in this area.

History of Speaker Identification

Speaker identification has always been a part of our daily lives, in some form or the other. It begins right from the womb of a mother where a child begins to identify her/his mother's voice as a primary function of aural perception. We are under the influence of external auditory stimuli even before birth (DeCasper & Sigafos, 1983)(Spence & DeCasper, 1987) (Ramus, Hauser, Miller, Morris, & Mehler, 2000). It seems possible that we focus more on voice recognition first and understanding a language later on (DeCasper & Fifer, 2004). In spite of that, we are able to discriminate between languages through speech rhythm at an early age (Nazzi, Bertoncini, & Mehler, 1998).

However, there is a close connection between the way speech of an individual is analyzed and the way a person's voice is analyzed. Even as newborns, we follow the same technique for analyzing speech and voice (DeCasper & Spence, 1986). Therefore, it is important to separate the inherent co-analysis of speech and voice.

The kind of voice/ speaker identification we do in our daily lives is considered naïve speaker identification process. In many experiments, it has been seen that this type of speaker identification process varies depending upon how different listeners respond to different signals in different situations (Ramos, Franco-Pedroso, & Gonzalez-Rodriguez, 2011).

But evidence from such listeners is no more accepted in courtrooms unless they are supported by an expert in speaker identification. An expert in FSI is someone who is well educated on the various parameters that describe speech and voice features and their variability in a structured manner (Schwarz et al., 2011).

In earlier times, along with many other kinds of evidence, voice and speech evidence was also considered reliable depending on upon who the witness was and how he gave the testimony. One such example where voice and speech evidence was used in a legal system is the trial of William Hulet in 1660 (Eriksson, 2005).

One of the witnesses had heard the voice of the person who executed King Charles I and declared that he recognized that speech to be of Hulet. The witness had known Hulet very well in the past so he could easily identify that the voice of the executioner and that of Hulet was same. As a result, Hulet was sentenced to death. But he was acquitted later as the real executioner, a hangman, confessed his offence. Such misidentifications were not uncommon in those times and probably happen today as well. This is just one of the examples which shows inaccuracy and unreliability of naïve speaker identification. Other issues associated with naïve speaker identification arose because of the absence of recorded speech. Witnesses had to depend solely on their memory to identify the speaker. But with the delay in time, the memory of the witnesses would wear out, leading to misidentifications.

Speaker identification made by experts did not begin until speech recorders were invented. Even after the invention, it was not practical to carry recorder to every possible crime scene to record voices. But when the usage of telephones became more frequent, crimes committed over the network also became regular. It was around this time that the idea of visualization of recorded speech for its analysis floated in the world of Acoustic Phonetics.

The idea that someone could be identified through his/her voice came over hundred years ago to Alexander Melville Bell (father to Alexander Graham Bell). He developed a visual representation of how a word would look like which was based on pronunciation. He showed that there were very subtle differences among people who spoke same things. In

1941, a sound spectrograph was developed in the laboratories of Bell telephone which could map voice on a graph. It could analyze sound waves and produce a visual record of voice patterns based on frequency, intensity, and time. It was classified as a war project until the end of World War II. As a result, unfortunately not much was published on this innovative technology (Potter, 1945). The prime motive for the development of this technology was to progress research on speech and acoustic speech patterns. Another purpose was to implement this spectrographic technique in different applications for the hearing impaired. During the World War II, it was used by acoustic scientists to identify voices of the enemies on telephones and radios. However, with the end of the war, the urgency for this technology diminished and little came of it until later.

The post-war development of Speaker Identification saw the emergence of voiceprints which was followed by a huge controversy. The visual mapping of speech sounds on a spectrogram was called a voiceprint and was used as a direct analogy to fingerprints by some researchers. It was later greatly criticized, and questions were raised on the accuracy of voiceprint results.

According to extant research, voiceprints can match the accuracy of fingerprints if they are done properly. However, he agrees to the fact that fingerprints have static images that don't change unless the fingerprint ridge detail gets damaged. Voiceprints are dynamic owing to the fact that no two utterances that an individual speaks are exactly same. They may change in pitch or stress etc. Therefore, to find the range of variation in a speaker's speech, several repetitions of a speaker's voice must be recorded and analysed.

Types of Speaker Identification

The task of speaker identification can be classified into different types. One of the classifications is closed-set versus open-set speaker identification (Kekre, 2013).

Closed set speaker identification: In this case, there is a given set of unknown speakers and a questioned sample. The questioned sample is matched with all the samples in the unknown speakers' set. The template from the unknown set which shows maximum similarity with that of the questioned sample is obtained. It is then assumed that the speaker of the questioned sample and the speaker from the unknown set who had a matching template are the same. Hence, in a closed set speaker identification system, one is forced to arrive at a decision by choosing the best matching template from the given database.

On the other hand, in an open set system, there is a questioned sample but there is no set of unknown speakers available to match the template. In the absence of a set of unknown speakers, the identification process becomes long and tedious.

A speaker identification process can also be classified into text-dependent and text-independent. The text-dependent system can also be called the constrained mode while the

text-independent system can be called as the unconstrained mode. In a system that uses text-dependent speech, individuals know the words and phrases beforehand. They just have to repeat the same utterances provided to them or as prompted by an expert. These utterances are then later on analyzed for the identification process. Text-independent identification shows a better performance with cooperative users. However, there are cases when suspects refuse to utter same phrases or disguise their voice purposely.

In a text-independent system, the speakers have no prior knowledge of what phrases they are supposed to utter. This system is more flexible in situations where a participant is unaware of the fact his/her voice sample is being obtained or in cases where suspects are unwilling to cooperate. Here, the analysis is not done on the basis of the content rather a modelling of the general underlying properties of speakers' vocal spectrum is done. (Committee on Homeland and National Security; National Science and Technology Council; Committee on Technology)

Methods and Approaches in Speaker Identification

The process of Speaker Identification results in either positive identification, i.e. affirming that two voice samples belong to the same speaker or it results in the negative identification, i.e., eliminating the possibility of two voice samples coming from the same speaker.

Some researchers believe that the reliability of Speaker Identification has been overestimated. The complexity of spoken communication makes Speaker Identification a difficult task; hence its forensic application must proceed cautiously. Since the beginning, both objective and subjective methods have been used in voice identification.

1. Objective methods relied mostly on equipment which made all decisions. These methods used automatic pattern matching of voice patterns. In one such study conducted on ten speakers, the average spectral patterns of all the speakers were obtained. These spectral patterns were stored in a computer. Later, a new pattern was obtained from each of the speakers and these spectral patterns were matched with the patterns that were already stored in the computer. The study showed almost 10 percent identification error.
2. In a subjective method, equipment such as a sound spectrograph is involved to obtain acoustic information, but the final judgement is made by an expert who carefully evaluates the available information to arrive at a decision. There are two types of subjective experiments that use spectrograms. The first type is a sorting experiment. In this experiment, the expert has sets of spectrograms of a token word spoken by different individuals at different points of time. The task of the expert is to sort those sets of spectrograms which belong to the same speaker. The second type of subjective experiment is the matching experiment. Here, the expert identifies spectrograms of

one speaker by matching them against the spectrograms in a catalogue of speakers who have uttered the same token word.

In the earlier history of FSI, primarily, two approaches were employed; the auditory approach and the acoustic approach. The differences between the two methods owed to three radically different positions. All of these three positions are encountered during the presentation of evidence in Forensic Speaker Identification.

- The auditory analysis is sufficient on its own. (Baldwin & French, 1990)
- That auditory analysis is not necessary at all. It can all be done with acoustics.
- That auditory analysis must be combined with other that is an acoustic method (Kunzel, Sprechererkennung: Grundzüge forensischer Sprachverarbeitung, 2002); (French, 'An overview of forensic phonetics with particular reference to speaker identification, 1994, pp. 173-174)

The third approach was a hybrid of the first two approaches and is more accepted today. It is known as the phonetic-acoustic approach. The strengths of the first two approaches are rather complimentary than being used as a substitute for one another in an investigation in FSI. However, the collaborative procedure depends upon the quality of the sample and the information they carry. (Nolan, Speaker Recognition and Forensic Phonetics, 1997, p. 765). These days, the joint acoustic-phonetic approach is recommended by more and more professional bodies, internationally (French, 1994). Given the indispensability of both the approaches, there is a general consensus on the usage of the hybrid approach to FSI where auditory approach must logically precede acoustic analysis.

Validation of Methods

Despite the methods being used in a structured way, validation of voice identification methods was always demanded by scientists. Speaker identification based on voice patterns was not considered reliable because even the small-scale matching experiments did not show hundred percent identification results. Also, even though the experimental methods were explicitly described, they would differ when practically applied in identifying an individual on the sole basis of his/her voice patterns.

Identification by experts was questioned because they lacked explicit knowledge and procedures. So, their opinions were not accepted as reliable. It was believed that the possibility of human eye and brain to identify a speaker on the basis of voice patterns was there, but it could not be assumed without proof. A number of suggestions followed to make the results of speaker identification valid. One of the suggestions was to develop explicit procedures based on specifications of voice features useful for identification. Another one was to develop statistically valid models for the subjective experiments. It was said that test formats should be such that they yield information about the probabilities of missed identification as well as false identification. They should also give information about the effect of various factors such as the size of the population, context of speech token, changes

in voice pattern due to noise, disguised voice etc. (Bolt, Cooper, David, Denes, Pickett, & Stevens, 1969).

Auditory and Acoustic Parameters Used in Forensic Speaker Identification

For any speaker identification study, it is important to have knowledge of more powerful dimensions and parameters because usually there is limited time and it cannot be wasted on comparing samples with respect to weak dimensions.

For comparing speech samples forensically, phonetic parameters are categorized in line with two main distinctions:

1. Whether the parameters are auditory or acoustic.
2. Whether they are linguistic or non-linguistic.

Earlier, auditory parameters were used to describe and compare voices depending upon how a voice sounds to an observer. These observers were trained in recognizing and transcribing auditory features.

Acoustic parameters, on the other hand, are self-explanatory. After the invention of the spectrograph, acoustic parameters started being considered for comparing voice samples. Today, comparing voice samples with respect to their acoustic properties extracted by computer is perhaps what first comes to mind when one thinks of FSI.

As parameters for comparison the International Association for Identification (IAI) protocol lists general formant shaping and positioning, pitch variations, energy distribution, word length, coupling (how the first and the second formants are tied to each other) and a number of other features such as plosives, fricatives, and formant features (Gruber & Poza, 1995).

The FBI protocol states that examiners make spectral pattern comparison between the two voice samples by comparing beginning, middle, and end formant frequencies, formant shaping, pitch timing, etc of each individual word.

Visual comparison of spectrograms involves, in general, the examination of spectrograph features of like sounds as portrayed in spectrograms in terms of time, frequency, amplitude, aural cues include resonance quality, pitch, temporal factors, inflections, dialect, articulation, syllable grouping, breath pattern disguise, pathologies, and other peculiar speech characteristics (AFTI, 2002)

In the past 50 years, speaker and speech recognition technology has made very noteworthy progress. Some of the changes that took place during this progress have been cited here. Speaker recognition began with template matching and now it has moved on to

corpus-based statistical modelling, maximum likelihood to discriminative approach, small vocabulary to large vocabulary recognition, isolated word to continuous speech recognition, from clean speech to noisy/telephone speech recognition, text-dependent to text-independent recognition, single modality (audio signal only) to multi-modal (audio/visual) speech recognition, no commercial application to many practical commercial applications. The majority of transformations have been directed towards increasing robustness of speaker and speech recognition.

It can be understood by the above review that parameters of voice play a significant role in speaker identification process. The present research tries to figure out which of them are more crucial in the process of identification.

It has been proved that in speaker identification, the accuracy of the analysis increases when both auditory and acoustic parameters are used in a combination. The auditory analysis always precedes the acoustic analysis.

Robustness of Fundamental Frequency and Intensity in Research on Speaker Identification

Robustness is a key requirement for forensic speaker-comparison parameters. F0 seems to fulfil several criteria. It is because of this reason that fundamental frequency is one of the most frequently studied parameters. But, given the variations that can occur in an individual's speech, the task for the forensic phonetician involves being able to tell whether the inevitable differences between samples are more likely to be within-speaker differences or between-speaker differences. (Rose 2002: 10). An ideal parameter is the one which shows less of within-speaker variations and more between-speaker variations. According to the criteria listed for an ideal parameter by Nolan, f0 meets most of them.

It must be noted that the pitch shows high speaker variability when the lower range of f0 of speakers is compared. (Neelu, 2012, p. 72). It shows a high frequency of occurrence in speech samples. It is also easily extractable and measurable as we use a lot of vowels in our speech and we can easily extract and measure pitch from vowels through many software. Since f0 is a parameter of voice at the source level; it is also maximally independent of other acquired parameters.

In "An Overview of Text-Independent Speaker Recognition: from Features to Supervectors" by Tomi Kinnunen and Haizhou Li, a diagrammatic representation of the characteristics of parameters in forensic speaker identification has been presented. They restate that the choice of parameters should be based on their discrimination, robustness and practicality. It must be noted that though in the diagram the high-level features are shown as robust, they are less discriminative and easier to impersonate. It is quite possible for a mimicry artist to imitate the accent of a person. But the pitch which falls in between the

learned/acquired parameters and physiological/inherent parameters can be considered as both robust and easily extractable.

It has also been shown in an experiment that, in backward speech, the important features of voice that are retained are pitch and pitch range. (Lancker, Kreiman, & Emmorey, 1985, pp. 19-35). The results of this experiment reported that f0 and f0 contour are primary cues to familiar speaker recognition. In the backward presentation of speech, most of the articulatory and sequential characteristics get distorted. It is only f0 which is retained along with some other features such as speech rate, voice quality and vowel quality.

The intra-speaker variation in fundamental frequency is affected by paralinguistic and other factors. They can be categorized into physiological, psychological and technical factors. Physiological factors may include prolonged smoking or drinking and age of the speaker. Technical variations arise mostly due to tape speed and sample size, while emotional state of the speaker is an example of psychological factors. Fundamental frequency is a widely studied parameter in FSI and holds significant relevance in spite of these sources of variations. (Braun, 1995) for example, quotes four well-known authorities (French P., 1990)(Hollien, 1990)(Kunzel, Sprechererkennung: Grundzüge forensischer Sprachverarbeitung, 2002) and (Nolan, The Phonetic Bases of Speaker Recognition, 1983) who claim that it is one of the most reliable parameters.

Foulkes et al., in an article, ‘Telephone Speaker Recognition amongst Members of a Close Social Network’ mentions that the speakers with relatively higher upper range and/or low lower range of average F0 values were consistently identified with greater accuracy. This also held true for speakers who had the widest and the narrowest overall F0 range. The ones with average pitch values and pitch ranges which don’t extend to either side of the extremes were rather difficult to identify. The findings of the study support the view that average F0 is a robust parameter in FSI, which also helps in naïve speaker identification.

In his article ‘Speaker classification in Forensic Phonetics and Acoustics’, Michael Jessen has argued if pitch (F0) or other formants can help in deciding the gender of the speaker. He concludes that average pitch is one of the strongest parameters in identifying the gender of the speaker. In most cases, auditory examination of pitch level suffices to accurately distinguish between male and female speakers. However, there are also cases of voice disguise or mimicking, where the speaker may impose a false voice creak or whisper. Pitch may either not be accessible or informative in circumstances like these. There are also situations where a speaker may have unusually high or low pitch, incongruous to the gender group he/she belongs to. This can result into a mismatch in gender identification based on pitch. In such cases, acoustic analysis plays a vital role by providing measurements of formant frequencies. It’s a well-known fact that men on average have lower formant frequencies than women which can be attributed to their vocal cords which are generally longer than those of women.(Jessen)

In another study, the weight of fundamental frequency as a discriminatory parameter for sex identification has been stressed upon. The study has been conducted on transsexual voice where it becomes difficult to categorize a transsexual into male voice or female voice. Sometimes they also try to disguise or modulate their voices. The study explains that when a female vocal fundamental is modulated by a male, the vocal tract retains some of the male qualities to which listeners are perceptually sensitive. This is because the fundamental frequency can be changed but since vocal cords have fixed dimensions, it is difficult to completely wipe out the maleness in the voice quality. (Coleman, 1983) (Trollinger, 2003)

It was indicated in a speech science research concerned with the vocalizations of pre-language infants that they tend to experiment with their vocalizations via trial and error. The research suggests that initially the sounds used in vocal experimentation are reflexive, but later on the child develops vocal patterns that are appropriate to his or her culture. This happens gradually via imitation and learning (Andrews, 1999; Kuehn, 1985).

A number of studies have suggested that boys' and girls' speaking voices are similar in fundamental frequency before the onset of puberty (Bennett, 1983; Bennett & Weinberg, 1979; Kahane, 1975; Kent, 1976, Wilson, 1987, Titze, 1992).

Scores of studies have emphasized that F0 is a valued parameter in speaker identification for the amount of information that it encapsulates about the speaker. F0 is influenced by a number of linguistic and non-linguistic features such as stress, tone, intonation, type of sentence, sex of speakers, properties of neighbouring vowels and consonants etc. Apart from this, speakers themselves are random effect; their normal pitch range, shape and size of vocal cords, age, health conditions, all of these interact in significant ways and are responsible for F0. These universally available effects are combined in unique ways by different speech communities, for example, Japanese women, while speaking manifest higher pitch than Dutch women (VanB ezooijen, 1995). It's a challenge for linguists to model the way in which speakers collaborate these effects at their disposal to produce F0 in a manner that it is in congruence with their speech community (Aston, Chiou, & Evans, 2010). This study points towards the language dependency of the pitch.

There have been studies which have drawn a relationship between the fundamental frequency of voice and cognitive speaker identification. It is a common knowledge that we can decode speech into language independently of who is speaking, and we can also recognize who is speaking independently of what he/she is speaking. According to the cognitive and connectionist models, this efficiency depends upon the ability of our speech perception and speaker identification systems to extract relevant features from the sensory input and to form efficient abstract representations.

However, it remains unclear how a speech form turns into a speaker's identity. Results of functional magnetic resonance adaptation suggest that there is an area specialized for voice identification in the right anterior superior temporal sulcus.

These results provide empirical support for cognitive models of speech and voice processing postulating the existence of intermediate computational entities resulting from the transformation of relevant acoustic features of vowels and F0 for speakers and the suppression of the irrelevant ones. This is an important revelation where fundamental frequency of speaker aids in cognitive voice processing and speaker identification. (Formisano, De Martino, Bonte, & Goebel, 2008)

The individual variations in F0 are often described through long-term distribution measures such as standard deviation, long-term fundamental frequency and arithmetic mean (Rose, 2002). These measures depend on the duration of an utterance. There is, however, no common consensus on minimum duration of an utterance required to yield reliable outcomes. Using traditional measures such as mean and median values of fundamental frequency have been believed to produce misleading results. This may possibly happen because the mean F0 has a roughly normal distribution across the population (Lindh, 2006). Hence, its forensic value is inherently limited and could only offer any contribution in FSI when extreme values are present.

Conclusion

It has been found that, so far, the pitch has been studied extensively and proved to be a robust parameter in speaker identification. The intensity or vocal energy, on the other hand, has been paid little attention. Studies have suggested that in different speech styles, intensity seems to make a contribution in speaker identification (Kraayeveld, 1997). Although vocal intensity has been recognized as an identification feature, it has not been extensively investigated. Therefore, we do not have a good understanding of its general nature and whether it can be termed as a speaker-specific parameter or not. The little information that we have about vocal intensity suggests that it is not a robust parameter for identifying speakers. This reason behind it is vocal intensity can fluctuate with even a little variation in the external environment. Having said that, it is nevertheless a noticeable feature that people talk at varying intensity and they also modulate it depending on the context. Therefore, it can be theorized that if the processing of vocal energy can be controlled, the evaluation of this parameter can prove to be useful in identification of speakers (Hollien F., 2002).

Besides this, the present review of literature, aimed at exploring several aspects of pitch and intensity parameters has helped in finding research gaps with respect to the use of parameters that remain stable even with the change in the linguistic and non-linguistic environment and provide useful insights when speakers of different genders are involved. Even though a number of studies, conducted previously have shown that pitch proves to be the most robust parameter in speaker identification, we could further investigate the components of the pitch, including F0, concerning how robust their results remain as

speakers switch languages. Using existing voice analysis tools like Praat and MDVP, various aspects of pitch in combination with amplitude may be investigated to obtain the properties of f0 and intensity which are minimally influenced by internal and external variations but are maximally discriminatory in nature. Future studies can, therefore, focus on various aspects of pitch and intensity such as jitter, shimmer, mean fundamental frequency along with duration etc. Insights from these studies will make the exercise of speaker identification far more reliable.

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**Smoke Stories –
Narratives from the Hearth:
On the Agency of Women**

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Abstract

The centrality of food practices - cooking, feeding - in the life of women is irrefutable. This temporal and cultural universal of women playing the prime role in feeding makes it an essential component of their identities- personal, social and gendered. Food and the rituals and memories surrounding it are invested with many meanings and emotions by women, some of whom even make it a vehicle for self-expression. Therefore, food can be used “to investigate the complexity of women’s intersecting social identities” (Avakian and Haber vii).

The paper takes up a case study of rural women of Punjab and looks into if and how these women exercise some kind of agential power through cooking and other food related activities.

A Labor of Love?

A few decades earlier, only anthropology and nutrition science were interested at looking at one of the most banal acts of human survival. Lately many academic fields including sociology, economics, history and the interdisciplinary women studies, cultural studies and of course food studies, study food with the notion that being the building block not only of the human body but also of the communities and consequently the entire civilisation, it can yield valuable insights about the world around us. Despite the central place of women at the hearth over time and across cultures, until the end of twentieth century, very few scholars had a women-centric perspective on their work on food and the feminist scholars emphasized on the food related pathologies in women (Avkian 2). The hegemonic discourse on the oppression and liberation of women that accompanied the second wave of feminism helped mask all of the cooking work just another indicator of patriarchal domination. In the feminist literature of the time, cooking was considered as another dimension of domesticity or an indication of women’s subordination (Friedan; Greer; Oakley). In this process, the actual relationships that women shared with food and its practices were distorted.

It was only at the turn of the century that scholars started paying attention to the complex and nuanced relationship that women share with food and how they reproduce, resist, and rebel against the set notions at various sites and compel us to move beyond a uniform

understanding of women and cooking. An increasing number of women have articulated how they enjoy preparing food, either for self or others, and have often found pleasure and/or empowerment in the process (Supski). For some therefore, “Cooking...is not an obligatory performance but rather a celebration of our own affectionate and creative expression” (Abarca 24). The emancipation can come either through building identities as someone who creates through cooking or through challenging traditional expectations or by claiming their own space within the kitchen.

Yet we have to remain cognizant of the nuances, for women are implicated in a quandary here. The whole idea of women as selfless nurturers, who ‘cook with love’, falls within the now normalised framework of gender roles and expectations. Women who may genuinely enjoy doing some of the chores involved in food preparation, find pleasure in feeding others and see it as a gesture of love, do so within the set confines. Therefore, it’s a double-edged dilemma - various food related activities can bring joy if and when done out of one’s own volition, but to be able to distinguish between one’s genuine interest from internalised gender responsibilities is next to impossible and sometimes the former may even be interpreted as false consciousness. Hence, being in the place where women would want and like to be, could also help reinforcing that it’s the place where women ‘belong’. Do the women, who rejoice in cooking and gain some kind of power from it, reproducing the belief of women as natural nurturers (Lorber; West and Zimmerman) or are they disrupting and subverting these very notions? But just the fact that cooking is enjoyed by some does not entail that the act need not be analysed and politicized. The relationship of women with food should be regarded as culturally symbolic and meaningful in its own right and reflective of their relationship with themselves, their bodies and others.

Scholarship needs to and has recently moved away from constructing the image of a monolithic woman by contextualising gender within other social factors. To do justice to the specificities of women’s lives, their interconnecting and embedded social formations need to be taken into account as well, as has been done by intersectional, especially post-colonial feminism. By allowing for the postmodern possibility of various understandings, we can resolve any inconsistencies and through a closer and more nuanced assessment, arrive at a better interpretation of the lives of women.

A Little More than Feeding

It is not only that the work of feeding and nurturing has come to the share of women, but they are additionally burdened with the responsibility of providing meals that are culturally and nutritionally acceptable, liked and sometimes procured through demands by the family members and economically and generally feasible. Women have been understood to be in a better position, and consequently held responsible, for introducing nutritional value in family meals (Nayak et al; Wood). For this, women feel obligated to gain information and increase their knowledge in this regard and also improve their culinary skills (Brown and Miller). In the case of women, many times the notion of a healthy body extends to beauty and other aesthetic

appeals, something that has been referred to as ‘food/health/beauty triplex’ in late modernity (Lupton 131). Food discourses- centring both on the benefits and risks of food- are increasingly becoming proliferate, in frequency and intensity, in the contemporary society (Lupton; Nicolosi). This plethora of information in our contemporary time makes it all the more challenging for women to navigate through it all and instils in them feelings of anxiety and a sense of futility (Rangel et al 124).

As asserted by Nicolosi, this shift towards an ‘orthorexic society’ in the recent years can be witnessed in the Western societies. This paper is concerned with specific regions in the eastern part of the world, which have been insulated to varying degrees from the food system as the West understands and experiences. Although India, like all other countries, has not been exempt from the influence of the globalized capitalist food system, owing to the opening of its market and economy since 1990, but the countryside, where majority of its population still resides, is vastly different from the urban areas, especially when it comes to foodscapes. The paper takes up the case study of women of rural Punjab - who have been left bereft of any educational opportunities and therefore denied any professional prospects outside the home- for whom then the enactment of their personal, social and gendered identities happens mostly around the hearth. Unlike their western and urban counterparts, these women do not have much access to the print, electronic and digital media and therefore are not exposed to the food discourses that proliferate in these media. This is not to say that they consciously want such an access to information and feel at a loss when they don’t get it. Rather they are of the opinion that they do not need any external sources of information when it comes to food, cooking and feeding. Furthermore, the discourses of health and nutrition- which many of the times become a source of apprehensions and concern to women- are conspicuously missing from the narratives of these women.

Sans the triplex as employed by Lupton exercising any potential effect on the lives of these women, they manoeuvre their duties and place in the kitchen in their own way. Their narratives talk about the dynamics created by them in the intimate space of the home, in the community life and kinship networks, through the language of food. As emphasized by Estelle Jelinck in the context of women autobiographies, the “social bias against the condition or the delineation of their lives seems to predominate over critical subjectivity” (3), the food narratives of women, especially who are doubly or triply displaced, too risk the error of missing out on the public lives of women. Thus, these narratives which materialize at the margins of culture, literature and history, need to be paid due attention and maybe brought back within the folds of history and academia.

On the Question of Agency

Agency has been defined as “the socioculturally mediated capacity to act” (Ahearn 112). Since different cultures allow for different decisions and actions to manifest, the notions of agency also differ from society to society. Pickering suggests that “within different cultures human beings and the material world might exhibit capacities for action quite different from

those we customarily attribute to them” (245). Ahearn stresses the need for academicians to not only enquire about what agency means for them as theorists but also what it means for the people they study and work with and how the interpretations of agency might change over time (113). For many feminist theorists, the agency of women can be seen demonstrated in their resistance to the patriarchal status quo (Goddard 3). Ahearn warns against such simplistic equations of agency with resistance and how agency should not be just reduced to oppositional agency (115). In conceptualizing women’s agency, MacLeod notes that women, “even as subordinate players, always play an active part that goes beyond the dichotomy of victimization/acceptance, a dichotomy that flattens out a complex and ambiguous agency in which women accept, accommodate, ignore, resist, or protest sometimes all at the same time” (534).

The paper also refers to Urvashi Butalia’s analysis of agency, who studied it in the context of violence and gender during the partition of 1947. She claims that while retrieving women and their agency from history, we tend to focus on powerful women and always perceive agency as ‘positive’. In the context she was working in, while problematising agency, she states that “women are thus simultaneously agents and victims” (15) and concludes that it is indeed difficult to discuss in generalised terms when it comes to women, their agential capacity and their roles and identities. Therefore, we also need to take into account the mediation of the family, community, class and religion to arrive at a better understanding of agency. As pointed out by Kumkum Sangari, “rather than make simplistic assumptions about the power of women, it is better to capture the complexities of struggle” (qtd. in Butalia 24).

Thus, while discussing agency we need to steer clear of any uniform understandings of agency, which can lead to obscuring of many things, and be careful to take into account all the possible different motivations behind any human action. This paper attempts to do this- in the context of rural women of Punjab. By paying attention to the “complex and ambiguous agency” (MacLeod 539), the paper attempts to better understand the lives of the women it is dealing with.

Methodology

The paper springs out of an ethnographic study, whereby the researcher conducted informal interviews over a span of one year and collected narratives from women in her ancestral village in the district Muktsar, Punjab. The sample whose narratives were actually used for the study was a small one consisting of six women. Therefore, the results need not be generalized for a larger section of the population but be understood contextually. The first few months the researcher talked generally to a larger number of women, to let them be at ease and grow comfortable enough with her to discuss issues of their families and other aspects of their lives. The conversations of the later months, with the selected ones, were recorded and transcribed. The interpretations and English translations are according to the best of my knowledge. I was at an advantage because Punjabi is my first language and since many of these women belonged to my extended family, I was able to understand them contextually as well. I

had explained my intent well, had obtained consent and was careful not to let the fact that I was related to some of them alter their responses. On the other hand, I found that women, who were related to me, were able to talk freely about certain things (for example, their relationships with their mothers-in-law), which the women from other households were sometimes reluctant to be completely explicit about.

The case study was conducted at my ancestral village, Seerwali in the district of Muktsar. The women were aged between approximately 35 to 65. Women younger than 30, new daughters-in-law of the village or the daughters who were of marriageable age and were substantial helping hands in the kitchen, were not included in the study. This demographic differs from the women in the study as one could not claim about the former that they did not have sufficient access to forms of media (majorly TV, recently smart phones and the internet). To establish if and how it affects these women when it comes to the kitchen space is beyond the scope of this paper.

The paper is in line with many other feminist anthropological projects - Hauck-Lawson's work with immigrants in New York City, "culinary chats" by Abarca with Mexican-American working-class women and Carole-Counihan's 'food-centred life histories' of women in South America. All of these works have used the food stories of women in one way or the other to deliberate upon the identity, agency and power of women.

Power Structures at Play

Feeding the Family, Serving the Self

Power, as projected through food, can be manifested in two ways- the power of coercion and the power of influence. The former deals with the control of food resources, ideally comes from denying it to others and is typically wielded by political parties and governments. The latter ensues through the act of giving and the consequent obligations generated through this act (Counihan 53). Whereas the coercive power can be exercised by the ones who have control over the resources and those generally happen to be men in most of the societies, the power of influence is the power of women who feed and thereby satisfy one of the most compelling needs of humans. It is this power, one that comes from being needed, that can be manipulated by women and used to exert a certain influence. Although this power is mainly wielded over family members, but the social mores of the table act as microcosm of behaviours and values of the society at large (Counihan 54). Therefore, regulating the same and controlling the symbolic language of the food prepared by them, women administer a substantial amount of power at their homes and also become indispensable actors of the society as well.

Some of the women in this study also echoed similar sentiments. Since they belong to a traditional patriarchal society, the idea of them wielding power over the household members came out most strongly in the case of their sons. One of the women, talking about when her son would grow up and start running the household, quipped "*he (my son) is obviously going to listen to me over his father. Was he nursed by his father? Is he now fed by his father or me?*"

The father can't even feed himself!". Since the husband in this case was an overbearing man, who gave little value to his wife's opinions, she believed it was just a matter of time when the son takes charge and she would be actually making decisions through him. The woman in this case was not flustered by the current situation, in fact her conversations seemed to suggest that she felt that she could withhold and deny food to the husband in case of a situation if ever he "created real trouble" and that would go a long way in teaching him a lesson.

Another woman narrated the story of how her both kids were fond of *gulgule*, a fried rainy-day snack in north India. She felt that preparing *gulgule* required a lot of time and energy and the children had to request her to engage their wishes. "I used to lay down certain conditions for them, asked them for doing something or the other for me, in order for me to make *gulgule* for them. At one time they had to help me decorate the walls with mud and cow dung plaster, which helped me finish a two-day job in one. And at another time, my little one exchanged her candy treat from the city in exchange for *gulgule* (giggling)". This narrative presents a counterpoint to the discourses of selfless nurturing by mothers. Although upon further prompting, the woman acknowledged that she might have eventually indulged her kids by preparing the sweet dish for them but she had no qualms about making the children do some chores in exchange for their favourite foods. She believed that though she wouldn't have done so with the provision of the basic daily meals but meeting the demands of the children for something special could be and 'sometimes even should be' exchanged for favours.

Serving the Family, Feeding the Self

Another way in which women exercise power through their relationships with food is by developing "differential consciousness" (Sandoval 6), a strategy used by dominated people to function within oppressive structures and ideologies by creating alternate beliefs and strategies to resist domination. Women end up creating "hidden transcripts" (Scott x), whereby they deploy contradictory approaches- they appear to maintain the traditional gender role structures and pretend that men are the ones in charge- all the while challenging men's authority privately and covertly. These ideas are also akin to the trope of "la perruque" employed by historian De Certeau to explain how individuals use strategies to create a semi-independent domain within the limits placed on them by the powerful. Taking up such microprocesses of resistance, he urged scholars to attend to the actions of ordinary people (24).

One of the respondents recounted - "*Many times, I collect eggs from the chicken coop, scramble them and offer to the children- all this before my husband arrives. If asked, I feign ignorance. It's only because I know he would otherwise offer them to all those drinking friends he assembles at night.*" In this case, she is apparently performing her submissive role convincingly, but her private behavioral practices do not fall in line with her speech and actions in the public sphere. Menon asserts that "women's agency and their subversion of the dominant discourse are obscured" (359) by an outwardly image of compliance and private efforts to resist that dominance.

Another one of the respondents cheekily narrated- “*I have a sweet tooth and often crave sewaiyan and halwa. On days when I feel like indulging myself, I float around the house this made-up dream where my late mother-in-law visited me and instructed me to cook something sweet...you know for our ancestors or whatever*”. These narratives suggest that amidst all the expectations and responsibilities of feeding their families, women nevertheless find ways of empowerment in the process. Even when they might present others as the real priority, they are frequently at the center of their actions and stories. They believe first in satisfying their own appetites, literal and metaphorical. In this particular case, while the woman might not have been very comfortable in gratifying her own desires publicly, but she used a subversive approach that let her uphold and undo the traditional structures simultaneously. She is able to sustain the façade of selfless work (in this case for family members who are dead already) while prioritizing her own cravings. As opposed to the negation of self in women in the families (Friedan) which is many a times taken as normal, we witness here a centering of the self. Hence, as stated by Lockford, women can practice a kind of “selfless selfishness” (the former as a mere pretension), that can act as an assertion of subversive feminism (qtd. in Mills 9). The latter produces a space for women to undermine the dominant structures and perform their roles in a way befitting to them.

Both these narratives go on to support Menon’s explanation that women’s discourse “hides the fact that within their separate sphere women create a space from which they can resist male authority in subtle and silent ways. Their resistance is never articulated; it is a shared secret among women. To voice it would be to bring out into the open, to make public the contradictions within which they operate contradictions which they accept as part of their everyday lives” (359). These women contest the power structures of their households and strive for agency, which we can attempt to understand through the lens of differential consciousness, hidden transcripts and *la perruque*.

Food Wars: Gastro-politics at Play

One of the most important domains in which the food chores of women give them a certain authority is in the complex kinship networks, where gastro-politics play a crucial part, as asserted by Appadurai. Most of the land-owning families in rural Punjab have different households for all the brothers. Subsequently, all the women have separate hearths under their control and supervision. There exists a fine balance between the power exerted by the different sisters-in-law and this often plays out in the culinary contexts. Food plays an important symbolic part in most of the social events and this includes the rituals surrounding death as well.

To explicate scenarios where conflict can be engendered in case of food, I would like to draw attention to the death and the funeral rites of the mother of one of the joint families in the study. For the women of the family it was of utmost importance how the gathered relatives formed impressions of their positions within the family and their relationship with the deceased.

One of the daughters-in-law of the family stated - *“It was obvious that the guests arriving a day before the communal feast had to be entertained at my hearth. You see I was the one who took care of her and fed her in the last days. I was the one who called up everyone with the news. I am not being subtle about it. I realize that I’m not the eldest one but I was the one who did all the work, everyone else thought of her as a burden. And they thought that they could compensate and equal my efforts by offering a meagre share of money for the communal feast? I wouldn’t have let that happen.”*

In this case, notwithstanding the amount of labor that has to be put into, the respondent is eager to take on the job of entertaining guests single handedly, as she understands that it affirms and consolidates her superior status amongst the visiting relatives. Her being an agreeable host and apparently serving the multitude of incoming guests pleasingly also lets the visiting kin realize that the selfless performance of her responsibilities as a dutiful daughter-in-law at the death must mean that she served her mother-in-law as selflessly when the latter was alive. Although this wasn’t mentioned outrightly, the respondent led me to think likewise, as she had done with her kinsmen.

Although the woman in this case knowingly undertook what must have been an arduous task (because of the sheer number of people turning up because of the death) in the kitchen, but she used it as a strategy to hide the motivations behind her behavioral practices, which were very unambiguous for her. She exercised her agency to make the decision and used the idiom of food both to articulate her powerful position in the house to the visiting kin and in a way to claim the rewards of settling the conflict amongst the different daughters-in-law regarding caring for the old mother-in-law.

For women, negotiating power relations through food, becomes a delicate balancing act, where all the women of the household work in simultaneously collaborative and conflicting roles to secure their positions for dominance of domesticity. The hearth, thereby, becomes a space for exerting their agential power and expressing their identities through it.

From the Private, Into the Public

Since the women in this case study had been denied educational and formal employment opportunities and were therefore stay at home mothers and wives (‘preparers’), who managed the ‘responsibility’ of feeding the family without any help from any of the male members (‘providers’), it might be conveniently assumed that they essentially become restricted to the domestic sphere and are removed from the activities of the public sphere. But the dichotomy between the public and the private sphere is mitigated by the seamless shuttling back and forth of women, often through their command on food and its related activities. The transcending of the separation between the public and the private realm here is not achieved by breaking free of the chores of the kitchen but rather through them. Emphasizing how the model of the separate spheres of ‘production’ and ‘reproduction’ is detrimental to understanding

reality, Rosalind Petchesky points out that, “Not only do reproduction and kinship, or the family have their own...modes of organization, and power relationships, but reproduction and kinship are themselves integrally related to social relations of production and the state; they reshape those relations all the time” (377).

The electoral times, either the Panchayat or the Assembly elections, are charged days in the rural Punjab and involve informal gatherings of male folks- at the village greens and the houses of people with some political alliances. One of the overlooked consequences of these at-home congregations is the additional effort by the women of the household in the kitchen. *“These voting days are the worst. We have to put the tea to boil as many as eight to nine times in a day. And before we are done cleaning the utensils, the next batch of tea has to be brewed.”* An account by another respondent in the context of this situation can help us in moving away from any essentializing narratives of completely helpless forced labor in the kitchen, which is never rewarded. *“It of course irritates me to make tea all day long for these ‘want-to-be leaders’ who hijack my home. And my husband, who has these illusions of political enthusiasm. But you know I avenge all this extra tea making. (slyly) I never vote for (the party staunchly supported by the husband). I secretly go for the opposition.”*

As discussed earlier, this statement too corroborates that being subversive in ways like this allow women to appear appropriately compliant and fulfil their obligations. By masking their subversions under the guise of complicity, they strive for agency “within yet beyond the demands of the dominant ideology” (Sandoval 3).

On the other hand, some women transform their kitchen work into paid labor, but this is only true in the case of women from the lower socio-economic class as for a well to do and/or landlord family, it is considered demeaning if women try to earn an extra income. Some of the women from the lower economic strata in the village offer their culinary skills to other households when needed. They successfully are able to underplay the exploitive dimensions of food preparation and augment the empowering ones. One of the older women of the village, referred to sometimes as ‘*raita bibi*’, used to professionally make raita and earn money for herself and her family. She recounted - *“When I had just married into this village, I used to sometimes cook for the family whose land my husband used to till. They used to love my raita, spoke about it to the neighbors and soon I was making raita for every ceremony held in the village. (smiling) Once I also received an order from the next village. The money that I made wasn’t a lot but it helped me in other ways. All my life I could never be intimidated by my husband or his family about things like visiting my ill parents often.”*

Conforming to but still offering resistance to the divisions of labor, she was able to assert her agency while assuming her food related responsibilities. She realized the economic value of transforming her reproductive labor to productive work and used it for her own benefit. Along with the financial profit, she also converted her cooking skills into social and cultural capital. She improved her position at her home and also in the community.

Conclusion

When it comes to women and food, there can be no essentializing narratives. Women from varying socio-politico-economic groups experience food preparation and consumption differentially. Consequently, they also experience and negotiate conventional gender roles differentially, depending on the composition of their relational lives. Therefore, the idea of monolithic hegemonic femininity needs to be deconstructed and scholars have to be careful not to colonize women through misinterpretations and misrepresentations of their activities in the kitchen space.

Agency is not ontologically prior to a context but rather emerges from the social, political and cultural dynamics of a particular place and time (Desjarlas 204). It is important to enquire into how people within a specific sociocultural context perceive events, causalities, their own actions and the power they exert. The paper is an attempt to make a nuanced understanding of if and how the women in the case study exercise their agency through food and its related activities. These women ‘cooked up’ discourses which demonstrate how identities around food enable them to perform their social and gender roles, how they can be playful and subversive with these performances, how they can sometimes enjoy self-empowerment through various food chores and thereby challenge the hegemonic power structures. While some find empowerment in rejecting their requisite domestic femininity, others embrace it on their very own terms. They take on the oppressiveness embedded in the structures of gender and labor by experiencing and exercising agency in the kitchen space and the home, by extension.

The narratives of these women help in creating a cultural mosaic of who they are and documenting these narratives is essential to bring the perspectives of regionally and linguistically marginalized women to the academic and mainstream cultural folds. Although the stories of these women create a rich portrayal of familial and social contexts, but they sounded very unsure about the value of these stories and least of all any scholastic worth that could be attributed to them. This indicates the low assessment that women make of their own work and words. But such underrepresentation needs to be combatted, the grand narratives of a woman and her kitchen need to be deconstructed and the Other given the power to speak and assume rightful position in mainstream history and literary establishments.

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Dictionary Writing in Assam: A Study Through Select Classical Texts

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Abstract

It is believed that Hemchandra Barua's *Hemkosh* (1900) is the first Assamese Dictionary and Miles Bronson's *A Dictionary in Assamese and English* (1867) is the first bilingual dictionary published in Assamese language. But interestingly the first folio of dictionary was drafted in 1795 AD in Tai and Assamese language; on the other hand *Hemkosh* came out in 1900 AD. Under the framework of lexicography, this paper intends to look at the pre-*Hemkosh* era of dictionary writing in three different approaches: (1) A historical account of dictionary writing of pre *Hemkosh* era, (2) A linguistic account of select dictionaries and (3) An analysis of the beginning of Assamese standardisation. The research would be based primarily on secondary sources consisting library works and unpublished manuscripts.

Keywords: Assam, classical dictionaries, dictionary-making, pre-*Hemkosh*, dictionary-standardisation

1. Introduction

The functional relevance of a dictionary in modern life is immense and is further increased in linguistic studies. A dictionary is used for several reasons, such as spelling checking, pronunciation of a word, meaning of a word etc. Considering theme, a dictionary is also used to look for synonyms and antonyms, etymological origin of a word, pattern of uses. Perhaps a dictionary is the only resource that can give us the best and most comprehensive information about words. The general conviction is that the information provided in a dictionary is accurate, authentic and reliable.

2. Definitions

Probably in the 13th century, the term *dictionary* was first coined in Medieval Latin on the basis of the Latin adjective *dictionary* 'of words', a derivative of Latin *dictio*

‘saying’, or in Medieval Latin ‘word’. Latin *dictio* (also the source of English diction 15th century) was a derivative of the verb *dicere* ‘say’. Its original meaning was ‘point out’ rather than ‘utter’, as demonstrated by its derivative *indicare* (source of English *indicate*) and words in other languages, such as Greek *deiknunai* ‘show’, Sanskrit *dic-* ‘show’ (later ‘say’), and German *zeihen* ‘accuse’, which come from the same source (Ayto 1990: 170 in Das).

According to the *Concise Oxford Dictionary for Current English* (1998), a dictionary is a “book that deals with the individual words of a language (or certain specified class of them) so as to set forth their orthography, pronunciation, signification and use, their synonyms, derivation and history, or at least some of these facts; for convenience of reference the words are arranged in some stated order, now in most languages, alphabetical, and in larger dictionaries the information given is illustrated by quotations from literature”.

Similarly, Berg gives the definition of a dictionary in the following way: “A dictionary is a systematically arranged list of socialized linguistic forms compiled from the speech-habits of a given speech community and commented on by the author in such a way that the qualified reader understands the meaning ... of each separate form, and is informed of the relevant facts concerning the function of that form in its community” (Zgusta 1971: 197).

As given in the definitions, a dictionary may serve various practical needs. Besides a dictionary is also a source of information on life, language and society. It is also consulted as a guide-book for distinguishing good uses of words. Therefore, a dictionary performs the function of a ‘court-house’ for a language. Hence, a dictionary embeds both linguistic and extra-linguistic information.

3. Theoretical Background

Typological classification of any dictionary is important to understand the nature of the dictionary since it provides a lot of information regarding its compilation, collection of texts, choice of lexical items, arrangements, entries and sub-entries (Das 2008: 438). Adopting the criteria proposed by Malkiel (1967), Das has classified dictionaries in the following manner. However, there is no watertight definition and theory for the classification of dictionaries. Dictionaries may vary in terms of its uses, its entries of words, purposes, level and load of information. Hence, a dictionary is viewed and analysed linguistically and non-linguistically.

1. Density of entries: This refers to the list of vocabulary to be considered for inclusion. The list may include words from general or restricted or from specialised domains. It may also cover regional or social dialects, jargons, slangs or archaisms depending on the speech community.
2. Language: A dictionary can be either monolingual or bilingual, or multilingual (number of language) depending on the target users for whom the dictionary is being made.

3. The nature of entries: A dictionary can contain either lexical information only or full encyclopaedic (non-lexical). Moreover, the degree of concentration on lexical data may vary depending on the consideration of the dictionary.
4. Axis of time: A dictionary can either be diachronic (historical or dynamic) or synchronic (static) with regard to the collection of language data and language representation.
5. Arrangement of entries: Normally, lexical items are arranged in simple alphabetical order, although words can also be arranged according to their semantic or sense relations. Thus, a dictionary can be either alphabetical or semantical.
6. Purpose: This is related to the basic function of a dictionary. A dictionary can either be a general, normative or referential, pedagogic, or a descriptive depending on the goal of the dictionary compilation.
7. Prospective users: A dictionary is meant for general readers who want to find out the general linguistic information of the lexical items or for the special users who are interested in special aspects of lexical items.

Although typological classification seems essential in understanding a dictionary, it is practically onerous to delimit the types into a strict watertight frame, since there is always a chance of overlapping of lexical information across dictionary types. For example, *Oxford English Dictionary* aims at giving synchronic details about English language, it presents diachronic history too. Even *Asomiya Jatiya Abhidhan* (compiled under the supervision of D. Sharma in 2010) is a mixture of both the qualities. It seems overlapping the general criteria of typological definition of dictionary.

We will now look at the pre-*Hemkosh* era of dictionary writing or dictionary making in Assam configuring the theoretical assumption proposed by Malkiel and Das.

4. Methodology

For the preparation of this paper primary and secondary are used. For ethnographical research design, participant observation method is very much crucial and following the method we have taken close observation of the research data. We have taken original unpublished manuscripts for the study. During the field study, photography is used for future record. We have visited Patsaku, Sepon and Parijat of Sivasagar district for the collection of data.

5. Objectives

For the study, we have formulated the following three objectives.

1. To find out the linguistic features of *Bar Amra* and *Lati Amra*
2. To find out the typological characteristics of *Bar Amra* and *Lati Amra*
3. To analyse the limitations (e.g. ambiguities) present in *Bar Amra* and *Lati Amra*

6. Historical Background

The compilation of any type of dictionary or lexicon, word meaning book is usually considered to be the most important step towards standardisation, since the language is in somehow stable and not presumed as endangered. But prior to this stage, if the language is in the verge of extinction, the compilation of a meaning book is not only important it's a life to the culture, society and a hope of endurance to the language. No doubt at the juncture of language movement and challenges, the publication of *Hemkosh* by Hemchandra Barua in 1900 is an epoch making effort. He gave English equivalent lexicons to Assamese lexicons along with their etymological meaning. The effect of *Hemkosh* was so remarkable that Birinchi Kumar Barua comments, "*Hemkosh* laid down clear cut rules for spelling and syntax, leaving no room for obscurity and confusion" (Barua 2003: 108). The convention of written Assamese set forth by *Hemkosh* has remained almost unaltered till now ever since its publication except for some few minor changes. Therefore, keeping *Hemkosh* as benchmark, we can divide the publications of dictionaries into two distinct phases: the pre and post *Hemkosh* periods.

The most remarkable contribution of pre-*Hemkosh* period is Miles Bronson's edited *Asomiya aru Ingraji Abhidhan* (an Anglo-Assamese Dictionary) published in 1867. According to the editor, the dictionary contained around 14000 words and that he had followed the system of orthography as adopted by Jaduram Deka Barua¹. However, Sharma [Public Lecture] has listed out eight more dictionaries (lexicons) written prior to the publication of *Hemkosh*. Following his note, we are listing out the dictionaries according to compilation date.

- (a) *Bar Kakot Homung Puthi, Bar Amra* (1795)
- (b) *Lati Amra* (1797?)
- (c) *Vocabularies of the Ashami Kamrupa Language* (1810)
- (d) *Ten Languages Dictionary* (1814)
- (e) *Jaduram Deka Barua's Dictionary* (1836)
- (f) *A Spelling Book and Vocabulary in English, Assamese, Singpho and Naga* (1836)
- (g) *Brief Vocabulary in English and Assamese with Rudimentary Exercise* (Ingraji aru Asomiya Bakyawali) (1841)
- (h) *Revised version of Brief Vocabulary in English and Assamese with Rudimentary Exercise* (1864)
- (i) *A Dictionary of Assamese and English* (1867)
- (j) *Hemkosh* (1900)

During the reign of Ahom king Gaurinath Simha (1780–1795), Tengai Mohan Pandit tried to write the first lexicon in Tai Ahom and which was came out as *Bar Amra*

¹ The Groundwork of first Assamese dictionary was done by Jaduram Deka Barua. He was a munsif in the colonial administration. Deka Barua had been asked to carry out the work by the Commissioner of Assam, Mr. Jenkins (C. Vijayaree. (2004). *Writing the West, 1750-1947: Representations from Indian Languages*. Sahitya Akademi; New Delhi)

‘Lexicon of Ahom – Assamese language’ in 1795. The dictionary was in bilingual as it used Tai Ahom and Assamese language. However, the Assamese meaning was given in Tai Ahom script following lexicographical pattern of alphabetical order. In Tai Ahom *Amra* means dictionary or the largest book in the country. Written in *xasipat* (aquilaria agallocha), the length of *Bar Amra* was of 31cm and its width was of 8.5cm (Introduction, Translation of *Bar Amra*). The copy of *Bar Amra*, that we are using for this study is owned by the Ahom Pandit Junaram Phukon of Parijat, Sivasagar.

On the other hand, Ramakanta M Baruah was credited to the second Tai Ahom lexicon called *Lati Amra*. In this lexicon Tai Ahom word-meanings were given in Tai Ahom language and scripts. Unlike *Bar Amra*, it was arranged in terms of content not in alphabetical order. The words included in the dictionary were divided into ten parts namely human body parts, names of fish etc. It was believed that Nandanath D Phukon had recovered the ancient scripts written in *xasipat* and later he worked on the translation of these scripts. After him, Bimalakanta Boruah was appointed in the History and Archaeology Department of Assam. Boruah commissioned Dambarudhar D Phukon to translate *Bar Amra* and *Lati Amra* lexicons to Assamese. Bimalakanta Baruah and Nandanath D Phukon did the editorial work and department of History and Archaeology of Assam published the work as *Ahom lexicons* in 1964.

ĀHOM LEXICONS
PART I
BAR-AMRA
বৰ-অম্ৰা
[বৰ্ণানুক্রমিক]

Āhom words	Pronunciation		Meaning	
	Assamese	English	Assamese	English
৭/মি	অ	a	নদা ; অমৃত ; ব্ৰহ্ম- বোধক উপসর্গ ; 'জাও' শব্দৰ পাচত বহি অতীতকাল- নুজেরা শব্দ ।	A pipe; ambrosia; a particle of in- terrogation; a particle added to 'jāo' to denote pluperfect tense.
১মি	আ	ā	বেলা ; বেবোতা ।	To open; to bleat.
১মি	আ	ā	আপায়েক ; বিজুত ; বিশাল ।	Elder sister of one's father; wide- spread; vast.
১মি	আই	ai	উপৰি নবা ; লাফ পেয়া ।	To belch; to feel shame.
১মি	আই	ai	বৰপুতেক ; লাফ ভাপ ।	The eldest son; shy- ness; vapour.
১মি ১২মি মট	আই-খুন-লুঙ	Āi-khun- lung	আই-খুন-লুঙ — খুন- লুঙৰ বৰপুতেক, মুহুৰু দেশৰ বজা ।	Āi-khun-lung was the eldest son of Khun-lung and king of Mung- kong.
১মি ১৪মি	আই-ঙিঙ	Āi-nging	আই-ঙিঙ—অপেশ্বৰীৰ দেশৰ বজা, জাতি- ইপ-চাঙ-চেঙৰ প্ৰথম পুত্ৰ ।	Āi-nging, the eldest son of Jaalipsang- deng, was the ruler of the country of the fairies.
১মি ১০১ ১০মি	আই-ফা-লান	Āi-phā-lān	আইফালান—লেঙনৰ বৰপুতেক ।	Āi-phā-lān, the eldest son of Lengdon.

Figure 1.1: Ahom Lexicons – Based on original Tai manuscripts (1964)

The image shows the first page of *Ahom Lexicons* based on *Bar Amra*. The entry follows the alphabetical order.

7. Linguistic Account

Each sentence in *Bar Amra* begins with a Tai Ahom word and follows by an Ahom phrase *cham ba* and then the meaning of the Tai Ahom word in Assamese written in Ahom

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script (Morey, 2006). As shown in the examples below. The meaning of *cham ba* is ‘which means’ or ‘it means’.



Figure 1.2: *Bar Amra* (collected from Junaram S Phukon)

The manuscript shows the 3rd letter of Tai Ahom consonants. The image was downloaded from sealang.net, which is an archive of Tai Ahom old manuscripts.

Examples: 7.1 𑜀𑜃𑜫 𑜁𑜃𑜫 𑜂𑜃𑜫 𑜃𑜃𑜫 𑜄𑜃𑜫

 khe cham ba no di-k

 river PRT say a river -k

 ‘khe is said for a river’

Not all the pages are written in column as shown in the Figure 1.2, indeed, most of the pages are in continuous text with sentences crossing over lines and even pages. One feature of this manuscript is that the page number exhibits in the reverse (verso) side, and the number is written on the left side of the page.

As we find in the example 7.1 the first word *khe* is a Tai Ahom word and the last two syllables *no di-k* is an Assamese word. In between these two words the *cham ba* works as the indigenous way of showing the link between these words. Following the Morey’s pattern, we have opted for a literal translation, showing that the known Assamese term is marked with a non-agent marker -k, which has a function that has been termed anti-agentive (Morey, 2006). In all the versions of *Bar Amra*, it is found that all the Assamese words are suffixed either with - k, - ok or with - r at the end. When a word is marked with - k it shows that the form is nominal as in (7.1). In Assamese the suffix –k is associated with patient, but is also associated with recipient, rather than the theme in ditransitive construction. Here in *Bar Amra* the –k is used to mark the known item in definitional sentence (Morey, 2006).

On the other hand, a word marked with suffix - r exhibits for the verbal lexemes. For example, the Assamese word *mosibor* is found in the following example from *Bar Amra*. In Assamese dictionary *mosa* means wipe.

Examples: 7.2 কৈ চম বা বহি মসি বর
 kai cham ba mo si bor
 mosibo-r
 wipe PRT say to wipe
 ‘kai is said to wipe’

Here we can see the –r suffixation is used to denote the non-finite verb (verbal) which describes the verb but not showing the tense. In English mostly three types of non-finite verbs are found: gerunds (I love swimming), infinitives (I want to go there), and participles (roasted chicken). In *Bar Amra*, the –r is used only with the infinitives of non-finite form. Gerund and participle form are not marked with –r suffixation.

This –r suffixation in the manuscript creates some ambiguities in deciphering the actual meaning. For example, Morey (Morey & Post, 2010: 80) says that the Assamese word *jabor* (7.3) is a verb. First of all, if we take it as a verb then it is an infinitival form of non-finite verb. Morey says on the basis of using –r suffix at the end of the word. He mentions that the “Assamese lexeme *jabor* is found in an Assamese dictionary under two entries, one a verb meaning ‘to go’ and another a noun meaning ‘garbage’ (Morey & Post, 2010: 80). Therefore, he says that if it is garbage then it would be written *jaborok*. In Assamese the non-finite verb *jabor*, /যাবৰ/ and the noun which means garbage /জাবৰ/ are marked with two distinct sounds. The problem is due to the absence of /য/ in Tai Ahom language. However, this word is clearly meant for the verb form but there are several examples in the manuscript, which have no evidences (e.g. sentence) of using any one of these suffixations. Therefore, it is not clear that whether the lexeme /mu/ means not finite verb ‘go’ or it means noun ‘garbage’.

Example: 7.3 মু চম বা জা বর
 mu cham ba ja bor
 jabo-r
 mu PRT say to go-r/garbage (?)
 ‘mu is said for garbage or ‘to go’’

We have also found some sentences which are not associated with any final suffixes. For example,

Example 7.4 খি চম বা বি চ তা
 khi cham ba bi ch ta (no ‘- k’ or ‘- r’)

Here in this sentence what does *khi* means is not clear. It seems *khi* means bista. In *Ahom Lexicon* based on *Bar Amra* manuscript, the meaning of *khi* is given /utha/ (to get up), /bistha/ (dung), /gu/ (ordure), /munrag/ (peacock), /kasta/ (distress). Though it closes to ‘dung’ which is *bistha* in Assamese but there is no anti-agentive marker, therefore, we cannot

call it noun directly. /bi s ta / may mean the number twenty also. Like this without any suffixation or agentive marker we find the following example (7.5), where /u do phai/ is understood as asthma in *Ahom Lexicons*.

Example: 7.5 𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰𑜫 𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰𑜫 𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰𑜫 𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰𑜫 𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰𑜫 𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰𑜫
 khe cham ba u do phai (no ‘-k’ or ‘-r’)

Some more examples showing the absence of non-agentive, suffixations, ambiguities:

Example: 7.6 𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰𑜫 cham ba ku pal
 7.7 k^he cham ba ka ru lik
 7.8 k^he cham ba gu ro k

Sometimes other than –k, -ok and –r, a final element appears as shown in the following example. This is used as an Assamese clitic meaning ‘also’, ‘as well’.

Example: 7.9 𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰𑜫 𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰𑜫 𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰𑜫 𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰𑜫 𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰𑜫 𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰𑜫
 lam cham ba dal lo ku
 dal-ok-u
 branch PRT say a branch of tree –k-u
 ‘lam is said for a branch of tree’

Another important aspect of *Bar Amra* is the uses of colloquial or societal verities. For example:

- /gudhalike/ গুধলিকে (evening),
- /tutibor/ টুটিবৰ (lessening),
- /khorua/ খবুৱা (harelipped),
- /ujuk/ উজুক (easy),
- /ghukuhok/ ঘুকুহক (deep),
- /bagh birali/ বাঘ বিৰালী (wild cat).

8. The Linguistic Features of *Lati Amra*

There is no mention of a particular date of writing this manuscript. In personal conversation with Medini M Mohung of Parijat, Sivasagar, it is found that the writing of this manuscript is contemporary to *Bar Amra* or it may one or two years later of *Bar Amra* but he assured that not prior to *Bar Amra*. The writing pattern of *Lati Amra* is as shown below.



Figure 1.3 *Lati Amra* Manuscript (owned from Junaram S Phukon)

The image shows some of the human body parts in Tai Ahom. The image was downloaded from sealang.net, which is an archive of Tai Ahom old manuscripts.

Example: 8.1 𑜋𑜂𑜫 𑜇𑜨𑜃𑜫 𑜇𑜨𑜃𑜫 𑜇𑜨𑜃𑜫 𑜇𑜨𑜃𑜫

 ti lok bu le ni ru khav

 til-ok

 a mole-ok say ni ru khav

 ‘nirukhav is said for a mole’

 8.2 𑜇𑜨𑜃𑜫 𑜇𑜨𑜃𑜫 𑜇𑜨𑜃𑜫 𑜇𑜨𑜃𑜫

 na vi k bu le chai ni

 navi-k

 the navel-k say chai ni

 ‘chai ni is said for the navel’

The second characteristic of the manuscript is its entry of words in domain wise. It includes ten domains, and these are as follows:

1. The words relating to human body
2. The words relating to building of house
3. The names of fishes
4. The names of vegetables
5. The names of arum plants
6. Words relating to grass and plants
7. The names of flowers
8. Ahom years
9. The days in Ahom
10. The months in Ahom

The examples given above (8.1, 8.2) provide the grammatical structure of *Lati Amra*. It has only nouns and for denoting noun the suffixation of - k and - ok is exhibited in the lexemes.

Although the manuscript is basically encyclopaedic structure relating to several domains of Tai Ahom culture, it seems that in the domain of body parts of a human body, several human behaviours are also mentioned. Without using anti-agentive marker, some phrases are written. We can see in the given examples.

Examples:	8.3	សុកុរ	পানী	বুআক	বুলে	তানামলাই
		so ku r	pa ni	bu ak	bu le	ta nam lai
		soku-r	pani	bua-k		
		eye-r	water	flow-k	say	ta nam lai
		‘ta nam lai is said for the flow of tear’				

This expression might be a verb, which we never know. There are some other expressions, which are not actually the body parts, but some behavioural pattern, for example; *ahom bhire bhoha* (to sit in Ahom fashion), *athur uport athu tuli boha* (to sit knee upon knee).

Apart from these, the manuscript also provides every detailed parts of a human body. For example, it gives a word for the place on forehead where the vermilion mark is put – *non nam*, the ear-ring hole – *pik bang* etc. Interestingly the Assamese language does not have any particular term for these body parts.

9. Typologically Both the Dictionaries Can Be Seen in the Following Ways

Table 1.1: Typological classifications of *Bar Amra* and *Lati Amra*

Sl. No.	Criteria	<i>Bar Amra</i>	<i>Lati Amra</i>
1	Density of entries	Regional/social	Restricted/special
2	Number of languages	Bilingual	Bilingual
3	Nature of entries	Lexical	Non-lexical
4	Axis of time	Synchronic	Synchronic
5	Arrangement of entries	Alphabetical	Casual/semantical
6	Purpose	Referential	Referential
7	Purpose of users	Special reader	Special reader

The table provides a typological characteristic to the dictionaries. It seems that both the dictionaries share more or less same features except the nature of entries.

10. Summing up

The writing of *Bar Amra* and *Lati Amra* provincializes the dictionary writing process in Assam. Both the manuscripts are written in a different way. The pattern of using words and the pronunciation are precisely maintained. Above all the dictionaries are the exclusive treasurer of Tai Ahom words as well as the Assamese words used in *Sivsagariya* (said as *sivsagor* variety or *gargoinya* variety of Assamese language before making it the standard dialect of Assamese by the missionaries) people. Therefore, it can be realised as a dialectal, or societal variations of Assamese. Needless to mention that the words included in the manuscripts helped in the formation of the standardisation of Assamese language.

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Literature and Cinema: A Study of *Two Virgins*

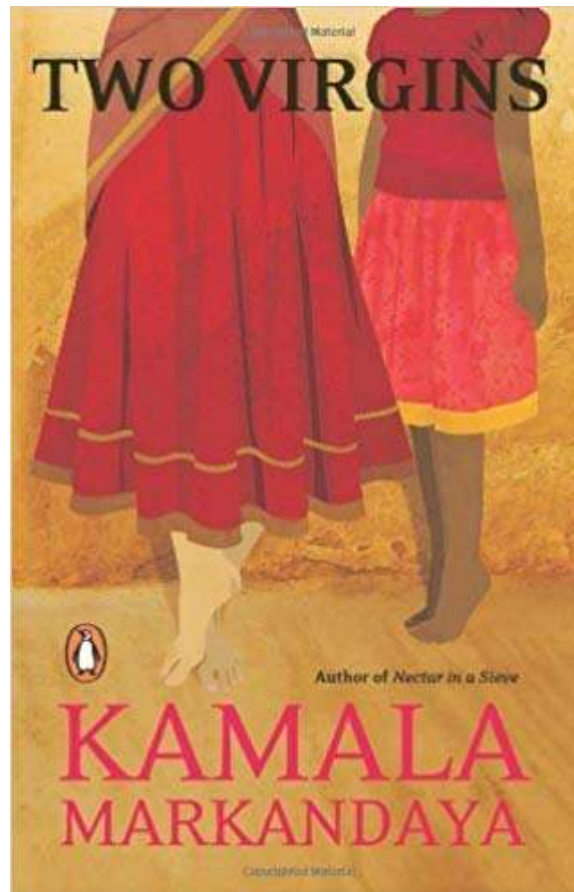
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Courtesy: https://www.amazon.com/Two-Virgins-Kamala-Markandaya-2010-09-06/dp/B01A0BJ6US/ref=sr_1_fkmr0_1?keywords=two+virgins+kamala+markandaya+novel&qid=1562604220&s=books&sr=1-1-fkmr0

Abstract

In this paper I am going to talk about literature and cinema. Both the media represent the reality of society. I am going to talk about how both these media are interconnected to each other. And I will also compare one of the novels of Kamala Markandaya *Two Virgins* with the movie 'Fashion' directed by Madhur Bhandarkar. Not only does cinema adopt the story from the novel,

but there are some old stories, whose plot and direction are somewhat similar to present day films. Literature prevails upon their readers to think and imagine the characters, situations, and scenes using their imagination. While making a cinema, directors try to serve everything readymade on the plate for the viewers. Cinematography by directors in cinema and imageries created by writers in fiction both are incomparable. It's difficult to picturize the views and scenes captured by camera through their writing skills.

Keywords: Literature and cinema, *Two Virgins*, Kamala Markandaya, *Fashion* movie, Cinematography, Fiction writing, Imagination and film.

Literature and Cinema are two different forms of knowledge, and yet they are connected to each other. There are so many films which are based on adaptation from literature. Cinema and fiction are just a mirror of society. They are the reflection of our lifestyles. The young generation is very fond of cinema.

Literature existed from very long ago in the form of manuscripts, holy books etc. Cinema is a result of technology so that it's not too old. When technology was not there, people used to entertain themselves with indoor games, reading, gardening, stories, poems, and so on. Storytelling has been the best pastime for the traveler during journey. In *The Canterbury Tales* of Geoffrey Chaucer, where each traveler was assigned to tell one story on going onward and one story on their return. In old days children used to listen to bed-time stories from their grandmothers. Now time has changed, and bed-time stories are not in trend. Once there was a golden period for literature, when it was the main thing people used for recreation, entertainment and amusement.

Time has changed and now technology has helped spread their wings wider. Existence of literature has become limited to scholars, literary critics, students and academicians. There are people who read literature for the entertainment, but their number is less when compared to people who watch cinema for entertainment. In this fast moving life people find it difficult to open a book, novel or fiction and go through the words and decipher the meaning of the text. Contrary to this watching cinema is easy, more attractive and more convenient.

While you are reading a book, it needs your brain to put an effort to draw the picture of an image or scene that the writer wants to show. It's like giving way to your imagination. Every reader will decode or imagine the fiction differently according to their imagination. According to reader-response theory, every individual or reader while reading a book, extract a different version of fiction from other readers. How a reader will understand the story also depends upon the experience of the reader in his life. He/she will decipher the text with their understanding. A book is a collection of pages, where writers uses different tactics to keep up the interest of the story. While in cinema, people don't need to use their imagination. Audience has been presented with

everything. They just have to sit and watch. In cinema and films, audience are given everything on the screen, like food served on a plate.



Courtesy: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fashion_\(2008_film\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fashion_(2008_film))

- Cinema also mirrors our society in the same way Literature does. Directors pick situations from the daily life's reality and film it. Reality attracts audience. Likewise, authors also choose the characters from among the people around them and fit them into their story. There are so many instances where cinema (films) is inspired from literature. Some films based on books are such as *The Jungle Book*, *Alice Through the Looking Glass*, *Parineeta*, *Three Idiots*, *The Guide*, *Pinjar* and *The Namesake* etc. *Three Idiots* is based on Chetan Bahagat's novel *Five Point Someone*, and *The Namesake* is based on Kamala Markanadaya's novel *The Nowhere Man*, 1947 *The Earth* is based on Bapsi Sidhwa's novel *Ice candy Man* which depicts a true and harsh picture of the India-Pakistan partition.

One way or the other Literature and Cinema, draw on the reality of our lives. There are so many books chanting the democracy of old kings, picture of wars, story of warriors, moral and ethical stories. These brave stories are only able to live through books by writers of that particular age, who praise their bravery for future generations to read. These historical books are a source of the rich heritage of history, whereas now through cinema, people are able to re-enact those scripts of warriors and their stories for people.

For example, recently one of the films ‘Kesari’ which is based on the true Sikh warriors and how they fought in the Battle of Saragarhi. It was filmed to present their unsung story to the people. Not every film is based on a book. There are only few adaptations. But there is fiction whose plot and story show the same kind of incidents as those in the movie.

The fiction I am taking for consideration in this paper is *Two Virgins* by Kamala Markandaya. *Two Virgins* is a post-independence fiction published in 1973. It is the story of two sisters Lalita and Saroja and it centers on the aspirations and desires of Lalita. Lalita is a very charming and beautiful girl. She knows how to dance and is very proud of herself. While contrary to her, Saroja is a plain and simple looking girl, very docile. She knows her sister Lalita is very beautiful but never envies her. Lalita dreams big of becoming a star in the films and wants to live a lavish lifestyle. She finds herself a misfit in the village. She considers herself as one who deserves to live in the city. Their father also favours Lalita because he believes she’ll make something big in life. It is only Lalita who was placed in English medium school, while Saroja and her brothers were sent to normal school.

Saroja being the younger sister never retaliated against Lalita’s dominating nature. All the household chores are done by Saroja because Lalita does not want to hamper her beauty by doing all these household works. Saroja does not have big dreams like Lalita. She finds happiness in small things. She always finds pleasure in trivial things. Their story revolves around the desires and aspirations of Lalita but is seen through the eyes of Saroja. Saroja is used as third person omniscient narrator by the novelist. She is the youngest narrator used by Kamala Markandaya.

One day one documentary film unit comes to their village for shooting. Lalita’s schoolteacher knows about the talent of Lalita; so, she invites the producer of the film Mr. Gupta to her home where he gets attracted towards Lalita. Mr. Gupta offers a part for Lalita to act in his documentary film. Lalita feels like her dream has come true. Her parents were also feeling very proud of her. After completing the shooting of the documentary film, the whole unit including Mr. Gupta return to city. He gives hope to Lalita that on reaching the city he would arrange something for her and call her there and make her a star. Days, weeks and months pass and no reply from Mr. Gupta comes and this disappoints Lalita.

One day without telling her parents she ran away to Mr. Gupta in city. Her family keep on searching for her for months but no news of her. Then one day a letter from Lalita puts a halt to their search. Lalita in her letter mentioned all the luxurious and lavish lifestyle Mr. Gupta bestowed on her. Her parents without getting angry at her, were happy that their daughter is living like a queen in city.

Then after a few months Lalita returns to her village. But to their despair she also brings a big problem with her or we can say big shame to herself and her family. She is pregnant. A girl getting pregnant without marrying is not acceptable. Her parents take her to Mr. Gupta in the city and request him to marry her, but he refuses. He is ready to bear all the expenses of abortion but is not ready to marry her. After abortion is done, they return to the village exhausted and devastated.

One day Lalita again runs away to the city. And this time she leaves a note warning not to search for her. She has seen the shiny and glittering lifestyle of film industry very closely. Now living in the village seems distasteful to her. Lalita was always a very ambitious girl. After being a victim in the hands of Mr. Gupta, one thing she does not lose is her dream of being a film star.

Movies are really a glimpse of our worldly reality. A Bollywood film by Madhur Bhandarkar 'Fashion' has similar looking plot or character as that in *Two Virgins*. In the film Lalita's counterpart is played by Priyanka Chopra as Megha Mathur. Megha Mathur goes to Mumbai to become a model in the fashion world against her parents' will. Glamour and success make her blind and she becomes unethical. She also gets exploited and gets pregnant. She returns to her parents. They look after her. As soon she recovers, she again leaves for the fashion world. After losing everything like Lalita, Megha also returns to the attractive world of fashion.

Kamala Markandaya is a far sighted woman. Markandaya was aware of the rising film industry and the attraction it was creating amongst the teenage girls and boys. Markandaya has portrayed the post-independence scenario. After Independence India has shown the drastic change in development. Every field has seen growth after independence including the film industry. Markandaya knows the impact of the glamour world on young people. Fascination towards this shiny industry actually makes you blind towards it's hidden black pits and holes.

Both the girls Lalita in *Two Virgins* and Megha in the movie 'Fashion' have been dazzled by the shiny, glamorous industry of fashion and film. And in moving towards their aspirations they forget to see blind holes in their paths and ended in exploiting themselves. This is the reality of most of the young girls and boys who are very fond the fashion world and glamour. Only a few get success and the rest get exploited, depressed and left unnoticed.

Literature and Cinema, both portray the harsh reality of the world. Any fiction written represents the reality of that era, unless it is a historical book. With the growth of technology and equipments Cinema has excelled in its techniques and making film. As there is no more scope for technique in writing, the only thing writers can do is making their writing more creative. Literature and cinema both are interconnected to each other. In 2006 Brito points out "In the era of interdisciplinary, nothing is healthier than trying to see the literature's verblatency from the perspective of cinema and movie iconicity from the perspective of literature". (Brito 131)

Both mediums mutually influence each other. Motifs of both are also the same that is narrative, story- telling and inspiring. Aim of a film director is the same as that of a writer, both want to convey their story or idea to people. Both mediums have different levels of perception for the people. It can be a mental or visual perception. Films have wider reach and they also touch our visual, auditory and emotional perception. While books only stimulate mental perception or the psyche of readers. Readers need to imagine most of the things in their head while reading. While watching cinema, there is no need to imagine much, they are already viewing the director's visualizing of all the incidents on the screen.

There are so many movie directors that have taken up the adaptation of many works of fiction to make movies. Adaptation of a novel is just the making of a film based on a book, to fit that novel or the play into the new destination, new generation and new target. While reading a book, it is possible that every reader will understand the story from his point of view, but in cinema there's very little chance of changed understanding. In literature readers are left to fill in the blank space left by writers. Two readers will not see same thing or feel the same thing. But in cinema they are already provided readymade characters of blood and flesh. Every audience will in most cases, capture the same feelings and understand the same in cinema. Comparing their viewers, cinema has huge audiences while literature has less readers. Then also the search for text as source is increasing, it is implied from the great success of *The Da Vinci Code*, *The Lord of the Rings* and *Harry Potter*. Films before coming on screen need a script written by writer.

Literature and cinema both are two kinds of media which eventually depend on each other. They differ in executing time and space in their narrative. Most of the time writers include characters and situations of novels inspired from their lives. Authors infuse the story through their observations. And cinema includes the ideology of the director woven into the story. It is true that literature is the older form and it still exists. Cinema has definitely learned the narrative thing from novels and fiction. Literature and cinema both are works of art using imagination. In literature the writer gives words to his imagination. And readers decode the text through their imagination. In the cinema, it is the director's efficient presentation of the story to viewers, with good acting and technological support; in literature characters are left to the imagination of the readers, while readers draw pictures in their heads with the help of the description given by the writer in the text. Nowadays cinema has become the favourite choice of the audience. Cinema has the capability for a lively presentation of action live. So surely, it has more impact on the viewers' mind.

My main aim in this paper is showing how literature and cinema are interconnected. I have also brought in the plot of fiction *Two Virgins* to compare it with the movie based on the fashion industry. Both media are just impressions of reality. The author or director pick out the plot of the story from real life. They are just depictions of reality. In *Two Virgins* Lalita is so blind about her

dreams and success that she fails to understand the tactics of shrewd people and at the end she was exploited. Keeping at stake the honor of her family and her self-esteem, retaining still the hangover-glamour of the city, that does not get wiped out from her mind, she again runs away to the dangerous city. Likewise, our protagonist Megha in the movie 'Fashion' goes through not so decent a path to be at the top of the model industry. At the end she also gets ruined and lost in this industry. There are so many people who become blind in the achievement of success and they end up ruining themselves. Kamala Markandaya has only tried to depict the reality of life.

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‘Carnavalesque’ in Volga’s Play *The Six of Them*

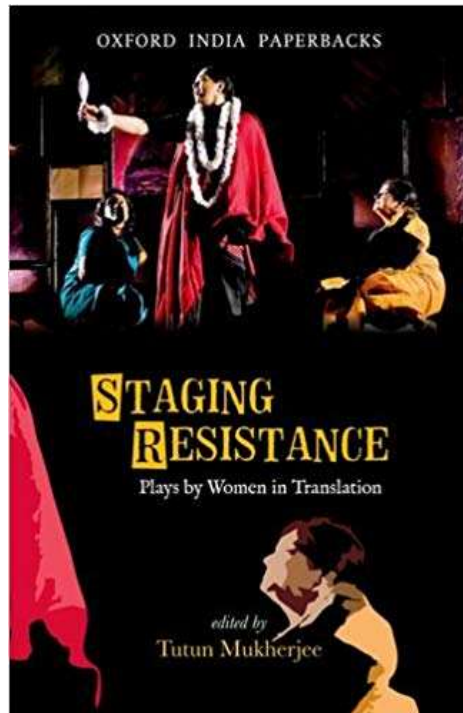
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Abstract

The concept of carnivalesque, proposed by Bakhtin in *Rabelais and His World* (trans., 1984), conceives the idea of ‘flouting of the authority and inversion of social hierarchies that, in many cultures, are permitted in a season of carnival.’¹ It is done by allowing to mingle the voices from diversified strata of society in order to mock and subvert the authoritative voices, structures and hierarchies which are otherwise considered as sacrosanct and unquestionable. This paper seeks to study how Bakhtinian concept of carnivalesque is applicable to Indian woman playwright Volga’s play *The Six of Them*.

The play depicts an imagined conversation of six women characters from Chalam's (another famous Telugu novelist) six different novels. While sharing their experiences with others, they also reveal the contemporary human history of Indian society from women's point-of-view. They mock at the male psyche helplessly trying to reign supreme. The socio-cultural and familial customs, which are/were designed by patriarchy and enforced through structures and practices are ridiculed by women characters on grounds of their meaninglessness. The patriarchal essentials of institutions such as marriage and the assumption that family is the only legitimate structure for male-female relationship are argued against rigorously. Women characters try to be unapologetic about their experiences and beliefs. The real life restrictions and moral code is also taken liberty with. Simultaneously the characters celebrate being themselves free of patriarchal restrictions. Carnavalesque as a method is not only disruptive of patriarchal authority but also a source of 'vitality'.

Keywords: Popuri Lalitha Kumari (Volga), *The Six of Them*, Carnival, freedom, inversion of authority, mask, mockery and subversion

Introduction

During carnival time life is subject only to its laws, that is, the laws of its own freedom. It has a universal spirit; it is a special condition of the entire world, of the world's revival and renewal, in which all take part. Such is the essence of carnival, vividly felt by all its participants. (BakhtinInt 7)

Popuri Lalitha Kumari, popularly known as Volga, is a Telugu feminist writer and playwright. She is quite influenced by Telugu novelist Chalam. Her novel *Sweccha (Freedom)* (1987) is partly inspired by Chalam's writing. The novel was "an effective exposure of dominating males exploiting society in the name of religion" (Anjaneyulu145). Her play *Vallu Aruguru*, translated in English as *The Six of Them* is about a fictitious meeting of six women characters from Chalam's¹ six different novels. All of the women characters suffer and are traumatized by their male companions and feel confined due to the patriarchal institutions and practices. The play imagines a situation, a purely imaginary and highly tentative though, where they all meet, open their hearts free of fear and pressure. They feel the space with freedom and uninhibition. They throw the mask of the roles assigned to them, speak the language of revolt, and celebrate the body. They live those moments when they are not subject to anyone except to themselves. A pure carnival spirit in words of Bakhtin that, "during carnival there is a temporary suspension of all hierarchic distinctions and barriers among men and of certain norms and prohibitions of usual life" (15).

¹G.V. Chalam (1894- 1979) was a Telugu novelist. Written novels like *Sasirekha*, *Maidanam*, *Aruna*, *Brahmaneekanand* and so on with strong women protagonists. The characters in Volga's play are actually those women protagonists.

‘Why Marriage When There Is Love?’

The question ‘why marriage when there is love’ is the central metaphor around which the argument of the play revolves (Volga 472). This questioning is to destabilize the blind acceptance of the custom of marriage as well as to negate the deification of ‘husband’ figure.

Every character’s account of her experiences with the male world topsy-turvy our image of this world. It makes us doubtful about the validity of our opinion about this world. The first character, Sasirekha, has a childhood marriage. After maturity she elopes with her lover, but soon is disillusioned with him. She chooses different companions according to their suitability to her. Later she wants to work for Brahma-Samaj but she is rejected by the women working in the Samaj as sinful woman. An important trait in her character is her immense love for freedom. The way she chooses and leaves men, realizing their moral cowardice, emotional inadequacy and possessiveness, introduces her tremendous daring much ahead than the women of her time. Rajeswari, the second character, lets her passion for love free, uninhibited by the social constraints of the 1930’s in India. She, despite being a Brahmin housewife, falls in love with a Muslim boy Amir, and even aborts her child to keep her love intact. Again, she is attracted towards another man, Meera. She is beyond the charges the society is going to put against her.

Other women such as Padmavati and Aruna, too, love freedom regarding their relationships with men. On the other hand, a woman like Sundaramma is a humble being who is cheated by men for being innocent and ignorant. At the end she kills the doctor who exploited her in the name of treating her child. Sixth and the last woman in the play is Lalsa, who has attained maturity and peace in this treacherous world after long experience.

All women characters’ questioning the marriage or their relationship and dependence upon men appears valid due to limited utility of such relationship from their personal experiences. However, such a confrontation in real life will be seen as a cultural revolt.

Carnival

In *Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics* Bakhtin defines Carnival in the following way: Carnival is a pageant without footlights and without a division into performers and spectators. In carnival everyone is an active participant, everyone communes, in the carnival act. Carnival is not contemplated and, strictly speaking, not even performed; its participants *live* in it, they live by its laws as long as those laws are in effect; that is, they live a *carnivalistic life*.

Because carnivalistic life is life drawn out of its *usual* rut, it is to some extent “life turned inside out,” “the reverse side of the world” (122).

I shall examine and compare the performance of the play with different facets involved in the concept of carnival. First, it is the carnival, where women, having different fictional existence, come together and share their experiences uninhibited by spatial allowance given by their original creator, Chalam, as well as free from oppressive censorship of the society. They are revealing their inner selves without any fear of criticism. They even clearly reveal their interests and intentions while living with different men, which are bound to be taken as licentiousness in patriarchal society. This uninhibited or excessive freedom enjoyed by the characters is one of the major factors of carnival. About the free atmosphere at carnival Bakhtin says,

This temporary suspension, both ideal and real, of hierarchical rank created during carnival time a special type of communication impossible in everyday life. This led to the creation of special forms of marketplace speech and gesture, frank and free, permitting no distance between those who came in contact with each other and liberating from norms of etiquette and decency imposed at other times. (Rabelais 10)

From the dialogues of the women characters it clear that despite their being strong-willed they always had pressures from men or patriarchal culture around them. Although they resist they were individual attempts. Their coming together makes that resistance a community affair. ‘All-women presence’ on stage hints at the male dominated relational essentialism is done away with. Characters like Sasirekha, Padmavati, and Rajeswari enter in relationship with more than one man breaking the *Ekpativrata* norm. They talk about their relationships quite unapologetically. The prevalent practice of polygamy is reversed. Here women are shown having experiences with different men. But these love experiences are not essentially sexual indulgences— as has been explained by Sasirekha:

Love for me is different, mine is not lust. Lust is a slight heat that cools down in a minute.
Love is the sun’s radiance that lights up the entire life. What love desires is not my body, but the soul. (Volga 471)

What has been done to women is done to men, but by avenging the lust and greed in male figure by idealized conception of love.

Taking on the Norm

Secondly, challenging the readymade truths is the crux of the play. The social custom of marriage, which is believed to give security, happiness and name to women, is ridiculed by decoding the grammar of the biased working of the system in favour of males. The women characters in the play often question— ‘why marriage when there is love?’ The sacrosanct and absolutely essential nature given to this institution is strongly objected. Weakness of the social wisdom, in keeping this tradition alive in its present form without thinking of its review from the

point of view of the other gender, is laid threadbare before us. On many occasions in the play the question is asked about the standard of life of those women who revere their husbands as gods. Their blind adherence and compliance to the authority of their husbands contribute to the strengthening of the latter's authority. This blind adherence of the norm and the creator of the norm by women is severely criticized by women characters on the grounds of its outcome to women.

Inadequacy of men to provide security and love is exposed from the revelation of their own experiences. In case of Sasirekha it is Krishnudu, Rama Rao, and Navajeevan Das who fail to give her the emotional prop she required from them at the time of crises; instead everybody tries to impose his wishes on her. With Rajeswari neither her husband nor Amir, for whom she aborts her child, could understand her. Padmavati refuses to get tied down with metaphysical compulsions of marriage if they are incapable to give her freedom to breathe her own. Aruna prefers to go away from the possessive pursuance by a man that engages her. Her love and definition for freedom can be explained in her words,

Freedom is not being afraid of the desires, aspirations, dreams and emotions that emerge from our souls but allowing those natural outpourings to come out from within us and quench the thirst of the lives within. (Volga 481)

This 'natural outpourings to come out from within us' is indicative of the out bursting zest for freedom and life she has.

Each character has her story to narrate and each story deconstructs before us the engendered gender -hypocrisy, underlying the patriarchal desire to dominate, use, and exploit the female gender. Their expression about men and the customs of the society confirms the subject of this paper.

Lalsa's evaluation of men participating in the *satyagrahas* defamiliarizes our ennobled assumptions of all men participating in such noble activities:

Because I couldn't tolerate the hypocrisy and falsehood of the leaders of that Movement..... They enter the jail after condemning the government and in it they plead, bribe, and cheat. I realized that we would not achieve independence because of them or because of the *satyagrahas* that are led by them. (483)

Sundaramma's remarks explain how our evil customs like untouchability are perpetuated for generations involving younger generations to maintain it. She says, "My childhood was spent in guarding pickle jars from people touching them and in making sure no

one touched the 'pure' clothes of old women" (485). She expresses her anger against her husband's possessive nature, "Not letting me go away for a minute, not even a minute, squeezed the life out of me; he died in that pleasurable pain and in that heavenly hell" (485).

Sasirekha's reflection, drenched in her experiences, again gives us evidence. She says,

I thought marrying Rama Rao. But when I saw married people, I could see no life in them. They talk of something called *pativratas*- ... They have become mere slaves... I went away saying I didn't want marriage without love. I went away saying I also didn't want to cohabit without love. The day love shrivels, dries up and becomes a burden, I say it's foolish to stay put because of custom or codes, doubts or promises. (471)

This tearing of the mask, which is worn for centuries by male figure, suits to the occasion of carnival. The physical-arrogance, cultural-proprietorship and divine status are divested off from the male figure. Usually appearing tall, strong, noble, infallible, and divine image of men is painted satirically, sarcastically. Their weakness comes to the fore in Aruna's words when she says, "We give such a jolt to society that the minute we come to their mind-some are unable to sleep, are restless, angry, and disturbed; ..." (479).

Celebration

Like a carnival there is much celebration in the play. The characters' beliefs, desires, aspirations (mentally as well as bodily), and likes and dislikes gush out without inhibitions. Sasirekha is a lover of beauty and music. She can give up anything for it. She sees herself through her uncontrolled desires:

To love is a very natural desire. A desire that has sprung from the depths of my heart- I'm a lover of beauty. I can give up anything for beauty... I loved Krishna's handsome looks, Sundara Rao's melodic music, and Rama Rao's truthfulness... is it wrong to love these?... how is it possible not to love? How can I control the desire surging out of every nerve that there is something greater than, and as everlasting as, this beauty and this bodily pleasure? (470)

This is something which she wouldn't be able to utter in any formal situation imposing moral censorship on speech by women.

Rajeswari too is intoxicated by her experiences when she says, "I am the one who has been intoxicated by my wanderings in the world of happiness and beauty. I am the one who has taken a holy dip in the painful fire that burns the heart." (474)

Padmavati too had passionate immersion in love:

That day- the last moonlit night that Radhakrishna and I met—in the midst of that beautiful nature we were immersed in each other’s beauty. We didn’t even touch each other... we experienced a happiness way beyond this physical body. (478)

The uninhibited expression of desire, love, infatuation, intoxication is possible only in carnival as the atmosphere is not mandated by usual rules and codes on the inhabitants. In other situations, they would be termed immoral behaviours.

Sundaramma too aspires vainly of life with her child, without any man spoiling their ‘family’. It is probably a dream that she could cherish only in imagination. She wishes, “But... but... if I could have had my baby without that wretched marriage- ...My baby—and I – what a beautiful dream!” (488)

Facts and Fancy

The facts mingle with the fantasy here. The fact is that Sundaramma has lost her child because of the person who acted like a doctor and cheated her. She has the hope only. Likewise, all other women characters had lived their life with bitter experiences with men and have come to this situation of no further hope in sight. However, they cannot stop fancying a new life with their regained self. Their procession at the end is culmination of the much-awaited celebration of ‘self’ moving from personal to political, strengthening the bond of sisterhood and unity. The slogans chanted by them manifest their ideals, which could be dismissed by the patriarchy as utopian and unrealizable. This situates these women characters’ procession on the threshold of fact and the fancy. The truth of suppressed desires and the dream of liberation of the desires:

‘Woman has a body it needs exercise.
Has a brain it needs wisdom.
Has a heart it needs experience.’ (488)

The reference here to the ‘body’, ‘brain’, and ‘heart’ does not come casually, nor is it a utopian wish. This is an assertion of the fullness of an individual, ‘a woman’ in herself rather than being a mere figure of *ardhangini*, who can be complete only when seen in relation to her husband.

Narrative in the Carnival

The tone and flow of the play is bumpy and gives jolts to the settled opinions, contrary to a play which observes unities and moves towards a desirable end. It doesn’t allow the dust to settle and constantly keeps us at our toes waiting for another blow. The essential, self-evident, and compelling nature of the (so-called) truths about the concept of marriage is immediate subject of ridicule, censure, and rejection. The women characters do not argue for rejection of

married life as such, but they definitely question and criticize the way the institution of marriage is interpreted, solemnized, used, and abused by patriarchy. How their subordinate roles are normalized in family.

The justification of their decisions and glorification of their 'self' is not linear, orderly, or rational but passionate, emotional, sensitive, and at times militant. Their argument heavily evokes the voice much-suppressed under the patriarchal weight. If we observe the dialogues of the play, there are more questions than the statements which show agreement to existent order.

Questions like, 'Why marriage when there is love?', 'How is it possible not to love?', 'How can I control the desire surging out of every nerve...?', 'What is in society that it can dictate to us?', 'Why should we always yield to its authority?', 'Is eloping worse than miserliness?', 'Can't we have children without recourse to marriage? To have children why is marriage necessary?', constantly unsettle, and give jolt to us. While questioning the authority of the 'man' figure and wisdom of the society in dictating the customs, the women characters ask their sisters to raise their head and revise their loyalties, which are detrimental to their growth as individual beings.

Conclusion

The basic assumptions underlying the concept of carnivalesque, such as flaunting the authority and the dictatorial nature of society and ideological perpetuation of its institutions; caricaturing and mocking the idealized and idolized images of authoritarian figures (in this case husband/s); role-reversing; and the jubilant celebration of the self, manifest conspicuously in the performance of the play *The Six of Them*. The playwright has deregulated the behavior of the women characters from the restrictions which are imposed in actual life of women. She has also freed them from the inhibitions restricting them from expressing spiritual, emotional and aesthetic orientations of their love. Having done so, she has been successful in dramatizing the celebration of the womanhood by choosing representative 'six of them' for performance. The carnivalesque nature of the play is quite essential from the perspective of revitalization of women's discourse. On the utility of this nature Bakhtin says, "(T)his carnival sense of the world possesses a mighty life-creating and transforming power, an indestructible vitality." (Dostoevsky 107)

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An Investigation of Code Switching from Creole to Urdu Within the Muslim Community of Mauritius

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Abstract

Although many studies in Mauritius have shown a decline in ancestral languages, it seems ironical to witness that people from the Muslim community switch code from Creole to Urdu among themselves in their daily lives. In fact, Urdu has always been identified with Muslims and nowadays it has become an icon of the Muslim identity.

Linguistic strategies more specifically code switching is central not only to the identity construction of Muslims in Mauritius, but it also maintains the fact that the Urdu language exists and is significant. Therefore, code switching to Urdu is used as a valuable sign of ethnic affiliation in the Muslim community practice of Mauritius.

Keywords: Mauritius, code switching, religious identity, Muslim community

Introduction

Identity and its construction through language has become one of the most prominent ideas in sociolinguistics in the last few decades. Its focus is more on how communities negotiate their identity through language in their daily interactions. Therefore, we cannot fail to appreciate the use of Urdu in the Muslim community of Mauritius as it only reinforces membership to a social category (religion). The social constructionist paradigm (De Fina, Schrifin & Bamberg 2006 and Hall 2000) has now become a matter of huge interest in most sociolinguistics and analytic research on language and identity. This sociolinguistic view focuses mainly on participants' use of language and their social behaviour in real context of interaction.

Founded on these reasoning, researchers have explored and explained that individuals and communities form and exhibit images of themselves in relation to the social and linguistic practices in which they are involved. The participants "perform" identity work by either aligning or

distancing themselves from a particular group through language in their interaction. In Mauritius, the Urdu language is served as a defining aspect of religious identity. Urdu is considered to be the language of the Muslims as Murty (1996) states, “125 mosques and 250 *madrassahs* are said to be offering Urdu courses” (p.14). The Urdu speaking Mawlana Rashid Nawab has contributed much to the *islamization* of the Urdu language. In mosques and *madrassahs*, the Urdu language has been used extensively to explain the sacred scripture and Islam to the younger generation. Murty (1996) affirms that in Mauritius, people “want to identify themselves with (a language) because it is the only means which gives them an identity or a linguistic group.” Researchers have even put forth that speakers can also go to the extent of forming allegiance with social groups that are not their own by adopting the language and social behaviour of the other (Bloommaert 2005; Rampton 1995, 2006). Such a case has been highlighted as some social groups have crossed the fence from a normative identity (heterosexual) to assert a non-normative (homosexual) one. Such case studies have successfully displayed that language and social behaviour cannot be ignored, as they are relevant strategies used by participants to claim identities.

In this research, I focus precisely on the linguistic strategy of code switching to look at the construction of religious identity within the Muslim community of Mauritius. Light will also be shed on how code switching to Urdu promotes group solidarity among Muslims. This research aims at answering the following questions:

- 1) Which Urdu words are used to emphasise the religious identity of Muslims in Mauritius?
- 2) In what circumstances do the Muslims in Mauritius code switch to Urdu?

Literature Review

Studies in ethnic affiliation have displayed that ethnic loyalties are not God gifted or innate. In fact, they are negotiated through social interaction and language (Bulchotz 1999; De Fina 2000, 2006; Bailey 2001; Maryns & Blommaert 2001; Rampton 1995). The Muslims of Mauritius are of no exception to this rule as for them code switching figures as the main strategy to index their affiliation to the Muslim community.

As defined code switching refers to the “alternation of two languages within a single discourse, sentence or constituent (Poplack, 1978:7). Henceforth, the term code switching will be used as an umbrella term to refer to any intra-sentential and inter-sentential switching that will occur. Using more than one language or code switching to communicate is a usual phenomenon among multilingual speakers (Bot, Lowie and Verspoor, 2005; Barnes, 2006; Gass and Selinker, 2008; Ewert, 2010). Complex and varied are the reasons behind which multilingual speakers tend to code switch. One of the reasons of switching to a particular language in the interactional context is founded upon Fishman’s notion of “who uses what language with whom and for what purposes”

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(as cited in Sridhar, 1996, p. 51). Fishman offers a structure with which to analyze the language choices made by multilingual speakers and their reasons for selecting one code from among others that are available to them. Myers-Scotton (1995) enlarges the framework with her research of what bilingual speakers achieve by carrying out a dialogue in two languages, that is, through CS. The result of her study is mainly based on the idea that CS is a skilled production with a communicative purpose and not a compensating strategy utilized by deficient bilinguals. By offering an overview of the socio-psychological motivations for CS in urban Africa settings, code switching between Swahili and English in Nairobi, Myers-Scotton explains having recourse to CS refers to the “markedness” model of language choice. From her point of view, people of a multilingual speech community are conscious of the variety of codes that would be suitable for a specific kind of conventionalized exchange, and they give meanings to these choices. However, the unmarked choice is the normatively usual one, speakers who make marked (i.e., unexpected or unusual) choices in specific contexts are accountable for the consequences generated by these choices. Swerving from the unmarked choice projects symbolic social messages eliciting the speaker’s unusual communicative intention. Grosjean (1982) for instance notes that by selecting a specific language or by choosing to mix different languages in a specific social context indicate group solidarity and ethnic identity markers. A speaker’s identity is revealed implicitly by the marked choices that s/he makes. Myers-Scotton’s and Grosjean’s investigation of code choices displays that selecting one type of linguistic code over another is meaningful to the intentional nature of the message. Code choices are not merely a preference of content but are “discourse strategies” (Myers-Scotton, p. 57), by which the speaker becomes a creative actor. Linguistic code choices are used for “accomplishing” the speaker’s communicative intention more than for simply conveying referential meaning. In this case, it goes on to reveal the identity of the speaker and the bond that s/he wants to establish with a particular ethnic group.

Speakers choose a language based on the person or the relationship, which they want to establish. Besides, speakers are also aware of the results of making marked or unmarked choices (Myers-Scotton, 1993b: 75). Usually, a speaker uses the unmarked choices, as it is believed to be “safer.” It generates no surprises because it indexes a usual interpersonal relationship. On the contrary, speakers do not always make the unmarked choice. Speakers switch from the typical linguistic code to the unmarked one as they “know” and gain the potential costs and rewards of all the code choices they make and thus, their decisions are regarded as typically conscious ones (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:75). The Markedness Model focuses on the idea that a speaker becomes a creative actor by choosing a particular language and is fulfilling more than just the conveying of referential meaning (Myers-Scotton, 1993b: 75). Within the Markedness Model, code choice is simply deliberate in that it is done to meet specific social purpose. These choices are made by the speakers with the expectation that, the addressee will recognize the choice imbued with a specific purpose. Under this model, the aim of the speaker is to ensure the reward and to reduce the cost.

In other words, the speaker's objective is to optimize any chances of gaining some form of reward from the interaction (Myers-Scotton, 1998:19). This means that the speakers will select one type of a language over the other as it brings more benefits rather than costs. Under the Markedness Model, the speaker might earn rewards by either adjusting to the style of the addressee in the interaction or by using politeness techniques. The speaker(s) will decide on his/her code choice by determining which strategy/ technique will be the most advantageous for him/her. In other words, the speaker needs to put a few combinations of choices together for a specific interaction to take place (Myers-Scotton, 1998:20). For example, if two speakers are involved in an argument, then both may switch to their native language so that they feel more confident and proficient in their argument to defend their stance and consequently reap the rewards (win the argument) and to reduce the costs (losing the argument).

Methodology

The selection of a research method to acquire the required data is an important stage in a research work. Semi- structured interview and tape recordings were the main research methods. The data was mainly collected through semi structured interview which allowed space for the interviewer to adapt the questions based on the answers of the participants (Fraenkel et al, 2012). The data collected was also tape recorded and transcribed accordingly. The data gathered for this research were explanations from the participants. These participants were Muslims who visit the mosque regularly for prayer. This selection was a purposive sampling as participants were considered to be able to provide relevant data (Bailey 2007; Malik & Hamied 2014). Participants were chosen on the belief that they that they use some Creole and Urdu while communicating with other Muslims as they will be able to provide the reasons behind their code switching to Urdu with other members of the community in Mauritius. The semi-structured interviews were also performed randomly to obtain an understanding of the opinions and attitudes of participants about the code-switching phenomenon.

Analysis

Code Switching from Creole to Urdu, as a Calculated Choice among Muslims in Socializing Practices

Code switching from Creole to Urdu acquires special importance in language practices related to the Muslim community – that is, in social events by members of the community. In these domains of action, Creole is expected as it is the lingua franca of the island and not all the addressees speak Urdu proficiently, so code switching emerges as a marked/deliberate choice. On the other hand, the Muslim community especially in social events becomes a significant area for the establishment of a collective image of the Muslim identity specifically because of their management of communications and their usage of many strategies to make that identity. One of

these strategies is code switching, the fitting of complete sentences or words in Urdu within a speech in Creole.

For instance, while analyzing the discourse of participants in the recordings, most of them took the example of the preacher at the mosque. His sermons to the Muslim members are never delivered in merely Creole. In fact, he switches code from Creole to Urdu from time to time. In the context of the mosque, the preacher regularly performs intra sentential switching. Common examples cited by the participants are:

- (1) “Si nu mette sa *sunnat* la en pratik, nu pu gagne buku *sawaab*”,
If we implement the *sunnat* (Prophet’s way) we will gain *sawaab* (reward)
- (2) “Ziska *Shaytaan* pas pu content si nu fer ene travail coumsa”,
Even *shaytaan* (satan) will not be happy if we do such a work
- (3) “*Namaaz* dans la vie ene *musalmaane*”
Namaaz (prayer) in the life of a *Musalmaane* (Muslim)
- (4) “Ene *gunnah* pu efface ene *neyki*”
A *gunnah* (sin) will erase a *neyki* (good deed)
- (5) “Pyare nabi finne dire”
Our *pyare nabi* (beloved Prophet) said
- (6) “La clé jannat c’est namaaz”
The key to *jannat* (paradise) is *namaaz* (prayer)

In the sermons, all the words in Urdu are connected to Islam and good behaviour. The preacher regularly inserts Urdu words to refer to these two fields in his communications with his fellow Muslims. In fact, in the Ramadan TV Programme on MBC 3, the most commonly inserted Urdu words relate to these two fields: Islam and good behaviour. These switches are therefore not random, instead highly symbolic. They aim at highlighting the Muslim identity in relation with two important areas of a Muslim’s life: Islam and good behaviour. By using the Urdu terms consistently for preaching about Islam and for expressions relating to the good functioning of a Muslim’s life, the preacher is highlighting the ‘Muslimness’ of these areas and also the conventional aspect of the mosque and the TV Programme.

The same tendency is noticed in the communication exchanges of the Muslim population

in Mauritius during funerals. Participants claimed that in social sites such as funerals, Muslims tend to do a lot of code switching. For example:

(1) “Bhai ein tel finne intekaal”

A certain *bhai* (brother) has died.

(2) “Kiler namaaz janaazah”

At what time is the *namaaz janaazah* (funeral prayer)?

(3) “Eski finne fini donne ghusl?”

Has he been offered the *ghusl* (full body purification)?

(4) “Dans ki kabarastan so mayaat pu aller?”

In which *kabarastan* (graveyard) his *mayaan* (funeral) will go?

(5) “Namaaz janazah pu fer dans masjid ou bien dan kabarastan”

Will the *namaaz janazah* (funeral prayer) be done in the *masjid* (mosque) or at the *kabarastan* (graveyard)?

(6) “Eski finne fini aster so kafan?”

Has the *kafan* (shroud) been bought?

(7) “Ban dimoune ki finne fini retourne depi kabarastan eski zotte ine fini boire sherbet?”

People who have come back from the *kabarastan* (graveyard), have they already drank the *sherbet* (syrup/sorbet)?

Using the Urdu terms is a move that is motivated by a reason. Having recourse to Urdu words confirms the idea that the Muslims do not take it for granted that members of the Muslim community would not understand Urdu instead they make it a must to switch code to that language for strategic words or utterances as a symbol to stress the identity of Muslims through these words. Also, it demonstrates the status of the words as rather a switch and not a borrowing. Therefore, code switching to Urdu here is neither irregular nor insignificant. In fact, it has a highly symbolic value in forming the collective identity of the Muslims.

The importance of Urdu words in Muslim social gathering is central to the construction of a collective ethnic identity because of the nature as a community whose main objective is to be understood and bond easily with fellow members of the same community. For this reason, social practices related to the mosque, weddings, funeral and going to pilgrimage become powerful sites

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An Investigation of Code Switching from Creole to Urdu Within the Muslim Community of Mauritius

for identity work. The socialization of Muslim members into these sites has a specifically significant role, as it is in this area that underlying rules and expectations about the comportment and speech of Muslims in Mauritius are revealed and enforced.

Verbal exchanges in Urdu between Muslim fellows show how the Muslim identity of the Mauritians is highlighted and reinforced through code switching. From a general observation, language choice is flexible, and it depends highly on the speaker's capability to use a variety of languages and their preferences to use the languages. Therefore, in these socializing practices there is a selection of a particular language with the mother tongue and that language is then enforced.

Muslims display a strong link between speaking some Urdu and the mosque, so that it is implicitly understood that a Muslim visiting the mosque should at least be able to speak at least a few words in Urdu while conversing with other Muslim members. As a result, this is one of the reasons why Muslim parents have always encouraged their children to learn Urdu at school especially at least up to the primary level. Children are expected to understand the sermon of the preacher (mostly done in both creole and Urdu). The language, in which they code switch to, terms and characterizes the social sites and the future generation is expected to learn it.

Discussion

Code Switching Strategy as Reinforcing Religious Identity

The purpose of code switching differs in various cultures and communities. Kramsch (1998) states that language choices should be investigated according to culture and interactions between individuals. As such, the language choices of the speakers in this research demonstrate that the factor behind this switch is related to religious values in the interaction of Muslims. All the participants switch code from Creole to Urdu when referring to religious items. Grosjean (1982) claims that switch coding to a minority language highlights either group solidarity or ethnic identity markers. In the case of this research, code switching has served to display group solidarity among the Muslims and religious identity markers. In this regards the language choice of Muslims connects their religious identity across generations regardless of which language they communicate more comfortably in or which language they have been more exposed to.

Furthermore, the Mauritian creole dominant Muslims, whose language shift is rarely activated during interactions among non-Muslims, use Urdu when addressing other Muslims thus displaying a particular semantic feature. Muslims code switch to Urdu in terms term of kinship for calling his older female relatives as *Kala*, *Bhabhi* and older male relatives are called *Bhai Jaan*, or *Ustad* not following the Mauritian Creole manner of calling by the name. Even though, the family is a universal feature of all communities, the Muslim community has put in place more mechanisms

to establish order in the family or with fellow members of the community. This difference in the relationships is well represented in the characteristics of the Urdu language. The younger ones are expected to display respect to the older one by switch coding to the suitable Urdu for the elders, thus showing the hierarchy in the relationships and maintaining the Muslim identity in Mauritius. By implementing Myers-Scotton's (1995) claim, the younger ones "marked" choice in code switching demonstrates that despite they are Mauritian Creole dominant linguistically, they are still able switch code to Urdu. This illustrates that the language choice of Urdu is socially relevant and is eventually linked to the religious identity of the young Muslim

Conclusion

I have demonstrated how switch coding from the base language (Mauritian Creole) to Urdu is discussed as defining the collective identity within the Muslim community of Mauritius. The linguistic act of code switching among Muslims plays a significant role to claim membership within the community. This simple act allows members of the same community to converge towards each other, to gain acceptance more readily within the group. Using some Urdu words within a sentence to gain membership within the Muslim community, which was previously labeled as a marked choice subsequently becomes a normative practice within the community and it contributes to perpetuate this linguistic practice of code switching.

In Mauritius, switching to a particular ancestral language is an important linguistic strategy that is found in significant areas of activity of the Muslim community as it only goes on to form a specific religious identity. In the example of the area of the mosque, I have demonstrated that using Urdu is impelled in interacting practices through code switching from Creole into Urdu and the acquiring of target words. Such a linguistic strategy aims at making a link between being a Muslim and the ability to speak some Urdu, impacts a Muslim by generating expectations of the defining characteristics of what should constitute a Muslim's identity in Mauritius.

However, the Muslim community is also affected, as there is an emphasis on a maintaining unity among the members through following the same traditional practice. Therefore, a collective sense of religious identity surfaces that will indeed be constantly built with regards to its characteristics to eventually become an indispensable point of reference for a Muslim to demonstrate so as to join the community. This research has also left open the space to discuss that identities are never fixed. The Muslim identity in Mauritius can emerge in several other ways as well. However, the linguistic strategy of code switching was one of the ways to show how the Urdu language has become a repertoire of most of the Muslims in Mauritius.

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**Richard Wright:
Humanistic Novelist and a Sensitive Black Intellectual**

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Richard Wright (1908-1960)

Courtesy: <https://www.thriftbooks.com/a/richard-wright/196584/>

Abstract

This paper is an attempt to present highly literary qualities and dramatic achievement of Richard Wright, who used his ‘Voice and Pen’ as a weapon to fight for the freedom of Black people, those who suffered by racism and to show how he was actively associated with social and intellectual movements, which influenced his works that concerned with racial discrimination. It neatly explains how he is the ideal writer expressing the bleakness, barrenness, effect of the crime, which affect the personality and life of African Americans.

Keywords: Richard Wright, racism, oppression, self-identity, depression, rootlessness, humiliation

Richard Wright is a fascinating figure not only for literary critics, but also for historians, sociologists and philosophers. He was actively associated with many of the major social and intellectual movements of the first half of the twentieth century, and much of his fiction and non-fiction got focused upon these issues. The rise of science, the ramifications of industrialism, the effects of Marxism, the emergence in world politics of new power configurations composed of ex-

colonial peoples, the growth of secularism, the development of modern philosophies of existence – all are treated by Richard Wright in his diverse works.

Richard Macksey and Frank E. Moorer join hands in making remarks thus:

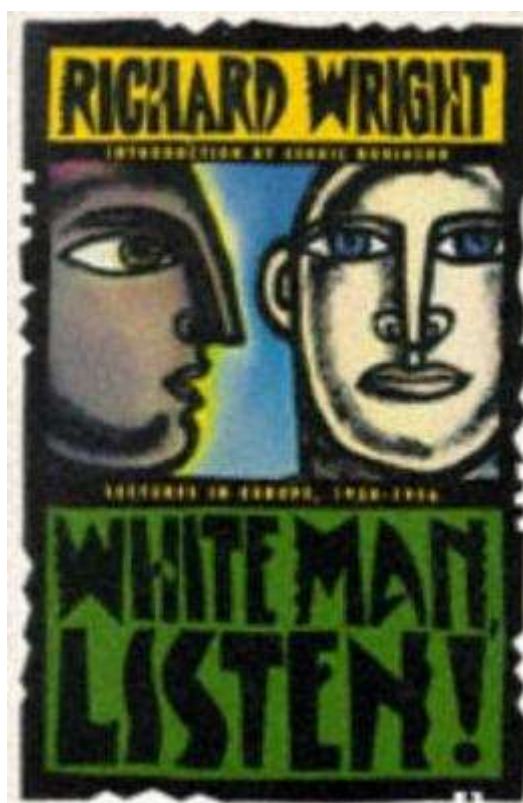
“Seen in perspective, then, both the life and the achievement of Richard Wright are rich sources of paradoxes. Despite his claim of being ‘rootless’, he carried his earliest experiences of the rural South close with him through the landscapes of the industrial cities that are the terrain of so much of his fiction. A ‘Loney’ O by choice, he still sought to be accepted on his merits by an aristocracy of the mind. He was fond of insisting ‘I am a very average Negro’ and yet he constantly strove to be ‘representative’ in a much more Emersonian sense of the term” (P 15).

While introducing Richard Wright’s book *Whiteman, Listen*, John A. Williams said: “One thought pervaded all of Wright’s work: that the perennial human failing – man’s gross inhumanity to man – had to be abolished” (P XI).

When his works are concerned with American racial topics, their tone is of strong protest. Being the breakthrough man coming all the way up from all the way down, he was suckled on resentment and hate, nurtured on anger and fear, grew up on restlessness and tasted every violent flavour of alienation and hostility. But his bitter strong – will to expose to White America the psychological disturbance produced by the resentment, rootlessness, violence, alienation and hostility that are the creation of the poverty and humiliations attendant upon racism led him, through a grim determination of his personality, to blaze a trail that opened new worlds to countless young blacks.

Born on 4 September 1908 into the poverty of Sharecropper life on a plantation near Natchez, Mississippi, Richard Wright grew up in Mississippi, Memphis, Tennessee and Arkansas. Even at an early age, Richard perceived the power of words. Without understanding of words, he responded to their evocative power. One evening as his grandmother was washing him, “words - words whose meaning I did not fully know – had slipped out of my mouth” (*Black Boy* 49). He had asked his mother to kiss him “back there” (P 49) and for this, he suffered the wrath of the entire family. Feeling no guilt, unable to understand why he should be chastised, Richard only recognized the effect of his words upon others, a power that fascinated him. He proudly narrates in *Black Boy*:

“The tremendous upheaval that my words
had caused, made me know that there
lay back of them (sic) much more than
I could figure out, and I resolved that
in the future, I would learn the meaning
of why they had beat and denounced me” (P 53).



Courtesy: https://www.thriftbooks.com/w/white-man-listen_richard-wright/520569/#isbn=0060925647&idq=129036

According to him, the pen became the most effective weapon of warfare, the equivalent of physical violence. This is how Richard Wright got initiated into the weaponry of words which led him on to the reality of the world outside the south. Through the medium of words, Wright expressed his fear and hate for the Whiteman. He wanted the Whiteman to listen to him. *White Man, Listen!* is a title of one of his books.

Richard Wright did not write for the black people but for Whites who knew nothing of the problems confronting Blacks whereas Blacks knew it. Black writers including Richard Wright embarked upon a new direction, and in so doing, emphasized the idea that the novel should be a vehicle for protest. Thus, words were used as weapons by black writers. Commenting on the use of words as weapons by the black writers, Addison Gayle Jr. remarks:

“In the beginning was the word, and it was the word that proved the greatest obstacle for the black writer. Words, to be sure, may be used as weapons; they are, however, the property of protagonist and antagonist alike and, like an unfaithful woman, capable of serving two masters simultaneously” (P.1).

Men who wage warfare with words must be conscious of the meaning of their existence. To confront reality was to step outside the realm of hate and fear, to posit a world different from that vouchsafed by the Americans. From the vantage point of the migrants, America was desperately in need of revolution and the writer who sought to function as their redeemer would have to record this desire for violent change. Richard Wright's *Native Son* (1940) shows the black writer's disregard of the dangers in accepting a new function for the black writer. Wright saw that his foe was more than mere whiteness – he came to feel contempt for the comfortable abstractions taught in schools and even more bitter contempt for the fundamentalist Christianity. Always lonely, shivering and isolated, he dreamed violent daydreams of retribution against the people who represented the forces that created the conditions of his life.

In their introduction to Richard Wright, Million R. Stern and Seymour L. Gross remarked:

“Having learned from Mencken and the naturalists that literature could be a social weapon, Wright ruthlessly forced his America, to look at how the ‘monster nigger’ was the inevitably pathological result of fear, shame, guilt and anger” (P 179).

As a product of the Deep South, of the Depression, of poetry, of a broken home, and of other handicaps which the black poor have with them, Richard Wright became the ideal writer to speak vehemently about the bleakness, the barrenness in Negro life. He was the self-appointed spokesman of his people.

In an interview given to P.M. Magazine on April 14, 1945, Wright said:

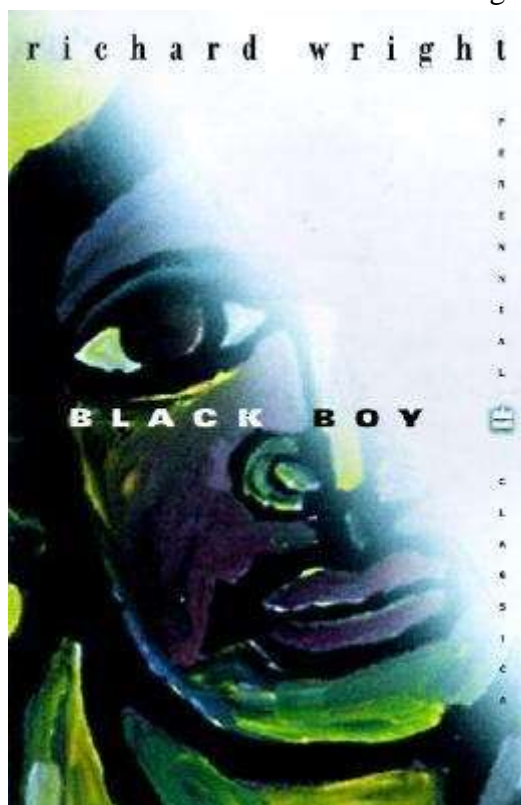
“I wanted to give, lend my tongue to the voiceless Negro boys. I feel that way about the deprived Negro children of the South. Not until the sun ceases to shine on you Shall I disown you” (Fabre 252).

Summing up the theme of Richard Wright, Arthur P. Davis remarks as follows:

“He did not believe that black was beautiful. He felt that black life was ugly, brutal, violent, devoid of kindness and love. And he places much of the blame for this bleakness on that great fog of racial oppression that hung over the Negro like a tremendous, compelling, natural force, expelling him from the finer things of western civilization, dehumanizing and brutalizing him, physically

and spiritually. In one sense, this is Wright's only theme" (P 149).

Richard Wright wanted to express the great social crime that America perpetrated upon the black masses and the effect of that crime on the life and personality of the Negro. As a result, fear and hate sizzle through all his works, but his words explode into living beings in *Black Boy* and *American Hunger*, his autobiographical works. In fact, all colonized people have in common is their fear and hatred of whites, be they European or American. This fear and hatred have created among the oppressed, tension, ambivalence concerning identity and pathological types, but these also created a revolutionary corps of men and women determined to bring freedom to their people.



Courtesy: <https://www.thriftbooks.com/w/black-boy-a-record-of-youth-and-childhood-by-richard-wright/249292/#isbn=0060929782&idq=4469112>

Richard Wright's *Black Boy* published in 1945 is nothing but emotion recollected in turmoil. It was a bitter fruit of an old injustice. William Faulkner praised the book. Quoting Faulkner in his book on Richard Wright, Addison Gayle said:

"It needed to be said. None has the courage, like him, to admit the all-pervasive fear of their American experience, and none were sufficiently militant to want to do something about it" (P 176).

The race question was openly discussed for the first time by Wright. He was the first man to tell the whole truth. Everybody in polite society was expected to wrap the problem up in myth, legend, morality, folklore, niceties and just plain lies.

In one of the lectures, Richard Wright gave at Fisk University in 1942, he said:

“I had accidentally blundered into the secret, black, hidden core of race relations in the United States. That core is this: nobody is ever expected to speak honestly about the problem” (American Hunger 137).

In an article which appeared in the New York Post on November 30, 1944, namely ‘The Birth of Black Boy’, Richard Wright said:

“I found that to tell the truth is the hardest thing on earth, harder than fighting in a war, harder than taking part in a revolution” (P 138).

Richard’s childhood was a terror-haunted one. Terror was his companion night and day, violence the norm of all experience. The hate, the rage and the anger were found to be the emotions with which Richard Wright impulsively faced the world. Wright has always believed that the greatest tragedy lies in the inability of the individual to find satisfactory fellowship in the group. The Negro could not relate himself to the White people. It is a theme, however, which Wright was not the first to discover or explore. In his novels, Hawthorne was gravely concerned with it more than a century ago, and in our own day, James Joyce and Thomas Wolfe gave it life.

Richard Wright tells us in *Black Boy* that his initial awareness of the existence of separate black and white worlds occurred in a colour vacuum. Though he knew as a child that there were people called whites, he felt no innate emotional response to them. He did sense something different, for he never associated with light-skinned people. Among the familiar specters of hunger and emotional insecurity, fear of whites and the hatred for them had found their place in the heart of young Richard Wright. The youthful Wright began to perceive Whites not as real persons but as parts of a general, abhorrent and potentially destructive force. The effects of such a seemingly senseless social structures were profound for Wright. His entire being was challenged by the hate and the threats stemming from what, by now, had become a group of almost unreal people. Although actually never physically abused by them, the young Wright was “as conditioned to their existence as though I had been the victim of a thousand lynching” (Black Boy 3). Wright’s fertile imagination helped to create an environment both terrible and strangely remote – as he explains, “something whose horror and blood might descend upon me at any moment” (P 151).

Wright's vision of a hostile Southern White Culture was strengthened even more in time. Support came from observations during various job experiences in Jackson, Mississippi and Memphis during the early and mid-1920's. He began to see the manner in which the Negro labour was exploited. Not only did he feel that ignorance was being forced upon Negro workers, but he discovered the ways in which a Negro must hide his sense of outrage behind a façade of cheerful subservience in order to remain employed even at menial tasks.

Black Boy reveals also Wright's ambivalence toward Negroes in general, perhaps partially because of their passivity. With obvious hatred, he condemns poor Negroes he happened to see in the Mississippi Delta country. He calls them "a bare, bleak pool of black life" (P 120) but he also recognizes such a life as his own:

"After I had learned other ways of life
I used to brood upon the unconscious
irony of those who felt that Negroes led
such a low existence! I saw that what
had been taken for our emotional strength
was our negative confusion, our flights,
our fears, our frenzy under pressure." (Black Boy 45)

The two negative emotions of fear and hate had banished all fine feelings from the hearts of Negroes. They were unable to feel the positive emotions like tenderness, love and honour and loyalty. With strong conviction, Richard Wright expresses his feelings thus:

"Whenever I thought of the essential bleakness
of black life in America, I knew that Negroes
had never been allowed to catch the full
spirit of Western civilization, that they lived
somehow in it but not of it. And when I
brooded upon the cultural barrenness of
black life, I wondered if clean, positive tenderness,
love, honor, loyalty and the capacity to
remember were native with man. I asked
myself if these human qualities were not
fostered, won, struggled and suffered for,
preserved in ritual from one generation
to another." (BB 45)

With great pain and hatred in his heart, Richard Wright realized that he had to stop being a human being if he had to live in the South. Though his mother and the other Negroes tried every now and then to impart to Wright gems of Jim Crow wisdom, he was a rebel. He wanted to establish his identity as a human being on several occasions. Quoting such an incident, he says that there was a

Southern custom of taking off the hat when people entered an elevator. It applied specially to the black people with rigid force. Richard Wright's autobiography *Black Boy*, which was once sensational, has now become a classic. It measures the brutality and rawness of the Jim Crow South against the sheer vicious will it took to survive as a 'Black Boy'. It is a poignant picture of Richard Wright's poverty, hunger, fear and hate. In the concluding pages of *Black Boy*, Richard Wright admits:

“Never being fully able to be myself, I had slowly learned that the South could recognize but a part of a man, could accept but a fragment of his personality, and all the rest – the best and deepest things of heart and mind – were tossed away in blind ignorance and hate.” (BB 284)

With a heavy heart, Richard Wright realized that he had no hope of survival as a human being in the South. He continues:

“I no longer felt that the world about me was hostile, killing; I knew it. A million times I asked myself what I could do to save myself and there were no answers. I seemed forever condemned, ringed by walls.” (BB 274)

Finally, Wright decided to get away from the South; he could not stay there anymore. So, at the age of fifteen, he left home and struck out on his own. For nearly ten years, Richard Wright had been doing odd jobs right from dash dish washing to ditch digging. He was barely able to keep hunger at bay. When Wright landed in Chicago in the year 1934 at the age of twenty six, he was overwhelmed by his freedom, freedom to vote, freedom to apply for any job, to sit down where he wanted in buses and parks, to be waited on in shops and cafes, to go to museums and libraries. Most important of all he no longer had to conceal his real feelings, yet the promise of enlightenment and endless opportunity that the large city offered inspired an equivalent fear. He confessed:

“I caught an abiding sense of insecurity in the personalities of the people around me ... wherever my eyes turned, I saw stricken frightened black faces trying vainly to cope with a civilization that they did not understand. I felt lonely, I had fled one insecurity and embraced another.” (American Hunger 3).

The reality of Wright's experience after his flight North, proves those earlier dreams and hopes of acceptance and self-fulfillment in a social milieu to be merely pipe-dreams. No place in America is free for him. All America is the 'South' of the slave narrative, imprisoning the black American in a socially determined identity, disallowing any legitimate self-assertion. Total alienation becomes the only way of life that allows no illusion of visibility.

In his hatred for whites, Wright dreamed of organizing secrets of blacks to fight all whites. And if all the blacks would not agree to organize, then they would have to be fought. Wright would end up again with self-hate, but it was now a self-hate that was projected outward upon other blacks. He continues:

“Then I would hate myself for allowing
My mind to dwell upon the unattainable.
Thus, the circle would complete itself.” (P 9)

Being continuously lashed by the cold wave of American racism, Richard Wright wanted to escape the stereotypes of his projected social identity; he wanted to escape America altogether. So, Wright migrated to France. The black American, free of illusions of visibility within American society, could only continue his flight onward. Ultimately, the wanderer was a lonely man whose exile was ambiguous. On the one hand, it was potentially negative. With no geographical place of freedom, the exile may be forever plagued with a back of at-home-ness. Such total alienation was a devastating burden which the 'Black Boy' carried till the end.

To conclude, it may be said that Richard Wright was a sensitive black intellectual in a racist society. Being a different kind of fighter, he used his voice and his pen as his weapons to fight for the freedom of his brethren in meeting halls, in newspapers, in magazines and blocks attesting to the fact that the pen could be a mightier weapon than the sword by expressing his fear and hatred through his pen and fighting for life against the dark wings of oppression from his shoulders and from the shoulders of his brothers and sisters for generations to come. Therefore, each word uttered by Richard Wright was charged with an urgent and immediate quality.

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**The Early Word Forms and Their Emergence in
Typically Developing Malayalam Speaking Children in
the Age Range of 12-36 Months**

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Abstract

The vocabulary of a child is a storehouse of its knowledge. It can be either in the form of concepts or in the form of words, in which the child assumes to have a certain meaning. Although there are many studies on the child language acquisition, no studies have focused in the development of early word forms within the critical age group in Indian languages. Thus, the main aim of this study is to provide a data regarding the emergence of protoword and truewords in typically developing Malayalam speaking children, within the age range of 12-36 months. A total of 80 participants were taken for the study. The participants were divided in to 4 equal groups, with 20 participants each in the groups (equally divided in to 10 girls and 10 boys). All the participants were audio recorded on the basis of their expressive vocabulary. Speech like utterances was obtained from various free-play sessions. Based on the data analysis and transcription using IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet) utterances were then categorized in to protowords and truewords. SPSS software (version 18.0) was used to carry out the statistical analysis of the study. The study provides significant information in the child language development and this would be helpful to identify children with communication disorders in the early years of toddlers.

Keywords: Early words, Truewords, Protowords, Malayalam, child language development.

1. Introduction

The vocabulary of a child is a storehouse of its knowledge. The rate of vocabulary growth increases as the children get older. It can be either in the form of Concepts or in the form of words, in which the child assumes to have a certain meaning. The development of infant's language repertoire can be segregated into progressive stages. This process of child language acquisition is gradual and developmental. The child continually works out how to use the

linguistic system by actively using it for communication (Sinha, 2018). The initial communications of neonates are mostly reflexive cries, facial expressions and body movements. Then cooing stage comes where basic varieties of speech sounds are produced. Most of the productions during this period are unintentional. Slowly the child attains the speech sounds of the native language by the continuous enactment and reciprocation to reinforcement.

A protoword is a preliminary step that a child makes, to communicate to their parents for fulfilling his/her needs and desires which has words with no referential linguistic meaning. It acts as a bridge in between the pre-linguistic and linguistic communication between the ages of 12 – 15- months, where 1 to 2 syllabic words are uttered by the child which is fully a non-word but makes a meaning to the child. It is an important phase in development of child's language as it helps the child to attain more and more vocabulary. Like words protowords are relatively stable forms that can be used to serve specific communication intentions (Barrett, 1985); unlike babbling. It comprises of one or a few articulatory gestures, such as tongue closing the airway and the tongue often approaching to certain oral structures consistently (Menn, 1983).

More extensively a study done by Laakso (2010); stated that the children's pointing and proto-word expressions, and the working out of their reference, are embedded within larger sequential structures, where the children make their initiations also to restructure on-going sequences and to alter the course of the projected parental actions.

By one year of age, children start developing association between the words spoken and its meaning. This is the stage when the true first words are produced. A first word is usually defined as an entity of relatively stable form that is produced consistently by the child in a particular context and is recognizably related to the adult like word form of a particular language (Owens, 1996).

In the second half of the second year of life, by around 30 months the typically developing children go through the vocabulary spurt stage, where there is a sudden increase in vocabulary and becomes more than it was before (Dandurand & Shultz, 2011; Nazzi & Bertoncini, 2003). This correlates with the true word production stage, which pursues the proto-word phase of child vocabulary development. At this stage there is no babbling at all; utterances have communicative intent and the child seems to understand everything said within hearing and directed to them.

One of the important stages of child language acquisition, the protoword stage has been recognized and divided into three categories by Conklin (2010). Firstly, the phonetically consistent form has a standard sound pattern, but is not referentially stable, nor based on adult

language. Secondly, the pre-word is phonetically consistent and referentially stable, yet not based on adult language. It is accurate in its categorization, according to adult model, yet the child has found an individual way of communicating meaning. Lastly, the sensorimotor morpheme is phonetically and referentially stable, and it is based on adult language, but cannot be communicated without the use of a supporting gesture and is sometimes part of routine.

The transition of protowords to true words in a single subject was studied by Carter (1979). The subject's productions were termed as "sensori-motormorphemes". She reported between the age range of 1 year 1 month, and 1 year 2 months, the subject produced vocalizations that differed from babbling, it also had some phonetic consistency and were frequently accompanied by a gesture.

A study which examined protoword and true word productions was in a Kurdish speaking child of 9-36 months by Yousofi and Ashtarian (2015). The results indicated that most of the protowords were produced during the first half of the child's second year but continued articulating protowords up to 29 months alongside using true words which were more frequent at this age.

In the Indian Context

A study in native Kannada speaking children from the age range of 12 to 18 months was carried out by Shishira (2013). In the study, the holophrastic words were found to be present in all the participants with a mean percentage of frequency of occurrence of 25.8%. Protowords existed in abundance, with the mean percentage of frequency of 41.6%. True word productions exhibited a reverse trend as that of holophrastic and protowords productions. The participants exhibited a mean percentage of 32.6% frequency of occurrence for true words and later showed a gradual increase of true words in the participants nearing 16-18 months

In addition to this another study was conducted by Bharadwaj, Shridar, & Sreedevi (2015) on the emergence of True words, Protowords and Holophrastic words in typically developing Kannada speaking children in the age range of 12-24 months. They reported that the true word production showed the opposite trend of that of the holophrastic and protowords, with their frequency being greater in the older age group compared to the younger age.

Reeny and Sreedevi (2015) have done a study on the emergence of early word forms in Malayalam and Hindi speaking children in the age range of 10-12 months. They observed a greater frequency of protoword productions as well as true word productions in Hindi as compared to Malayalam language. Protowords were found to exhibit a higher mean percentage as compared to that of true words in both the languages justifying the transition period from

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babbling to the first fifty word stage. The study suggests the presence of variety of utterances as early as 4 months, though un-meaningful but leading to a meaningful production to their first words in their native languages which is also an indicative of an emergence in the complexity of syllabic patterns.

A study focused on the appearances of words in 8-12-month-old infants of native Hindi-speaking families were conducted by Reeny and Sreedevi (2019). The participants in the study included 20 infants, 10 in each of 2 age groups from native Hindi speaking families. The results of the study revealed no significant difference across age for proto words for Group III (8 to 10 months) and Group IV (10 to 12-months) in Hindi. Group III, i.e.; 8 to 10 -months was lower in production of proto words (eight words) compared to the 10 to 12-month age group, having produced 50 proto words. Thus, in this study the hypothesis that there is no significant difference in the phonetic behavior of protowords and true words across age in Hindi was accepted.

There are many studies on child language acquisition and their acquisition of words in different age groups and in various languages; most of the studies available are not on the Indian context or languages. Very little has been written and known about the children's early word forms and how its serves as a step in sequencing the conversation in Malayalam. Hence the emergence of the early word forms in the critical age group of 1 to 3 years was investigated in Malayalam language as a preliminary attempt to provide norms for the early word forms and their emergence as the dearth of research in this area demands so.

2. Methodology

2.1 Participants

A total of 80 participants were taken for the study. The participants were divided in to four equal groups with 10 participants in each group (with 10 boys and 10 girls). Group I comprised of children in the age range of <12- >18 -months. Group II comprised of <18->24-month old children. The two older age groups, Group III and IV consisted of children in the age range of <24->30 -months and <30->36 -month- old children respectively.

The parents were informed about the study and a written consent was obtained, before the participants are recruited for the study (AIISH ethical guidelines for Bio- Behavioral Research, 2009). The participants were obtained from the Pathanamthitta district of Kerala and the subjects were randomly selected from the Hospitals, neighboring home and from pediatric clinics. Each child was assessed for their receptive language skills, expressive language skills, auditory, motor and cognitive skills using Developmental Screening Checklist (Swapna, Jayaram, Prema and Geetha, 2010). The children with any history of speech, language, cognition and hearing problems were excluded from the study and were recommended for further evaluation. All the

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children participating in this study had Malayalam as their primary language of communication. The children exposed to any other languages were excluded from the study. An obligatory factor in this study was that, all the parents were educated a minimum of 7th grade for the inclusion of participants and were predominantly monolingual. The Socio-Economic status of the parents/caregiver and the family members were accounted using the Kuppuswamy Socio-Economic scale (2018) and the children under middle class socio-economic status were included for the study. The children included in the study should have qualitative and quantitative parent child interaction and were assessed informally by parental interview and observations. The proficiency of native language among parents was assessed using Language Proficiency Questionnaire: An adaptation of LEAP-Q in Indian context by Ramya Maitreyee and Goswami (2009).

2.2. Data Collection and Processing

All the participants were audio recorded on the basis of their expressive vocabulary in a relatively quiet room in their respective homes, using a digital audio recorder (Sony M55) of high quality and were analyzed using the VLC media player software by transferring the collected recordings to the computer. The natural way of interaction between the parent/caregiver and child were recorded. A minimum of 40 to 50 speech like utterances were secured from various free play sessions, of the parent/caregiver-child interaction by providing the child with suitable toys of their respective ages.

2.3. Analysis of Data

The reviewed audio recordings and the child's speech utterances are transcribed in IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet, 2015) using narrow & broad transcription. Only the verbal utterances produced by the child were transcribed. All other sounds like grunts, whisper, crying, cooing, gurgles, laughs etc. are excluded while transcribing. These utterances will be then categorized in to protowords and true words accordingly based on McCune and Vihman's procedure (1994), which comprises of the observations and the guidance provided by the parents. The sum of frequency of occurrences of each word types (Protowords and true words) are divided by the total number of words produced by the child, multiplied by 100 to calculate the percentage of occurrences (Velleman,1998).

$$\text{Number of Protowords/ True words} = \frac{\text{PW/ TW}}{\text{Total no: of PW/TW}} \times 100$$

Results and Discussion

Although there are many studies on the child language acquisition, no studies have focused in the development of early word forms within the critical age group in Indian

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languages. Thus, the main aim of this study is to provide a data regarding the emergence of protoword and truewords in typically developing Malayalam speaking children, within the age range of 12-36 months.

The main objectives of the study were:

1. To investigate the emergence of protowords and true words in across four age groups of Group I ($>1.0 \leq 1.5$ years), Group II ($>1.6 \leq 2.0$ years), Group III ($>2.1 \leq 2.5$ years) and Group IV ($>2.6 \leq 3.0$ years) in Malayalam language.
2. To investigate protoword and true word occurrences across the gender.

A descriptive statistical analysis of Mean frequency of protoword and trueword productions and Standard Deviation (S.D) were calculated for each of the early words for all the age groups and across genders. SPSS 18.0 software (Statistical Package for Social Sciences, Version 18.0) was utilized to carry out the statistical analysis of the study.

1. To investigate the emergence of protowords and truewords in across four age groups of Group I ($>1.0 \leq 1.5$ years), Group II ($>1.6 \leq 2.0$ years), Group III ($>2.1 \leq 2.5$ years) and Group IV ($>2.6 \leq 3.0$ years) in Malayalam language.

The mean and standard deviation for early word forms such as protowords and true words for each age group, (Group I, Group II, Group III and Group IV) are presented in the Table 1.

Table 1

Descriptive statistics (Mean and Standard deviation) of early words across the age groups.

Early word forms	Age range (in years)							
	Group I ($>1.0 \leq 1.5$)		Group II ($>1.6 \leq 2.0$)		Group III ($>2.1 \leq 2.5$)		Group IV ($>2.6 \leq 3.0$)	
N=80	PW	TW	PW	TW	PW	TW	PW	TW
Mean	56.85	15.40	76.45	53.50	66.35	129.70	31.85	156.85
SD	(24.81)	(13.64)	(54.19)	(31.04)	(25.01)	(37.43)	(15.19)	(52.07)

Note: N-Total number of population, PW-Protoword, TW- Trueword, S.D- Standard deviation.

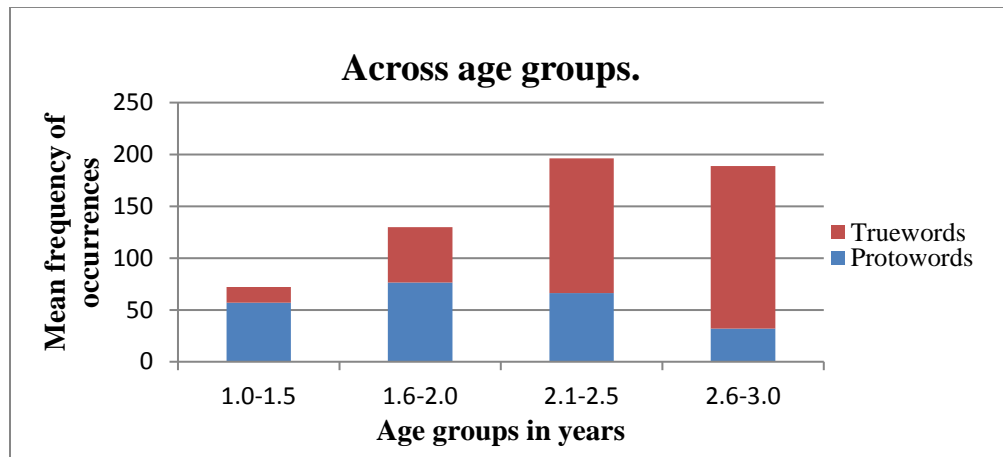


Figure 1: The mean frequency of occurrence of true words and protowords

Table 1 contains the descriptive statistics of early word forms in each age group, Group I (>1.0≤1.5 years), Group II (>1.6≤2.0 years), Group III (>2.1≤2.5 years) and Group IV (>2.6≤3.0 years). As seen in the Table 1 and Fig.1, the protoword productions in the two younger age groups, Group I (Mean=56.85) (SD=24.818) and Group II (Mean=76.45) (SD=54.19) were higher compared to trueword productions (Mean=15.40) (SD=13.64) and (Mean=53.50) (SD=31.04) of Group I and Group II respectively. The two older age groups, Group III (Mean=66.35) (SD=25.010) and Group IV (Mean=31.85) (SD=15.194) the protoword productions decreased compared to trueword productions of Group III (Mean=129.70) (SD=37.43) and Group IV (Mean=156.85) (SD=52.07) indicating a decrement of protowords with increase in age. Hence the study is in line with the other Dravidian studies of Reeny and Sreedevi (2015) [Hindi and Malayalam]; Shishira (2013) [Kannada]; Irfana (2012) [Malayalam]; Bharadwaj, Shridar and Sreedevi, (2015) [Kannada]; Yousofi and Ashtarian (2015) [Kurdish], which represented a decrement in the protoword productions with age advancement. This finding thus stated that the frequencies of protoword productions can be seen prevalently in the younger age group than in older age group.

As per the Table 1 and Fig.1, the trueword productions in the Group I, Group II, Group III and Group IV have revealed a significant increase in their mean values, indicated a linear progression with age increasing. The study done by Kauschke and Hofmeister (2002); Irfana (2012); Reeny and Sreedevi (2015, 2019); Yousofi and Ashtarian (2015); Bharadwaj, Shridar and Sreedevi (2015) also reported similar results, that the trueword occurrences is higher comparatively to protowords, in older age.

Although both protowords and truewords emerged at 1 year of age it was evident that there was a transition of protowords to truewords with the progression in age as observed in the Table 1 and Fig. 1, indicating a vocabulary spurt stage directing to abrupt progression of

trueword vocabulary after the age of 2 years (Nazzi & Bertoncini, 2003; Dandurand & Shultz, 2011; Karousou & Ornat, 2013). In agreement to these findings, Kauschke and Hofmeister (2002) study reported an exponential increase in vocabulary production in the second year, followed by a further expansion. Most of the true word occurrences produced initially contained nouns and relational words (Goldfield & Reznick, 1990) and then slowly these occurrences were seen balanced with more nouns, verbs, functional words and other words by the year of three.

The present results of the study showed congruence with the literature of Gammon and Cooper (1984); Zinober and Martlew (1985) where they observed a gradual progression in vocabulary from babbling to protowords to single syllabic utterances and then to multisyllabic utterances with the increase in age. Another finding of the present study was that when age increases there was a high production of multisyllabic patterns that reflected the ambient language of the adult productions (Anjana & Sreedevi, 2008; De Boysson –Bardies et.al 1989).

2. To investigate protoword and true word occurrences across the gender

Table 2

Descriptive statistics (Mean and Standard deviation) of early words across the gender.

Early word forms		Age range (in years)							
		Group I (>1.0≤1.5)		Group II (>1.6≤2.0)		Group III (>2.1≤2.5)		Group IV (>2.6≤3.0)	
N=80		Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
PW	Mean	63.10	50.60	83.00	69.90	69.30	63.40	25.20	38.50
	SD	(31.66)	(14.62)	(68.55)	(37.48)	(33.24)	(14.01)	(7.30)	(18.32)
TW	Mean	21.30	9.50	68.70	38.30	111.60	147.80	118.30	195.40
	SD	(17.07)	(4.93)	(26.52)	(28.58)	(42.75)	(20.03)	(18.41)	(45.64)

Note: N= Total number of participants, PW= protowords, TW= truewords, SD= Standard Deviation.

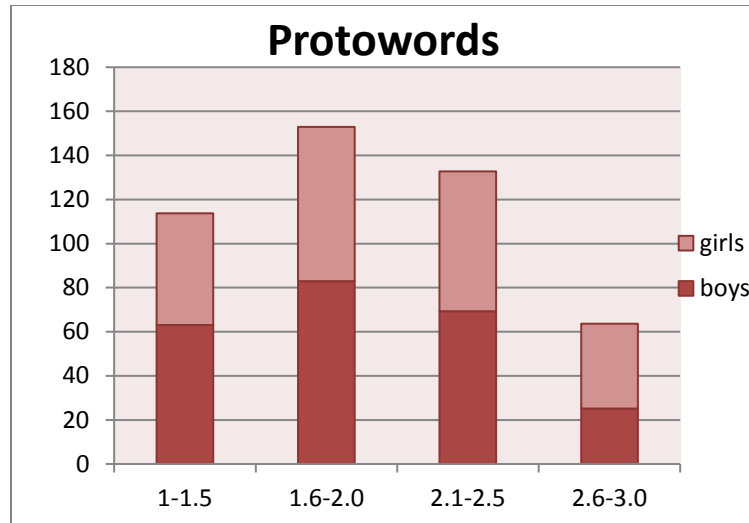


Figure 2 The protoword occurrences in boys and girls.

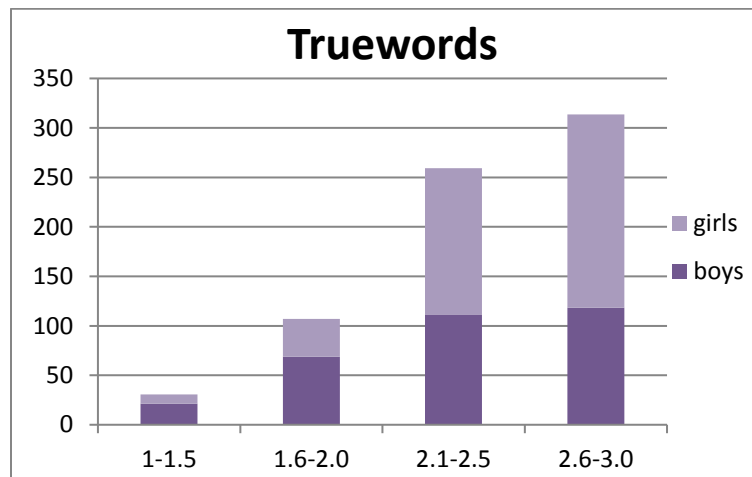


Figure 3 Trueword occurrences in boys and girls.

Comparison of Protowords and Trueword Production across Gender

The mean and standard deviation for the occurrences of protowords and true words for each age group, (Group I, Group II, Group III and Group IV) across the gender are presented in the Table 2, Fig.2 and Fig.3. In Group I, the boys showed higher mean values (Mean= 63.10; SD=31.617) for protowords compared to girls' (Mean=50.60; SD=14.623) which represented in Fig.2 and Table 2. In Fig.3 and Table 2, boys showed higher mean values, (Mean=21.30; SD=17.075) for true word productions compared to girls, (Mean= 9.50; SD=4.927). Likewise, in Group II, the mean values of protoword for boys showed higher mean values, (Mean=83.00; SD=68.555) compared to girls, (Mean=69.90; SD=37.489) similarly, true word productions were higher in boys (Mean=68.70; SD=26.521) compared to girls, (Mean=38.30; SD=28.589) as seen in Table 2, Fig.2 and Fig.3.

The older age Group III, the mean values across the gender for boys (Mean=69.30; SD=33.240) and girls (Mean=63.40; SD=14.010) showed a slight significance in their protoword occurrences as observed in Table 2 and Fig.2. Although, there was a high production of true word for girls; (Mean=147.80; SD=20.032) than boys (Mean=111.60; SD=42.753) which could be seen in Table 2 and Fig.3. Lastly, in the oldest age Group IV, contrary to the protoword productions in the younger groups, the Group IV have shown a significant increase in protowords (Mean=38.50; SD=18.326) and true words, (Mean=195.40; SD=45.644) in girls compared to boys protoword productions, (Mean=25.20; SD=7.300) and true words, (Mean=118.30; SD=18.409) respectively. This indicates that girls acquire language vocabulary faster than boys. The results of the present study are in agreement with one of the cross-linguistic and cross-cultural studies on early language acquisition in relation to gender differences which reported that girls aged 1.08 had larger vocabularies than boys of the same age across languages as well as in urban and rural settings. The study was conducted in three countries comparing children from the United States, Argentina, and Italy (Bornstein & Cote, 2005). Another reason could be of parental expectations about the gender roles, the social environment and cultural differences contributing to the difference in language ability of gender (Wallentin, 2008). The girls acquire language vocabulary faster than boys; can be due to less parental interaction with their sons compared to daughters (Gleason, 1987; Leaper, Anderson & Sanders, 1998). Apart from the above mentioned factors there are few other criterions drawn from the current study and they are; socioeconomic, contextual and language exposure.

Overall findings from Table 2 and Fig. 3 suggested that, when compared to boys, girls have shown higher true word productions in the older age groups. This could be because of increased language exposure and input from parent/caretaker-child interaction for girls when compared to boys (Leaper, 2002). The current study consisted of participants those belongs from middle-class society who also had good educational background, which aligns with earlier literature findings on parents talkativeness during infancy and toddler years(Leaper et al., 1998) where intensive stimulation also found to be the most significant factor in language acquisition (Rowe, 2012). Thereby, it is concluded that during the developmental period one should always keep in mind the influential factor which contribute to the acquisition of language at different age. Although most of the research concerning the middle-class families (Leaper et al., 1998), yet the question of a differential treatment of girls and boys across socioeconomic groups remains same, especially in the Indian context.

Conclusion and Summary

The critical age period plays a very vital role in the development of language acquisition. Thus, this study investigated the emergence of protoword and true word occurrences in the typically developing Malayalam speaking children in the age range of 1 year to 3 years. As there

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are very few studies been investigated in this topic, this was the preliminary attempt to do the study in critical age group of 1 to 3 years in Malayalam language. The emergence of protowords and truewords were audio recorded within a time span of 30 minutes to 1 hour. Each utterances of the child were transcribed in IPA and these utterances were then calculated statistically to look for the significance of protowords and truewords across all four age groups (Group I, Group II, Group III & Group IV) and gender (boys & girls).

The results based on the statistical analysis using SPSS software (Version 18.0), revealed across the age groups protowords showed a significant declination with age advancement and truewords manifested a linear pattern of progression with increase in age. Protoword occurrences in the present study emerged from 12 months and the complexity decreased until 36 months which then lead to more truewords multi syllabic utterance.

The study also revealed that the protoword production for boys had a higher mean value in the younger two age groups than the females and vice versa for noticed for trueword productions. Thus, indicating females have faster language development and better vocabulary compared to that of males as age increases (Gleason, 1987; Leaper, Anderson & Sanders, 1998)

Another observed finding was that when age increases there was a high production of multisyllabic patterns that reflected the ambient language of the adult productions (Anjana & Sreedevi, 2008; De Boysson –Bardies, Halle, Sagart & Durand, 1989)

The findings of the study will provide information regarding the development of expressive vocabulary in typical developing children between the age ranges of 1-3 years, wherein it helps creating awareness among the parents regarding the child’s language development. The obtained hierarchy of emergence of early words in the age ranges of 1-3 years can be used for screening and assessing the children who are at a risk of communication delays and can also help in identification of children with communication disorders.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Protoword and Truword productions across age.

Age	PROTOWORDS	TRUEWORDS
>1.0≤1.5 years	<p>/ʔa:/, /mæ:/, /mma:/, /baU:/, /Λm/, /ʔoŋ/, /ʔa:/, /m:/, /e^h/, /Λmæ:/, /ʔ^o/, /bɔ:/, /Ik^o/, /ub ba:/, /ΛkΛ/, /ΛbbΛ /, /bo:/, /mi:kI/, /Λʔa:/, /ka:k^o/, /Λmmama/, /ʔfe:ʔfa/ , /aʔ^o/, /bΛbu/, /bupa/, /e:ʔa/, /a^h/, /al/, /Λj^o/, Λmme:pa/, /ve:nda/, /eva:je/, /a: ʔ^o/, /Λj/, /a:ja/, /ka:j/, /katʃI/, /n ʔ^o/, /a:q^o/, /ka:la/, /a:j^o/, /e:ʔI /, /aʔa: ʔa/, /pa:pa/, /i:puje:/, /be:/, /be:be:/, /kadik^o/, /d zo:le:li/, /du:di/, /a:jaka:ke/, / ʔe:ʔo //pa:pam/, /kaitʃapo/, /ve:nam/, /i ʔI/, /udup/, /ʔa:/, /ba/, /ma/, /a:/, /bao/, /bo/, /papu/, /ʔ^o/, /ik^o/, /ubb^o/, /ΛkΛ/, /Λp Λ/, /Λʔ^o/, /b^o/, /tatata/, /dada/, /da/, //ʔaʔa/, /illapi/, /annu/, /bæbI/, /ba:/, /da:ʔ/, /Λr IpΛ/, /ΛʔΛ/, /be:vΛ/, /mΛIΛ/, /baŋŋu/, /o:/, / me:mI/, /u:/, /mi:kI/, /ΛʔʔΛʔʔ^o/, /a:t^o/, /a:v^o/, /ka:k^o/, /Λ^h /, /ʔa:j^o/, /Λʔa:j^o/, /eθΛ/, /ve:k^o/, /aja:ja/, /ak^ok^o/, /kek/, /ʔa:jΛ/, /Λmmej/, /Λʔa:ʔ^o/, /Λj^o/, /Ληo:t/ , /Λmme:pa/, /IʔΛ/, /alo:/, /umba:ji/</p>	<p>/ΛmmΛ/- mom , /pe:r^o/- name, /Inte/- mine, /gi:ʔa/- Geetha, /Λʔfa/- father, /e:ta/- brother, /Λmme:/- mom, /ummi/- mom /ka:ka/- crow, /ʔe/- here,</p>
>1.6≤2.0 years	<p>/na:n/, /deʃΛm/-anger, /pa:pu/, /a^h/, /po:/, /ʔemba:ʔI/, /a:ŋd^o/, /Im/, /po/, /va:/, /θi:ʔΛr/, /bao/, /bo/, /papu/, /ʔ^o/, /ik^o/, /ubb^o/, /Λ kΛ/, /ΛpΛ/, /Λʔ^o/, /b^o/, /tatata/, /dada/, /da/, //ʔaʔa/, /illapi/, /annu/, /bæbI/, /ba:/, /da:ʔ/, /Λr IpΛ/, /ΛʔΛ/, /be:vΛ/, /mΛIΛ/, /baŋŋu/, /o:/, / me:mI/, /u:/, /mi:kI/, /ΛʔʔΛʔʔ^o/, /a:t^o/, /a:v^o/, /ka:k^o/, /Λ^h /, /ʔa:j^o/, /Λʔa:j^o/, /eθΛ/, /ve:k^o/, /aja:ja/, /ak^ok^o/, /kek/, /ʔa:jΛ/, /Λmmej/, /Λʔa:ʔ^o/, /Λj^o/, /Ληo:t/ , /Λmme:pa/, /IʔIʔi/, /kuʔʔ^o/, /ʔeʔʔo/, /ʔUŋda/, /kajikaŋda/, /na:n/, /θa:θa/, /kəIjama/, /mInu/, /upu:pa/, /ʔu:θa/,</p>	<p>/a:ntI/-aunty, /pa:ʃ/-purse, /ʔa:kol/- key, /a:nΛkɔmb^o/-elephant tusk, /dɔŋtΛʔʃ/-don't touch, /ennΛ/- what, /bɔbɔ dɔg/-dog, /be:bI/- baby, /de:vU be:bI/-devu baby, /kUŋdI/-ass, /Inna/- here, /a:lapuʔΛ/-alappuzha, /tɔma:tɔ/- tomato, /kaaŋaŋam/- want to see, /muθΛʃI/- grandmother, /ve:ŋΛm/- want, /pa:t^o/- song, /mu:k^o/- nose, /ka:l^o/- leg, /fo:ŋ^o/- phone, /ka:ka/- crow, /aŋkI/- uncle, /dʒo:II/- job, /Λʔ^o/- that, /iʔ^o/- this.</p>

	<p>/pe:pe/, /o:ʈI/, /su:ʈe/, /Ijɛnθa/, /kajitʃa:lə/, /kʌnam/, /ʈu:ro:ŋdʰ/, /pidijum/, /kʌruve/, /ma:te:θʰ/, /i:mbaθʰ/, /θam/, /Iθʌk/, /u:θapapa/, /apappa/, /pa:mbapa/, /o:dI/, /ɛdʰ/, /o:papa/, /e:θI/, /ʈIpap/, /Im/, /muɖI/, /θIŋUm/, /ka:sʰka:rʰ/, /u:la/, /be:nam/, /vaa/, /mijau/, /bobo/, /u:/, /abade/, /pIja:/, /na:n/, /apaθʰ/, /kaŋI/, /ajjo/, /abde/, /ijjo/, /de:ʃam/, /amma:ve/, /kumbili/, /Ila/, /ɛnIʃʰ/, /ba:bakum/, /ambili/, /ba:ja/, /muttugo:da/, /kaŋama:la/, /θIŋʌm/, /ɖu:ri/, /ɖe/.</p>	
>2.0≤2.6 years	<p>/fUt/, /baŋU/, /ɛŋIʌ/, /kajikʰ/, /kajikum/, /um/, /kajitʃU/, /kʌjʌII/, /beʃʌkUŋU/, /beʃʌŋʰ/, /pojo:/, /abidɛ/, /pa:pʌm/, /vi:ti/, /ʈe:ja/, /a:/, /aʰ/, /e:/, /po:/, /va:/, /ho:/, /jjo:/, /a:ti:va/</p>	<p>/a:ji/- done, /oŋUm/- nothing, /kadalʰ/- sea, /muŋI/- dipped, /po:jiʌɛ/- went, /ma:ŋa/- mango, /nakʰʌm/- nail, /θɔIʃjo/- skin?, /vIIIkŋdʌ/- don't call, /po:ŋʌm/- want to go, /vi:tIIa/- at home, /koŋdUvʌŋIIa/- didn't bring, /va:ŋIʃU/- bought, /a:na/- elephant, /ɛnne:m/- me also, /baIkila/- in bike, /me:dIIka:n/- to buy, /IIa/- no, /apu:pa/- grandfather, /ku:de/- along, /ve:rɛ/- another, /vaŋU/- came, /ɛvde/- where, /po:jo/- gone?, /kaŋdo:/- saw?, /ku:tuka:rʌn/- friend, /θʌθʌmme/- parrot, /a:ŋde/- there, /vi:ɖum/- will fall, /UIII/- onion, /θʌvʌ[a/- frog, /kʌdIIkum/- will bite, /o:duŋu/- running, /ve:gam/- fast, /po:va:m/- go, /ɛŋʌne/- how, /ʌdikum/- I will beat, /ku:d/- nest, /ɛvIde/- where, /ku:tIIʰ/- in the nest, /kupʰ/- baby, /pattIʃo:/- cheat, /paʃu/- cow, /ka:dʰ/- forest, /vaŋdI/- vehicle, /aʃa:/- father, /raŋdʰ/- two, /kaliʃu/- played, /puraθʰ/- outside, /IIa/- no, /vaikItʰ/- evening, /ke:rI/-</p>

		entered, /ka:rII ^o /- in the car, /Appo/- that time, /vi:nu/- fallen, /poti/- burst, /vɛʃu/-kept, /udup ^o /- dress, /bægum/- bag and, /kaʃIpa:tam/- toys, /vʌɪʃil ^o /- on the way, /θʌrɪlle/- will not give, /ka:rIjam/- matter, /kutI/- kid, /orakam/- sleep
>2.6≤3.0 years	/a:/, /a ^h /, /e:/, /po:/, /va:/, /ho:/, /jjo:/, /ɛntubabja/, /ʃamma:pa/, /ʃuʃo:f/, /umma:ja/, /ʃo:v ^o /, /enda/, /kokoko/, /bobo/	/pa:vʌ/-doll, /ammaji/-mothers sister, /ma:man/- uncle, /mʌrɪʃ ^o /- dead, /pa:mb ^o /- snake, /pall ^o /- teeth, /pʌʃ ^o /- ten, /oŋda:ki/- made, /θaŋU/- gave, /kuθI/- poked, /ka:tt ^o /- wind, /ku:tuka:r ^o /- friends, /saIkII ^o /- cycle, /ma:la/- chain, /pallji:l ^o /-at church, /vi:dɪnte/-house's, /arɪju:lla/- don't know, /aθoŋum/- that and all, /varum/- will come, /IdalI/- idli, /na:je/- dog, /oŋe:/- one, /daŋde:/- there, /pɪnne:/- then, /paθe/- ten, /kupunde/-baby there, /ʃɛrI/- okay, /ŋʌmmʌk ^o /- we, /ʃʌvɪtum/- kick, /vɛka:m/- will keep, /ʌmme:de/- mom's, /vɛllʌm/- water, /ɛdukkaŋʌm/- should take, /pɪnnɪe:/- behind, /pʌnɪ/- fever, /ʌvʌn/- he, /a:mʌk ^o /- for tortoise, /vʌʃʌre/- very, /kʌʃa/- story, /pʌrʌja:m/- will say, /orʌŋʌŋda/- don't sleep, /ʌʃa:/- father, /sa:mba:rum/- and sambar, /ʃo:ruŋŋʌŋam/- want to eat rice, /ɛduθɪlla/- didn't take, /ʌvʌl ^o /- she, /kʌrʌjua/- crying, /mi:na:ʃɪjum/- and meenakshi, /do:ʃʌ/- dosa, /ʃe:ʃɪ/- sister, /ʃe:ta/- brother, /oŋdo:/- is it there, /pi:ɪ/- feather, /pe:r ^o /- name, /ɛŋtʌa/- what, /ɛntɛja:/- mine, /ŋʌllʌ/- good,

	<p>/ʃo:r°/- rice, /ke:tɪllΛ/- didn't hear, /θΛrΛθɪllΛ/- will not give, /kɔda/- umbrella, /pu:ʃa/- cat, /va:pa/- father, /Uppa/- father, /ɛlla:rem/- everyone, /θaṅu/- gave, /kAlɪ°/- stone, /ta:ta/- bye, /nΛdΛk°/- walk, /kuɻɪkum/- will take bath, /vΛdɪ/- stick, /me:dɪʃu/- bought, /ɛnɪk°/-for me, /a:rude:-/ whose, /pa:l°/- milk, /ΛmmΛʃɪ/- grandmom, /Λɻɪna:θ°/- inside that, /Λʃa:ʃΛn/- grandfather, /ɪri/- sit, /ɪpo/- now, /ma:θrΛm/- only, /murɪjum/- will cut, /o:dɪʃu/- ride, /ti:ʃΛr°/- teacher, /va:pΛʃɪ/- father, /ora:l°/- one person, /a:ṇ°/- yes, /ɪʃtam/- love, /ʃɛrɪja/- small, /lo:rɪ/- lorry, /ʃɪrɪjA/- smile, /θa:ra:v°/- duck, /orɪdaθoru/- at one place, /buka:ṇo/- is it book?, /kΛṇa:di/- mirror, Λmma/- mother, /ɖe:-/ here, /ɪna/-take, /iɻ°/- this, /Λ ɻ°/-that, /a:d°/-goat, /appa:tʃɪ/- father, / tʃe:tʃɪ /-sister, /a:na/- elephant, /vandija:-/vehicle, /kalik°/-play, /va:va/-baby, /bæḡ°/- bag, /ka:ka/-crow, /pu:va:ṇe/-going,</p>
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Ecolinguistics: The Linguistics of the Twenty-first Century

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Introduction

The 'eco' in 'Ecolinguistics' stands for 'ecology' and 'ecological', as such Ecolinguistics is also called 'ecological linguistics'. When ecology is the study of the relationships between living organisms, including humans, and their physical environment (Ecological Society of America), the primary purpose of language is to facilitate communication and the study of language -- how it is put together and how it functions -- is called linguistics (www.sil.org). The British Ecological Society rightly states: "Ecology helps us understand how the world works. It provides useful evidence on the interdependence between people and the natural world and, as well the consequences of human activity on the environment." This article examines how Ecolinguistics is poised to address key ecological issues concerning the conservation, promotion, and degradation of ecosystems and the role language plays in them or should play.

Ecological Crisis: The Most Alarming Existential Crisis of the 21st Century

There can be no two opinions that the most alarming crisis facing the globe today is ecological crisis, which has questioned the very continuity of the human species on the Earth. Humans, the most ingenious species on Earth, have violated Nature, which has resulted in shrinking habitats, exploitation of natural resources, climate change, biodiversity loss, and pollution. The UN's Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) --- the representative body of 195 countries and the science arm of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and the World Meteorological Organization (WMO)--- has warned in its Special Report October 2018 that the Earth would reach the crucial threshold of 1.5 degrees Celsius (2.7 degrees Fahrenheit) above pre-industrial levels by as early as 2030, precipitating the risk of extreme drought, wildfires, floods and food shortages for hundreds of millions of people, unless remedial steps both at global and local levels are implemented.

In addition, the UN Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services (IPBES) media report, released on 7th May 2019, finds that as many as 1,000,000 species have been threatened with extinction, thereby jeopardizing human existence. The safety net of biodiversity, as found by IPBES, is stretched almost to a breaking point, and "the diversity within species, between species and of ecosystems" are declining fast.

The significant finding of the IPBES is that there is an inextricable link between loss of biodiversity and climate change. It claims that the world can reverse this biodiversity crisis only by proactive environmental policies, sustainable production of food and other resources, and a concerted effort to reduce greenhouse-gas emissions. Undeniably, environmentally responsible economic development is the only way to ensure a sustainable future for people and the planet.

Issues like climate change, global warming, biodiversity loss, and language loss are globally defining issues at the present moment. Climate change and global warming have issued forth from irresponsible human activities and consequently have threatened the very existence of millions of species on the planet, including humans. Humans are justifiably blamed for the ecological crisis as their greed for colossal, unsustainable development and wealth generation has rendered themselves an endangered species. The problem precisely is that the ecology is full of environmental concerns. Loss of biodiversity, language death, loss of diverse species of flora and fauna, and degradation of ecosystems are all interconnected. The only remedy lies in reversing the trend, as envisioned in the IPBES Conceptual Framework --- “by connecting nature and people” (Díaz et al., 2015) and “by valuing nature’s contributions to people” (Pascual, U. et al. 2017).

The mindless decline of Nature and degeneration of ecosystems by human activities have precipitated the present crisis of loss of biodiversity. Boundless consumption of nature has left it unprotected, and unsustainable use of nature has told upon human condition. If Nature provides us food for us to eat, air to breathe, water to drink, it is our duty to respect Nature rather than exploit it beyond repair. Consequent upon our untenable acts, we have ruined ecology and left it substantially devoid of plant and animal species, irreplaceable habitats, life-saving herbs and plants. The IPBES’s finding that nature is being eroded at rates unprecedented in human history is rather alarming. Sir Robert Watson, the chair of the IPBES and former chair of the IPCC, has rightly claimed:

The IPBES assessment has shown the strong interrelationship between climate change, the loss of biodiversity and human wellbeing. Climate change has been identified as a primary driver of biodiversity loss, already altering every part of nature. Likewise, the loss of biodiversity contributes to climate change, for example when we destroy forests, we emit carbon dioxide, the major “human-produced” greenhouse gas. (*The Guardian*, 6th May 2019)

The globe, which is an ecosystem of ecosystems, is in huge crisis. If unsustainable development in the world has engendered ecological crisis, the solution to this global problem lies in sustainable development.

Sustainable Development -- the Solution to Ecological Crisis

Depletion of natural resources for development has given birth to ecological crises. The UN, which is the world government, affirms that sustainable develop is the answer to all the problems. A popular definition of sustainable development comes from the report by the Bruntland Commission in *Our Common Future*: “Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the

present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (United Nations General Assembly, 1987, p. 43). It has been rightly said that sustainable development is based on the three pillars of sustainability: economic, environmental and social sustainability. The UN’s agenda for sustainable development, commonly known as 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, unanimously adopted at the United Nations Sustainable Development Summit on 25 September 2015, sets 17 sustainable development goals (SDGs) for member nations.

All the nations of the world through the UN agreed to be action-oriented to achieve the universal and transformative goals and targets:

We are determined to protect the planet from degradation, including through sustainable consumption and production, sustainably managing its natural resources and taking urgent action on climate change, so that it can support the needs of the present and future generations. (www.sustainabledevelopment.un.org)

The world governments further resolve:

We envisage a world in which every country enjoys sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth and decent work for all. A world in which consumption and production patterns and use of all natural resources – from air to land, from rivers, lakes and aquifers to oceans and seas – are sustainable... One in which development and the application of technology are climate-sensitive, respect biodiversity and are resilient. One in which humanity lives in harmony with nature and in which wildlife and other living species are protected.

Sustainable development is the be all and end all (Baker, 2005). The UN’s 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the SDGs along with 169 targets came into effect on 1st January 2016.

The 17 Sustainable Development Goals are presented below:

GOAL 1: No Poverty; GOAL 2: Zero Hunger; GOAL 3: Good Health and Well-being; GOAL 4: Quality Education; GOAL 5: Gender Equality; GOAL 6: Clean Water and Sanitation; GOAL 7: Affordable and Clean Energy; GOAL 8: Decent Work and Economic Growth; GOAL 9: Industry, Innovation and Infrastructure; GOAL 10: Reduced Inequality; GOAL 11: Sustainable Cities and Communities; GOAL 12: Responsible Consumption and Production; GOAL 13: Climate Action; GOAL 14: Life Below Water; GOAL 15: Life on Land; GOAL 16: Peace and Justice Strong Institutions; and GOAL 17: Partnerships to achieve the Goal.

These 17 sustainable development goals associate 169 targets for all the nations of the world to achieve by 2030 (<https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/>).

It is found that nations of the world have significantly worked to implement the SDGs. However, it is felt that critiquing the unsustainable practices and communicating successful sustainable cases or

best practices are crucial for public awareness and community action. For this, we are in dire need of a linguistics -- a linguistics dedicated to sustainability -- which can study both unsustainable anthropocentric actions and communications that harm the ecology as much as the sustainable practices that help the restoration and revival of biodiversity and other ecosystems. We need a linguistics to address the major concerns of the 21st century, a linguistics which can examine the role played by language in exposing unsustainability and promoting sustainable discourses. This article argues that Ecolinguistics is the best genre of linguistics that can address the issue of sustainability properly, by examining discourses that promote or destroy nature.

Ecolinguistics: Ecology, Language, and Sustainability

A new paradigm of Linguistics that emerged in the 1990s, Ecolinguistics or ecological linguistics is the “study of language according to the environment it is used in” (Derni, 2008). It investigates the role of language in the development and possible solution of ecological and environmental problems (Fill, 1993 in Al-Gayoni, 2012:28). As the greatest pioneer of Ecolinguistics, Prof. Arran Stibbe (2015) claims, Ecolinguistics questions the stories that lead to ecological destruction and undermine linguistic diversity and offers positive alternate stories to live by. Ecolinguistics attempts to strike at the very causes of dichotomy between language and its environment. It analyzes linguistic texts or discourses from the ecological perspective --- sources and resources including advertising or commercials, (un)sustainable development, climate change, ecological conservation, ecosystems (e.g., lakes, rivers, etc.), environmental issues, greenification of deserts and desertification of greenery, and production of energy/alternate sources of energy from unsustainable materials (e.g. solid waste) as well as consumption patterns in society. Ecolinguistics studies the impact of language on ecology and the underlying causes of sustenance or destruction. Thus, Ecolinguistics differs from other forms of linguistics insofar as it focuses on the ecological context of the language, language ecology, and sustainable development for a green earth and healthy coexistence of all beings.

Ecolinguistics, as Dr Arran Stibbe observed in his seminal book *Ecolinguistics: language, ecology and the stories we live by*, offers framework to ecolinguists to study the very stories that the people or a community lives by as well as opportunities to replace the destructive stories by stories that promote ecological sustainability and community development (Stibbe, 2015). As we see, Ecolinguistics links the study of language with ecology. This is done in two ways: on the one hand, ‘ecology’ is used metaphorically for a study of the dynamic processes which can be observed in language contact situations on both the societal and the individual levels; on the other hand, ecolinguistics analyses environmental discourse from a critical point of view. In both strands of ecolinguistics, the term ‘ecological’ is understood to mean ‘focusing on interrelation and diversity’.

Ecolinguistics studies texts or discourses, community practices, and events from the combined perspectives of ecology and language function (Alexander, 2009; Alexander, 2010). It is a kind of interdisciplinary critical discourse analysis. As Stibbe (2015) puts it: “Ecolinguistics analyses language to reveal the stories we live by, judges those stories from an ecological perspective, resists damaging stories, and contributes to the search for new stories to live by.” Ecolinguistics has evolved

from the analysis of ecological discourse to the ecological analysis of discourse (Alexander and Stibbe, 2014; Chen, 2016). In this context, it can be said firmly that Ecolinguistics is the linguistics of the twenty-first century.

Conclusion

Ecolinguistics has fulfilled the role of a linguistics that is both ideal and pragmatic. By encouraging linguists, anthropologists, and ordinary people to carry out extraordinary work to help Nature by sustainable activities, Ecolinguistics has provided framework, tools, and techniques which no other linguistics has ever offered.

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A Study of Familial Perspectives in Edith Wharton's *Age of Innocence*

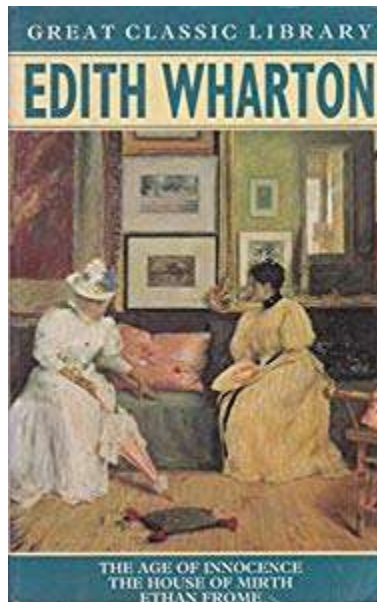
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Courtesy: https://www.thriftbooks.com/w/great-classics-edith-wharton-age-of-innocence-house-of-mirth-ethan-frome_edith-wharton/1869339/#isbn=1851524975&idq=29161368

Abstract

Edith Wharton is famous for novels indulge in family lives of both aristocracy and lower class. Age of Innocence is of same genre that consists of plots highlighting cohesive family, marital discord and divorce. The author captures the change in attitude of people for the past thirty years of static society. The rigid law which inexorable thaw and dissolve for the course of thirty years. Age of Innocence is the story of love among Newland Archer, May Welland and Countess Olenska. The novel depicts the two family models namely aristocratic and bourgeois family. This research article accentuates the importance of family and upbringing culture in the society.

Keywords: Edith Wharton, *Age of Innocence*, Form, Marital Discord, Aristocratic Family, Bourgeois, Authority

The plot of the novel revolves on a triangular love story of Newland, May and Olenska. The return of Olenska from her cynical husband to New York brings in twists on the tale as Newland gets engaged with May. The unwarranted attraction between Newland and Olenska was against the conservative Old New York society. Newland expedited the marriage with May to escape from any indiscretion. The novel shows many codes of conduct to be observed by young women and men at the time of marriage in Old New York. The marriage was solemnized after a fairly long period of engagements and betrothal which is an unhurried process which takes nearly six months between engagement and marriage

The Old New York aristocracy was an inflexible and provincial society which was an ancestral place of Newland and May Welland. In *The Age of Innocence* the threat came from Europe in the form of Countess Olenska who brought with her new set of values which is contradictory to old aristocracy setup. The changes like cut in the dress she wore, her free jovial mannerisms, choice of residence she chose and in all her activity. The highlights of transitions from aristocratic to bourgeois were observed from the action of the character Newland Archer.

As an individual Newland Archer is an aristocrat by upbringing, a bourgeois individual in spirit with keen romantic passion. He valued individual freedom more than anything else and at least in theory, he was willing to concede equal freedom to women: Mr. Jackson the authority on family insinuated that Countess Olenska was seen living with her husband's secretary who helped her to get away from Count Olenski. Newland's rejoinder is characteristic:

Newland reddened. "Living Together? Well, why not? Who had the right to make her life over if she hadn't? I'm sick of the hypocrisy that would bury alive a woman of her age, if her husband prefers to live with harlots."

He stopped and turned away angrily to light his cigar. "Women ought to be free- as free as we are", he declared, making a discovery of which he was too irritated to measure the terrific consequences (39).

The novel is written in conventional third person narrative, the people and incidents of the Old New York are presented through the consciousness of Newland Archer and the view of events and characters is mediated by his consciousness. The meeting of Olenska and Newland depicts different disconcerting remarks about solemn and influential people like the Van der Luydens which shows her the critical of the inadequacy in his perspective.

The crux of the family situation was displayed through the children namely Dallas was critical of his observation of his parents.

“No, I forget. You never did ask for each other anything, did you? And you never told each other anything. You just sat and watched each other and guessed at what was going on underneath” (359).

The hypocrisy of the Old New York is elaborated, and the clue can be found in their attitude to and experience of marriage. When Newland sowed his wild oats before marriage, society winked at it, and he himself dismissed it as permissible aberration of a young man.

Newman’s observation of May shows his view of society where she is unimaginative, and her mental eyes were bandaged with conversations. Newland was afraid of losing his heart to Countess Olenska who had a strong attraction for him. This fear inducted him to advance their wedding to an earlier date. The following reflection of Newland about May is not true and complete picture of her.

It would presently be his task to take the bandage from this young woman’s eyes and bid her look forth on the world. But how many generations of the women who had gone to her making had descended bandaged to the family vault? He shivered a little, remembering some of the new ideas in his scientific books, and the much-cited instance of cave-fish which had ceased to develop eyes because they had no use for them (81).

The study is the familiar question of individual versus society, Judith fryer argues: The two problems which Wharton investigated in this novel are related: one is the moral issue of the needs of the individual versus the claims of family, tradition and community and the other is the nature of that community (104). Newland saw himself as a victim of senseless convention at that moment. He could not foresee that the tyranny of society was not permanent, nor could he visualize that he would see some good in this convention after thirty years.

“Marriage is one long sacrifice” (209) is the declaration of Medora, aunt of Ellen. May thought that the marriage meant devotion and she sacrificed everything for it, and she remained unchanged and unaware of changes going around her. May did not realize that “the world of her youth had fallen into pieces and rebuild itself” (Lawson, 24). Archer realizes at the last stages of life at the age of fifty seven, that he had missed the flower of life. But he did not regret it.

Their long years together had shown him that it did not so much matter if marriage was dull duty, as long as it kept the dignity of a duty; lapsing from that, it became a mere battle of ugly appetites. Looking about him, he honoured his own past, and mourned for it. After all, there was good in the old ways (350).

In some respects, Newland Archer represents the attitude of a sensible mind which accepts changes. However, the life and marriage of his children, which would have been shocking thirty years

before, now shocked him no more. “There was good in the new order too” (352). He recognized the changes Old New York society had undergone. He reflected thus about the youth: “The difference is that these young people take it for granted that they’re going to get whatever they want, and that we are almost always took it for granted that we shouldn’t. Only, I wonder—the thing one’s so certain of in advance: can it ever make one’s heart beat as wildly?” (357).

Archer and Ellen are the two representative characters of the 1870’s who count, in registering two different attitudes to marriage of their times. Archer was romantic, and imaginative. Thirty years after, in Paris, “He had to deal at once with the packed regrets and stifled memories of an in articulate lifetime” (360). Edith Wharton’s presentation of Welland’s family, or Archer’s family, or Beaufort’s family may not be very successful in the novel. Nevertheless, they survive, they last amidst changes and vicissitudes. Their family life might be dull or uninspiring, but they have to withstand the test of time.

To sum up, the analysis of *The Age of Innocence* shows that Edith Wharton, as the Grand Dame of the American novel has here not only recreated the social life and culture of old New York with its ubiquitous brown buildings and broughams but also pointed to the changes it has undergone in the course of about thirty years. It shows the difference between the past and present, especially the difference between the generation of father and son. Like the sociologist she acknowledges the changes with the conviction that change is inevitable. At the same time, unlike a sociologist or analyst of family, she makes value-judgment of these changes. These changes are largely attributed to the changes happened in industrial, economic, educational revolutions, feminist movements and scientific developments among many others.

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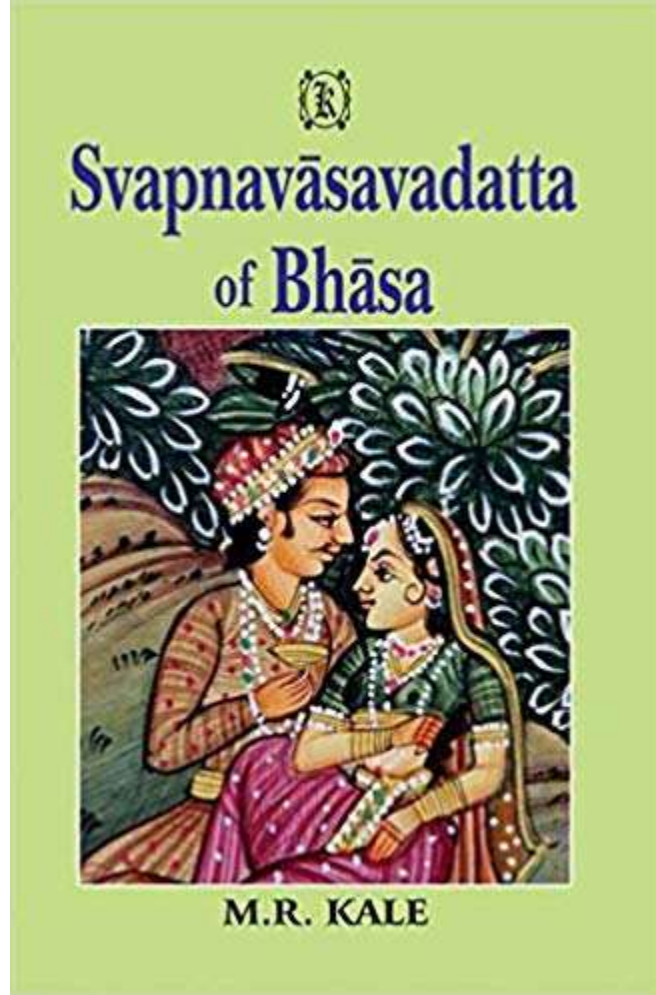
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**Bhasa's *Svapnavasavadattam* (The Vision of Vasavadatta):
A Thematic Study**

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[1&keywords=Svapnavasavadatta&qid=1562891322&s=books&sr=1-4](https://www.amazon.com/Svapnavasavadatta-Bhasa-M-R-Kale/dp/8120805720/ref=sr_1_4?adid=082VK13VJJCZTQYGWWCZ&campaign=211041&creative=37400)

Abstract

Bhasa is one of the earliest known great dramatists of ancient India. He is one of the greatest pioneers of classical Sanskrit drama. He lived around 3rd Century A.D. An Indian scholar, Mahamahopadhyaya Ganapati Sastrigal, rediscovered thirteen of his plays in the year

1912. *Svapnavasavadattam* (The dream of Vasavadatta) is one of them. It is probably the best known of Bhasa's works. The complete text of the *Svapnavasavadattam* was long lost until it was discovered in the state Kerala in 1912. A tradition is recorded that when the critics subjected the plays of Bhasa to a severe test by throwing them into fire, only *Svapnavasavadattam* rose out unaffected, while other plays were all consummated by the flames.

The play is divided into six acts. It is reported that the play faithfully follows the text and the principles of the *Natyashastra*. In keeping with the metaphysical nature of Sanskrit drama, here too we are confronted by notions of time, memory, reality, and illusion. Bhasa used verse as the medium for dramatic expression. He gave Indian drama passion and poetry.

The plot of the drama is drawn from the romantic narrative about the Vatsa king Udayana and Vasavadatta, the daughter of Pradyota, the ruler of Avanti, which were current in the poet's time and which seem to have captivated popular imagination. The main theme of the drama is the sorrow of Udayana for his queen Vasavadatta, believed by him to have perished in a fire, which was actually a rumour spread by Yaugandharayana, a minister of Udayana to compel his king to marry Padmavati, the daughter of the king of Magadha. This marriage brings a disaster in the life of king Udayana. He began to neglect the affairs of his state, always remembering the memory of his first wife, Vasavadatta. The thematic study of the play shows the professional skill of Bhasa. The play is a great example of contemporary innovative trend in ancient classical drama.

Keywords: Bhasa, *Svapnavasavadattam*, Vasavadatta, classical Sanskrit drama, romantic narratives, imagination, rumour, disaster.

Research Methodology

This work is mainly based on secondary source of information, such as published documents, books, literary reviews, autobiography, journals, critiques etc. I have collected some selected documents and records as the major sources of data collection for the study. I have involved myself in intensive and critical reading of *Svapnavasavadattam* written by Bhasa. The study has enabled me to collect information about the heartrending story of the protagonist, king Udayana and his beloved wife Vasavadatta.

The play centres round love, separation and union and various facts and points relevant to the study. Lie, Rumour and treachery play very significant role in the play. All these cause a temporary crisis in the life of king Udayana. The study has used critical discourse analysis (CDA) as a research tool for the thematic study of the play *Svapnavasavadattam* (The dream of Vasavadatta).

Introduction

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Svapnavasavadattam (The dream of Vasavadatta) is perhaps the most noted play in Sanskrit literature. It is a Sanskrit play in six acts written by the ancient Indian poet Bhasa. The story revolves around King Udayana who is pressurized by his state minister to marry Padmavati, the daughter of a very powerful ruler of Magadha in order to gain power to protect his kingdom from foreign invasions. The king is not too keen on this proposal as he loves his wife Vasavadatta too much to consider taking such a step. But the wife becomes ready to sacrifice her life for the kingdom and stages a fake death. She secretly returns back to the king to be with him and awaits the new wife. The play is so well written that it won the hearts of general readers and the critics as well. The play is the story of restoration, reconciliation, moral resurrection and regeneration. There are tears and sighs before reunion of husband and wife taking place. The course of happy conjugal life never runs smooth and trouble-free. The path is beset with misfortune and difficulties. So, king Udayana and Vasavadatta have to face hostilities of fate. All the misfortunes and difficulties are unexpectedly removed by the benign power of destiny.

Vatsa, kingdom of King Udayana, is invaded by foreign invasions at a time when the military power of the state is weak and inefficient. And only an alliance with Magadha state can save Vatsa. In this situation the ministers of Vatsa think of alliance with the powerful state of Magadha. Yaugandharayana, the wily Chief Minister of Udayana, suggests king Udayana to marry Padmavati, the princess of Magadha. At first it was utterly impossible for king Udayana to marry Padmavati, because he loves his wife Vasavadatta. But Vasavadatta becomes ready to sacrifice her life for sake of the kingdom. Yaugandharayana comes forward to remove this obstacle. He makes a plan with the co-operation of queen Vasavadatta. One day, while the king is away on a hunting expedition, the royal pavilion in a frontier village, Lavanaka, is burnt down. A rumour is spread that Vasavadatta and Yaugandharayana have both perished in the fire; where as they have really slipped away to Magadha distinguished as pilgrims. In the way they stay a night in a hermitage where they meet the retinue of the Magadha princess, Padmavati.

This gives an opportunity to Yaugandharayana to put Vasavadatta into the security of the Magadhan court. He pretends that she is his sister and requests the princess to take care her as a ward. “Yaugandharayana: This is my sister. Her husband has gone abroad. My wish is that Her Highness would take my sister under her protection for some time. For, No need have I of wealth, or of worldly joys, or of fine raiment, nor have I donned the orange robe to gain a livelihood. The royal mind is wise and knoweth well the path of duty. She can well protect the virtue of my sister.” (Bhasa,9) The princess grants his request and allows Vasavadatta with her. “Padmavati: Yes, come higher. Now you belong to me.”(Bhasa,10) Since then Vasavadatta is with the princess, Padmavati. This background of the play gives greater insight later. Yaugandharayana says to himself “Those who first predicted our troubles, foretold that Padmavati was destined to become the consort of my king. On that prophecy I have relied in acting as I did, for fate does not transgress the words of well-ried

oracles.” He feels relief as he has party success in his plan: “Ah! Half my task is ended.” (Bhasa,11)

Having the news of Vasavadatta’s perished in the fire, king Udayana’s heart becomes heavy. He never ceases to mourn for Vasavadatta as he is perpetually haunted by her memory. Yaugandharayana has arranged that Udayana will remarry with Padmavati, sister to the King of Magadha, to cement the alliance. Then a nurse enters and announces that Padmavati is betrothed to Udayana and that the wedding must take place that very day. A deeply-rooted passion is hard to abandon when Vasavadatta comes to know that news. “Vasavadatta: She wants my noble lord as her husband.”(Bhasa,16) Though she remains the vision of her master, Udayana most of the time, she scarifies her own happiness for the sake of her lord’s dignity. “Vasavadatta: The more they hasten, the deeper the gloom in my heart.”(Bhasa,17) The unhappy Vasavadatta secretly attains the marriage ceremony and watches that her husband has drawn into a marriage with Padmavati. She consoles herself thinking only that Udayana is unable to forget her even in the midst of a new marriage. “Vasavadatta: she is gone. Alas! All is over. My noble lord is now another’s. Heaven help me! I’ll to bed; it may soothe my pain. If I can sleep.” (Bhasa,19)

The new queen, Padmavati wanders in the garden with her train, including Vasavadatta. King Udayana and his Jester come into the same garden. The ladies bide in a bower for Vasavadatta’s sake. The gentlemen sit down at the entrance and the ladies cannot avoid over-hearing their conversation. The king admits his heart is still bound to Vasavadatta, and bursts into tears. Padmavati goes to comfort him, and he leaves to attend a court reception. King Udayana mourns his lost love. It was chiefly out of political motives that Udayana married Padmavati. But the tension is soon relaxed. Padmavati notices the resemblance of Vasavadatta’s picture to the “Lady of Avanti” entrusted to her care. So, Padmavati says to King Udayana “Now. Sir, resume your charge of this lady.” All embracing tolerance has come to an end. The principal dramatic incident that gives its name to the play is the momentary vision of Vasavadatta when king Udayana wakes from a dream of her. For Vasavadatta, it is the test of time. The play ends not with the celebration of new marriage, but a reunion of husband and wife who love truly each other.

Bhasa moulds characters and forms a vigorous conception of the parts they have to play. This play contains some of Bhasa's greatest characters-Udayana, Vasavadatta, Padmavati, Avantika, Yaugandharayana. He introduces funny character like Vasantaka, the gesture of king Udayana. All the characters are well developed. They are types and not individuals.

Bhasa has always been considered as the most influential playwrights of his time by Ideologists, Indian commentators, scholars and anthologists. His style of writing was quite different from the other contemporary playwrights of his time. He did not use too flashy and superfluous Sanskrit in his plays. He did not use any open benediction in his plays, rather opened

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his plays directly with the stage directions. He maintained the classical unities of drama. His stories have unconventional twists and turns to it. In fact, he broke a very important convention by killing the hero of his story in the end of one of his plays, which was a very big thing in those times as people were only used to the happy endings. This play is called *Urubhangam*. Most of Bhasa's plays were lost over the years. He did not really used to follow the rules led by *Natya shastra*. He used to use physical violence in his plays, on the drama stage. This was very badly taken up by the authorities of *Natyashastra*. The *Unbhangam* is considered as one of the two most tragic plays of the Sanskrit language. In *Unbhangam*, Duryodhana is considered to be an actual hero instead of been considered as a villain according to the great epic of *Mahabharata*. He is shown repenting in the play for all the treachery and lies that he had applied here.

Conclusion

This paper attempts to a thematic study of Bhasa's great play *Svapnavasavadattam* (The Vision of Vasavadatta). The play is divided into six acts. It is reported that the play faithfully follows the text and the principles of the *Natyashastra*. In keeping with the metaphysical nature of Sanskrit drama, here too we are confronted by notions of time, memory, reality, and illusion. Vasavadatta made a great sacrifice for the sake of her husband, king Udayana's restoration of his kingdom to him. Vasavadatta is the selfless, devoted wife who undergoes a bitter emotional trial. We are awestruck by "the complete self-abnegation of the noble queen, who suffers martyrdom for the sake of her lord with cheerful resignation, as also her self-sacrifice, self-restraint, serenity and dignity. Her only consolation is that Udayana is unable to forget her even in the midst of a new marriage. A feeling of awe pervades the play. We feel pity for Vasavadatta. She knows no wavering and her dignity never forsakes her. The play has an ethical significance. The heartbreaking realities distinguish this play. The play has a universal appeal.

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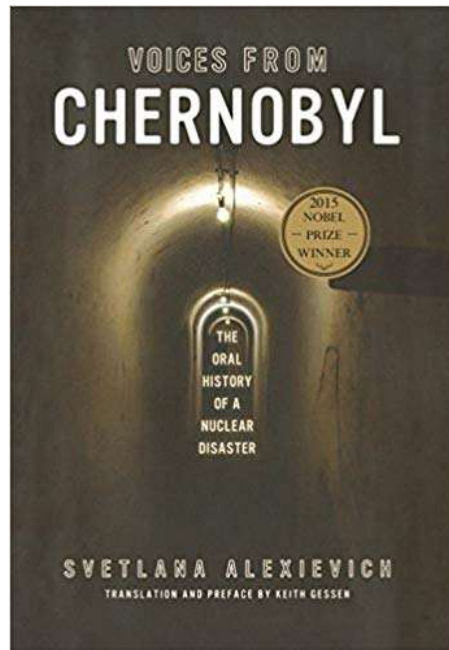
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**Social Realism in Svetlana Alexievich's
*Voices From Chernobyl: The Oral History Of A Nuclear Disaster***

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Courtesy: https://www.amazon.com/Voices-Chernobyl-History-Nuclear-Disaster/dp/1564784010/ref=sr_1_1?keywords=Voices+from+Chernobyl%3A+the+oral+history+of+a+nuclear+Disaster.&qid=1562984734&s=books&sr=1-1

Abstract

The paper tries to read *Voices from Chernobyl* as a piece of literary text portraying the real history of the nuclear disaster. It is a powerful work which explores the life of the victims of the disaster. The paper tries to focus on the realistic accounts of the society of the time by incorporating the features of Social Realism. The paper tries to relate the psychological and personal tragedy of the Chernobyl accident and explores the experiences of individuals and how the disaster affected their lives. The voices of the victims are either a short narration of the disaster or 'choruses' with just a paragraph or two from each individual. This allows a broad range of voices to be heard from the wife of a first response fireman who took several weeks to die from radiation poisoning, self – settlers who preferred the risks of radiation , soldiers sent in

to forcibly evacuate people , the liquidators ploughing under crops, trees, topsoil and houses, hunters employed to kill abandoned cats and dogs , helicopter pilots ,children with birth defects and so on. It is a catalogue of trauma.

Keywords: Svetlana Alexievich, *Voices From Chernobyl*, nuclear disaster, social realism, radiation, voices of the victims.

The aim of this paper is to analyse social realism as a theoretical perspective and apply it to the work of Svetlana Alexievich's *Voices from Chernobyl: the oral history of a nuclear disaster*. The Industrial Revolution along with the rise of middle class society in the early nineteenth century, traces the interest in the depiction of the social reality in literature. The thematic issues of this literature neither told the romantic or adventurous life nor a utopian one but the naked life of human beings. The term 'Social Realism' is a combination of two terms 'social' and 'realism', which signifies an artistic movement which focuses on the social injustices and the struggles of the working class protagonists.

Voices from Chernobyl is a powerful work which narrates the personal details of the Nuclear disaster stories and often touches on the broader themes. Alexievich is the first person to present personal accounts of the tragedy by interviewing about more than five hundred victims including the fire fighters, liquidators (members of the cleanup team), politicians, physicians, physicists and ordinary citizens over a period of ten years. The book relates the psychological and personal tragedy of the Chernobyl accident and explores the experiences of individuals and how the disaster affected their lives.

The work explores the journalistic talent of Alexievich and gives a look back to the disaster. "When a routine test went catastrophically wrong a chain reaction went out of control in No.4 reactor of Chernobyl nuclear power station in Ukraine, creating a fireball that blew off the reactor's 1000 tone steel and concrete lid" (Alexievich 27).

The work recreates the disaster from the recorded testimonies of the victims. Out of the five hundred people being interviewed it was Lyudmilla Ignatenko, the wife of the deceased fireman Vasily Ignatenko who gave a clear picture of her encounter of the Nuclear disaster. "One night I heard a noise. I looked out of the window. He saw me. 'close the window and go back to sleep', there's a fire at the reactor. I'll be back soon" (Alexievich 28). The conversation clearly hints the very time when the No. 4 reactor got fire. Until then people had no idea of what radiation meant, but after the accident the only thing which was heard was 'radiation', 'contamination' and 'radioactive'.

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At seven I was told he was in the hospital. I ran over there, but the police had already encircled it, and they weren't letting anyone through. Only Ambulances. The policemen shouted: 'the ambulances are radioactive, stay away!' I started looking for a friend, she was a doctor at the hospital. I grabbed her white coat when she came out of an ambulance. "Get me inside!" "I can't. He is bad. They all are." I held on to her. Just to see him! (Alexievich 28)

The Ukraine city woke up the next morning with calls of ambulances. Just like Lyudmilla ran to the hospital, the real history also traces the images of people running for their dear one's lives.

The Soviet Union announced today that there had been an accident at nuclear power plant in the Ukraine and that 'aid is being given to those affected'. 'A government commission has been set up'. The severity of the accident, which spread discernable radioactive material over Scandinavia was not immediately clear. (The Los Angeles Times April 28, 1986)

The women were running for their men's life. By the time Lyudmilla reached the hospital he was all swollen and puffed up. Doctors yelled at them to move away from the area. They were directed to bring milk for the people who got radiated. Women were running in search of milk: "we got in and drove to the nearest village. We bought a bunch of three- litre bottles, six, so there was enough for everyone. But they started throwing up terribly from the milk" (Alexievich 29). Most of them were transplanted to hospitals specially for radiology at Moscow. The life inside the hospitals were more terrific for the caretakers than the patients. Lyudmilla was already pregnant and only if she hides it she can get in to the hospital. They already had warned her not to go near Vasily: "And listen: if you start crying, I'll kick you out right away. No hugging and kissing. Don't even get near him. You have half an hour" (Alexievich 32).

Lyudmilla seldom cared about her, she always remained close to him. Every day there was change in his body and the burns started to come to the surface, his body changed from blue to red, grey-brown. Radiation effects are different in different bodies. He was producing stool twenty five times a day with blood and mucus in it. Also, his hair started to drop day by day. Lyudmilla took great care of her husband but someone from other bio-chambers said, "you have to understand; this is not your husband anymore, not a beloved person, but a radioactive object with a strong density of poisoning. You are not suicidal. Get a hold of yourself" (Alexievich 33).

She was completely blind in her love and thought that her little one was safe inside her. The last days of her husband are really pathetic. "The last two days in the hospital – pieces of his

lungs, of his liver, were coming out of his mouth. He was choking on his internal organs. I would wrap my hand in a bandage and put it in his mouth, take out all that stuff. It's impossible to talk about" (Alexievich 33).

The disaster had not ended, the Emergency Commission met them: "they told everyone the same thing : It's impossible for us to give you the bodies of your husbands, your sons, they are highly radioactive and will be buried in a Moscow cemetery in a special way. In sealed zinc caskets, under cement tiles" (Alexievich 35). They could not even get the bodies of their beloved. This was again not the end, she gave birth to a girl baby alive, but she had cirrhosis of the liver. The child had abnormal heart pumping and it died after four hours. The scientific study records: "a more objective point of view was well expressed by the UN General Secretary Kofi Annan, the exact number of victims may never be known, but 3 million children require treatment, and many will die prematurely" (Lobanov 8).

The work traces the real history of Byelorussia, wherein people still suffer the contamination caused by the radiation from the Nuclear power plant. Lyudmilla Ignatenko is not a solitary voice from Chernobyl, but she is the chorus of the whole Europe. But amid the environmental devastation, the human story of Chernobyl is often lost. Alexievich discovers the human side of the tragedy through her work, *Voices from Chernobyl: the oral history of a Nuclear disaster*. The social reality is very much evident in the work.

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Numeral System in Kabonglo

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Abstract

The present paper is an attempt to describe some of the morpho-syntactic aspects of numeral system in Kabonglo (mainly focus on the language spoken in Kabongram village or Tangkhul Hundung Khullen of Phungyar sub-division of Ukhrul district of Manipur). Kabonglo is one of the dialects of Tangkhul which is mainly spoken in Kabongram village of Phungyar sub-division in Ukhrul district of Manipur. Approximately, Kabongram or Tangkhul Hundung Khullen has 138 households with the total of 640 people of which 340 are male and 300 are female. Furthermore, the same dialect is also spoken in Laikoi Ching, Sopleng, and Island villages in Senapati district of Manipur. Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages, numeral system in Kabonglo is mainly of the decimal type however, the vigesimal system is also found in the language. Structurally, numerals in the language can be categorised into seven major types namely, (i) cardinal (ii) ordinal (iii) fractional (iv) multiplicative (v) distributive (vi) restrictive and (vii) approximate. Syntactically, the numerals always follow the head nouns without any exception.

Keywords: Kabonglo, Kabongram, Tangkhul Hundung Khullen, Tangkhul, Tibeto-Burman, Ukhrul district, Manipur, Numerals, Decimal, Vigesimal, Compound.

1. Introduction

Tangkhul is one of the tribal languages of Manipur which belongs to the Kuki-Chin Naga subgroup of the Tibeto-Burman family (Grierson, 1903). Tangkhul has many dialects. Arokianathan (1987) noted that there are 219 Tangkhul villages and each village has its own dialect or speech form named after the village. Besides, Mortensen (2003) made the similar statement that Tangkhuls are quite diversified linguistically, and the speech varieties of most of the Tangkhul villages are not mutually intelligible with those of neighbouring villages (though the similarities are large enough to facilitate the rapid learning of one another's languages). Kabonglo is one of the dialects of Tangkhul which is mainly spoken in Kabongram village or Tangkhul Hundung Khullen of Phungyar sub-division in Ukhrul district of Manipur. Approximately, Tangkhul Hundung Khullen has 138 households with the total of 640 people of which 340 are male and 300 are female. It is further noticed that the same dialect is also spoken in Laikoi Ching, Sopleng, and Island villages in Senapati district of Manipur.

As many other tribal people of Northeast India, Tangkhul do not have their own script or writing system to write their language. Therefore, they used to write in Roman script with some modification. Similarly, Tangkhul lack healthy written literature, however they have a rich oral literature which has not been recorded or documented in proper way. As a result, most of the younger generations of Tangkhuls are not well aware of their heritage oral literature in the form of folk songs, folk tales, oral narratives which play a crucial role to enhance their literature to a great extent. Due to non-availability of schooling in their mother tongue, Tangkhul people used to educate their children in English medium schools irrespective of their economic condition. Besides, Tangkhuls are bilinguals. Along with their mother tongue, they speak Manipuri in their inter-ethnic communication. This may be the reason that Manipuri is the dominant language of the state.

2. Typological Overview of Kabonglo

- (i) Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages, Kabonglo is a tonal language.
- (ii) As in many other TB languages, aspirated voiced stops b^h , d^h and g^h are totally absent in the language.
- (iii) Interestingly, the velar nasal /ŋ/ can occur in all the three positions.
- (iv) Gender distinction in the language is determined on the basis of natural recognition of sex i.e., all the man (human and inanimate nouns) are referred to as masculine and all the female are referred to as feminine.
- (v) Number is not grammatically significant in Kabonglo i.e., there is no subject-verb agreement for number distinction.
- (vi) The basic word order in Kabonglo is SOV. However, the alternative order of words in the language is OSV. Thus, Kabonglo is a V-final language.

3. Numerals in Kabonglo

Kabonglo being a Tibeto-Burman language, numeral system is of decimal type. However, the Vigesimal system is also found in the language but vigesimal system is not a productive system in the language. As in many South Asian languages in general and Tibeto-Burman languages in particular, compounding is the productive morphological process to form the higher numerals in the language. Numerals in Kabonglo can be classified in the following categories:

1. Cardinal Numerals
2. Ordinal Numerals
3. Fractional Numerals
4. Multiplicative Numerals
5. Distributive Numerals
6. Restrictive Numerals
7. Approximate Numerals

3.1. Cardinal Numerals

In Kabonglo, cardinal numerals can be structurally sub-classified into two types: (a) basic numerals and (b) compound numerals.

3.1.1. Basic Numerals

The basic numerals from one/1 to nine/9 are considered as the basic numerals. It is worth mentioning here that the basic numerals one, two, three and five in Kabonglo are bound roots which always take numeral formative prefix in the form of *kə-* and *p^hə-* respectively. Numeral system in Kabonglo is of decimal type i.e., ten/10 base. The basic numerals in Kabonglo are illustrated in the following table:

Table no.1: Basic numerals in Kabonglo

Value	Gloss	Num
1	One	<i>kə-təŋ</i>
2	Two	<i>kə-di</i>
3	Three	<i>kə-t^huŋ</i>
4	Four	<i>maili</i>
5	Five	<i>p^həŋa</i>
6	Six	<i>t^hru</i>
7	Seven	<i>fiŋiŋ</i>
8	Eight	<i>fai</i>
9	Nine	<i>fiko</i>

It is observed that the numeral one, two and three have nominal formative prefix *kə-*, whereas the numeral 'five' has nominal formative prefix *p^hə-*. However, the numerals four, six, seven, eight, and nine do not take any kind of prefixes or suffixes. But it can be mentioned that the morpheme *-ge* represents 'one' which is used to form multiples of ten such as *t^hrage* i.e., 'ten x one', *kuige* i.e., 'twenty x one', *t^horage* i.e., 'thirty x one' etc.

3.1.2. Compound Numerals

In addition to the basic numerals, numerals in Kabonglo are also formed by means of compounding. In other words, compound numerals are formed by juxtaposition of two or more free morphemes. Based on their process of compounding, compound numerals in Kabonglo can be classified into three types:

- (i) Additive compound numerals
- (ii) Multiplicative compound numerals
- (iii) Multiplicative plus additive compound numerals

3.1.2.1. Additive Compound Numerals

Additive compound numerals are formed by compounding the basic numerals from 1/one to 9/nine to decade *t^hrage* '10'. Here, it can be mentioned that the higher numeral

usually precedes the lower numeral i.e., the head is in the left of the compound. It is also worth mentioning to note that the morpheme *-ge* is being dropped from *t^hrage* ‘ten’ and the additive marker *-lo-* is always accompanied with the numerals to form the higher numeral 10 onwards i.e., 11, 21, 31, 41, 51, 61, 71, 81, 91 and so on. Consider the following examples:

<i>t^hra-lo-kətəŋ</i> [10+1=11]	‘eleven’
<i>t^hra-lo-kədi</i> [10+2=12]	‘twelve’
<i>t^hra-lo-kət^huŋ</i> [10+3=13]	‘thirteen’
<i>t^hra-lo-maili</i> [10+4=14]	‘fourteen’
<i>t^hra-lo-p^həŋa</i> [10+5=15]	‘fifteen’
<i>t^hra-lo-t^hru</i> [10+6=16]	‘sixteen’
<i>t^hra-lo-finiŋ</i> [10+7=17]	‘seventeen’
<i>t^hra-lo-fai</i> [10+8=18]	‘eighteen’
<i>t^hra-lo-fiko</i> [10+9=19]	‘nineteen’

As mentioned above that Kabonglo has vigesimal numeral *kui-ge* ‘20’ [*kui* ‘twenty x *ge* ‘one’] as it is found in very few Tibeto-Burman languages of North East India namely Manipuri (Yashawanta, 2000), Dimasa (Dhiren, 2013), Rongmei (Deb, 2015) etc. The presence of vigesimal numeral *kui-ge* ‘twenty’ is one of the typical features of Kabonglo language in the Tibeto-Burman family. The formations of numerals from 21/twenty-one to 29/twenty-nine are illustrated below:

<i>kui-lo-kətəŋ</i> [20+1=21]	‘twenty-one’
<i>kui-lo-kədi</i> [20+2=22]	‘twenty-two’
<i>kui-lo-kətʰuŋ</i> [20+3=23]	‘twenty-three’
<i>kui-lo-maili</i> [20+4=24]	‘twenty-four’
<i>kui-lo-pʰəŋa</i> [20+5=25]	‘twenty-five’
<i>kui-lo-tʰru</i> [20+6=26]	‘twenty-six’
<i>kui-lo-finiŋ</i> [20+7=27]	‘twenty-seven’
<i>kui-lo-fai</i> [20+8=28]	‘twenty-eight’
<i>kui-lo-fiko</i> [20+9=29]	‘twenty-nine’

Similarly, formation of the numerals from 31/thirty-one to 39/thirty-nine is demonstrated below:

<i>tʰora-lo-kətəŋ</i> [30+1=31]	‘thirty-one’
<i>tʰora-lo-kədi</i> [30+2=32]	‘thirty-two’
<i>tʰora-lo-kətʰuŋ</i> [30+3=33]	‘thirty-three’
<i>tʰora-lo-maili</i> [30+4=34]	‘thirty-four’

<i>t^hora-lo-p^həŋa</i> [30+5=35]	‘thirty-five’
<i>t^hora-lo-t^hru</i> [30+6=36]	‘thirty-six’
<i>t^hora-lo-ŋiniŋ</i> [30+7=37]	‘thirty-seven’
<i>t^hora-lo-fai</i> [30+8=38]	‘thirty-eight’
<i>t^hora-lo-ŋiko</i> [30+9=39]	‘thirty-nine’

Besides, the formation of numerals from 41/forty-one to 49/ forty-nine is demonstrated below:

<i>dəŋdi-lo-kətəŋ</i> [40+1=41]	‘forty-one’
<i>dəŋdi-lo-kədi</i> [40+2=42]	‘forty-two’
<i>dəŋdi-lo-kət^huŋ</i> [40+3=43]	‘forty-three’
<i>dəŋdi-lo-maili</i> [40+4=44]	‘forty-four’
<i>dəŋdi-lo-p^həŋa</i> [40+5=45]	‘forty-five’
<i>dəŋdi-lo-t^hru</i> [40+6=46]	‘forty-six’
<i>dəŋdi-lo-ŋiniŋ</i> [40+7=47]	‘forty-seven’
<i>dəŋdi-lo-fai</i> [40+8=48]	‘forty-eight’

dəŋdi-lo-fiko 'forty-nine'
[40+9=49]

3.1.2.2. Multiplicative Compound Numerals

The multiplicative compound numerals such as 10/ten, 20/twenty, 30/thirty, 40/forty, and numerals from 50/fifty to 90/ninety are formed by the multiplication of basic numeral to decade *t^hrage* 'ten'. In the case of multiplication, the *dəŋ* 'ten', the allomorph of *t^hrage* is used to take part in the formation of higher numerals 50/fifty to 90/ninety. As mentioned earlier that the morpheme *ge* represents 'one' which is particularly used in the formation of higher numerals such as 10, 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, 90 and so on. It is important to note that the higher numeral precedes the lower numeral in the formation of following sets of numerals as illustrated below:

<i>t^hra-ge</i> [10x1=10]	'ten'
<i>kui-ge</i> [20x1=20]	'twenty'
<i>t^hora-ge</i> [30 x 1=30]	'thirty'
<i>dəŋdi-ge</i> [40 x 1]	'forty'
<i>dəŋ-p^həŋa-ge</i> [10x5x1=50]	'fifty'
<i>dəŋ-t^hru-ge</i> [10x6x1=60]	'sixty'
<i>dəŋ-finiŋ-ge</i> [10x7x1=70]	'seventy'
<i>dəŋ-fai-ge</i> [10x8x1=80]	'eighty'
<i>dəŋ-fiko-ge</i> [10x9x1=90]	'ninety'

It is interesting to note that the morpheme 'ge' is used to form only in one hundred and one thousand. It can also be observed that the numeral formative prefix *kə-* is being

dropped to form the higher numerals like two hundred, three hundred, two thousand and three thousand respectively. And the rest of the higher numerals from four hundred to nine-hundred and four thousand to nine thousand are formed by multiplication the century root *insa* ‘100’ and *lifin* ‘1000’ to the corresponding numerals as demonstrated below:

<i>insa-ge</i> [100x1=100]	‘one-hundred’
<i>insa-di</i> [100x2=200]	‘two-hundred’
<i>insa-t^hun</i> [100x3=300]	‘three-hundred’
<i>insa-maili</i> [100x4=400]	‘four-hundred’
<i>insa-p^həŋa</i> [100x5=500]	‘five-hundred’
<i>insa-t^hru</i> [100x6=600]	‘six-hundred’
<i>insa-f^hin</i> [100x7=700]	‘seven-hundred’
<i>insa-fai</i> [100x8=800]	‘eight-hundred’
<i>insa-fiko</i> [100x9=900]	‘nine-hundred’

The formation of thousand is illustrated in the following examples:

<i>lifin-ge</i> [1000x1=1000]	‘one thousand’
<i>lifin-di</i> [1000x2=2000]	‘two thousand’
<i>lifin-t^hun</i> [1000x3=3000]	‘three thousand’

<i>lifin-maili</i> [1000x4=4000]	‘four thousand’
<i>lifin-p^həŋa</i> [1000x5=5000]	‘five thousand’
<i>lifin-t^hru</i> [1000x6=6000]	‘six thousand’
<i>lifin-finin</i> [1000x7=7000]	‘seven thousand’
<i>lifin-fai</i> [1000x8=8000]	‘eight thousand’
<i>lifin-fiko</i> [1000x9=9000]	‘nine thousand’

3.1.2.3. Multiplicative plus Additive Compound Numerals

In Kabonglo, numerals from 51-59, 61-69, 71-79, 81-89, 91-99 are formed through the multiplication of first two numerals and the summation of the third ones with the help of additive marker *-lo-* as can be seen in the following examples:

<i>dəŋ-p^həŋa-lo-kətəŋ</i> [10x5+1=51]	‘fifty-one’
<i>dəŋ-p^həŋa-lo-maili</i> [10x5+4=54]	‘fifty-four’
<i>dəŋ-t^hru-lo-kətəŋ</i> [10x6+1=61]	‘sixty-one’
<i>dəŋ-t^hru-lo-finin</i> [10x6+7=67]	‘sixty-seven’
<i>dəŋ-finin-lo-kətəŋ</i> [10x7+1=71]	‘seventy-one’
<i>dəŋ-finin-lo-fai</i> [10x7+8=78]	‘seventy-eight’

<i>dəŋ-fai-lo-kətəŋ</i> [10x8+1=81]	‘eighty-one’
<i>dəŋ-fai-lo-p^həŋa</i> [10x8+5=85]	‘eighty-five’
<i>dəŋ-fiko-lo-kətəŋ</i> [10x9+1=91]	‘ninety-one’
<i>dəŋ-fiko-lo-maili</i> [10x9+4=94]	‘ninety-four’

3.2. Numerals in Noun Phrase construction

Syntactically, numeral is one of the optional grammatical elements in a Noun Phrase construction in Kabonglo. Functionally, numeral is a modifier of the head noun in Kabonglo Noun Phrase and the numeral follows the head noun without exceptions. So, the order of numerals in a NP is [Noun + Numerals] as in (1)-(2). However, if the head noun is modified by an adjective, the order of the construction is the head noun either preceded or followed by the adjectives and followed by the numerals as can be illustrated in (3a)-(3b)- (4a)-(4b).

- (1) *ai [paitu kədi]NP lai-e*
I bag two COPL-DECL
‘I have two bags’
- (2) *pe [fui kət^huŋ]NP t^hai-e*
s/he dog three see-DECL
‘He/she saw three dogs.’
- (3a) *ai [ətane kə-ŋo kət^huŋ]NP t^hai-e*
I bird NMZ-white three see-DECL
‘I saw three white birds.’
- (3b) *ai [kə-ŋo ətane kət^huŋ]NP t^hai-e*
I NMZ-white bird three see-DECL
‘I saw three white birds.’
- (4a) *ai [siŋ hənčo kədi]NP lai-e*
I house big two COPL-DECL
‘I have two big houses.’

- (4b) *ai [hənčo sij kədi]NP lai-e*
 I big house two COPL-DECL
 ‘I have two big houses.’

3.3. Ordinal Numerals

Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages, the ordinal numerals in Kabonglo are formed by suffixing *-fuva* to the cardinal ones except in the case of ordinal ‘first’. The ordinal numeral first ‘*fui*’ do not take any affixes. It is merely a suppletive form which is found in many other Tibeto-Burman languages, namely, Manipuri, Dimasa, Rongmei, Kokborok, Zeme, etc. The formations of ordinal numerals in Kabonglo are shown below.

<i>fui</i>	‘first’
<i>kədi-fuva</i>	‘second’
<i>kət^huŋ-fuva</i>	‘third’
<i>maili-fuva</i>	‘fourth’
<i>p^həŋa-fuva</i>	‘fifth’
<i>t^hru-fuva</i>	‘sixth’
<i>ŋiniŋ-fuva</i>	‘seventh’
<i>ŋai-fuva</i>	‘eight’
<i>ŋiko-fuva</i>	‘ninth’
<i>t^hrage-fuva</i>	‘tenth’

3.4. Fractional Numerals

In Kabonglo, fractional numerals are formed by using morpheme ‘*vedo*’ in the following formula.

<i>kət^huŋ-vedo-kətəŋ</i>	‘1/3’
<i>p^həŋa-vedo-kədi</i>	‘2/5’
<i>t^hrage-vedo-kətəŋ</i>	‘1/10’

3.5. Multiplicative Numerals

Multiplicative numerals in Kabonglo are formed by suffixing the morpheme *-fi* to the corresponding cardinal numerals. It is generally used when a question arises “how many times or how many folds” as many other Tibeto-Burman languages do. The multiplicative numerals in Kabonglo are demonstrated below:

<i>kətəŋ-fi</i>	‘once’
<i>kədi-fi</i>	‘twice’
<i>kət^huŋ-fi</i>	‘thrice’
<i>maili-fi</i>	‘four times’
<i>t^hru-fi</i>	‘six times’
<i>ŋiniŋ-fi</i>	‘seven times’

<i>fai-fi</i>	‘eight times’
<i>fiko-fi</i>	‘nine times’
<i>t^hrage-fi</i>	‘ten times’

3.6. Distributive Numerals

Distributive numerals in Kabonglo are formed by reduplicating the cardinal numerals except in the case of one to three. It is observed that from numeral one to three, the entire numerals are not reduplicated rather the numeral roots are being reduplicated. However, the rest of the distributive numerals such as four each, five each etc. are formed by reduplicating the whole basic numerals as can be seen in the following examples:

<i>kətəŋ-təŋ</i>	‘one each’
<i>kədi-di</i>	‘two each’
<i>kət^huŋ-t^huŋ</i>	‘three each’
<i>maili-maili</i>	‘four each’
<i>p^həŋa-p^həŋa</i>	‘five each’
<i>t^hru-t^hru</i>	‘six each’
<i>finiŋ-finiŋ</i>	‘seven each’
<i>fai-fai</i>	‘eight each’
<i>fiko-fiko</i>	‘nine-each’
<i>t^hrage-t^hrage</i>	‘ten-each’

3.7. Restrictive Numerals

Restrictive numerals in Kabonglo are formed by suffixing *-t^hi* to the cardinal numerals as shown in the following examples:

<i>kətəŋ-t^hi</i>	‘only one’
<i>kədi-t^hi</i>	‘only two’
<i>kət^huŋ-t^hi</i>	‘only three’
<i>maili-t^hi</i>	‘only four’
<i>p^həŋa-t^hi</i>	‘only five’
<i>t^hru-t^hi</i>	‘only six’
<i>finiŋ-t^hi</i>	‘only seven’
<i>fai-t^hi</i>	‘only eight’
<i>t^hrage-t^hi</i>	‘only ten’

3.8. Approximate Numerals

In Kabonglo, approximate numerals are formed by adding morphemes *t^həva* ‘about’ to the corresponding cardinal numerals as can be seen in the following examples:

<i>laire t^hrage t^həva</i>	‘about ten books’
book ten about	

siŋ kə^huŋ t^həva ‘about three houses’
 house three about

3.9. Conclusion

From the above analysis, it can be concluded that numeral system in Kabonglo is mainly of decimal type. However, the Vigesimal system is also found in the language but vigesimal system is not a productive system in the language. The basic numerals from one/1 to nine/9 are considered as the basic numerals. It is worth mentioning here that the basic numerals one, two, three and five in Kabonglo are bound roots which always take numeral formative prefix in the form of *kə-* and *p^hə-*. It is observed that the numeral one, two and three have nominal formative prefix *kə-*, whereas the numeral ‘five’ has nominal formative prefix *p^hə-*. However, the numerals like four, six, seven, eight and nine do not take any kind of prefixes or suffixes. In the case of multiplication, the *dəŋ* ‘ten’, the allomorph of *t^hrage* is used to take part in the formation of higher numerals 50/fifty to 90/ninety. Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages, the ordinal numerals in Kabonglo are formed by suffixing *-fuva* to the cardinal ones except in the case of ordinal ‘first’. The ordinal numeral first ‘*fuiri*’ do not take any affixes. Fractional numerals are also formed by using morpheme ‘*vedo*’. Multiplicative numerals in Kabonglo are formed by suffixing the morpheme *-fi* to the corresponding cardinal numerals. For Distributive, Restrictive and Approximate numerals different types of markers are used. Finally, the plural morpheme in the language cannot co-occur with the numerals as many other Tibeto-Burman languages do.

Abbreviations

COPL	Copular
DECL	Declarative
NP	Noun Phrase
NMZ	Nominalizer

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Narrative Order and the Ordering of Experience: Structural Prolepsis in Jorge Luis Borges's *The Garden of Forking Paths*

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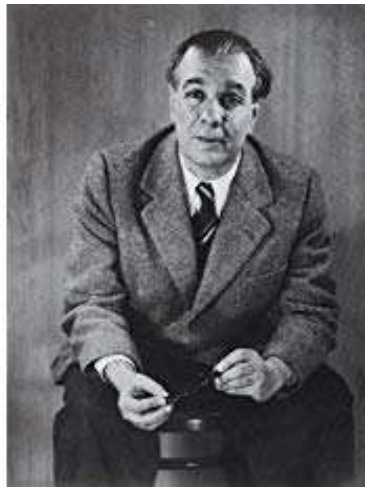


Courtesy: https://www.amazon.com/Garden-Forking-Paths-Jorge-Borges/dp/0241339057/ref=sr_1_1?keywords=The+Garden+of+Forking+Paths&qid=1563052151&s=books&sr=1-1

Abstract

For Paul Ricoeur the distinctive attribute of all narrative activity consists in its unique capacity to synthesize into a temporal unity, discrete and identifiable units of action that constitute any given story. In this way, narrative activity provides a poetic resolution to the theoretical aporia of the experience of time, which refers to the Augustinian paradox of the “being or the nonbeing of time.” The underlying assumption of this line of reasoning is that the human dependence on narratives is an evolutionary necessity and not merely a superfluous cultural elaboration. Following the work of Ricoeur, and also Victor Turner, we treat narratives as “cultural processes that articulate experience.” This paper will be an attempt to apply the critical model of analysis developed in Ricoeur’s work, to highlight instances of ‘prolepsis’ or ‘anticipation’ embodied in a short story by Jorge Luis Borges. The paper also attempts to illustrate through a series of textual examples how the selected story embodies a nonlinear model of temporal ordering in which time is experienced as a “structure of protentions and retentions.”

Keywords: J. L. Borges, *The Garden of Forking Paths*, Narrative and Experience, Narrative Order, Prolepsis, P. Ricoeur.



Jorge Francisco Isidoro Luis Borges (24 August 1899 - 14 June 1986)

Courtesy: https://www.amazon.com/Jorge-Luis-Borges/e/B000APW7C4/ref=ntt_dp_epwbk_0

The following paper is an attempt to apply a general conceptual framework derived from the field of narratology for the limited analysis of one postmodernist short fiction. The choice of the text under scrutiny is neither purely arbitrary nor entirely by design. The story by Borges that we have selected for analysis foregrounds and to a certain extent problematizes the idea of time, but it succeeds in achieving this effect on a thematic as well as the level of narrative and therefore provides a sufficiently fruitful instance for analysis.

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The text, as a limited sample of literary data, affords us an opportunity to examine some of the fundamental inadequacies that haunt all literary attempts to represent the idea of time. It furnishes us with reasonably good examples that appear to be capable of facilitating an extended discussion on the narrative technique covered by the term ‘prolepsis,’ which for the purpose of this paper, is to be understood in its more general sense as a literary analogue to the idea of time experienced as ‘anticipation.’ This conceptual setup that we have just indicated, has its philosophical moorings in the Augustinian characterization of the present as possessing an internally dynamic and distended, threefold structure that breaks down into attention, anticipation and memory (Ricoeur: 18). Once we have sufficiently elaborated our theoretical points of reference, the basic exercise of this paper will be to illustrate through the token of a few textual examples how the story we are analyzing embodies a nonlinear model of time in which the movement of time is experienced as a “structure of protentions and retentions” (Currie: 13).

A fuller understanding of this argument requires a provisional rejection of the commonsensical and uncritical model of time perceived as an irreversible “sequence of nows” or as a “sheer succession of epochal durations” capable of being represented by the metaphor of a “straight coordinate line stretching from an infinite past to an infinite future” (Leach: 126). The present of the story therefore becomes the site of a dynamic and bidirectional negotiation between expectation and retrospection. The examples offered here may seem to privilege anticipation over memory, but this is merely a matter of methodological preference and we do not wish to endorse any conceptual primacy of the faculty of anticipation over memory.

One of the significant ways in which postmodernist fiction sets itself apart from previously cherished and more conventional techniques of narrative composition is the complex manner in which it represents the idea of time. The sudden and swarming proliferation of fictions that challenge and seek to subvert the start to finish linearity of traditional narrative types is a tendency that can be associated with developments that have taken place on the Western literary landscape over the past 100 or so years, a tendency that was foreshadowed by modernism and further intensified with the arrival of postmodernist poetics.

This has led to the emergence and ascendancy of some internally complex narrative forms which experiment heavily with the conception of time embodied in them and engender new experiences of temporality on the level of narrative.

Mark Currie argues that the widespread prevalence of anachronistic devices such as prolepsis and analepsis in contemporary fictional forms (film and the novel are his typical examples) can be explained by reference to certain fundamental socio-cultural changes that mark the modern experience of time. The contemporary consciousness of the present has become

increasingly permeated by elements that were once considered spatiotemporally remote, producing an awareness of 'there' and 'then' that continuously encroaches on the awareness of 'here' and 'now.'

If 'presence' is divided between spatial and temporal properties, between the spatiality of 'here' and the temporality of 'now,' these supposedly new experiences of the present seem to offer an account of its contamination by the 'there' and 'then,' or the spatiotemporally absent. (Currie: 9-10)

It goes without saying that technological advancements in the field of telecommunications and transport have played a vital role in bringing about this changed and somewhat warped experience of time. The relationship between past, present and future which was once conceived through the logic of succession has now acquired the semblance of simultaneity. This is not to say that anachronistic techniques of narration such as prolepsis and analepsis are postmodern inventions but merely to suggest that postmodern poetics has placed the representation of time at the forefront of our narrative consciousness through increased and frequent experimentation on the level of temporal ordering of actions in the form of a story (Genette: 36).

It is one of the underlying assumptions of this paper that some temporal innovations that characterize a significant trend within the larger body of postmodernist literature are in part attempts of the contemporary consciousness to come to grips with these fundamental and unprecedented changes in the socio-cultural experience of the lived present. This idea of present resembles a mode of consciousness in which "the sense of orderly significance in which meanings are spread out in time has yielded to a chaotic co-presence of meanings" (Currie: 9).

If we class narratives under the more general and encompassing category of "symbolic forms" and follow Ricoeur's suggestion that symbolic forms are essentially "cultural processes that articulate experience,"¹ it becomes very easy to see why a changed experience of present would have led to the emergence of experimental narrative forms which purport to embody new models of temporal ordering (Ricoeur: 57).

There are anthropological accounts of time and temporality which posit that the perception of time is to a very significant extent a subjective phenomenon and the manner in which a Balinese person experiences time is manifestly different from the manner in which a subjective consciousness shaped under the influence of the Georgian Calendar will experience the passage of time (Geertz: 360). Correspondingly, the symbolic forms that are likely to be used by a Balinese person in an attempt to apprehend and articulate his experience of time will be patently different from those used by a European.

This underlying assumption is also of a piece with a speculative guideline acknowledged by Ricoeur as a continuous thesis of his work, that:

Speculation on time is an inconclusive rumination to which narrative activity alone can respond. Not that this activity solves aporias through substitution. If it does resolve them, it is in a poetical and not a theoretical sense of the word. (Ricoeur: 6)

One of the ways in which the human mind orients itself towards the lived experience of time is through the symbolic medium of narrative activity. The human dependence on narratives then can be characterized as an evolutionary and biological necessity. From this position, ordering of human experience is one of the primary functions all narrative forms.

Both Ricoeur and Currie speak of a “hermeneutic circle” between life and narrative (Currie: 41). This hermeneutic circle is mediated through a poetic logic that is derived from the model of emplotment which Ricoeur appropriates from Aristotle and modifies considerably in the light of the Augustinian reflections on time and eternity. A significant part of his analytical effort in *Time and Narrative* is directed towards a reorientation of the Aristotelian idea of emplotment and its conceptual emancipation from the generic limitations implied in the paradigm of Greek tragedy. A model of emplotment thus emancipated, Ricoeur hopes, can be extended to the consideration of all classes of narrative from fiction to history (Ricoeur: 64).

We would also like to stress at this point that for Ricoeur the central problematic of narrative consists not in its referential fidelity to external conditions of truth but its capacity to accommodate the effect of “concordant discordance,” which is also posited in his presentation of things as the distinguishing feature of emplotment. Narrative achieves this effect of “mixed intelligibility,” and we will hope to illustrate this point by reference to the short story by Borges, by taking a heterogeneous mass of contingent phenomena such as actors, actions, motives, goals, outcomes, situational uncertainties, shifts and reversals of circumstances, and configuring them within the field of narrative’s world of action by grafting on them the logic of a unified temporal whole.

In this way emplotment, for Ricoeur, refers to the entire ‘arc of operations’ whereby temporal, structural and symbolic elements are drawn from a world of action that *prefigures* the act of narration and are *configured* within the world of action and temporal structure of the story, leaving it for the reader to *reconfigure* these elements in the act of reading (Ricoeur: 54). This is the theory of threefold mimesis that constitutes the fulcrum of Ricoeur’s hermeneutical enterprise and allows us sufficient basis to advance the claim that one of the primary functions of narrative

in our lives is that it provides us with models of temporal subjectivity that are both drawn from the lived experience of time and also in some sense transform this lived experience.

The start to finish linearity of traditional narrative types provides one such model of temporal subjectivity, which the postmodernist narrative poetics seeks to replace with a consciousness of time that is non-linear and resembles a crisscrossing of ‘protections and retentions,’ a back and forth movement in which the significance of the present event or action emerges through a continuous play between anticipation and memory.

One significant implication of this would be that no understanding or evaluation of human action, whether fictional or real, is ever possible unless this action is restored to a determinate temporal dimension. We will try to illustrate this point by reference to the example of the ‘novel’ that is characterized in Borges’ short story as a “labyrinth of symbols” but before we get to that, the idea of prolepsis needs to be given some further definitional outline.

We would like to indicate at this point that our use of prolepsis is somewhat different from what is generally understood by this term in the established idiom of narratology. In its very specific sense, which is widespread in narrative studies, it commonly means a flagrant disruption in the chronological ordering of the story, a flash forward that allows the reader a privileged access into the state of affairs of the future (Currie: 29).

For the purpose of the present discussion however, the meaning of the term can be extended to cover a more generalized aspect of the experience of reading and narrating in which anticipation plays as much a part in shaping our experience and understanding of the story’s present as is played by memory.

Mark Currie’s threefold typology of prolepsis provides the basis for our subsequent use of the term. The acceptance that is relevant here corresponds with what he identifies as ‘structural prolepsis’ or a general “anticipation of retrospect” which is a “property of all fictional narrative” and not merely a dramatic device that conducts a flagrant excursion into the future of the story (Currie: 32). The structure of present implied in this idea is that of a present “lived as the object of future memory” or a mode of consciousness that experiences the present in the anticipation of retrospect, from a projected vantage point in future that retrospectively assigns significance to the present of the story.

We have already indicated in the introduction of this paper that this idea of a present that is experienced as a negotiation between anticipation and memory has its philosophical roots in the Augustinian theory of the threefold present. This general sense of anticipation that continuously

motivates the narrative and guides our understanding of a story's action is the primary object of our analysis to which we will now proceed.

Almost the entire narrative of Borges' *The Garden of Forking Paths* is presented from First Person point of view in the form of a deposition submitted by a captured spy. The narrative is therefore divided between two time loci, the time locus of the narrator after he is seized, processed for information and sentenced to death, which constitutes the vantage point from which the story is narrated in the mode of teleological retrospect, and the time of the sequence of events beginning from his discovery and leading up to his seizure which constitute the main action of the story.

Both Genette and Currie have suggested that structural prolepsis is engendered by the tension constituted between these two time loci that are simultaneously present in the narrative and to certain extent can be seen as even embedded into each other, the "time of the narrator" and the "time of the narrated action" (Genette: 33). In the initial sequence of action, the protagonist of the story, a Chinese spy in the service of the Germans during World War I, realizes that his secret identity has been compromised and he has only a little time left to embark upon a desperate mission that will allow him to communicate to his 'Leader' a secret he has acquired through espionage, namely, strategic intelligence about the enemy's artillery base. "In ten minutes, my plan was ripe. The telephone book gave me the name of the only person able to communicate the information: he lived in a suburb of Fenton, less than half an hour away by train" (Borges: 120).

The particulars of the undertaking are not revealed to the reader, but a hovering sense of anticipation is introduced through two suggestions which indicate that the unfolding of subsequent action is going to take place in a climate of extreme danger and moral ambiguity. First, in the form of a confessional statement, "I am a coward. I can say that, now that I have carried out a plan whose dangerousness and daring no man will deny" which guides us to anticipate not merely a passage through peril and calamity but also the impending success of the plan, even as the details of the plan are withheld. The second suggestion follows on the heels of the first and foreshadows the ominous nature of the action that the protagonist has resolutely undertaken. "He who is to perform a horrendous act should imagine to himself that it is already done, should impose upon himself a future as irrevocable as the past" (Borges: 121).

With these two suggestions which are strategically placed within the initial sequence of action of the story, the reader is invited to project forward a future, in relation to which the present of the story is already relegated to the past. This sense of anticipation is teased to the point of almost breaking before it is finally consummated in the climax of the story. In the climax, the protagonist kills an innocent and amicable Sinologist named Stephen Albert, whose name and address he had acquired from the telephone book, without any provocation of malice, in a highly

contingent but ultimately successful attempt to convey to his leader the information that the new English artillery camp was located in a city which is eponymously named Albert:

I have been sentenced to hang. I have most abhorrently triumphed: I have communicated to Berlin the secret name of the city to be attacked. Yesterday it was bombed—I read about it in the same newspapers that posed to all of England the enigma of the murder of the eminent Sinologist Stephen Albert by a stranger, Yu Tsun. The leader solved the riddle. He knew that my problem was how to report (over the deafening noise of the war) the name of the city named Albert, and that the only way I could find was murdering a person of that name. (Borges: 127)

A resolution of the plot is achieved by fulfilling this receding sense of anticipation that is introduced in the initial action of the story and which motivates the subsequent forward movement of the narrative. This is also one of the ways in which any narrative order achieves the effect of ‘discordant concordance’ that was alluded to earlier. In Ricoeur’s terms:

To follow a story is to move forward in the midst of contingencies and peripeteia under the guidance of an expectation that finds its fulfilment in the conclusion of the story. This conclusion is not logically implied by some previous premises. It gives the story an end point, which, in turn, furnishes the point of view from which the story can be perceived as forming a whole. (Ricoeur: 66)

We can see that the examples of prolepsis we have just discussed are very different from the kind of prolepsis that manifests itself in the form of a direct flash forward. This variety of prolepsis we have been describing is a structural property of all narrative fiction whereas the dramatic variety of prolepsis is a property of some narrative fictions that use the technique of flash forward for organizing the action of the story. We would also like to add that prolepsis may manifest in a narrative on the more subtle level of a clue or an “invited inference,” to borrow a term from Currie’s vocabulary, which may appear to be of no apparent significance at the time of its appearance in the events of the story, but acquires significance retrospectively (Currie: 38).

Two examples from the story should suffice to make this point clear. One such clue can be identified as ‘buried’ within the limited body of the information that is offered about the ‘Leader,’ which doesn’t tell us much about him except that he is a “sick and hateful man” awaiting a word from his spies in his “office in Berlin poring infinitely through the newspapers” (Borges: 120).

This simple detail that is communicated in the most casual manner comes to acquire an augmented significance once we review it in the light of the subsequent chain of events in which

the protagonist uses newspaper reports as the means of sending his final message to the leader, a contingency upon which hinges the entire weight of his desperate undertaking. Whatever motivation this hint, or clue acquires in the overall signifying structure of the story, it acquires in the mode of retrospective anticipation. Similarly, before embarking upon the enterprise of murdering Albert Stephen, of which the reader knows nothing at this point, the protagonist is shown as examining his personal effects which consist of a seemingly random inventory of objects:

the American watch, the nickel-plated chain and quadrangular coin, the key ring with the compromising and useless keys to Runeberg's flat, the notebook, a letter I resolved to destroy at once (and never did), the false passport, one crown, two shillings, and a few odd pence, the red-and-blue pencil, the handkerchief, the revolver with its single bullet. (Borges: 120)

The same revolver is subsequently used in the murder of Stephen Albert and in some sense prefigures the act of murder in the moment of its appearance. The retrospective significance of the single bullet, and the way in which it departs from the continuous expectation that it may be used by the protagonist to kill himself in order to avoid falling into the hands of the enemy, are narrative effects engendered by structural prolepsis which is the narrative anachrony that concerns us here.

The consciousness of time that is articulated through this kind of narration is not a linear consciousness of time but an awareness of the present that is suspended between anticipation and memory. We would now like to conclude this paper with a few passing remarks over how time appears in *The Garden of Forking Paths* on a more direct and thematic level as well, in addition to the structural features we have just described.

By reference to Ricoeur's work we have already suggested that any narrative order achieves the effect of intelligibility because it restores an indefinite succession of actions to a determinate temporal dimension. One implication of this, which has also been suggested, is that no serious understanding or evaluation of human action is possible unless this action is framed within some temporal unity, which is basically speaking the constitutive order that is provided by any act of narration. Hence narrative is a central category also for law and not merely for literature.

In the course of a conversation between Yu Tsun, the protagonist of the story, and Stephen Albert, his victim, we are told that an illustrious ancestor of the former renounced the governorship of an ancient province in order to write a novel, the temporal ordering of which resembles the structure of a labyrinth. The title of the story is in fact taken from the title of this fictional novel. The novel accrues a notorious reputation of inscrutability through the successive generations and is uniformly written off by its author's descendants as a "contradictory jumble of irresolute drafts"

(Borges: 124). Additional information that is provided at this point suggests that the main problematic of the novel is the idea of time. But the events and actions of the novel are perplexing and lack intelligibility because there is no semblance of order in their occurrence. The reason why the actions of the novel preclude the possibility of any coherent interpretation can be assigned to its indeterminate temporal structure.

In all fictions, each time a man meets diverse alternatives, he chooses one and eliminates the others; in the work of the virtually-impossible-to-disentangle Ts'ui Pen, the character chooses—simultaneously—all of them. He creates, thereby, several futures, several times, which themselves proliferate and fork. (Borges: 125)

By simultaneously projecting several timelines at once, the novel becomes a babel of confused temporalities. In this manner the novel attempts to become a 'plan of chaos' that is thoroughly indecipherable to any reader. "Unlike Newton and Schopenhauer, your ancestor did not believe in a uniform and absolute time, he believed in an infinite series of times, a growing, dizzying web of divergent, convergent and parallel times" (Borges: 127).

In the foregoing passages we have treated anticipation and memory as if they are independent processes but in the mental activity of the reader, these two are mutually imbricated to the point of being inseparable from each other. Though they might seem like opposite processes they are actually two dimensions of the same general structural capacity of narrative that we had outlined in the introduction of this paper, a mode of storytelling in which the present of the story becomes increasingly suffused with traces of the past and the future. A continuous imbrication of the present with the past and the future which lends a meaningful dimension to the events narrated in the story. The examples we have discussed so far can be seen as underscoring the structural condition that the production of prolepsis continuously relies on the mechanism of retrospection.

ⁱ A similar position has been taken in the Anthropological works of Victor Turner. See Turner, 1988 in the bibliography.

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Need for Documenting Non-verbal Cues for Analysing Interpersonal Speech Communication

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Abstract

In interpersonal speech communication, behaviour is exhibited both through utterances and nonverbal cues. While nonverbal cues consist of kinesics, proxemics, paralanguage and the like, utterances chiefly use language. When researchers try to record the interpersonal communication, they do not have many choices. The studies that are conducted under controlled situation have sample AV recordings. However, if the study is in a natural setup with no other means to record the act except for spy camera, the researchers may land up in an ethical fix. Apart from this, the transcription of the sample conversation should also be presented in a way that records the ‘**gesticulation**’ (Kendon’s Continuum, cited in McNeill, 1992) in a comprehensible manner. Researchers who have worked in the area of non-verbal communication have extensively used illustrations to present their data analysis. These illustrations are either re-constructed from video recordings or are snap shots from the recordings. This paper tries to introduce a textual method to represent **gesticulation** in interpersonal speech communication research. To endorse the method, initially a pilot survey is done with 30 management professionals. Later, a sample size of 120 management graduates is selected and a test is administered. The test consists of comprehension questions on conversations from the corporate with and without non-verbal cues included in parenthesis. Hypothesis is formulated where null hypothesis and alternate hypothesis is tested through Z-test. The outcome of the study will accept or reject the need for, and the method of recording non-verbal cues for analysing interpersonal speech communication.

Keywords: *documenting non-verbal cues, interpersonal communication, gesticulation, non-verbal communication*

Introduction

In speech (or oral) communication behaviour is exhibited, both through utterances and nonverbal cues. While nonverbal cues consist of kinesics, proxemics, paralanguage and the like, utterances chiefly use language. Language is fundamentally, as Firth observes, “a way of behaving and making others behave” (qtd. in Coulthard 1977). In other words, it is a two-way

interactive process based mostly on speech. He coined the term “context of situation”. Context is what occurs before and/ or after a word. It lies in language. Situation, on the other hand, is physical, extralinguistic reality. Both determine the effectiveness of communication. For Firth, corpus of verbal processes without a context is insufficient for discourse analysis (Coulthard 1977). Similarly, sample utterances without accompaniments like nonverbal cues may be inadequate to study interpersonal communication. To describe human communication, most linguists concentrate only on language meaning, form and substance (Coulthard 1977). Although Gumperz suggests including nonverbal aspects of communication for analysing discourse coherence (Schiffrin 1987), the attempt to accommodate the earliest medium of communication- body language- in analysing discourse is rare.

A study conducted by Mehrabian (1981) stressed that paralingual and facial expressions alone communicated 93% of people’s feelings and attitudes. Furthermore, brain researchers (e.g., Kelly, Barr, Church, & Lynch, 1999) have concluded that verbal and nonverbal processes are interdependent and connected. It is thus, a misnomer that the analysis of nonverbal communication processes is fused into linguistic expressions and that they are mutually inseparable in human interactions. Nonetheless, there have not been many attempts to gather empirical evidence as to what extent the inclusion of non-verbal cues may impact qualitative research on different types of interpersonal communication viz...conversation, interview, group discussion and so on...

Jones and LeBaron (2002), in their work, advocated for an integrated approach to examining verbal and nonverbal communication in research. They recorded obstacles to integration as, 1) problem is the linear format of journals and books, which is somewhat at odds with reporting the complexities of multidimensional interactions. It is much easier to present verbal transcripts or statistical tables than it is to describe and analyse integrations among varied message modalities. 2) Another impediment is that there is not widespread agreement about how holistic analyses should be conducted.

To examine these studies further, two representative conversations are given below that exemplify the need for inclusion of non-verbal cues in interpersonal speech communication.

Case 1:

Customer: Good afternoon sir.

Officer: kana hela?

Customer: Sir I wanted some information about Platinum card...I wanted to know er..er. how can I use the Platinum debit card?... actually I am going er.. er.. out of station

Officer: You want to know about Platinum card?

Customer: Yes a.a.

Officer: ae Panda Babu eyi Platinum card kana achhi?

Case 2:

Officer: (He is wearing glasses; the bridge of the glasses is resting on the centre of the nose; his head is slightly down; he is holding a pen in his hand, has an open register on the table, besides some files, and is looking at the customer from over the tops of the specks,)

Customer: Good afternoon, Sir (in a soft voice and with slight bowing)

Officer: (Eyes gazing over the tops of the specks, lips curved downward, head slightly down ... speaks in a low pitch feeble voice) kana hela?

Customer: Sir I wanted some information about Platinum card (in a soft voice and with a deliberate smile on the face and slight bending body posture)

Officer: (Lifts his head and neck up.)

Customer: (Slightly perturbed voice but with a deliberate smile on the face.) I wanted to know er.. er.. er how can I use the Platinum card?

Officer: (Eyes gazing over the tops of the specks, lips curved downward, head slightly down and forehead a little wrinkled)

Customer: (confused loo)) Actually I am going er... er.. er out of station.

Officer: (with same expressions and in a blunt voice) you want to know about Platinum debit card?

Customer: (smiling and nodding in agreement) Yes.. er er..

Officer: (turning the head back to other counter) ae panda babu eyi Platinum card kana achhi? (turning to the customer, showing hand gesture towards the counter at the back)

The first Case presents a very normal situation in which a customer is approaching a bank officer for some information. The customer practically seems to be struggling to communicate to the officer. There are long pauses “(....)” and hesitations “(er..er..er)” that are markedly the features of the customer’s speech. In fact, the customer also seems to elaborate the query after a long pause that sounds irritating. This text does not reveal the communicative behaviour of the bank officer. Rather it makes the reader conclude that the officer is a cordial participant.

However, the second Case is quite explicit and even indicates the cause of the customer’s hesitation markers and abrupt pauses (the stern looks of the bank officer). The initial nonverbal cues displayed by the bank officer (gazing from over the tops of the specks) build a barrier between him and the customer- the look looks stern (Pease, 1999). This contributes to the customer’s humble nonverbal behaviour while wishing the bank manager- a soft voice with a slight nodding movement and lowering body posture (Joshi, 2004). The animated greeting gesture goes on to depict extreme politeness; this of course is a result of the air of superiority that the bank officer has created due to his nonverbal cues. Even at the very next instance, the bank officer does not choose to respond to the customer’s “Good afternoon”. He rather prefers to give

an unfriendly gaze, followed by a feebly heard “kana hela?” (What happened?). This gives a hint to the customer that the officer is either busy, or disinterested, or both.

The customer has no choice but to talk to the officer. So, even if offended, the customer tries to smile and carries on with the conversation. The facial expression of the customer keeps changing from a deliberate smile to a confused look. The voice impressions also sound perturbed because the customer does not get the expected communicative response. In such a situation the customer is sure to feel uncomfortable, which is evident from the hesitation markers. Again, when the customer has finished the query there is no response from the officer. Rather there is a blank face on display. This makes the customer elaborate the query with additional inputs like “actually I am going er.. er.. er. out of station”. As if the discomforting looks and silence were not enough, the officer cuts short the customer’s talk by asking a question in a blunt voice. Finally, he guides the customer to some other officer, who is sitting at a counter at the back, through hand gestures.

His question, “ae panda babu eyi Platinum card kana acchi?” (Panda Babu, what is this Platinum card?), along with the hand gesture implies that the right person to tell about the debit card is Mr. Panda. On the one hand he uses verbal expressions to draw the attention of Mr. Panda, and on the other hand, he guides the customer to Mr. Panda through nonverbal gestures. Thus, the text with nonverbal cues, explicitly described, conveys that the bank officer is not a cordial communicator- an inference that is opposed to the previous conclusion.

These cases provide a scope to include a few parameters of nonverbal communication while studying interpersonal speech communication. These parameters are cues that qualify, modify, and/or add value to human communication.

Objective

The objective of the study is to find the importance of including non-verbal cues in the script of interpersonal speech communication. Thus, the objectives are stated as,

- 1) to study the importance of including non-verbal cues in interpersonal communication script.
- 2) To evaluate the comprehensibility of an interpersonal conversation that includes non-verbal cues.

Method

The method of study includes 1) a pilot survey with 30 management professionals (only 24 responded) from across domains, placed within Bhubaneswar and Cuttack. The professionals responded to a questionnaire designed on a 5-point scale; 2) a set of tests of comprehension using

conversations with and without non-verbal cues is conducted for 119 management students who have completed a 3 credit course on Managerial Communication and 3 credit course on Organisational Behaviour from BPUT, Odisha, and have fair understanding of verbal and non-verbal communication. They are given 4 sample conversations, 2 with and 2 without non-verbal cues. The scores from the comprehension test with 20 MCQs is then tabulated and analysed.

The survey results are analysed using descriptive statistics and a one-sample t-test. The scores of comprehension tests are analysed using descriptive statistics and two-tailed z-test.

Analysis of Results

The result of the pilot study indicates that 18 out of 24 professionals find non-verbal cues in a conversation script to be important to understand the gaps in an interpersonal communication process (see figure 1).

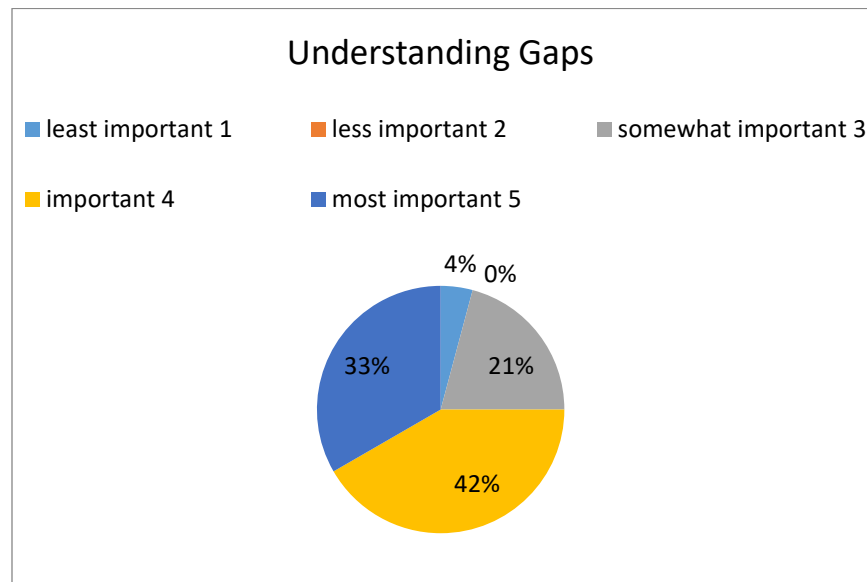


Figure 1

15 out of 24 professionals find including non-verbal cues in conversation script to be important or most important to judge the effectiveness of interpersonal communication process. 8 find it somewhat important.

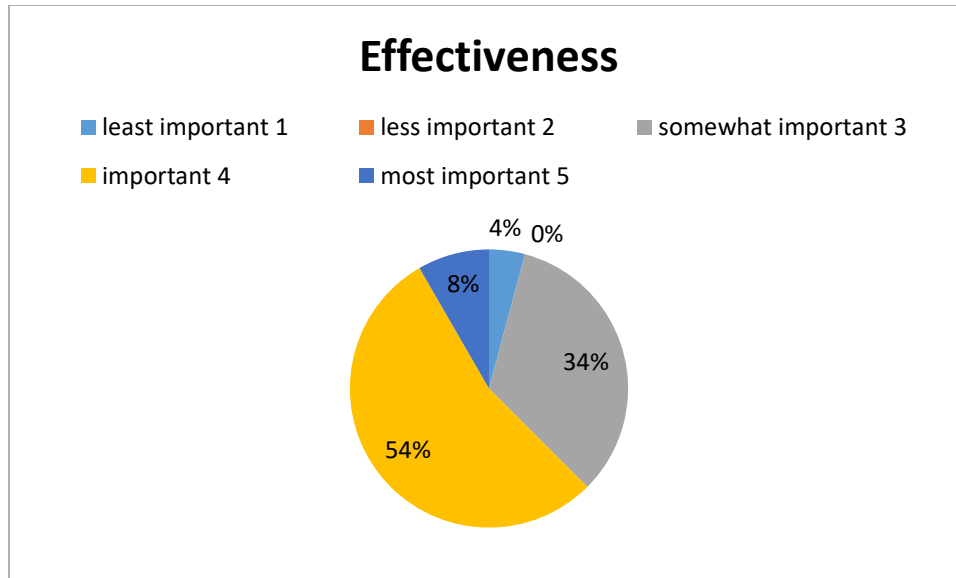


Figure 2

Interestingly, only 11 respondents feel including non-verbal cues in conversation script to be important or most important to judge the behaviour of the participants and 11 others feel it to be somewhat important.

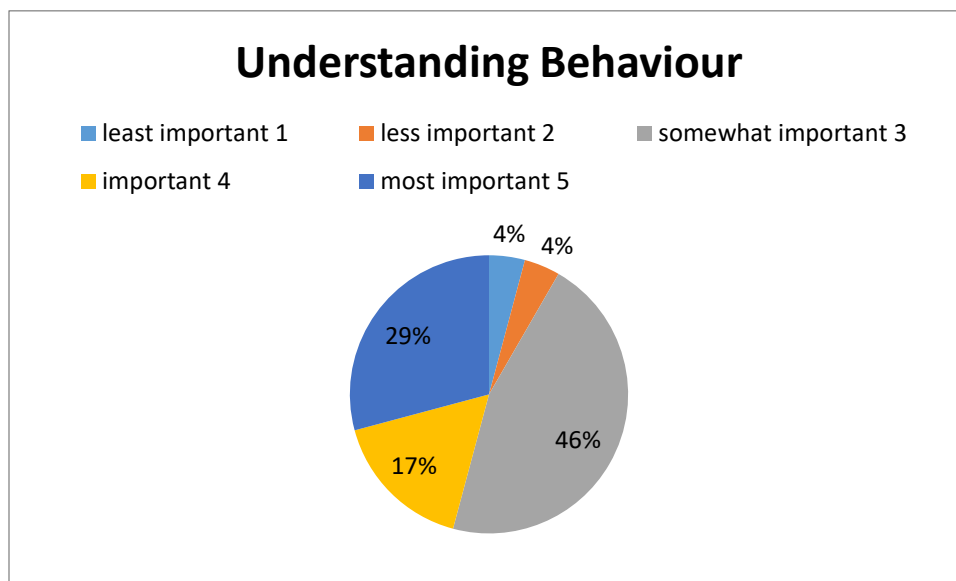


Figure 3

14 respondents find case studies on face-to-face interpersonal communication to be better comprehensible or highly comprehensible, 5 find it somewhat better comprehensible and 5 do not find any difference between case studies with non-verbal cues and without non-verbal cues. This can be represented as:

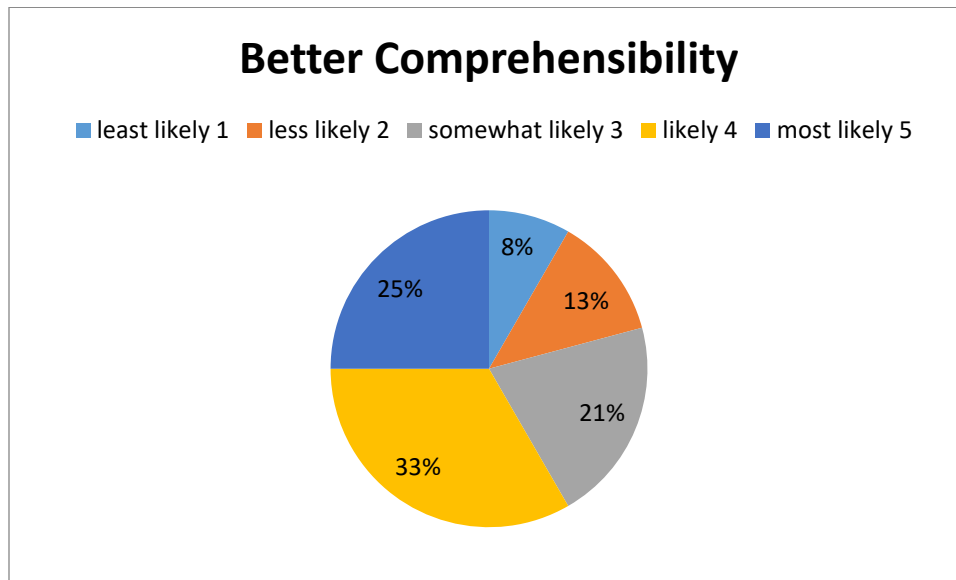


Figure 4

The above data indicates a need for including non-verbal cues in interpersonal communication script for improved comprehension. To prove this, the following descriptive statistics is calculated for a sample size:24, Mean (\bar{x}): 3.75, standard deviation (s) = 0.7033.

To understand whether the sample response is likely to be the population response, a t-test is conducted. For the purpose of statistical analysis, we set a hypothesis as

H₀: $\mu \leq \mu_0$ [The population mean is less than or equal to the hypothetical mean]

H_a: $\mu > \mu_0$ [The population mean is greater than the hypothetical mean]

Here, μ_0 is taken as 3.

The t-statistic is computed as follows:

$$t = \frac{\bar{X} - \mu_0}{s/\sqrt{n}} = \frac{3.75 - 3}{0.7/\sqrt{24}} = 5.249$$

Since it is observed that $t=5.249 > t_c=1.714$, it is then concluded that *the null hypothesis is rejected. (critical value for right-tailed test $t_c=1.714$)*

Using the P-value approach: The p-value is $p = 0$, and since $p=0 < 0.05$, it is concluded that the null hypothesis is rejected.

It is concluded that the null hypothesis (H_0) is *rejected*. Therefore, there is enough evidence to claim that the population mean is greater than 3, at the 0.05 significance level. The 95% confidence interval is $3.454 < \mu < 4.046$. Graphically, it is represented as:

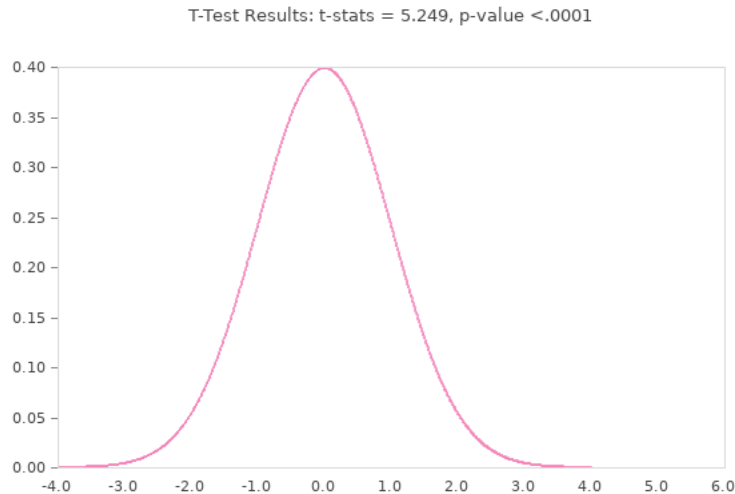


Figure 5

Now, the comprehension tests' scores of 119 management students are tabulated and the following results are drawn:

Descriptive Statistics for 119 Sample Size

Mean value for comprehension test without non-verbal cues= 2.823

Standard deviation= 1.234

Mean value for comprehension test with non-verbal cues= 3.55

Standard deviation= 1.680

To establish that the mean value of the population is expected be higher than the hypothetical mean value, we set the following hypothesis:

$H_0: \mu \leq \mu_0$ [The mean value of population is less than the hypothetical mean]

$H_a: \mu > \mu_0$ [The mean value of population is greater than the hypothetical mean]

Mathematically,

$H_0: \mu \leq 3$

$H_a: \mu > 3$

This corresponds to a right-tailed test, for which a z-test for one mean, with known population standard deviation is used. The significance level is $\alpha=0.05$, and the critical value for a right-tailed test is $z_c=1.64$.

The rejection region for this right-tailed test is $R=(z:z>1.64)$

The z-statistic is computed as follows:

$$z = \frac{\bar{X} - \mu_0}{\sigma/\sqrt{n}} = \frac{3.55 - 3}{1.67/\sqrt{119}} = 3.593$$

It is observed that $z=3.593>z_c=1.64$, and the p-value is $p=0.0002$, and since $p=0.0002<0.05$, it is concluded that the null hypothesis is rejected. Therefore, there is enough evidence to claim that the population mean μ is greater than 3, at the 0.05 significance level. The 95% confidence interval is $3.853.25<\mu<3.85$. Graphically it is represented as,

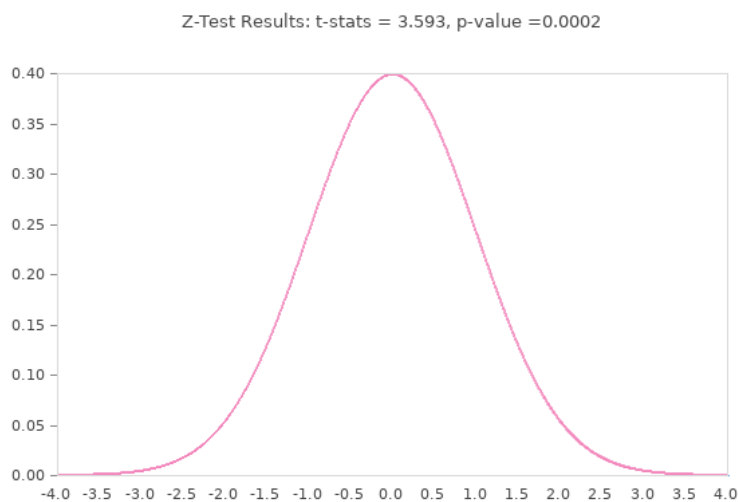


Figure 6

Conclusions

Therefore, from the study we can conclude that it is important to include non-verbal cues in interpersonal communication script (as indicated by the t-test); including non-verbal cues in conversation/ interpersonal speech scripts enhance the understanding of the reader. Thus, there is a need for including non-verbal cues in methods that analyse interpersonal speech communication like conversations, interviews, group discussions etc...

This study is significant as there has been a raising demand for the use of non-verbal cues in conversational analysis or discourse analysis or interpersonal case study by researchers involved in qualitative research. The method used in this study and recommended for bringing out non-verbal cues explicitly in a conversation is simple. There may be future studies to endorse this method across borders and domains.

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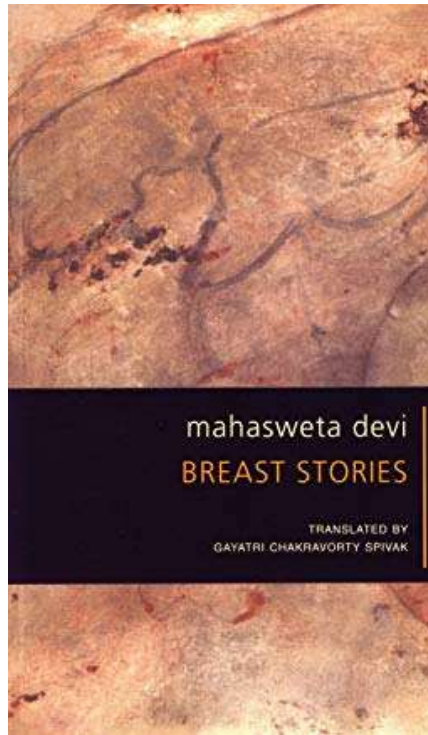
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Exploring the Female Psyche in Mahasweta Devi's Stories

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Courtesy: https://www.amazon.in/Breast-Stories-Mahasweta-Devi/dp/8170461405/ref=sr_1_1?crid=FXLYTTILWBTH&keywords=mahasweta+devi+breast+stories&qid=1563480999&s=books&sprefix=Mahasweta+%2Caps%2C260&sr=1-1

Abstract

Less of a feminist and more of a humanist, Mahasweta claims that a woman should be judged as a human and not from the point of view of gender, race, caste and class. Devi portrays the true face of feminist assertion, whereas Draupadi uses her wholeness of mind and body to fight against her marginalized identity. Mahasweta Devi's stories speak of this unspeakable truth of women's misery and their power for enduring and resistance. Mahasweta gives voice to the

characters. She speaks the ‘unspeakable’ truth of these characters. In this paper I am going to discuss some of her short stories, namely, *Breast-Giver*, *Draupadi*, *The Hunt*, “Behind the Bodice” to explain that her women are strong and that they have a tremendous sense of self-respect and are prepared to fight all their battles to the end, even if the end is death.

Keywords: Mahasweta Devi, *The Hunt*, *Breast Giver*, *Draupadi*, Feminism, psychological affliction, women’s suppression.

Introduction

“I often say that my world is divided between two things - the needful and the needless. I am interested only in the former. I don’t have much use for the needless”. -- Mahasweta Devi

Feminism is a social movement required for the reparation of the imbalance in society by providing women with the same rights and opportunities as men in order to be able to take their rightful place in the world. Feminism is not only the movement, which is run by women for women, but it is a kind of a Human Liberation movement, which encourages society to think that women are also human beings. Feminism requires the world to look at women as human beings and to think about their problems, dreams and needs.

Women are born free, but everywhere they are found in chains in our society. They are considered as inferior human beings and are always looked down upon. For ages, they have been crushed under the grinding stone of a male-dominated society. A woman is not as free and secure as a man. She has been a victim of both physical and psychological affliction. She is considered frail and fragile. Since ancient times, man has acquired and occupied the superior status, leaving the woman as the inferior in the society.

Feminism has always been considered as one of the movements like any other movement either socially or literally. Sometimes it gets a place in literature with all other theories which have less of a sentimental approach. Feminism has come down to us or has evolved gradually as a theory, but most of the females, the marginalized section of the society, has changed very slowly over the years. We are still fighting the same age old battle of repression and suppression; the same mental and physical humiliation; the same suffering of being born a woman. The woes and the disgrace of a female humiliated - remains the same. There seems to be no end to the mental and physical violence faced by women in the society.

Mahasweta Devi explicates the problems of women and the misery they undergo in a male-dominated society and presents them in her works. In her works she has dealt with the plight of women and their subordination. Her writing has little to do with the insignificant everyday eccentricities of the privileged; she avoids the needless or the unnecessary. In her

matter-of-fact no-rhetoric writing one sees no romanticism in the plight of women who are most directly and drastically affected by the patriarchy. Her characters are from the bottom of the socio-economic class; they are real, multi-dimensional, and well-formed. To Mahasweta Devi, they are the needful.

In Mahasweta Devi's stories we observe a wide range of women from tribal to upper caste women, from rich to poor who are dealing with the hypocritical behavior of the family and society. The dualism or double-standard of society not only ruined their lives, but also set an example of dictatorship where women and their physical attributions are only considered as a product to 'consume' and 'mutilate'. Besides, their appearance is suppressed, and their physical body is regarded as an object of reproduction, sometimes even without their proper consent. Devy Ganesh remarks about Mahasweta Devi:

she has a strange ability to communicate with the silenced, her best speech reserved for those to whom no one has spoken". She is taken as a rare creative writer in bringing the challenging stories from the unheard groups. Mahasweta's story represents a feminist literary appropriation. With her book, *Breast Stories*, Mahasweta Devi, as an Indian intellectual, came to be known for her feminist position. The stories, written by Mahasweta Devi, represent the real context of female existence. The voiceless figure of the female has her own consciousness that grows along with her stories.

Breast Stories is a refreshing book for those who want to dive into Indian feminist fiction. Although it was originally written in Bengali, *Breast Stories* was translated into English by the feminist critic Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak in 1997. The three stories are titled: *Draupadi*, *Behind the Bodice*, and *Breast Giver*. They have one connecting thread – the breast, a metaphor for the exploitation of women from the marginalized communities. These powerful stories draw attention to the systemic oppression that women face each day. Rape has been used as a weapon of war in Columbia, Iraq, Sudan, Nepal, and Afghanistan. Women are constantly harassed on the streets, be it in the city of Delhi or Kerala. Our bodies are controlled and objectified not only by monsters but also by well-intentioned men.

Mahasweta Devi attacks the silence that surrounds the social-political-cultural issues, and through her narrative on "Jashoda", focusses on the experience of motherhood and on the exploitation of women.

Overcoming the oppression of men and society to gain equality is a major theme in *Breast-Giver*. The protagonist, Jashoda, is a marginalized Brahmin woman. After her husband is crippled in an accident, she is forced to work as a wet-nurse for the wealthy Haldar family. She adopts the profession of wet nurse to support her family when her husband Kanganicharan gets

crippled in an accident. To support her family she feeds twenty children. Though this new employment forces her to be repeatedly pregnant, yet it gives her social and political significance in the form of a Mother of the world. In the present story breast is the source of food and livelihood for Jashoda's family. Haldar household was using Jashoda's body. Jashoda is paid to breastfeed the many children of her master and mistress. Her abundant milk becomes a vehicle of income for her husband and family. Jashoda is not exploited because she is a woman, but because of the class structure, the change of time and situation. Though she is the provider for the family, Jashoda is not free from her responsibilities as a wife and mother to her own children. She has to do both jobs simultaneously, which speaks to the complexities of many women's lives. In the very opening of the story Jashoda is introduced as:

Kangalicharan's wife from birth, the mother of twenty children, living or dead, counted on her fingers – Motherhood was always her way of living and keeping alive her world of countless beings. Jashoda was a mother by profession, professional mother.

Just because a woman works outside the home to earn a living doesn't mean that she cares any less about the goings on in her household and family. A working woman needs to continue to be strong for her family even though she may not be present some of the time and it is known that women can be both nurturing and powerful at the same time. Jashoda also has to overcome the oppression of a predominately patriarchal society, which is an important ideal in feminist theory. Jashoda overcomes being 'other' in many ways. The society in which Jashoda lives holds men in a higher regard than women. The men are the providers for the family, as well as the heads of the household. Jashoda reverses these traditional patriarchal norms. She becomes a leader, and she goes to work outside the home to provide food for her family. In this way, she becomes equal to or greater than her husband and the other men of society. She takes on responsibilities that are usually left for the man of the house to fulfill. Jashoda and Kangalicharan switch stereotypical 'roles' of men and women. Kangalicharan takes charge of the house while Jashoda goes to work. This reversal of traditional roles speaks to Jashoda's enterprise as well as her power within the family and society. She and her husband become equals when you consider the work done at home which is traditionally the work of the woman.

Jashoda becomes a "Milk mother" for the Haldar family and dies suffering alone in silence due to breast cancer. In spite of so many children, she receives a lonely cremation by the hospital staff. As long as she remained fertile, the exploiters became happy with her produce and the moment she gets cancer, they keep away from her. Thus Mahasweta Devi shows how the "Milk mother" pays a heavy price for her ignorance and dies of severe pain. She exposes the hidden exploitation of a poor woman, a faithful wife and a great mother, Jashoda.

Mahasweta Devi, is horrified by the game of politics that tries to break the spirit of men and women who fight for emancipation from slavery on behalf of their caste and clan. Hence, she embarks on a project of presenting the shocking realities that happen behind the socioeconomic and political iron curtains, through her most powerful work *Draupadi*.

Dopdi is a twenty-seven year old tribal woman. She is named by her mistress. She is on the list of wanted persons who had killed the mistress' husband, Surja Sahu a land-owning money lender, because he refuses to share water with the untouchables. They are wanted by the government and so they are hiding in underground. Dopdi, the protagonist of the story is running away from the police, but unfortunately caught by the armed forces and tortured to get information, and when she tolerates all tortures and does not reveal whatever information the policemen wanted, the worst torture is used on her, that of being brutally gang raped whole night and day, which leaves her bleeding and wounded and bruised. Rape is a weapon used on a woman on any pretext. If there is an enmity between two men or between two communities, between two nations it is brought down upon the women. Women in a society, specially Indian society, is considered to have certain values and honour and if one wants to take revenge upon that community and that particular society it is the women folk that need to be attacked and destroyed physically and mentally so that the society is shamed.

The name Dopdi is actually a rural or tribal version, a mis-pronounced version of the name Draupadi. The character of Draupadi in the Mahabharata and that of Dopdi of Mahasweta devi are so different, and yet there is a meeting point where both try to fight against the injustice meted out to them in their own manner. Draupadi is a queen, royal, beautiful, and she has five husbands although married to one. Dopdi on the other hand is a poor tribal woman, wronged all through by the feudalistic power in the society. In the Mahabharata it is God himself (Lord Krishna) who comes to save Draupadi from the humiliation, but there is no God to save Dopdi. The revenge motif in both cases is very much prevalent; however, there is some kind of difference. The revenge of Draupadi is one reason behind the Mahabharata war. In Mahasweta devi's Dopdi, there is no revenge taken for her humiliation, she decides on her own method. She tries to take revenge upon those who wronged her. She emerges as a new female. After the tragic incident, Draupadi does not howl or behave like a helpless victim. In the morning, she refuses to put on her clothes, tears to pieces her clothes with her teeth, and does not wash herself. Her behaviour is incomprehensible, rather strange. In refusing to obey the command, she appears bigger than life to the all too calculating Senanayak, the army commander. She walks naked towards Senanayak in the bright sunlight, very uplifted and sure. She says:

“.....what's the use of clothes? You can strip me, but how can you clothe me again? Are you a man? She looks around and chooses the front of Senanayak's white bush-shirt to spit the bloody

gob at and says, There isn't a man here that I should be ashamed. I will not let you put my cloth on me. What more can you do? Come on, counter me come on, counter me..... Dopdi pushes Senanayak with her two mangled breasts and for the first time Senanayak is afraid to stand before an unarmed target, terribly afraid". (p. 196)

We have yet to come to terms with the fact that men and women are equally important in the house, or outside, to talk of larger issues and to find a solution to extreme cases like rape; and to fight for justice for rape victims remains a very distant dream. Hence when in Literature one comes across a character like Dopdi who decides to take her revenge in her own way. She does not wait for any other stronger force or some man to take revenge on her behalf. She is an example of the extraordinary fact as to what extent a woman can be pushed, that it comes to her mind to raise her voice after being brutally gang raped. Dopdi is the new woman born and even if she is not able to bring outlook of woman. This new woman has challenged patriarchy without any movement and without any sound. She begins another war in her own silent manner.

The Hunt also dwells on the theme of sexual harassment. Devi focusses on violence that is often employed to subdue and control women. Here a tribal woman falls prey to a rich man's lascivious desires. But Mary – the semi-subaltern protagonist – puts a stop to his sexual advances by resorting to violence. She murders the offender with her machete. This turning point in Mary's life comes on the night of a tribal spring festival when after a period of thirteen years, gender roles are momentarily reversed as women assume the role of hunters and men that of clowns. By assuming the role of a hunter as per the ritual, Mary gains courage and eliminates the threat looming over her, thereby averting her own destruction. *The Hunt* shows Mary's revenge against "sexual patriarchy". Devi's stories thus highlight the dismal conditions in which the lower classes of women are forced to live where they continually bear degradation at personal, socio-economic and political levels. However, her work also highlights the fact that it is primarily the woman herself who can transform herself from a victim to a winner who follows the courage of her convictions and brings about a metamorphosis in her life.

The last story of the Mahasweta Devi's Breast series entitled *Behind the Bodice* is based on the song of a Bollywood movie, *Khalnayak*. The story opens with a thought-provoking statement of the writer herself:

What is there was the national problem that year. When it became a national issue, the other fuckups of that time—e.g. crop failure-earthquake, everywhere clashes between so-called terrorists and state power and therefore killings, the beheading of a young man and woman in Haryana for the crime of marrying out of caste, the unreasonable demands of Medha Patkar and others around the Narmada dam, hundreds of rape-murder-lockup torture et cetera non-issues which by natural law approached but failed to reach

highlighting in the newspapers—all this remained non-issues. Much more important than this was choli ke piche—behind the bodice.

Upin, a freelance journalist and photographer, takes a photograph of Gangor, a poor tribal migrant labourer breastfeeding her baby. He clicks several photographs of Gangor's breasts and sends them for publication to a popular newspaper. The message underlining a picture of Gangor's breasts is "The half-naked ample-breasted female figures of Orissa are about to be raped. Save them! Save the breast!" These pictures somehow make their way to Jharoa and come to the attention of the local police. The police nab Gangor, puts her in lock-up and gang-rapes her. After learning about the violent fate of Gangor, Upin takes it upon himself to go and save her. He finds out that she has started to earn her living through prostitution. It is the only alternative left for Gangor as her kith and kin have abandoned her. When the two come face-to-face, Gangor names Upin as one of those who violated her. The site of Gangor's mutilated breasts is a shock for Upin. The horrific vision drives home the reality of the Nothingness that he has tried to ignore all this time. He realizes that his plea to people to 'save the breasts' is utterly futile. For those who are assigned to protect society are, in fact, the perpetrators of violence. In a state of shock, Upin steps on the railway tracks of Jharoa and is crushed under the wheels of a train.

Conclusion

Her stories are the basics for justifying localized figures where the female becomes the means of social and familial savior. She puts the female within them with their strength and modes of existence. Her stories have not only been the s part, but also the agent for bringing the change. Alter explains:

Her characters are generally drawn from the impoverished or exploited classes and their struggle for justice takes on mythological overtones. Every individual and thing is different with one another in a specific perspective in this universe. So discrimination is not unjust if it would be the basis of stratification of person and things but when it is unjust –when it discriminates people on the basis of cast, class, creed, religion, color and gender and give a vertical division of society, and distinguishes individuals' ups and downs on the ladder of hierarchy based patriarchal social system where lower is always dominated by upper. In other words, where differences lead to discrimination, discrimination provides a platform of oppression and exploitation. Here discrimination is morally wrong and socially unacceptable because it leads to social injustice.

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Exploring the Female Psyche in Mahasweta Devi's Stories

Immigrant Feminine Experience in the Select Novels of Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni

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Abstract

This paper aims to explore the pain of Indian women immigrant characters in Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni novels. She is one of the famous writers in IndianEnglish writings. Her works expresses the shade of immigrant women sufferings in new land. Her works surrounded by two worlds that is Indo-American struggling. Women are caught in the two worlds and which made them to feel hard to adjust in the new environment. It shows the difference between the first generation and second generation of immigrants; it also disturbs the harmonious relationship of family members. Some immigrants successful in the new land but some lose their life and become victim. Immigration nearly becomes death and rebirth. Chitra Banerjee's novels *The Mistress of Spices* 1997, *Queen of Dreams* 2004 and *The Vine of Desire* 2002 which explores immigrant women experience. It mainly deals with the agony of women characters that are displaced from India to America. It also focuses on the portrayal of Indian modern women who torn between past-present, desire-ability and tradition-culture.

Keywords: Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni, Immigrants, Nostalgia, Displacement, Weakness, Deep feelings, Rootlessness, Patriarchal.

Introduction

Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni is the Indian-American author and wrote about fifteen books including the award winning short story, the arranged marriage, the novels the mistress of spices, queen of dreams, sister of my heart, the palace of illusion. She born in India and settled in America. Most of the works are translated into eighteen languages and her two novels made into films. Divakaruni also writes for children. The mistress of spices was on several best books lists including the San Francisco chronicle's 100 best books of the 20th century. Divakaruni beautifully tells the stories about immigrant brides who are both liberated and trapped by cultural changes

and who are struggling to carry out an identity of their own. Her novels deal with the immigrant women and their soul struggle.

Immigration is a worldwide phenomenon in this present age which is an age of globalization. The educated and ambitious people displaced from developing countries to developed countries in search of better prospects. Some join their children who have gone abroad. When they are stay abroad for a longer time, they are disconnected from their families, relatives, lifestyle and culture of their homeland. It gives a cultural shock for the immigrants and it makes them feel lonely, alienated and isolated. Ti becomes difficult to cope up with new environment. Some of the people accepted it but some are frustrated. Many immigrants struggle to survive in a world which has no compassion especially women suffer a lot.

In *TheMistressofSpices* the female protagonist Tilo was a mystical woman and faced loneliness along with immigration in America. Tilo belongs to the first generation and run the spice bazaar in California. She had given many names in the novel and also had the power of mind reading where she becomes very famous. In island she met an old lady who trained her to learn the spices and their power. Tilo settled in California and sell spices to the western people. Through power Tilo was able to solve the sufferings of customers. In California she faced lots of problem being immigrant and fall in love with raven an American man. Tilo has transformed herself like her names changes in every steps of life. Immigrant characters lead a life of warrior and fight against the struggles to live. Divakaruni through her writings raised the problem of immigrant women faced in the society as well as in the life.

“You doubt? Ah. You have forgotten the old secrets your mother’s mothers knew. Here is one of them again: vanilla beans soaked soft in goat’s milk and rubbed on the wrist bone can guard against the evil eye.”(MOS 3)

Through these lines it shows the importance of Indian spices which sale by Tilo in as an Indian immigrant in America. The Indian spices made her to recall her traditions, native myth and values. The customers who came to Tilo to buy spices and their explanation remind her grandmother advice in childhood days. When Indian immigrant settled in alien country as they forgot their family and society where they grow up. They attracted towards the beauty of American modern world and lifestyle which change them overall.

“All day at home is so lonely; the silence likes quicksand sucking at her wrists and ankles. Tears she cannot stop, disobedient tears like spilled pomegranate seeds, and Ahuja shouting when he returns home to her swollen eyes.” (MOS 15)

After Tilo the female character Lalita Mr. Ahuja's wife. She also Indian immigrant took away by Ahuja after their marriage. Mr. Ahuja was born in India but settled in America for work. He got married to Indian women and never gave respect to her. After marriage his character was totally changed, and he used to beat her for every mistake. Lalita was a quiet and brought up in Indian tradition that never raised her voice against husband. Women are not treated equally in any country and their lives are controlled by male dominant society. Lalita Indian immigrant suffered a lot in the family and modern world America by her husband.

"I Tilo architect of the immigrant dream." (MOS 28) .This lines explain about the protagonist of the novel Tilo who displaced to California by pirates. Being immigrant Indian women Tilo had sacrificed lots of dreams for her identity and struggled to settle in the alien land. In America there was no one for her to support as born in India and lived in modern land it becomes a difficult for her to survive in the society. from the childhood she had never led a happy life where she lost her family, identity and remain loneliness, alienation and homeless feelings in the American country. Indian immigrant women found very difficult to settle down in the others country.

"Geeta who is India and America all mixed together into a new melody, be forgiving of an old man who holds on to his past with all the strength in his failing hands." (MOS 87).

Geeta was next important character she born in India but brought up in America. Her parents were settled in the America to earn for their survival. Geeta was adopted the modern culture and lifestyle of America but her grandfather came to meet them. Being an Indian man who totally against the American society their lifestyle dressing sense and behavior. Geeta's grandfather always holds the tradition of Indian culture. Even immigrant women are not allowed to go for job. They should get married and settle in their life.

The Vine of Desire 2002 narrated the story of Anju and Sudha they shown as victims of immigrant, marriages and dominated in both societies. Women in the different place, country, location and how they face the problem as an immigrant. Some way they react to the situation and stand for their own rights. Anju female character that married and settled with husband in America but it was new place for her to accommodate. The next character Sudha who divorced in India after marriage she goes to America to start new life with daughter Dahitiya. This novel explores the struggle of Indian women and throws lights on the pain. The immigrant woman wanted to establish themselves as individual.

"It's gone now. Demolished to make space for a high rise apartment building. And I' m the one who kept at your grandmothers do you know you have three

grandmothers: my mom, Sudha's mom, and Pishi, who's my dad's sister... sometimes I wish I hadn't been in such a hurry to come America."(VOD 13)

These lines explore the sufferings and experience of immigrants in alien land where they have to connect themselves to become the part. The culture and customs are totally different from their mother land and they have to learn the social habits of alien land the novel vine of desire parted the immigrant women sufferings and their dilemma to live. It has shown the vast difference between the Indian and American culture. For Indian born women they are roasted and hand in the mid of new and old world ethics. All the immigrants' characters in the novel had highlighted their pain, discovery and alienation in America. Especially woman goes through the pain with society, love, difficulty and relationship. The character Anju wanted to know about the American country and their lifestyle she read lots of books to clear her vision about American people but when she experienced it she find it painful to leave her mother land.

"So in my teenage years, I read things like Anna Karenina and sons and lovers and the great Gatsby and a room of one's own. I' m glad I did but maybe aunt Nalini- that's Sudha's mom- was right. They were no good for me... I read about it would transform me. But transformation isn't so easy, is It.?" (VOD 14)

These novels throw light on the immigration becomes so painful for women at the initial stage and life turned into several problems in alien land. The female character Anju was interested to know about the American country their lifestyle through books. When she became the victims of immigrant women from India to America which made to raise the question about sufferings in alien land. Anju finds difficulties to settle down in America because it was totally different from mother land.

"I don't know says Anju. You are too romantic about what goes on in America. There are a lot of silenced woman here. The no – money, no- rights rule works here too. And liberty. It just not as blatant." (VOD 156)

Sudha tried to get a good job in America to take care of her daughter without any support others. It was not an easy task to find a job in America as is immigrant. American people won't trust Indian people easily and they are ready to dominate them in every field. Sudha didn't know about the American people's behavior and immigrant women are misused by male society of this land. There are lots of rules and regulation to work in America advised but Anju to Sudha, it was not easy to survive here.

Queen of Dreams is the novel based on Indian immigrant Bengali family who settled in America but at starting they suffered a lot to survive in the alien world to be in safety. The

protagonist of the novel Rakhi struggled to exist in America. These novels explore the immigrant women pain in the alien country and missed their home country. It also highlights the generation gap between the women in the society. The three generation in the novel is immigrant mother Mrs. Gupta, Rakhi a single mother in Berkley in America and her daughter Jonaki. The second generation immigrant characters in the novel tried a lot to create an identity and survival. The women characters in the novel tried to highlight their fearless individuality to create. The narrator of the novel throws light on the lives of Indian immigrant women struggles through her description. “I hungered for all things Indian because my mother never spoke of the country she’d grown up in just as she never spoke of her past.” (QOD 35)

Mrs. Gupta belongs to the first generation immigrants from India to America. The major jobs of her to interpret the dreams of people and help them too aware of danger happen in the future. Her daughter Rakhi born and brought up in America but she always had the feelings for the motherland Indi. Rakhi was settled in America but had the strong connection towards her Indians. But Rakhi’s mother had always tried to keep the secrets of past happened in India and she had the ability to read dreams.

“What could I tell them? They knew her better than I did they knew her in her essence. Until now I would on to the hope that someday I would know her, ... I realized that it was never going to happen. My mother secret self was lost to me forever” (QOD 114)

This novel is based on east west encounter and story moves how women transformed and try to settle in the life. The female character Rakhi hangs between her life and death. The focus of the novel was on family, culture, tradition and relationship and how they understand each other. Rakhi’s mother death made to think and search about the oats of her mother’s life. Rakhi’s important relationship changed forever in the alien count. Rakhi’s discovery made her to lose in the alien country and she was not able to survive in the new world.

“Some wear western clothes, and some are in kurta – pajamas, but what I noticed most are their faces. Lined unabashedly showing their age, they hint at eventful pasts lived in place very different from this one difficulty and triumphs I can’t quite imagine.” (QOD 193-194)

These lines explain about the Rakhi’s pain and sufferings for accepting the other style and settled down. Rakhi always like Indian tradition and culture she had lots of passion for motherland. She observed the Indian clients in her shop and tried to maintain a good relation to know about the mother land. She born and brought up in America but always curious about the

Indian style and dressing sense. Though she adopted western style but not consider themselves as foreigners but Indian in alien country.

Conclusion

Throughout the novels the readers can find a longing for homeland or the past life mainly the women characters Anju, Sudha, Tilo, Mrs. Anju, Rakhi, Mrs. Gupta. All the lives of women longs for homeland and motherland. Women victimized of the patriarchal system of the country. There is a feeling of rootlessness, alienation and marginalization. It is well structured so as to arrive how the women characters in Divakaruni's novel encounter immigrant issues within the framework of Indian side. Divakaruni wishes that women need to be bold, courageous and independent. They can create their own identity, destiny and find out the solution.

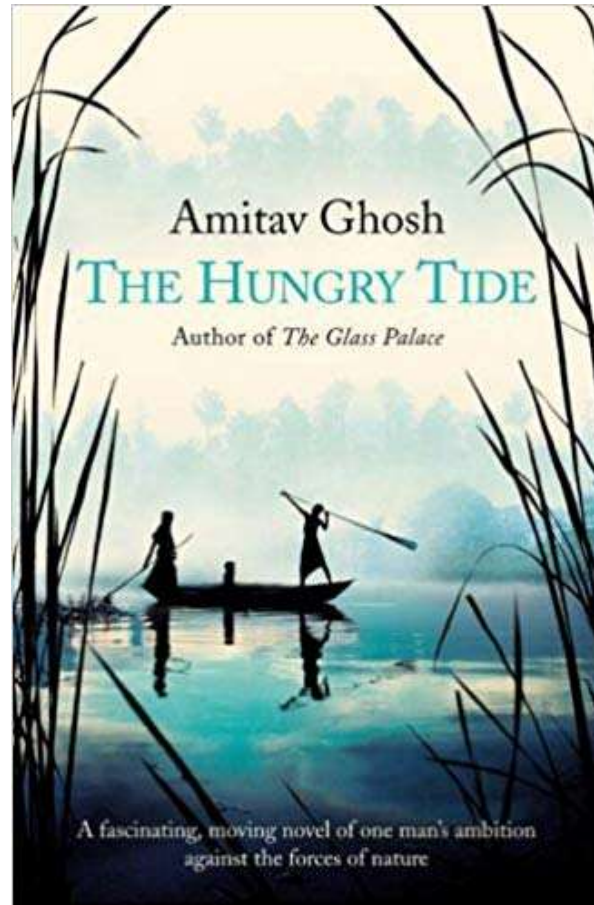
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**Trans-Cultural Communication in Amitav Ghosh's
*The Hungry Tide***

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Courtesy: https://www.amazon.com/Hungry-Tide-Amitav-Ghosh-2005-05-03/dp/B01MTN72U9/ref=sr_1_2?keywords=Amitav+Ghosh%E2%80%99s+The+Hungry+Tide&qid=1562881941&s=books&sr=1-2

Abstract

The effect of post colonialism is related to colonialism which is the prime theme of the recent writings in India. The writers focus on the theme of identity of those who lost their generation and sense. They project the Indian way of life by showing their anger at the English Indians, who forget their culture and tradition. The cultural baggage, each one of them carries, is

different and unique to the region they belong to, with the result that when they give expression to their nostalgic outpourings, each one depicts a different landscape in every way. Their ways of coping are also different; in India we have vast differences in the ideas inculcated by families, ranging from the Judge who is westernized, to an orthodox cook. Thus, it is only natural that the peculiar characteristics of a particular area or hamlet are truth fully depicted by the novelist. Amitav Ghosh marks a tendency by presenting multiple aspects of human identity, cultural communication through the intervention of power in human relationships. This paper tries to look deeper into this aspect of the writer's view.

Keywords: Amitav Ghosh, *The Hungry Tide*, One's Identity, Post-colonial writing, Culture and Tradition, Eco-feminism, Institutionalised Oppression

Trans-Cultural Communication

The Hungry Tide is Amitav Ghosh's latest novel located in Bhatir Desh - the Tide country in the Sundarbans. Ghosh creates a sustainable ecology where human life is as changeable as the ebb, Bhata and flood, Jower, of water. The novel is situated in an immense archipelago of Bengal. The narrative technique is in the form of a jig-saw puzzle of different times, boyhood and adulthood which are related to memory. Most of the novels focus on the survival of the human beings who battle with the forces of nature.

Eco-feminism also echoes beyond the lines; it re-imagines what nature is and what kind of relationship can exist between the human and non-human world in the elimination of institutionalized oppression based on gender, class, race and sexual preferences, and what may aid in changing abusive environmental practices. Kusum represents nature as a woman, but at the same time, reshapes the culture with the help of her male counterparts.

Priyali Roy belongs to the present generation. She is a cetologist researching marine mammals, a rare profession for women. She comes to Sundarbans to study the Orcaella Brevirostris or the Irrawaddy dolphin. Her tenacious spirit impelling her to explore the penetrating secrets of nature extends her stay in India. Despite the norms that have been changed and variations in taste acquired through her contact with western culture, she remains essentially Indian in sensibility.

An ideal society needs the co-operative work of dreamers, historians of culture, scientists, social workers and economists. It needs visionaries to imagine and construct a new socio-economic system, a new cultural consciousness and also practical thinkers and implementers who would support the relation of mutuality, rather than competitive power.

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Trans-Cultural Communication in Amitav Ghosh's *The Hungry Tide*

The necessity for intercultural dialogue is evident in today's world, where difference and multiplicity are to be encountered at every step. Globalization and internationalization, the two issues to which every discourse/text about the times must come back to are at the core. Though closely related, they are subtly different. Globalization generally refers to the movement/transfer of goods, services and knowledge around the globe motivated by economics. Internationalization, in another way, is marked by the desire for the sense of recognition as well as examination of the qualities of the culturally diverse groups. So, we see culture is a crucial element in the globalized world of today.

Culture is the totality of living patterns of a community of human beings. Their thoughts, actions and interactions, the procedures they adopt for fulfilling their needs and wants, the meaning they subscribe to their life and its aims, the shapes of their material objects and their orientation towards them, their attitudes towards their natural environment and other communities of human beings, are all conditioned by culture which is pre-eminently transmittable and acquirable. As "the concept of zero integrates the mathematical, physical and engineering sciences, in the same way culture integrates social, psychological and philosophical sciences". (The Complete Review, 2000)

Amitav Ghosh's *The Hungry Tide* takes upon itself the task of identifying and dismantling this mutually exclusive divide between civilization and culture in order to generate a dialogue between the two. The process of inevitability of dialogue is traced through the following three stages of human perception:

The utopian dream vision embodied by Daniel Mackinnon Hamilton.

The acceptance of the fact that reality is far from utopia, and the consequent need for revolution as presented through the character of Nirmal.

The recognition of need for dialogue across boundaries as a matured means of surviving in today's globalized scenario.

The story of *The Hungry Tide* centres around the American Indian ethnologist Piya, the translator-businessman Kanai and their accidental meeting on their way to a common destination the Sundarbans. In a land totally unsuitable for human settlement he attempts to establish a casteless, classless human society. This idea could not take root because of two reasons. Firstly, the idea of utopia is in itself fantastic: Utopias subsist on an optimistic view of man's potential, character and destiny, and on his capacity to be excited by wonder. Tensions and complexities of

modern civilization tend to erode the one, and the actual achievements of science have weakened the other.

Secondly, the fact that Hamilton was merely an English colonizer, with no knowledge of the land and its people, doomed not only his enterprise, but also the lives of the settlers. Nirmal has the benefits of a western education, but he is irresistibly drawn to local causes. He is an embodiment of the romantic-idealist in whom the poet and the revolutionary co-exist. The elitist poet Rilke and revolutionary socialist Marx attracts him equally. He believes that Utopia can be achieved by revolution. However, even he cannot fully comprehend the vulnerability of the utopian settlement at Morichjhapi. The revolution at Morichjhapi cannot stand up against the combined forces of local and global reality. His unsuccessful attempt at translating idealism into reality is recorded in his notebook, which he wills to Kanai.

The comprehension of local issues and a romantic idealism are not enough to make one's way through the world. What is more important is the recognition of the fact that the opening of channels of communication, although more essentialist than idealist, is a better strategy for translating idealism into reality. Nilima and her hospital thrive in the hostile surroundings precisely because she recognizes this need. It is however through the interaction between Piya, Kanai and Fokir that Ghosh drives home the imperative of getting out of every preconceived mindset which has become a barrier to communication amongst the people living in the same world.

The pressures of modernization are reducing the diversity of plant, animal and human genetic pools and are consequently reducing, the diversity of cultures and the valuable human ideas developed in them: The advent of the science in the recent years has changed the behaviour of the human being of our time which becomes the major theme of violence. The people know the values of the science and democracy and how to maintain the living system of the living beings.

The integration of non-Western scientific traditions is depicted through the Fokir-Piya dialogue. The first obstacle to be overcome is that of the social and cultural hierarchy. Kanai had overcome this bias. When Fokir takes Kanai to the island where he loses the use of his language and the advantage of belonging to the civilized urban world, the power line dividing the translator, Kanai, and the translated is reversed. Kanai explodes into a helpless rage. The second obstacle in the problems involved in the act of translation is in itself. When Piya asks Kanai to translate Fokir's song he says, "You asked me what Fokir was singing and I said I couldn't translate it: it was too difficult. And this was a history that is not just his own, but also of this place, the tide country". (THT, 291)

The second and equally important idea is that of the cultural and religious syncretism especially to be viewed in “the light of Ghosh’s statement that post 9/11 the book is his attempt to praise the world”. (The New Yorker, Sep 24, 2001) In a continuity that extends from Kusum to Fokir, the cult of the Bon Bibi and Shah Jongli along with a tiger shows the evidence of Hindu ritual. However, the changing contained a word that sounded like *Allah*.

The cyclone towards the end of the novel serves to put things in perspective. It exposes the transitory nature of human constructs posited against elemental forces. It also shows the relevance of those things that are relegated as unfit for the demands of the new world order. The cyclone, as a symbol of natural forces, serves to dismantle the hegemonic construct of superior cultures and ways of life. In doing so it shows that the degree of syncretism with nature determines the resilience of a particular culture. The cyclone is, thus, an agent of nature, which leaves in its wake the realization for a need for dialogue with the indigenous cultures of the world.

Conclusion

The novels of Amitav Ghosh are meditations upon nature and the nation. The book is based on the men and women and their divisions. The relationship between the Kanai and Piya is the main story of the novel. And the relationship between Piya and Fokir is the other plot of the novel. After *The Glass Palace*’s complex family structure stretching over several generations, *The Hungry Tide* seems almost intimate. Nonetheless, it shares Ghosh’s concern for the individual against a border historical, or even, in this case, geographical – backdrop. One need not leap very far to discern in Kanai’s words some hint of the motivation that drives a good bit of Amitav Ghosh’s writing.

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Trans-Cultural Communication in Amitav Ghosh's *The Hungry Tide*

Revelation of Self in Selected Stories of Alice Munro

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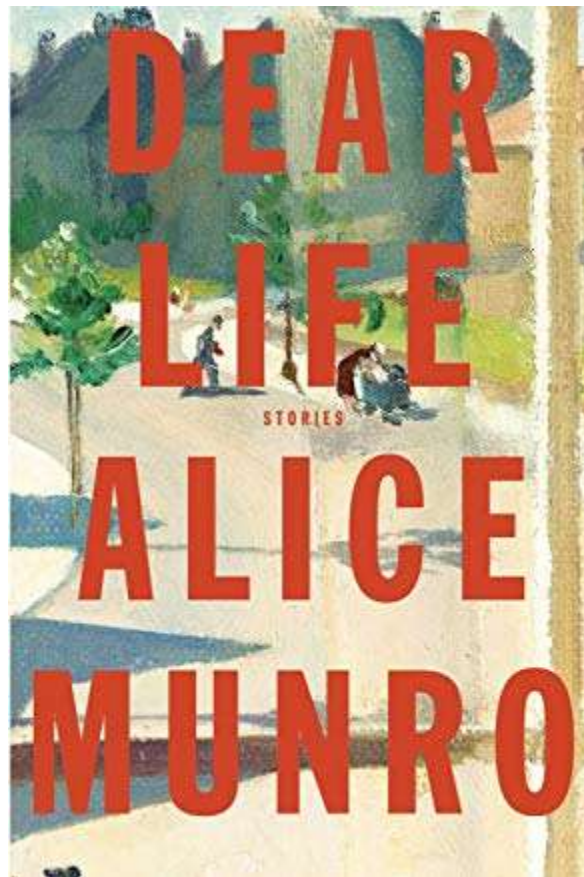
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Courtesy: https://www.amazon.com/Dear-Life-Stories-Alice-Munro/dp/0307596885/ref=sr_1_6?keywords=alice+munro+short+stories&qid=1563249271&s=books&sr=1-6

Abstract

A woman writer presents her parents, siblings, her husband and the other close members of her family through her characters when she wants to describe her life. A woman's identity is always attached to the people; she never has her independent life to exhibit. Women's autobiographies deal mainly with the emotional disturbance chained with men and their marginalized social position. Alice Munro has become the master of short

fiction of Canada for exclusively writing short stories and stick on to the only genre of short story.

Alice Munro's work is translated into 20 languages and she has the distinction of having each new book sell better than the preceding one. Her perception on life makes each of her stories memorable to the reader. Alice Munro's readers are unaware of the fact that her own life history can be traced out by reading the stories which she has penned down through her works. She describes the close surroundings, rumours and present minute incidents about her hometown on paper and portrays in her stories recalling her own neighbourhood and her own people in her stories.

This paper aims at describing Munro's expression of inner feelings, trauma and her personal experiences through her characters in the stories.

Keywords: Alice Munro, Women, characters, autobiographies, independent, marginalized, short stories, personal experiences, inner feelings, trauma and perception.

Expression of Self by Women Writers

The expression of self for women writers is convenient in the form of autobiography. The autobiographies of women project psychic trauma of an ordinary homemaker to a woman in the pursuit of social status on par with man. Women writers making their own life sketches exhibit their courage and confidence to project the difficulties faced by the women in the society. So, the idea of expressing self has become a source for women to fight for their quest for identity.

Alice Munro's Works

Alice Munro's works provide an appealing insight into different ways of society through the form of short story. She describes about individual identity, gender relations, and relationship between people in the society. Munro tries to display the possibility of writing only reality into fiction and make her stories to become so natural to the readers. Munro's stories are combinations of memories, observations, innovation, sensible details happen in day to day life. She is praised for her focus on regional histories, for the distinctive Canadian feeling described in her writing. As noted by Graham Holcombe, "Alice Munro has done more than any living writer to demonstrate that the short story is an art form and not the poor relation of the novel". (Holcombe 3)

Munro's work has international reception, and this is proved through her short stories publishing in the New York magazine. She has anthologized many short stories in Canada. This prominent Canadian feminist short story writer is often called the regional writer because her fiction frequently centres on the culture of rural Ontario, Canada. Munro is called as a writer who supports women. She is a feminist fiction writer, uses the short story form as a medium to portray the sad conditions of women living in the landscape of small town,

Ontario, Canada where she has been brought up. Munro confronts society not only as a woman but also as a female artist.

Munro's Family

Alice Munro (Alice Ann Laidlaw) the eldest of three children of Robert Laidlaw and Anne Chamney, was born on July 10, 1931. The family lived in a farmhouse at the edge of Wingham, Ontario, the small town usually concealed in her fiction as Walley, Jubilee, or Hanratty. Munro's father a successor of Scottish pioneers, raised silver foxes and later, mink to support the family. For the first two grades, Munro attends the rough Lower town School modelled in Privilege, where she is the only child in her class to pass first grade.

Alice Munro's readers are unaware of the fact that her own life history can be traced out by reading the stories which she has penned down through her works: her growing up on the edge of the Wingham (Jubilee, Hanratty, Dalglei) father, a sometime fox farmer from Huron county stock, mother from the Ottawa valley: her mother's death some time ago from Parkinson's disease after a long decline, her father's heart problems. All these directly or indirectly projected in Munro's stories. Alice Munro has also projected her parents in many of her stories. She sympathises her mother's character and Munro's harsh treatment towards her mother in her story 'The Peace of Utrecht'. *Dance of the Happy Shades* is a collection of stories which depict Munro's own childhood experience.

Alice Munro through Her Characters

In her childhood, sometimes Munro has to help her father because her brother isn't old enough yet. She pumped fresh water, and walked up and down the pens, cleaning out the animals' drinking tins and refilling them. She enjoys doing this after the work she has to stay in the house to help her mother, and she is full of resentment and gives quarrelsome remarks. Talking back, it is called.

She hurts her mother's feelings and the outcome is that she would go to the barn to tell on Munro, to her father. Then he'd have to interrupt his work to give her a beating with his belt. Afterwards, she would lie weeping in bed and make plans to run away and again she comes out of that serious mood by recounting things she hears about in town and the incidents in the school. This part of Munro's life is depicted in two stories. 'Boys' and Girls' and 'Royal Beatings'

Boys and Girls

Munro's Story 'Boys and Girls' sets rural farm in Canada a place called Jubilee. The narrator is an 11-year-old girl, her younger brother Laird, Mother, Father, Henry Bailey, a farmhand who helps narrator's father. The story opens with the narrator saying her father is a fox farmer. He raises silver foxes, in pens, and in the fall and early winter, when the fur is prime, he killed them and skinned them and sold their pelts to the Hudson's Bay Company or the Montreal Fur Traders.

Alive, the foxes inhabited a world that the narrator's father has made for them. It is like a medieval town, with a gate that is padlocked at night. Along the streets there is feeding and watering dishes. Everything is tidy and ingenious; He has fitted a tin drum on a wheelbarrow, for bringing water down to the pens. This is the narrator's job in the summer, when the foxes have water twice a day.

Between nine and ten o'clock in the morning, and again after supper, she fills the drum at the pump and trundled it down through the barnyard and filled her watering can and go along the streets. Laird her brother comes too, with his little gardening can, filled too full and tried to carry. She has the real watering can, her father's; though she could only carry it three-quarters full. As the narrator supports her father in the story Alice Munro also supports her father in her life.

Narrator's mother always wants her daughter to help her in the household work. The narrator is given jobs to do in the kitchen and she would sit at the table peeling peaches that have been soaked in hot water, or cutting onions, her eyes smarting and streaming. As soon as she is done, she runs out of the house, before her mother thought of what she wants her to do next. But the narrator hates the hot dark kitchen in the summer, the green blinds and the flypapers, the same old oilcloth table and wavy mirror and bumpy linoleum. Where in her mother in turn complains to her father about the child.

Depiction of Her Father

'Working for a Living' and 'Fathers', focus on Munro's father. As an adult, her father raised animals, especially silver foxes and mink. In the two narratives, the stories of the protagonist's father and Munro's father coincide. In 'Working for a Living,' during the war the business of the protagonist's father fails, the way Munro's father did, but is saved by the mother who manages to sell their furs to American tourists. In the end, they give up the whole enterprise, and the father finds a job in a foundry.

'Fathers' is published in *The New Yorker* in August 2002. Set in the nineteen-forties, it uses the background of the Second World War both implicitly and explicitly to plot the growth of the narrator. The author recalls the days of school and specifically the relationship with two schoolmates, Dahlia Newcombe and Frances Wainwright. The figures of their fathers are compared to Alice Munro's own father. Dahlia's father is a violent man who regularly beat his children and wife. Mr. Wainwright is a gentle person belonging to the Salvation Army.

Royal Beatings

Alice Munro's father is severe and sometimes used corporal punishment, but never out of anger and without a reason. 'Royal Beatings' portrays tensions between a daughter (Rose) and step-mother (Flo) who finds a kind of release when the father whips Rose for her

impertinent behaviour is another aspect of the story. ‘Royal Beatings’ is based on beatings Munro received from her father and written only after his death.

Alice Munro’s “Royal Beatings” is about the love-hate relationship between a stepdaughter (Rose) and her stepmother (Flo). The story begins by immediately introducing both the main characters, Flo and Rose by recounting how Flo entered Rose’s life after her mother death. In doing so the narrator introduces the reader to Flo’s personality in the view of Rose. Rose thinks that Flo is idiotic, hates her, and is just downright annoying.

The story progresses by getting into the deeper issues that causes these two characters to dislike each other. As Rose grows older, her opinion of Flo is influenced by the typical rebellious teenage selfish attitude. The description of Rose’s growing personality in the story represents pre-teens’ attitude towards their parents apt to be. “Roses nature was growing like a prickly pineapple, but slowly, and secretly, hard pride and scepticism overlapping, to make something surprising even to her.” (WDTYA 121).

Rose’s newly superior attitude she has towards her step-mother created a complex hostility between their relationships. Rose pushes Flo’s patience with her deliberate lack of respect to her stepmother. The scene can be described as the ‘Royal Beating’ the story is a result from Rose’s back talk to Flo. Flo compels Rose’s father to imply strict discipline on her as she has lack of respect on elders. Though Flo complains to her husband regarding her daughter she also showers love and affection towards Rose. However, Flo’s maternal traits for Rose quickly become clear when the Royal Beating begins.

Flo seems to have had an immediate change of heart for her step-daughters punishment, showing sign of remorse for getting the father involved. Although it is not stated, Flo’s quick change of heart maybe remembering her own beatings as a girl by the end of the beating Flo involves into a conflict with her husband for imposing such a severe punishment on Rose. Flo suddenly changes her heart shows that the beating actually brought Flo and Rose closer together.

Description of Her Home-Town and the Controversies

Alice Munro describing her families living conditions the place, the people in the story ‘Royal Beatings lead to rise of controversies from the people of her hometown.

Munro describes it as a place occupied by factory and foundry workers down to large improvident families of casual bootleggers and prostitutes and unsuccessful thieves and a bridge which separates the two sides of this small town, and just on the west side of the bridge is the only place where the real families live. This essay is written by Munro in 1982, in the wake of the controversy aroused in Wingham, her native town, after the publication of *Who Do You Think You Are?* (Particularly “Royal Beatings”).

“Dear life” Narrates Ill-treatment Meted Out to Munro’s Mother

The person I would really have liked to talk to them was my mother, who was no longer available. I did not go home for my mother’s last illness or for her funeral. I had two small children and nobody in Vancouver to leave them with. We could barely have afforded the trip, and my husband had a contempt for formal behavior, but why blame it on him? I felt the same. We say about some things that they can’t be forgiven, or that we will never forgive ourselves. But we do—we do it all the time. When my mother was dying, she got out of the hospital somehow, at night, and wandered around town until someone who didn’t know her at all spotted her and took her in. If this were fiction, as I said, it would be too much, but it is true.(www.newyorker.com)

Alice Munro has pointed out that her “first really painful autobiographical story... the first time I wrote a story that tore me up was *The Peace of Utrecht*’ which I didn’t even want to write” (www.newyorker.com). It depicts Munro’s mother’s death. At the opening of ‘*The Peace of Utrecht*’ the protagonist, Helen, returns to the town where she spent her childhood in the spring following her mother’s funeral, which she did not attend. There she spends three weeks in the company of her sister, who has nursed her mother through the physical and mental downfall caused by an incurable disease, until her death. After years of absence her mind struggles to make contact with the past, in the midst of the new impressions caused by people and objects once familiar. The simple act of re-viewing those memories implies a degree of alteration of the events that she shares with her sister and a symbolic separation from the sisterly communion.

Alice Munro and Her Setting of Stories

The stories ‘*The Ticket*’ and ‘*Home*’ present a succession of life stages for the protagonist, with many correspondences to Munro’s life. In ‘*The Ticket*,’ just before her first wedding Munro ponders the marriages of other women in her family and concludes that only aunt Charlie married for love. The same aunt gives Alice a significant amount of money, in case she decides to get out of her marriage. Since marriage at the age of twenty takes the protagonist away to the West Coast, in ‘*Home*’ she returns to western Ontario, after ending her first marriage (like Munro in real life), and finds herself unable to relate to the place, since it has changed. Munro’s stories share the definition of the self- they mainly insist in autobiography as the central aim. She reinvents people’s lives and events into stories.

General Perception of Women Writers

Women writers when the project their own lives in the stories give utmost importance to mother and daughter and their family relationships. They write about the psychic trauma of an ordinary homemaker to a woman in pursuit of social status on par with man. Women writers around the world who expresses one self convey a common message of courage and willpower to prove their strength and suffering in the male-centered world. A woman writer presents her parents, siblings, her husband and the other close people of her family when they

express their self in their stories. Munro described the close surroundings and display the past events gossip or street chat, opinions, small narratives, of her hometown and her own people and life experiences into a record and portrays in her stories as an act of remembering her own community. All these have become settings for Alice Munro's stories.

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**Glimpses of Doctoral Research in English Studies in India:
A Study of Institute of Advanced Studies in English, Pune**

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Abstract

The studies on PhDs in the subject of English in Indian universities mainly focus on the research carried out at the university departments. Just like the departments of English in universities, the institutes affiliated to Indian universities also contribute to the research in English Studies. Based on the list of PhD achievers of the Institute of Advanced Studies in English (IASE), Pune, the present study is an attempt to consider research productivity of the institute in comparison to its affiliating university - Savitribai Phule Pune University (SPPU). The study focuses on the preferred areas of research in English Studies at IASE. It deals with the most and least explored areas of research in English and throws some light on the shifting trends in doctoral research in English Studies in India. This paper is an attempt to take a glimpse at the state of the art doctoral research in English Studies in India in the first two decades of 21st century.

Keywords: Institute of Advanced Studies in English (IASE), Savitribai Phule Pune University (SPPU), Types of English Studies, Indian Universities, Doctoral Research

Introduction

Doctoral research is one of the less discussed topics of English Studies in India. It is necessary to know the developments in doctoral studies in British Literature (BL), American Literature (AL), Indian English Literature and in English Translation (IEL), New Literatures (NL), Comparative Studies (CS), Literature and Film (L & F), Literary Criticism and Theory (LCT), English Linguistics (EL) and English Language Teaching (ELT). Research in English Studies in Indian universities was mostly carried out at the university departments alone. With the spread of research institutes and research centres at the post-graduate colleges affiliated to the universities, the research phenomenon is no longer prerogative of the university departments. Through the study of PhDs in English at a recognized research institute, this paper is a modest attempt to take a glimpse at the research trends in English Studies in India.

Literature Review

Working on seventy-nine PhD studies at Kakatiya University (KU), Warangal, Damodar (1993) mentions some research trends in English. His main observations are BL is not considered seriously for research and fiction is the popular form of research in AL and IEL. Kamble (2003) went for the citation analysis of doctoral dissertations in English in Gulbarga University while Mishra, Gawde and Solanki (2014) took up a bibliometric study of fifty-five PhD theses in English in Vikram University during 1975 to 2007. After taking a survey of 240 PhD theses in The English and Foreign Languages University (EFLU), Hyderabad, during 1968-2011, Tasildar (2013) noticed that most of the doctoral studies at the university are in EL (39%) and ELT (34%). The study also comes across 17% of theses each in AL and IEL. In another survey of 116 PhD theses in English at Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Marathwada University (BAMU), Aurangabad during 1967-2008 Tasildar (2013) found that the largest number of theses (31%) are in IEL. One noteworthy observation in both the universities is that LCT has failed to attract research scholars for doctoral studies. In their study of doctoral dissertations in English subject awarded by the Universities of Western Region of India, Vyas and Joshi (2013) note that fiction is the most popular area of research and there is lot of room for research in the field of ELT, folk, tribal, comparative, nationalistic, diaspora, de-colonization, etc.

The above studies, mainly limited to year-wise, university-wise, gender-wise, supervisor-wise distribution of numerical data are of three types, viz. studies by librarians [Kamble (2003) and Mishra et al (2014)], studies by subject teachers [Damodar (1993) and Tasildar (2013)] and collaborative studies by librarians and subject teachers [Vyas and Joshi (2013)]. The librarians go beyond mere subject lists for citation analysis and bibliometric studies like Kamble (2003) and Mishra et al (2014) respectively. These studies not only differ in the sample size like Tasildar (2013) considering 240 theses at the ELFU and Mishra et al (2014) considering fifty-five theses but also in duration as Damodar (1993) considered the PhD theses from 1979 to January 1993 and Mishra et al (2014) considered PhD theses during 1975-2007. The sources used for data collection in these studies are varied - university departments, Boards of University Teaching and Research (BUTR), administrative offices of the universities and university libraries as in Vyas and Joshi (2013).

These previous studies on PhDs in the subject of English in Indian universities mainly focus on the research carried out at the university departments. According to Sagar (2016) the research in English Departments in Indian universities is a momentous disappointment. Just like the departments of English in universities, the institutes affiliated to Indian universities also contribute to the research in English Studies. The present study is an attempt to consider research productivity in English Studies at the Institute of Advanced Studies in English (IASE), Pune affiliated to the Savitribai Phule Pune University (SPPU). The present study, limited to the titles of the PhD theses, focuses on the topics of research, pattern of research guidance and preferred areas of research at IASE.

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Glimpses of Doctoral Research in English Studies in India: A Study of Institute of Advanced Studies in English, Pune

Doctoral Research in English at IASE

Established in the academic year 2003-04, IASE is one of the reputed centres for postgraduate studies and research in English affiliated to SPPU. The institute offers M.A., M. Phil. and Ph.D. programmes in English recognized by the SPPU. The institute offers ‘Teacher Enrichment Programs’ to English language teachers and regularly organizes international conferences on language, literature and culture studies. Besides, IASE brings out two international journals on English Studies. The research at the institute is mainly in language, communication, sociolinguistics and literature. The first doctoral degree was awarded in the year 2005 to the thesis ‘Reading Comprehension Skills among Yemeni Students: A Case Study’. The study was carried out by Al-Mahadi Iman Abdullah (2005) under the guidance of Dr. Silloo Chopra. During the last fifteen years the institute has emerged as the globally recognised centre for advanced studies in English. The alumni of the institute are spread in every state in India and twenty countries across the globe. The list of achievers from the institute’s website has been the main source for this study. It includes name of the researcher, topic, guide and date of declaration. By the end of 2017 the number of research scholars who completed their PhDs in English was 112. Out of these 112 PhDs only two theses have been excluded from this study as the date of declaration and topic of research are not mentioned in the list of achievers. Hence, the corpus of this study constitutes 110 doctoral theses awarded during 2005-2017.

Table 1 Year-wise and Gender-wise distribution of PhD theses at IASE (2005-2017)

Year	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	Total	%
Male Scholars	--	04	04	04	14	05	09	08	10	09	02	03	03	75	68.18
Female scholars	01	02	04	01	04	04	03	06	04	03	01	01	01	35	31.82
No. of Theses	01	06	08	05	18	09	12	14	14	12	03	04	04	110	

The above table reflects the doctoral researches carried out at the IASE by seventy-five male researchers (68.18%) and thirty-five female researchers (31.82%). In the year 2009 the highest number of PhDs i.e. eighteen (16.36%) were awarded whereas fourteen (12.72%) PhDs were awarded in 2012 and 2013 apiece. Similarly, twelve (10.90%) PhDs were awarded in 2011 and 2014 each. Thus, the duration from 2011 to 2014 (second decade of twenty-first century) can be said as the most productive years in terms of doctoral research at IASE.

Research in the Sub-disciplines of English Studies

In this short span of thirteen years the doctoral research at IASE deal with different sub-disciplines of English Studies. Out of the 110 PhDs, sixty-five (59.10%) are in literary

studies and forty-five (40.90%) are in language studies. These studies are in BL, AL, IEL, NL, CS, L & F, LCT, EL and ELT. These abbreviations are used in the following table.

Table 2 PhD theses at IASE (2005-2017) in the sub-disciplines of English Studies

Year	No of PhD Theses										Total
	BL	AL	IEL	NL	CS	L & F	LCT	EL	ELT	Other	
2005	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	01	--	01
2006	01	01	03	--	--	01	--	--	--	--	06
2007	--	02	02	01	01	--	--	--	01	01	08
2008	01	--	01	--	01	--	--	01	01	--	05
2009	01	--	02	01	01	01	--	09	03	--	18
2010	02	--	02	--	01	--	--	02	02	--	09
2011	02	--	--	--	01	--	--	02	07	--	12
2012	01	01	06	01	01	--	--	02	02	--	14
2013	01	01	04	--	01	--	01	01	05	--	14
2014	03	02	03	--	--	--	--	01	03	--	12
2015	--	--	--	--	02	--	--	01	--	--	03
2016	01	--	01	--	--	01	--	01	--	--	04
2017	--	--	03	--	01	--	--	--	--	--	04
Total	13	07	27	03	10	03	01	20	25	01	110

A brief scrutiny of 110 PhD theses at IASE during 2005-2017 revealed the following trends.

- i) There are thirteen theses (11.81%) in BL, seven (6.36%) in AL. The number of theses in BL is almost double of the number of theses in AL. The studies in BL and AL are limited to the nineteenth and twentieth century novels and plays. Rudyard Kipling's short stories have been studied. Allen Ginsberg is the only American poet explored for doctoral research.
- ii) Out of the 110 theses, twenty-seven (24.54%) theses are in IEL. The following titles of PhD theses indicate the nature of doctoral studies.
 - a) Nirmale (2010) A Study of Code-Switching and Code-Mixing in the Selected Fictional Work by Indian Writers in English
 - b) Karandikar (2014) A Study of Code-Mixing in Selected Novels in Indian English
 One of the studies in IEL deals with non-fictional writings of Swami Vivekananda. In another research the impact of Indian epics on IEL is assessed. Most of the theses in IEL are related to pragmatics and discourse analysis.
- iii) The research in NL is relatively low with only three theses (2.72%) in it. Novels of Coetzee, Achebe and Ngugi have been studied.

- iv) There are ten (9.09%) theses in CS and three theses (2.72%) are in L & F. These studies include research in science fiction, Indian and American drama. The titles of the following two theses, awarded with a gap of ten years, indicate the major shift in the research in English Studies in India.
- a) Bandal (2006) *Imaging the Word: Visual Interpretations of Psychological Realism in Joseph Conrad and D. H. Lawrence with special reference to Lord Jim, Heart of Darkness, The Rainbow and Women in Love*
- b) Patel (2016) *Books in Motion: A Study of the Adaptations of Four Indian Novels into Films*
- The four novels and films considered here are Chetan Bhagat's *Five Point Someone* and the film '3 Idiots' based on it, *Susanna's Seven Husbands* by Ruskin Bond and the film '7 Khoon Maaf', the novel *Q & A* by Vikas Swarup and the film 'Slumdog Millionaire' and Jhumpa Lahiri's novel *The Namesake* and the film 'The Namesake' .
- v) There is only one thesis is in LCT and another study is on feminist writing in India.
- vi) There are twenty theses (18.18%) in EL. Studies in linguistics at IASE not only include comparative linguistics but also deal with topics like linguistic study of advertisements and political discourse.
- vii) The twenty-five (22.72 %) theses in ELT consider almost every aspect of this sub-discipline from syllabus designing to evaluation procedures.

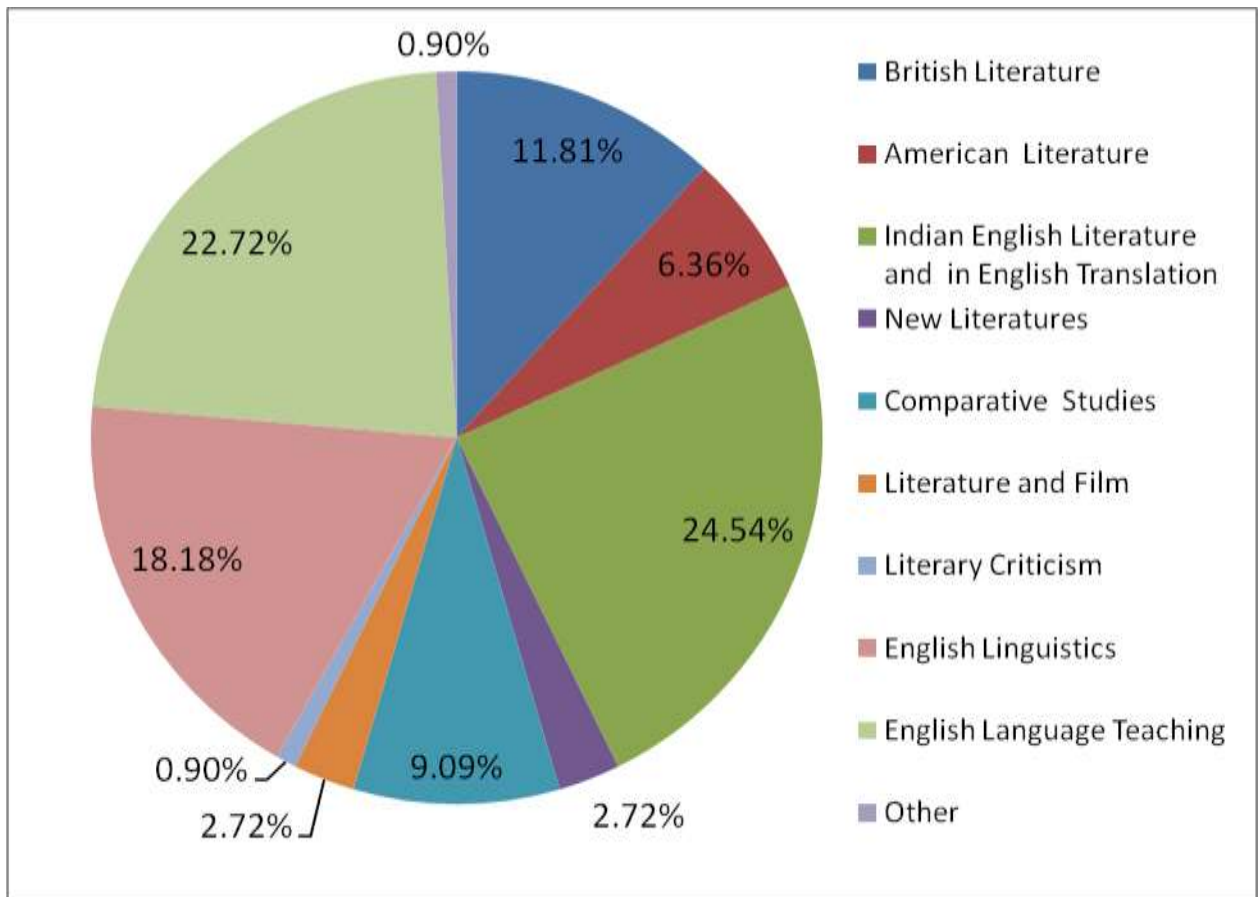


Fig. 1 PhDs in English Studies at IASE (2005-2017)

Studies in Literary Genres

In the literary studies, the researchers generally prefer major forms of literature. It would be worth to know the literary form popular among the researchers of IASE. The studies in the genres - fiction, drama, poetry and prose are considered here.

Table 3 Form-wise PhDs in English Studies at IASE (2005-2017)

Sr. No.	Sub-disciplines	Novel	Short story	Drama	Poetry	Prose/ other	Total
1	British Literature	06	01	06	--	--	13
2	American Literature	02	--	04	01	--	07
3	Indian English Literature and in English Translation	20	02	03	01	01	27
4	New Literatures	03	--	--	--	--	03
5	Comparative Studies	06	--	04	--	--	10
6	Literature and Film	02	--	--	--	01	03
7	Literary Criticism	--	--	--	--	01	01

8	Other	--	--	--	--	01	01
	Total	39	03	17	02	04	65

From the above table it can be inferred that novel is the most explored literary form for doctoral studies at IASE. The studies in Indian novels (51%) exceed half of the research in this genre while there are only two studies in American novels. Among the three studies in short stories two are on Indian stories while one is on British stories. British plays have been studied by more researchers. Poetry is the least explored major form of literature with only two studies- one in American and another in Indian poetry, respectively. All the studies in new literatures are in fiction and comparative studies are more in novel as compared to drama.

The Sample Size of Doctoral Research in English

The consideration of sample size varies widely in the number of literary works selected for the study. Here we may consider the number of novels and plays considered for a thesis in English Studies. We come across the study of as many as eleven novels in the doctoral thesis ‘Violence in the novels of J. M. Coetzee’ by Mujawar (2012). Similarly, in the thesis ‘Popularity of Popular Literature: A Study in Science Fiction’, Borde (2012) studies six British and American authors and their ten novels. In contrast, Nagane (2013) studies two novels - *Train to Pakistan* and *The Company of Women* for the doctoral thesis ‘A study of illocutionary force and perlocutionary effect in Khushwant Singh’s selected novels.’ Similarly, Rashid (2013) studies two novels - *The Old Man and The Sea* and *For Whom The Bell Tolls* for the thesis ‘Cohesive devices in English and Arabic with analysis of two of Hemingway’s novels and their translations’.

The observations regarding sample size of the doctoral research on drama are not very different. Patil (2006) studies plays by American playwright Arthur Miller and in the comparative study of American and Indian (Marathi) plays Pendse (2010) selects four playwrights and their plays. In the doctoral thesis on American drama by Flefil (2013) nine plays by four playwrights have been studied. Paradoxically, Rashed (2014) studies only two Shakespearean plays for the thesis ‘The Major Social and Political Forces in Shakespearean Drama: A Study in *Hamlet* and *The Merchant of Venice*.’

Here one may fail to understand the requirement of the maximum or minimum literary works to be explored for the doctoral research.

Authors Considered for the Doctoral Research

The authors considered for the doctoral studies are not easily known through the titles of some PhD theses. Some examples from the list of PhD achievers of IASE are given below.

- i) Sabiha Shaikh (2006) A Study of Politeness in Indian Fiction in English

- ii) Lokhandwala (2006) A Study of Nativisation in Five Indian Novels in English
- iii) P. R. Bhabad (2007) Exploitation of Non-Verbal Strategies in Indian English Novels

The following analysis (see Table 4) is carried out excluding the above mentioned studies.

Table 4 Authors studied more than once for PhD at IASE

Sr. No.	Author	Gender	Nationality	Form	No. of Theses	Rank
1	Arthur Miller	Male	American	Drama	02	V
2	Arundhati Roy	Female	Indian	Novel	06	I
3	Eugene O'Neill	Male	American	Drama	02	V
4	George Bernard Shaw	Male	British	Drama	02	V
5	Girish Karnad	Male	Indian	Drama	04	III
6	Mulk Raj Anand	Male	Indian	Fiction	05	II
7	Shobha De	Female	Indian	Fiction	05	II
8	Thomas Hardy	Male	British	Novel	03	IV
9	William Shakespeare	Male	British	Drama	02	V

Thomas Hardy, the British novelist has been studied thrice for doctoral research. Among the British dramatists, there are two studies each on William Shakespeare and George Bernard Shaw. Similarly, the American dramatists Arthur Miller and Eugene O'Neill have been studied twice each. Girish Karnad, the Indian playwright, has been most researched on. Arundhati Roy is the Indian woman novelist who has been explored in six theses for doctoral studies. Mulk Raj Anand and Shobha De have been studied for their novels as well as short stories. There are four doctoral studies each on their novels and one study apiece is on short stories. Here it is to be noted that Damodar (1993) had mentioned Mulk Raj Anand as the most popular writer in IEL for research at KU.

Research Guidance by the Supervisors

During these thirteen years of doctoral research at IASE, twenty research guides were associated with the institute. They have supervised the research work of a number of scholars on the variety of topics. Here is a modest attempt to acknowledge their contribution to the English Studies.

Table 5 Guide-wise distribution of PhD theses at IASE

Sr. No.	Name of the Guide	No. of scholars guided	Sr. No.	Name of the Guide	No. of scholars guided
1	Simon Bernabas	04	11	Arjun Patil	01
2	Shirish Chindhade	06	12	Pitamber Patil	05

3	Silloo Chopra	04		13	SmitaPatil	09
4	Shridhar Gokhale	02		14	Vinay Deep Rathi	04
5	Grace Jacob	01		15	Shubhangi Raykar	01
6	Arjun Jadhav	01		16	Supriya Sahasrabuddhe	09
7	Bhausahab Jarange	05		17	Vilas Salunke	01
8	Anand Kulkarni	05		18	Prabha Sampath	01
9	Munira Lokhandwala	11		19	Ashok Thorat	27
10	Muktaja Matakari	01		20	BalchandraValke	12

Among the supervisors, eight women have guided thirty-seven (33.63%) research scholars whereas their twelve male counterparts have supervised seventy-three (66.37%) theses. Among women supervisors Dr. Smita Patil and Dr. Supria Sahasrabuddhe have guided nine research scholars each while Dr. Munira Lokhandwala has guided eleven research scholars. Among the male supervisors, Dr. Balchandra Valke has guided twelve research scholars and Dr. Shirish Chindhade has guided six research scholars while Dr Ashok Thorat has guided the largest number of research scholars, i.e. twenty-seven (24.54%). Here we may consider the titles of the PhD theses guided Dr. Ashok Thorat (see Table 6).

Table 6 PhD Theses supervised at IASE by Dr. Ashok Thorat

Sr. No.	Year	Researcher	Title of the Thesis	Area of Study
1	2006	Lokhandwala Munira Abbas	Study of Nativisation in Five Indian Novels in English	IEL
2	2006	Shaikh Sabiha Mohammad Ismail	Study of Politeness in Indian Fiction in English	IEL
3	2007	Haji Javadi Maryam	A Study of Politeness and Cooperativeness in Conversation with Special Reference to Selected Novels of William Faulkner	AL
4	2007	Poothongoen Wirat	Problems of English Language Learning Teaching in Higher Secondary School: the case Study in Yangtalat District Kalasin Province Thailand	ELT
5	2008	Gokhale Madhuri S.	Verb Phrase in Indian English	EL
6	2008	Jadhav Arjun Dashrath	Study of Speech Acts in Mulk Raj Ananda's <i>Untouchable</i> and <i>Coolie</i> .	IEL
7	2009	Ahmed Abdelrahman Ahmed Hassan	Study of the Process of Teaching and Learning English Vocabulary within the Second Language Context	ELT

8	2009	Aziza Saleh Mabrook AI- Zabidi	Linguistic Analysis of Errors made in written English by Yemeni Students	ELT
9	2009	Pharmaha Khunakorn Khongchana	Thai - English Code - Mixing: A Case Study of the Use of English by Thai Students studying in the Faculty of Humanities at Naresuan University, Phitsanulok	EL
10	2010	Sameer Hameed Ahmed Saeed	Reassessing Translation Programs in Yemeni National Universities: Towards a Model Translation Program	ELT
11	2011	Almarfadi Saleh Ahmed	The image of imperialism in English literature with special reference to Conrad's <i>Heart of Darkness</i> and Achebe's <i>Things Fall Apart</i>	CS
12	2011	Hussein Musa Kadhim	A Semantic Study of 'Purpose ' in Modern Standard English and Modern Standard Arabic: A Contrastive Analysis	EL
13	2011	Muyyad Omram Chaid	Conventional Correspondence and E-mails Distinguishable Text Types: a Comparative Study	EL
14	2011	Shinde Vaishali Jayaprakash	Linguistic analysis of advertisements in print and audio media: a Comparative Study	EL
15	2011	Yomyao Adisak	A Critical Study of English Language Teaching in Higher Vocational Schools in Thailand: A case study of English language Teaching in higher vocational schools in Chiangrai Province	ELT
16	2012	Bhattacharjee Krishnanjan	English Discourse Analysis and Information Categorization: A Semantic Pragmatic Analysis	EL
17	2012	Manaal Jassim Mohammad	The use of Rhetorical structure theory in political Editorials: A Contrastive Study of Text Analysis With Special Reference to its Application as Text Based Generation	EL
18	2012	Patil Nivrutty Namdeo	A Study of Speech Situations in Rama Mehta's <i>Inside The Haveli</i> Arundhati Roy's <i>The God of Small Things</i> and Kiran Desai's <i>The Inheritance of Loss</i>	IEL
19	2013	Bushra Nima Rashid	Cohesive Devices in English and Arabic with Analysis of Hemingway's Novels and Their Translation	CS
20	2013	Ahmed Mohammed S.	Taboo Words and Euphemism in English and Arabic: A Contrastive Study	EL
21	2014	Choudhary	A Critical Study of the Syllabus and the	ELT

		Shruti Prakash	Textbook of Std I for Non English Medium Schools as Tools for Developing Adequate Oracy as Prerequisite for Literacy	
22	2014	Mohammad Naji Hussain	A Study of the Victim-Victimizer Relationship in Victorian Fiction with Special Reference to Thomas Hardy's Novels	BL
23	2014	Phra Kittisak Jarphan	A Study of the Problems in Teaching and Learning English as a Foreign Language at the Upper Secondary School Level: The Case Study in Muang District, Suphanburi Province, Thailand	ELT
24	2015	Karmarkar Muckta Anand	Discourse Analysis of Indian Parliamentary Debates with Special Reference to Wit and Humour	EL
25	2016	Patel Swagat Kunjban	Books in Motion: A Study of the Adaptations of Four Indian Novels into Films	L & F
26	2016	Lakde Satish Vishwambar	Violation of Co-operative Principle in the Great Speeches of Barack Obama	EL
27	2017	Misbah Ansari	A Study of Indirect Speech Acts in selected works of Four Immigrant Writers	CS

Thus, the list of PhD theses supervised by Dr. Ashok Thorat reveals the variety in the topics of doctoral research at IASE which ranges from literary analysis to language use and applied linguistics. On the other hand, the titles of the theses supervised by Prof. V Saraswathi focus more on English Language Teaching. Prof. P.A. Attar's focus is on literary studies (see Table 7). The titles of the theses supervised by these three senior scholars may be comparatively viewed.

Table 7 PhD Theses supervised by Prof. V Saraswathi and Prof. P.A. Attar

PhD Theses supervised by Prof. V Saraswathi (University of Madras)				
Sr. No.	Year	Name of the Scholar	Title of the research topic	Area of Study
1	1991	V Padma	Towards a Curricular Alternative in the Teaching and Learning of English Literatures: Tertiary Level	ELT
2	1993	Revathi Viswanathan	Towards the Self- Directed Learning of English: An Experimental Study at the Undergraduate Level	ELT
3	1997	Noor Jehan Kother Adham	Towards Teacher Development through Learner Materials: An Applied Linguistics Study	ELT

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4	2001	P Ramanujan	Towards an Evaluative Framework for General English Textbook Selection: A Study in the Undergraduate Context in Nagarjuna University	ELT
5	2001	Rita Jacob Cherian	Towards an Alternative Curriculum for English Literature Students at the Tertiary Level	ELT
6	2001	S Charumathi	Towards a Meta-Fictional Approach: A Study of Malcolm Lowri's Novels	BL
PhD Theses supervised by Prof. P. A. Attar (Shivaji University, Kolhapur)				
1	2002	V. A. Rankhambe	The Fiction of M. M. Kaye: A Critical Study	BL
2	2004	U. R. Chavan	The Fiction of Audrey Thomas: A Critical Study	NL
3	2006	S. R. Ghatge	The Novels of Fay Weldon: A Critical Study	BL
4	2009	H. B. Patil	The Novels of Hugh MacLennan: A Thematic Study	NL
5	2010	S. Y. Hongekar	The Novels of Matt Cohen: A Thematic Study	AL

(Based on Tasildar 2013:13)

Contribution of IASE to the doctoral research in English Studies

Vyas and Joshi (2013) surveyed 909 theses in the subject of English till 2012 in twelve universities in Maharashtra. The number of theses in English in SPPU was 120 and the number of guides was thirty (Vyas and Joshi, 2013: 23). After its establishment in 1949, the first PhD in English at SPPU was awarded in 1958. The IASE was established in 2003 and the first PhD was declared in 2005. The research output till 2013 at IASE has been compared with that of SPPU. The data for SPPU output is taken from Londhe (2014).

Table 8 Year-wise distribution of PhD theses at SPPU and IASE

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	Total
SPPU	14	14	17	10	27	15	22	17	30	166
IASE	01	06	08	05	18	09	12	14	14	87

From the above table it is clear that the share of IASE in the research productivity in English Studies at SPPU during 2015-2013 is just above the half of the total research in English at SPPU, i.e. 52.40 %. Hence it would be worth to consider the contribution of IASE in the sub-disciplines of English Studies.

Table 9 Comparison of PhDs in English during 2005 and 2013 at SPPU and IASE

	No of PhD Theses											Total
	BL	AL	IEL	NL	CS	TS	L & F	LCT	EL	ELT	Other	
SPPU	19	19	40	03	14	01	02	04	17	42	05	166

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IASE	09	05	20	03	07	--	02	01	17	23	--	87
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TS= Translations Studies

The present study highlights the contribution of IASE in the research output of SPPU. It is important to mention that two theses in L & F awarded by SPPU during the said period are from IASE. Here it needs to be clarified that apart from the research in EL at IASE, there are three more studies at SPPU. But three studies at IASE are not mentioned in the SPPU list by Lokhande (2014) and hence it appears that there is no research in EL at the Department of English of SPPU during the period. The academic output at IASE is 50% in IEL and CS. The contribution of IASE in ELT research is 54.76%.

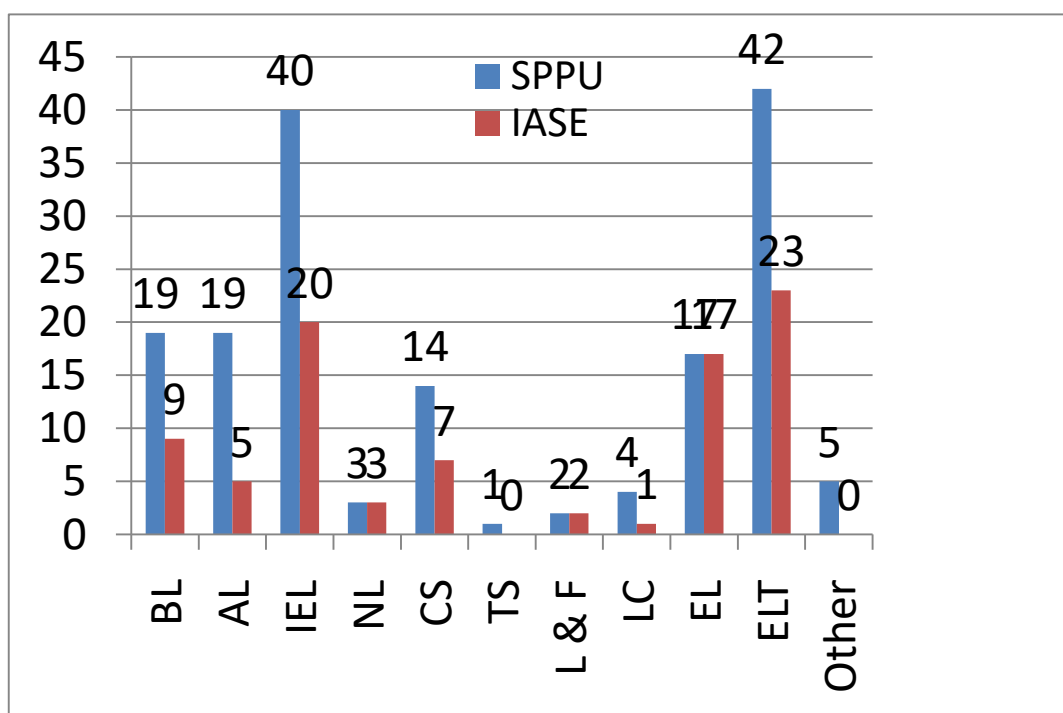


Fig. 2 Number of PhDs in English Studies at SPPU and IASE (2005 - 2013)

Conclusion

In this representative example, we find glimpses of developments in doctoral research in English Studies in India. In this analysis of doctoral research at IASE, it is found that sixty-five (59.10%) theses are in literary studies and forty-five (40.90%) are in language studies. Most of the doctoral studies in IEL and CS are related to pragmatics and discourse analysis. In comparison with the previous studies [e.g. Damodar (1993)] one may find that the emphasis on research in AL has been reduced. The shift in the emphasis of research seems to be on EL and ELT. Studies in EL and ELT at IASE are mostly related to the countries like Iran, Iraq, Yemen, Indonesia and Thailand. One of the prominent features of doctoral research at IASE is the application of pragmatics to literary works as well as non-

literary texts. For example, Dr. Ashok Thorat has guided theses on Indian parliamentary debates and the speeches of Barak Obama.

Fiction, the most explored major form of literature in the studies by Damodar (1993) and Vyas and Joshi (2013), remains the most explored genre at IASE as well. Arundhati Roy, Mulk Raj Anand, Shobha De and Girish Karnad are the most popular authors for doctoral research at IASE. The poetry is the least explored major form of literature. Along with British and American poetry, there is scope to study poetry in New Literatures.

Thus, this study underscores the role of a research institute in the research productivity of its affiliating university.

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The Impact of Listening Strategies on Improving Learners' Listening Skill

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Abstract

Viable listening comprehension skills are essential as the world gets to be more and more worldwide. Multimedia and the web get to be discussions for English communication. English Language Learners (ELL) struggle to grasp oral English writings in their listening comprehension categories. In this study, a group of 100 ELL learners from undergraduate level in college participated in this study and answered a general proficiency test and students responded to the listening section of TOEFL. Students were classified into effective and ineffective listeners by application of O'Malley et al.'s subjective criteria (1989) and the scores of students in TOEFL. To elicit the listening strategies of each group, listening strategy questionnaire was developed. A Case II t-test analysis of the questionnaires showed a meaningful difference between effective and ineffective listeners. The subjects were divided on the basis of their pre-listening scores into experimental and control groups. The experimental group received the instruction of listening strategies and control group received the general traditional instruction. The treatment included introduction, modeling and practicing the listening strategies. A post-test of listening section of TOEFL was administered to both groups. The results imply that listening strategies can be taught.

Keywords: Effective and Ineffective listening Strategy, EFL Learners, Language Proficiency, Listening Skill, Listening Strategies, Meta-Cognitive Awareness.

Researchers from diverse areas of the globe have tried to stipulate the characteristics of strategic learners and the kinds of ways these learners use in specific learning tasks (Birjandi, Mirhassani, & Abbasian, 2006). For instance, Richards (2008) suggests that the growth of learners' communicative ability and language proficiency is related to the strategy they use. This raises a priority concerning the identification of remarkably used strategies and less remarkably used ones and their influence on increasing learning. Rost (2001, p. 94)

mentions that “a key difference between more successful and less successful acquirers relates in large part to their ability to use listening as a means of acquisition”.

There has been a widespread investigation of the strategies that learners use for learning foreign language or second language and the variables associated with effective strategy use together with language proficiency and meta-cognitive awareness. These investigations range from studies on the employment of all strategies to thorough exploration of certain strategies related to specific skills or language areas (Eckerth, Schramm & Tschirner, 2009, Vandergrift, 2006). The findings suggest a potential relationship between strategy use and second language acquisition success. This interest has additionally given rise to variety of studies in language learner strategy instruction that shows the probability that learners use strategies effectively (Coskun, 2010; Macaro, 2006; Ratnaningsih, 2015).

Listening strategies determine activities or techniques that directly contribute to the comprehension of listening input and its recall (Chamot, 2004). In line with general learning strategies classified by O'malley, varieties of tasks from these studies typically indicate that strategy coaching is effective in the growth of the performance of pupils on a large bunch of listening comprehension and problem-solving tasks (O'Malley & Chamot, 1990). One of the foremost vital outcomes of those psychological studies is that the formulation of learning strategies in information-processing model.

Research Method and Design of the Study

We decided that the best method to adopt for this investigation is to use Ex post Facto design due simply to the fact that there was no causal relationship between the variables under investigation. Our goal was to attempt to find the degree of difference between them. As Hatch & Farhady (1994) say: When there is no possibility of random selection of students, instead of abandoning the research, we simply have to limit the domain of our claims. We have to avoid making cause-and-effect statement (P. 26).

Here, language learning strategy was the independent variable and listening comprehension was dependent. Sex, Motivation, and linguistic backgrounds were our control variables. To get the homogeneity of the students, Nelson test was used with the reliability index of .90 and also students' scores in the achievement tests in different terms from the college were taken into account. Then, the listening section of Longman TOFEL test was administered with the reliability index of .68. Application of subjective criteria proposed by O'Malley et al. (1989) and the listening test's scores resulted in the selection of 50 effective and 50 ineffective listeners.

To elicit the potential strategies, a listening strategy questionnaire was developed, and it was mainly based on the literature of learning strategies in general and listening strategies in particular.

Participants

100 students took part in this study. They were the II and III year undergraduate students of Coimbatore. The mean age of the students of the study was about 18, ranging from 18 to 22, and all were female students, who had almost the same level of language proficiency. Based on the syllabus of the English Institute and also according to the statements of its managers, this group of subjects was roughly considered as pre-intermediate.

Although the students in this study were in the same course and had passed different achievement tests to get to this level and could be taken as linguistically homogeneous, in order to have a more homogeneous sample, the Nelson proficiency test was administered. This resulted in the selection of 100 students for the study. In order to have a homogeneous sample, we also took into consideration the students' scores in achievement tests in different terms. Afterwards, a listening strategy questionnaire was designed to grasp the possible listening strategies hidden in the pupils. The model for developing such a questionnaire was the framework of O'Malley & Chamot (1990) proven by Rubin (1994) and also Strategy Inventory for Language Learners (SILL) written and validated by Oxford (1990) and as well as on a learning strategy questionnaire designed and validated by Mazlum (2015).

Although it was felt that there is no reason to go through factor analysis to get the construct validity of the questionnaire, since the questionnaire was based on the works of some scholars, a factor analysis was also used in order to have a better interpretation of the underlying construct of the questionnaire. Furthermore, a verbal protocol analysis was utilized as Alderson (1991) says, to get the validity of the questionnaire.

The listening strategy questionnaire was developed based on the works of Brown (1987), Chastain (1988), Mazlum (2000), O'Malley & Charnor (1990), Oxford (1990), Richards (1995), and Wenden (1991). Based on the inventory of listening strategies driven out of their works that could meet the requirement of the study, the needed questionnaire was developed. Syntactically and lexically speaking, all the items of listening strategy questionnaire were directly taken out of the works of the specialized scholars of this field. Proved to be valid (Oxford, 1990; Wenden, 1991), verbal protocol analysis or think-aloud procedure was used to examine the validity of the questionnaire as Alderson (1991) mentions. The subjective analysis of the subjects' think-aloud transcripts indicated that they understood the items of the questionnaire and the answers chosen by the Richards (1995). Alongside it, a background questionnaire introduced by Oxford (1990) was administered, in order to get the subjects' motivation, cultural and linguistic background. To test our null hypothesis, those students whose scores in listening test were one standard deviation above and below the mean index were selected. Among the 100 Undergraduate students, 50 students were assigned to control group and 50 students to experiment group.

Procedures

The main aim of our hypothesis, the subjective criteria employed by O'Malley, Kupper and Chamot (1989) included the following: 1) Attentiveness in class 2) Ability to follow directions without asking for clarification 3) Ability and willingness to comprehend the general meaning of a difficult listening passage 4) Ability to respond appropriately in a conversation 5) Ability and willingness to guess at the meaning of unfamiliar words and phrases. The listening section of Longman TOFEL which was also the pre-test of listening were utilized. The students whose scores were two standard deviations above the mean were called "effective" and those, whose scores were two standard deviations below the mean, were labeled "ineffective". Thus, application of subjective criteria as well as objective measurement resulted in the selection of experimental group as effective and control group as ineffective listeners. Then, the students responded to a Likert scale listening strategy questionnaire.

After two weeks and for the second time, students were asked to verbalize their thoughts while they were doing the questionnaire. The session was conducted chorally and instead of tape-recording, the subjects were asked to write down whatever comes to their minds, while they were completing the questionnaire. Whenever it was felt that the students stopped writing, they were asked some probing questions to give them some hints to stimulate their thinking-aloud. Before the actual session of think-aloud, the students were briefly trained on thinking aloud through introducing the concept and modeling by the teacher.

Results and Analysis

Findings show that when a questionnaire is driven out of the literature, its construct validity can be guaranteed and there would be no need to utilize some other statistical techniques to measure the validity of the questionnaire (O'Malley et al, 1989; Mazlum, 2000). But "Think-aloud" procedure was used to check whether students have truly understood the items and the intention of the researcher and also whether they have answered what they wanted to answer and whether the scales in the answer sheet were meaningful to them and could serve their intention in answering the items of questionnaire.

T-test was utilized to see the difference between experimental group who received explicit and implicit strategy instruction and control group who underwent the normal instruction in the classes. The table illustrates, t-observed is above t-critical, and so the null hypothesis was rejected at .05 level of significance. Thus, it is possible to teach the listening strategies to the students.

The frequency analysis shows another point of interest in that 90 percent of effective listeners utilized socio-affective strategies. 75 percent of effective listeners made use of meta-cognitive listening strategies. And lastly, 65 percent of effective listeners reported using cognitive strategies. The results indicate that effective listeners outperformed the ineffective

listeners in all the variables. Especially the difference in meta-cognitive strategies and socio-affective strategies is more than that of cognitive strategies.

Discussion and Conclusion

Present study was designed to determine the impact of listening strategies on improving learners' listening skill among the students and focusing on identification, description and classification of listening comprehension strategies. The findings of this study show that language learning strategies in general and listening strategies in particular can explain some of the differences among students considering their performance in the listening comprehension skill.

The results of our analysis supported the findings of Coskun (2010), and Selamat & Sidhu (2012), and Sheshgelani, Sadeghli and Aidinlon (2013). Coskun (2010) in his study found that the advantage of meta-cognitive strategy use might make the learners into proficient listeners.

Selamat & Sidhu (2012) cited that learners often used meta-cognitive strategies within the listening tests, and also the meta-cognitive strategies assisted them to induce the listening comprehension to accumulate the data. Sheshgelani, Sadeghli and Aidinlon (2013) claimed that the students who received listening comprehension strategy coaching performed much better than people who failed to receive the strategy coaching. By comparison of the results, it is understood that that meta-cognitive strategies not only facilitate the listeners to set up and value their own listening learning, but also aid their listening comprehension. Those studies showed that the need of learning reinforced the learners' mind to accumulate the data and also the motivation of achieving success fostered the learners' skills to do something to achieve proficiency level of learning.

The question we must ask is how one can help learners to acquire listening skill and to train to listen to a foreign language and maximize what they take away from a listening task. Vogely (1995) backs up the concept that certain listening methods for certain texts can be taught to learners of all levels of language learning. The finding of this investigation is that language learning strategies generally and listening strategies particularly can bring some of the differences among students with respect to their function in the listening comprehension skill. The difference between effective and ineffective listeners is not just the number of hours they allocate for practicing listening skill nor can it be due solely to age, sex, motivation, cultural and linguistic background or even level of IQ. It is felt that a part of difference lies not in the above-mentioned factors but in the type of listening strategy they employ in an appropriate situation in order to tackle a particular task consciously.

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Nouns in Kokborok

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Abstract

The aim of the present paper is an attempt to study about the structure of nouns in Kokborok. The data is based on the variety of Kokborok spoken in Unakoti district of Tripura. Like any other languages of the world, noun in Kokborok form the largest open word class followed by verb. Kokborok shares the features shared by other Bodo-Garo languages i.e., absence of velar nasal in initial position of word, presence of suppletive form of plural of 1st person personal pronoun, presence of numeral classifier etc. Linguistically, Kokborok belongs to Bodo-Garo sub-group of Tibeto-Burman language family.

Keywords: Kokborok, Bodo-Garo, Tibeto-Burman, Noun

Introduction

Kokborok is a Tibeto-Burman language of the Bogo-Garo sub-group spoken mainly in the North East Indian State of Tripura. Kokborok is spoken in all the eight (08) districts of Tripura. The speakers of Kokborok is also scattered in some states of North East India viz. Assam (Hailakandi, Cachar and Karimganj district) and Mizoram and the adjacent neighbouring country, Bangladesh (Chittagong, Khagrachari, Bandarban). According to 2011 Census of India, the total population of Tripura is 36, 73, 917. The scheduled tribe population of Tripura is 11, 66, 813, which constitute 31.8 percent of total population. Kokborok is an official language of Tripura.

Burling (2006) has classified Kokborok under Sal languages. According to Burling, Kokborok was once the predominant Tibeto-Burman language of Tripura but has now been reduced to minority in their homeland. The closest relatives of Kokborok (Bodo, Garo, Dimasa, Rabha, Deuri, etc.) are spoken in Assam and Meghalaya. The dialects of Kokborok are Bru, Debborma, Jomatia, Kolo, Kwtal (Noatia) Murasing, Rupini, Tripura, and Uchoi (Debbarma, 2018). Kokborok is an agglutinating and verb final language with SOV as basic word order. The Roman-based Kokborok orthography will be used in place of the phonetic transcription for the elicited data.

Noun

Like any other languages of the world, noun form the largest open word class in Kokborok. Nouns in Kokborok may serve different functions within sentence. They can serve as the subject and object of the verbs. Morphologically, it can take gender (-la ‘male’, -ma ‘female’) number (-rok and -song ‘plural’), and case marker (-no ‘accusative and dative’, -ni ‘genitive’ etc.) and can be followed by noun modifiers like adjectives, numeral classifiers, quantifiers, etc. Kinship nouns in Kokborok appear with pronominal markers. Nouns in Kokborok can be of monosyllabic root. However, a noun in Kokborok can be of penta syllabic roots. Nouns in Kokborok can be classified into basic non-derived, derived, compound and reduplicated nouns.

Non-derived Nouns

Non-derived nouns are those nouns that are morphologically simple, and it consist of entities like animate and inanimate as given below.

Word	Gloss
nok	‘house’
buphang	‘tree’
tok	‘bird’
wak	‘pig’
som	‘salt’
holong	‘stone’
watui	‘rain’
topepe	‘leaf bird’
athukiri	‘star’
sotorobongo	‘marigold’

Derived Nouns

Derived nouns are those nouns that are complex in nature. These nouns are formed from either verbs, nouns or adjectives by suffixing derivational suffixes. It can also take inflectional affixes. Kokborok uses number of suffixes to derive nouns from verbs as shown below.

Suffix /-thai/

Nouns in Kokborok can be derived by suffixing *-thai* to the verb roots as shown below.

Word	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
sung	‘ask’	sung-thai	‘question’

khwlai	‘do’	khwlai-thai	‘duty’
san	‘ask’	san-thai	‘demand’
surung	‘learn’	surung-thai	‘lesson’
man	‘to get’	man-thai	‘right’
ri	‘give’	ri-thai	‘debt’

Suffix /-mung/

Nouns in Kokborok can be derived from the verbs by suffixing *-mung* to the verb roots as given below.

Verb	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
ca	‘eat’	ca-mung	‘food’
nung	‘drink’	nung-mung	‘drink’
thung	‘play’	thung-mung	‘games’
rwcap	‘sing’	rwcap-mung	‘song’
mwsa	‘dance’	mwsa-mung	‘dances’
nahar	‘look’	nahar-mung	‘aim/goal’

Suffix /-ma/

Abstract nouns and verbal nouns are formed by suffixing *-ma* to the verbal root and adjectival nouns are formed by suffixing *-ma* to the adjective roots as given below.

Word	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
wansuk	‘think’	wansuk-ma	‘thinking’
naisele	‘hate’	naisele-ma	‘hate/grudge’
tuk	‘be difficult’	tuk-ma	‘difficulty’
kwcang	‘cold’	kwcang-ma	‘coldness’
kha	‘be bitter’	kha-ma	‘bitterness’
song	‘to cook’	song-ma	‘cooking’
thu	‘sleep’	thu-ma	‘sleeping’
him	‘walk’	him-ma	‘walking’
khaja	‘enjoy’	khaja-ma	‘enjoyment’
naithok	‘beautiful’	naithok-ma	‘beauty’
hilik	‘heavy’	hilik-ma	‘heaviness’
heleng	‘light’	heleng-ma	‘lightness’
sele	‘lazy’	sele-ma	‘laziness’

Suffix /-mari/

The suffix *-mari* is used to derive nouns from verbs as given below.

Word	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
man	'get'	man-mari	'profit'
phunuk	'to show'	phunuk-mari	'example'
bai	'to break'	bai-mari	'expenditure'
tung	'be hot'	tung-mari	'temperature'
thang	'go'	thang-mari	'profit'
nuk	'see'	nuk-mari	'sight'

Suffix /-nai/

Agentive nouns in Kokborok are formed by suffixing *-nai* to the verbs as shown below.

Verb	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
phal	'sell'	phal-nai	'seller'
surung	'learn'	surung-nai	'learner'
thung	'play'	thung-nai	'player'
phurung	'teach'	phurung-nai	'teacher'
song	'cook'	song-nai	'cook'
muruk	'to guard'	muruk-nai	'guard'
ritak	'to weave cloth'	ritak-nai	'weaver'
ri sup	'stitch cloth'	ri sup-nai	'tailor'
khwnai ra	'cut hair'	khwnai ra-nai	'barber'
tuk tak	'to make pot'	tuk tak-nai	'potter'
da tak	'to make knife'	da tak-nai	'blacksmith'

Suffix /-phang/

Nouns in Kokborok are also derived by suffixing *-phang* to the noun and verb roots as given below.

Verb/noun	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
nok	'house'	nok-phang	'house owner'
ha	'mud'	ha-phang	'government'
samung	'work'	samung-phang	'administrator'
tang	'do'	tang-phang	'secretary'
acuk	'sit'	acuk-phang	'chairperson'
dagi	'to order'	dagi-phang	'director'

Compound Nouns

A compound is a word that consists of two or more roots. Compound nouns in Kokborok are formed by combining at least two different lexical items. However, compound noun with combination of three lexical items is also found in the language. The following types of compound are found in Kokborok.

Noun + Noun + Verb + Suffix

This type of compound is formed by combining three nouns plus derivational suffix as given.

Word	Gloss	Literal meaning
swkalthuinungnai	'chameleon' (swkal 'witch' + thui 'blood' + nung 'drink' + nai 'derivational suffix')	'witch blood drinker'

Noun + Noun Compound

The Noun + Noun compound are formed by combining two simple nouns.

Word	Gloss	Literal meaning
khuk-tui	'spit' (khuk 'mouth' + tui 'water')	'mouth water'
kung-khi	'bogey' (kung 'nose' + khi 'stool')	'nose stool'
kung-tui	'snot' (kung 'nose' + tui 'water')	'nose water'
bwsa-khok	'womb' (bwsa 'baby' + khok 'container')	'baby container'
can-duk	'waist thread' (cang 'waist' + duk 'rope')	'waist rope'
hoku-tui	'vapour' (hoku 'smoke' + tui 'water')	'smoke water'
khunju-khi	'ear-wax' (khunju 'ear' + khi 'stool')	'ear stool'
muk-tui	'tears' (muk < (mokol) 'eye' + tui 'water')	'eye water'
muk-khi	'eye-gum' (muk < (mokol) 'eye' + tui 'water')	'eye-stool'
abuk-tui	'breast milk' (abuk 'breast' + tui 'water')	'breast water'
Hoki	'ember' (hor 'fire' + khi 'stool')	'fire stool'

Noun + Adjective Compound

Noun + Adjective compound are formed by combining noun and adjective.

Word	Gloss	Literal meaning
mui-kuthung	'vegetable' (mui 'curry' + kuthung 'raw')	'raw curry'
mui-sele	'python' (mui 'curry' + sele 'lazy')	'lazy curry'
tok-kolok	'crane' (tok 'bird' + kolok 'long')	'long bird'
tok-sunta	'wood-pecker' (tok 'bird' + sunta 'bald')	'bald bird'

nobar-koto	'storm' (nobar 'air' + kotor 'big')	'big air'
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Verb + Noun Compound

Verb + Noun compound are formed by combining verb and noun.

Word	Gloss	Literal meaning
ka-lam	'stair' (ka 'step' + lam 'way')	'step way'

Noun + Verb Compound

Noun + verb compounds are formed by combining noun and verb.

Word	Gloss	Literal meaning
mui-khon	'plantain flower' (mui 'curry' + khon 'coil')	'coiled curry'
yak-khep	'tongs' (yak 'hand' + khep 'hold')	'hand hold'
mui-lok	'gourd' (mui 'curry' + lok 'be long')	'long curry'
nok-sip	'broom' (nok 'house' + sip 'to fan')	'fan house'
ha-cuk	'hill' (ha 'mud' + cuk 'be high')	'high mud'

Verb + Verb Compound

Verb + adjectives are formed by combining two verbs.

Word	Gloss	Literal meaning
rom-phe(r)	'flattened rice'	'flat catch'

Noun Reduplication

Like other Tibeto-Burman languages, nouns in Kokborok can be reduplicated to show inflection and derivation. Some reduplicated forms maintain the word class while some changes the word class as shown below.

Word	Gloss	Reduplicated form	Meaning
nok	'house'	nok nok	'to each and every house'
kami	'village'	kami kami	'to each and every village'
bolong	'jungle'	bolong bolong	'to each and every jungle'
bisi	'year'	bisi bisi	'yearly'
jora	'time'	jora jora	'sometimes'

Conclusion

Nouns in Kokborok can be classified into non-derived, derived, compound and reduplicated nouns. Non-derived nouns are simple nouns. Derived nouns in Kokborok are

formed by suffixing affixes (-ma, -nai, -mung, -thai, -mari and -phang) to verb, adjective and noun. Compound nouns in Kokborok consists of at least two lexical items or even more. Nouns in Kokborok can be reduplicated to show plurality.

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Aspects and Ultimate Goal of Indian Women Writers in Diasporic Literature

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Abstract

Recent Indian women writers of Indian Writing in English deal with liberty for women, voice against child marriage, suppression of women in the patriarchal society, etc. The works of Indian diasporic writers' style, literary form and technique attract the readers. Their writings cover all parts of the world who struggle because of nostalgia, rootlessness, adaptation, and loss of identity. Diaspora writers such as Bharati Mukherjee, Jhumpa Lahiri, Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni, Anita Desai, Meera Syal etc. write about the inner conflict of South Asian immigrant women who suffer because of discrimination, cultural shock, identity crisis, alienation, displacement, depression, hybridity etc. during their stay in the alien land. They make their voice heard around the world from the feministic point of view of the predicament of immigrant women protagonists. Their unique literary style and autobiographical elements helped them to achieve global recognition in the literary field. These writers have achieved International repute for their unique writing style and pattern. They tried their best to capture the mind of immigrant South Asian women and the power of assimilation into the new soil.

Keywords: Indian Diaspora women writers, cultural displacement, identity crisis, feminism, hybridity.

Feminism is the term that has been used by the women novelists who for women's liberty and self-identity. Indian Writing in English novels of diaspora women writers reflect on the reality that in the present age women have realized that they are not helpless and are not

dependent. Indian women writers explore the feminine subjectivity and apply the theme that ranges from childhood to complete womanhood. Through their novels they spread the concept of feminism and women empowerment.

Diaspora is a word that is referred to any community of particular nation living outside its own country. More than 20 million people of Indian origin have spread across the world in more than hundred and ten countries. Most of this dislocation is by choice and exile is not necessarily something that creates torment. However, there emerge challenges, aspirations and anxieties in people who migrate to a new land because of the new environment and the cultural barriers they face in the alien country. Especially the first generation immigrants always have suffered from a sense of nostalgia and they hold fast their cultural, religious and linguistic identity. Therefore, to uphold their identity is their main concern. Hybridization and marginalization are major concerns to diasporic women writers.

The experience of acculturation involves stress, anxiety, depression and feelings of marginality. Immigrants often suffer from discrimination and prejudices from the outer world which troubles their mind psychologically. They become targets of prejudice and discrimination on account of various psychological factors that affect them in various ways that are unimaginable. These include group favoritism towards one's group; competition for positive social identity; social influences from schools, parents, peer groups etc., social structural differences like class differences; displaced hostility, frustration from a powerful body to the powerless minority; dominating personality; differences in socio-cultural norms etc.

In spite of the modern laws, the discrimination and racial prejudices are still prevalent in the alien society which is unbearable for the newcomers to adapt. Media also play a negative role in maddening biases against minorities by giving biased coverage about the minority groups.

An important medium through which negative impression about the minorities can be reduced is literature. Diaspora Writings is the literature of the migrants expressing their experiences and sense of displacement and loss of social constructs like nation, ethnicity, race, culture, language etc. The Diasporas lose the unique bond among members of the same race, nation and ethnic group share. They experience social isolation, culture shock, mental stress and homesickness during their migration.

A wide variety of women writers have emerged during 1970s. With their unique writing style, they have evolved out a literary genre and diasporic concept which made them famous among other writers. The themes and their inimitable writing style helped them to achieve international status and universal recognition. Many women writers have written on the problems women faced from childhood to complete womanhood and a few writers have added the

autobiographical elements as the basis of their writing. Through their writings, they raised their voice against child marriage, equality, dowry and widowhood in the earlier days. The motto of their writings is to uplift the status of women in the Indian society. All the Indian women writers focus on the contemporary social situations which exist in the society. Their writings mainly exhibit and explore the real status of women in Indian society. Predominantly, after the emergence of the diasporic women writers, the inner turmoil and sufferings of women's psyche are more clearly understood by everyone.

Prominent writers such as Bharati Mukherjee, Anita Desai, Shashi Deshpande, Arundhati Roy, Jhumpa Lahiri and Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni share experience of the Indian culture, tradition and heritage common in their specific Indian ethnic group. The creative writing of these writers is realistic and reliable. These writers have provided insight to the readers and created awareness and spirit to women about freedom of thought and action.

Divakaruni's novels focus mainly on women's liberation and also insist on the importance of women education which supports them to stand boldly in all circumstances. It also discusses on the mutual help among the women who strive for their life and identity. Her novels speak on the various aspects of women ie women in love, women in family and society, women in the alien soil, their troubles and adaptation and their bravado of survival. Her novels realistically showed the cross cultural experiences of womanhood and their assimilation, their struggle between the two worlds and culture.

Lahiri's novel discusses on the various aspects of women who encounter different problems in the alien land and the process of acculturation in the alien soil. Women survival of native culture, longing for the homeland, their boldness to fit into the alien society is the major theme in her novel.

All the novels of Anita Desai present the predicament of married women who suffers endless trial and tribulations in the society. Her novels focus on the complexity of human relationships and human condition. The central point in her fictional world is man woman relationship and the theme of sex and marriage, their alienation from the society. Her women protagonists live on their own way, independent and live in fantasy world.

An emerging important goal of Diaspora Indian Women writers seems to be to go beyond the label of Diaspora Writers to get the universal acclamation as Creative Literary Writers, whose works are universally relevant, irrespective of ethnic or other differences of the background of their protagonists and story content and method of narration. For example, even though Bharati Mukherjee's writings contribute more about South Asian immigrant women problems and the transformation of women in the new alien soil, she also rejects the idea of

being called an immigrant writer. She likes to be known as ‘mainstream American writer’. She has moved from aloofness of expatriation to the exuberance of immigration.

Mukherjee’s personal experiences are depicted in her novels which cover India, Canada and the United States, and her novels focus mainly on the theme of dislocation, alienation and assimilation in the new milieu. Most of her women protagonists move away from their cultural environment to an alien land and try to adapt to the new environment with lot of struggles in their life. They try to take control over their destiny by crossing cultural boundaries. They are more adoptable, survivor and ready to face the challenges and hardships in their life.

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‘How Are You?’ and Identity: A Case of a University Campus

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Abstract

This study investigated responses to ‘How are you?’ among students and lecturers of the University of Energy and Natural Resources, zooming in on the identity-marking variables of religion and age. In addition, the study sought to find out linguistic features as well as the literariness espoused in the responses. Employing a longitudinal study approach, data was collected over a one-year period. Findings show that responses have identified markedly the religious and age backgrounds of respondents; Christianity and Islam being two main religions of respondents while specific responses were used exclusively among the younger generation of students and the older generation of lecturers. Finally, linguistic processes such as amelioration, widening and narrowing and literary devices, namely, metaphor, hyperbole, irony and metonymy provided linguistic and literary niches to these responses.

Keywords: How are you? religion, age, identity, responses, greetings, University of Energy and Natural Resources, Ghana

Introduction

Language has attracted the attention of scholars who have focused on aspects of language study such as speeches, conversations, novels, lyrics, and many more. One major issue about the study of language is about the phenomenon of identity. Language itself is one major mark of identity. For example, almost all nations in the world are named after a major language. We can refer to countries such as England, France, Germany, Italy, Spain named after English, French, German, Italian, and Spanish respectively, making language an obvious mark of identity among peoples of the world.

Even within a language, we find identities further marked in terms of varieties such as a dialect, which is a variety of a language by a particular people within a main language. We can also refer to a sociolect, a variety of language among a social group, such as the youth. And we can mention an idiolect, a variety of language used by an individual. All these show the fact that language is unique and clearly identifies its users.

One way we can tell the identity of a people by use of language is through greetings, which is the focus of this study. This study seeks to unearth the responses to ‘How are you?’ among undergraduate students and lecturers of the University of Energy and Natural Resources, Sunyani, Ghana, zooming in on the variables of religion and age as identity markers between the two groups of respondents. The study is sectioned under the following headings: research questions, method, discussions and conclusion.

Research Questions

1. What are the responses to ‘How are you?’ among students and lecturers of the University of Energy and Natural Resources?
2. Which responses identify the religion and age of respondents?
3. What linguistic and literary devices are employed in the responses?

Literature Review

The complexities of greetings as part of language use across the globe have been investigated from many angles over the years, particularly from the angle of anthropological linguistics which “views language through the prism of the core anthropological concept, culture, and as such seeks to uncover the meaning behind the use, misuse or non-use of language, its different forms, registers and styles. It is an interpretative discipline peeling away at language to find cultural understandings” (Foley, 1997:3). Foley (1997) mentions ‘use of language’ and ‘cultural understandings’. Greetings are one definite way language is used and greetings and their responses have cultural or contextual interpretations and understandings. The present study’s context is a university campus and its participants are students and lecturers. The focus of the study is to investigate responses to the question ‘How are you?’ among students and lecturers, zooming in on the linguistic variables of religion and age.

A few studies have investigated greetings across the globe, one of which is Agyekum (2008). Agyekum (2008) investigated the pragmatics of Akan greetings. He submits that “how a person is greeted and how s/he reciprocates are important in indexes of age, sex, social status, power, kinship and clan organisations... (p. 511). Agyekum (2008) shows that greetings and their responses have a link with identity in the forms of age, sex and status. We note that Agyekum’s study focused on Akan. The present study’s focus group is made up of students and lecturers from various ethnic groups in Ghana as well as other African countries. The language of investigation in the present study, unlike that of Agyekum’s, which is Akan, is English. The focus for the present paper is just one aspect of greeting – responses to ‘How are you?’ The present study would determine whether or not such variables as religion and age would identify respondents in the socio-cultural domain of a university campus which is one brewing pot of many languages.

Ekanjune-Ilongo (2013) also investigated greetings in Akóóse using a sociolinguistic approach. Her findings are similar to Agyekum’s (2008). She reports that the analysis

'reveals that age factor, time, and context of situation determine the choice of greetings in Akóóse... (Ekanjune-Ilongo (2013:25). While one of the factors in consideration in the present paper is age, religion as a factor has not been considered either by Agyekum (2008) or Ekanjune-Ilongo (2008). This paper would determine whether religion also carries the same identity mark as age does in the investigation of responses to 'How are you?' among UENR students and lecturers.

Before Agyekum (2008) and Ekanjune-Ilongo (2013), Akindele (1990) conducted a sociolinguistic analysis of Yoruba greetings. He revealed that the system of greeting in Yoruba society is different from that of English society where a greeting typically performs the function of phatic communication. In the Yoruba culture, greetings also pass on information. Agyekum (2008) and Ekanjune-Ilongo (2013) both confirm Akindele's (1990) finding in the cases of Akan and Akóóse respectively. Akindele (1990) also emphasizes how age matters a lot in greetings among the Yoruba such as a younger one's responsibility to initiate greeting. The focus of this paper is different; the focus on the factor of age as an identity marker is to unearth whether or not either the older generation or the young generation has some responses exclusive with them and how this would mark their identity.

In all, we have seen from literature the attention greetings have received from linguists over the years. We have also noted the variables of age, sex, time, context and their important roles in greetings. In addition to age, the present study seeks to investigate the factor of religion and its role in the responses to 'How are you?' among students and lecturers of the University of Energy and Natural Resources (UENR), Sunyani, Ghana.

Methodology

This is a longitudinal study conducted between August 2017 and August 2018. The researcher in his normal exchange of greetings among students and colleague lecturers posed the simple question, 'How are you?' to as many students and lecturers of UENR as possible in their day-to-day school activities. In total, 726 responses were collected: 421 from students and 305 from lecturers. The responses were noted down and analysed considering the variables of religion and age. As regards age, all students were classified under the younger generation, while lecturers were classified under the older generation. The responses are categorized along these lines and discussed one after the other, making the study purely descriptive.

Discussion

This section presents the findings and discusses them with regard to the research questions. The first research question seeks to unearth the various responses to 'How are you?' among lecturers and students of UENR. In total, 726 responses were collected; 421 from students and 305 from lecturers. In all, 31 distinct responses were collected. Table 1 presents the distribution of the responses from both students and lecturers of the University of Energy and Natural Resources.

Table 1: Responses from both lecturers and students of UENR

Single Lexical Items	Phrases	Short Sentences
Cool	His grace	I'm fit
Great	By his grace	I'm strong
Managing	By god's grace	I'm good
Management	By Jehovah's grace	I'm well
Terrific	Insha Allah	I'm doing well
Coping	Jesus' grace	I'm doing good
Brutal	Just ok	I'm alive
Good	Keeping bone and flesh together	I'm kicking
Blessed	No shaking	I dey
Wonderful	Can't complain	God dey
	Gun without bullet	I'm blessed
	Empty purse	
	Nothing give me	
	Rock solid	
	By the heavens	

We note that the responses are categorized into three, namely, those of single lexical items, phrases and short sentences. Among the single lexical item responses to 'How are you?' are *cool, great, managing, management, terrific, coping, brutal, good, blessed* and *wonderful*. Among the phrasal responses, we note *his grace, by his grace, by God's grace, by Jehovah's grace, insha Allah, Jesus' grace, just ok, keeping bone and flesh together, no shaking, can't complain gun without bullets, empty purse, nothing give me, rock solid* and *by the heavens*. Under short sentence responses, we have *I'm fit, I'm strong, I'm good, I'm well, I'm doing well, I'm doing good, I'm alive, I'm kicking, I dey, God dey* and *I'm blessed*.

The second research question focuses on how these responses mark identity as regards religion and age. Regarding religion, attention is given to those responses that express respondents' faith in a deity. As regards the variable age, attention is given to the responses that were given exclusively by the younger generation (students) and those also exclusively from the older generation (lecturers).

Religion

The responses to 'How are you?' among students and lecturers of UENR identify with two main religions that are practised among Ghanaians, namely, Christianity and Islam. Responses such as *inshallah* and *by Allah's help* clearly point to Islam as the religious background of some of the respondents, while *by Jehovah's grace* and *by Jesus' grace* point to Christianity. There are other general responses that express faith in a deity but are not clear as to their religious identity. These are *his grace, by his grace* and *by God's grace*. While

these are general in nature and not specific to any religion, by observation and experience, I submit that these general references to God or by use of the pronoun *his* is very common among Christians on UENR campus. In essence, responses from respondents as regards religion have pointed to Christianity and Islam as two main religious groups on UENR campus. Just by these brief responses to ‘How are you?’ the religious identity of respondents is revealed, reiterating the identity-marking capacity of language.

Age

Age as a sociolinguistic variety has been one major identity marker in language studies as we have seen from Agyekum (2008), Akindele (1990) and Ekanjune-Ilongo (2013). The responses in the present study also clearly mark the younger generation (students) with responses used exclusively among them. Table 2 shows the distribution.

Table 2: Responses exclusively from students of UENR

SINGLE LEXICAL ITEMS	PHRASES	SHORT SENTENCES
Terrific Brutal	Can't complain No shaking Gun without bullets Empty purse Nothing give me Rock solid	I dey God dey

The responses that were exclusively used by students reveal some uniqueness, clearly marking the uniqueness that youth languages possess around the world (McCarty et al, 2009; Smith-Hefner, 2007). Under single lexical responses are *terrific* and *brutal*; under phrasal responses are *can't complain*, *no shaking*, *gun without bullets*, *empty purse*, *nothing gives me* and *rock solid*. Short sentence responses are *I dey* and *God dey*. We can note some sense of flamboyance in their choices of *terrific* and *brutal* as responses to ‘How are you?’ The adjective *terrific* has the sense of something tremendous, massive or gigantic. The intended meaning in this response is definitely not the archaic meaning of *terrific* which borders on something dreadful, terrible or horrible.

On the other hand, the adjective *brutal* denotes such negative understandings as *bloody*, *cruel*, *murderous* and *cold-blooded*. We can note the uniqueness as regards flamboyance that these responses carry and how they identify students as a younger generation who use language markedly different from the older generation of lecturers. This flamboyance would be further elaborated on under the heading *Literary Devices*.

The uniqueness of flamboyance and creativity is carried on to the phrasal responses to ‘How are you?’ In *can't complain*, we deduce a unique response that suggests that the respondent was neither fine nor unwell. In it we can see a resignation to carry on no matter

the difficulties one faces, since complaining would not in itself make things better. While *can't complain* is rather largely undefined, the response *no shaking* has the sense of optimism in it. It serves as a motivation for the respondent not to give up even if things go wrong. In this regard, *shaking* is synonymous with giving up, hence *no shaking* means *no giving up*.

Of all the phrasal responses, the most novel to the researcher is *gun without bullets*. This response suggests that all is not well with the respondents. The responses *empty purse* and *rock solid* need no elaboration for they are self-explanatory. However, *nothing give me* is a common Ghanaian pidgin English which means *nothing for me* or *I have nothing*. It clearly shares the same sense of negativity as is espoused in *gun without bullets* and *empty purse*.

For the short sentence responses to 'How are you?' students have resorted to Ghanaian Pidgin English *I dey* (I exist, I'm alive) which shows the same sentiment of *can't complain*, while *God dey* (God exists) spells optimism as in the case of *no shaking*. In *I dey* we note respondents' expression of satisfaction that they are alive; in *God dey*, they express faith in God that he would take care of them.

Side by side the younger generation of students, lecturers have produced two responses used exclusively used among them, namely, *keeping bone and flesh together* and *by the heavens*. Asked for an elaboration on the former response, one lecturer said, "I'm just OK. When the bone and the flesh are together, we're alive, not dead yet." It is clear therefore that keeping bone and flesh together means one is doing well. The later response *by the heavens* shares similar grounds with *by God's grace*, *by Jesus' grace*, *his grace* and *by Jehovah's grace*.

Linguistic Features

The responses collected in this study are rich in linguistic features. Let us take the single lexical responses such as *terrific* and *brutal*. These adjectives have undergone some semantic shift or sense change. *Brutal* has undergone amelioration, defined by Sekyi-Baidoo (2002:317) as referring to "a situation in which a word now acquires a more positive or favourable meaning", inasmuch as it actually means in this context that the respondent is doing very well while *brutal* by itself carries a negative denotation; a clear case of contextual amelioration. *Terrific* which has such overlapping meanings as *tremendous* or *massive* has been narrowed or made specific (Sekyi-Baidoo, 2002) to mean *fine* in the context of a response to 'How are you?'

Moreover, we note the idiomatic use of *keeping bone and flesh together* to mean *fine* or *doing well*. It is general knowledge that the overall meaning of idiomatic expressions is not the sum of the meaning of the individual components of the expression. It is clear that the overall meaning of *keeping bone and flesh together* goes beyond the obvious flesh and bone. The same is true of other responses such as *no shaking*, *can't complain* and *gun without bullets*. We also note the semantic process of widening, an instance where the meaning of

words is broadened, in the single lexical response *cool*. *Cool* by itself carries the idea of temperature. However, contrasted against *hot*, *cool* widens to mean *fine* in this context.

Finally, we see the employment of the cohesive device of ellipsis in all the responses but for the short sentence ones. Ellipsis is the deletion of some parts of a clause or sentence whose deleted part is recoverable from context (Amenorvi, 2015; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004; Halliday and Hasan, 1976). The context of the responses in question is obviously that of greetings. It follows, therefore, that in the case of single-lexical and phrasal responses as we have noted earlier, ellipsis is employed. However, the deleted parts of these responses (*I'm, I am* or similar expressions) are recoverable from context and meaning is not affected. It is in this recoverability that the cohesion in the employment of ellipsis lies, binding the deleted and the undeleted parts of the responses together.

Literary Devices

Data has also revealed the employment of literary devices and how these have added a touch of sophistication as well as an aesthetic appeal to respondents' responses to 'How are you?' These responses may be simple words as we have seen. However, the use of literary devices in them reveal that even everyday simple conversations offer a lot to be investigated.

One major literary device employed in data is metaphor, which is the "use of language which serves as a condensed or elliptical simile, in that it involves an implicit comparison between two disparate things" (Abrams, 2011:154). An example is espoused in the single lexical item *cool*. This is likely a direct comparison between the respondents' state of wellbeing and something cool, more likely a glass of water. Except in unusual circumstances, people would normally prefer a glass of cold water to a warm or hot one. The significance of this metaphor is that it promotes easy understanding as the object of comparison, a cup of cold water or beer, is an easy reference to almost everybody. Moreover, this response is rather casual and easily breaks the ice of formality and stiffness between participants. It creates a levelling and builds up a symmetrical relationship or cordiality between participants.

Another use of metaphor in data is found in *gun without bullets*. In this elliptical response, we see a direct link of the respondent to a *gun without bullets*. This military metaphor is loaded with meaning as its thrust spells a feeling of *uselessness* on the part of respondents. Asked by the researcher to throw light on this response, one respondent asks, "What use is a healthy man without money?" From the foregoing, the comparison is obvious – the respondent is the gun, money is bullets. On the part of this respondent then *gun without bullets* does not mean that the respondent is unwell. It means that he or she is broke. In a nutshell, the respondent's conclusion is that much as a gun without bullets is useless or non-functional, so is a person without money.

In addition, we note the employment of a hyperbole in *terrific* and *brutal*. It is in this hyperbole that the flamboyance displayed in student responses as mentioned earlier is found. We saw earlier the meaning of both words and for them to be applied to how a person feels is definitely an excessive exaggeration. As noted by Abrams (2011), hyperbole serves as emphasis on the reality of points under consideration. In the light of this, it is obvious that by *terrific* and *brutal*, respondents are saying that they are doing very well.

Moreover, in the response *brutal*, we see the employment of an irony which according to Cuddon (1999:431) has many functions: “it is often the witting or unwitting instrument of truth. It chides, purifies, refines, deflates, scorns and ‘sends up’”. The denotative meaning of *brutal* by itself is negative. However, as we have noted from Cuddon (1999), irony can purify, refine and deflate things that it is applied to. In the light of that, the brutality in *brutal* has been purified, refined or deflated, giving *brutal* a positive connotation of *fine* or *doing very well*.

Finally, there is the employment of metonymy in the phrasal response by the heavens. Metonymy embodies the presentation of something by referring to something else relating to it (Bierwiazzonek, 2013). By the response by the heavens, respondents are referring to God who occupies a central part of the religions of Christianity and Islam. It is popular knowledge that the two religions believe that God dwells in heaven. They also believe that God is a spirit and cannot be seen with human eyes. The significance of the metonymy is that by referring *heavens* instead of *God*, the respondents can see the evidences of the handiwork of God such as the clouds, stars, the moon and the sun. Beholding the presence of the physical heavens strengthens their faith and they see God through these physical elements. In effect, the thrust of *by the heavens* is *I am doing well by the power of God the creator*.

Conclusion

This study has investigated the responses to the simple question ‘How are you?’ among students of the University of Energy and Natural Resources, Sunyani, Ghana. The purpose was to unearth how the responses project identity among the respondents as regards religion and age, students being the younger generation and lecturers the older generation. The study also sought to find out linguistic features as well as the literariness espoused in the responses. Findings reveal that responses clearly show the religious and age identities of respondents. Linguistic processes of narrowing, widening and amelioration as well as the employment of figures of speech, namely, metaphor, hyperbole, irony and metonymy have contributed to the linguistic and literary sides of these responses.

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Psychological Analysis of Female Characters in Shyam Selva Durai's *Cinnamon Gardens*

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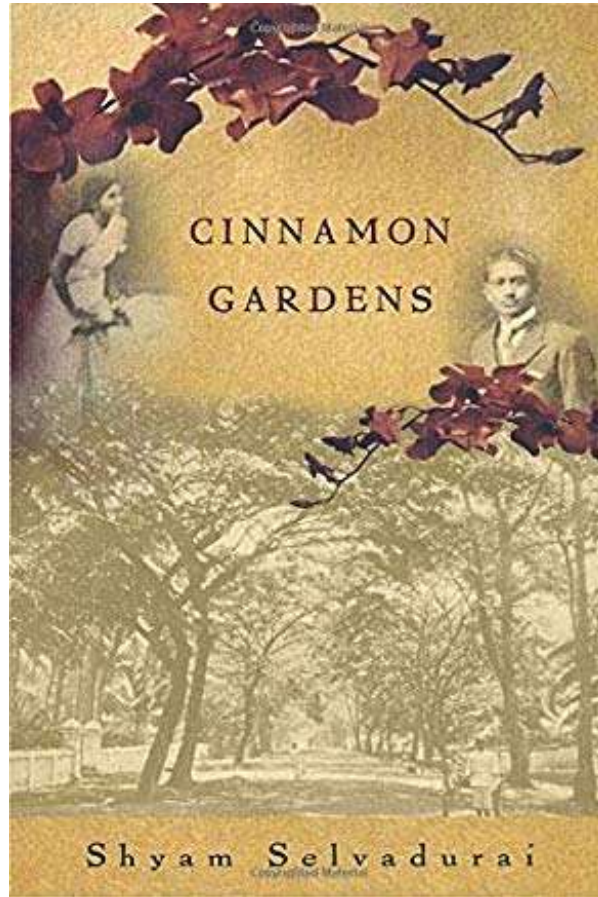
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Courtesy:

https://www.amazon.com/s?k=Shyam+Selva+Durai+Cinnamon+Gardens&i=stripbooks&ref=nb_sb_noss

Abstract

In Shyam Selvadurai's *Cinnamon Gardens*, the author portrays the historical account of feminism. He portrays the psychological aspects and inner sufferings that happened in Ceylon around 1927. While narrating the story, the novel also describes the roots as well as key issues

including voting rights, the right to education and right to speak. The status of women all over the world is still a cause for grave concern. Women in this society faced many discriminations and difficulties which also affected their inner peace. Public space is still limited to men and a few elite women. The suppression of women is seen everywhere in these nations. Due to this the women are internally affected. Feminism psychologies are traced out in this novel.

Keywords: Shyam Selva Durai, *Cinnamon Gardens*, Women liberation, Women Suppression, Women talents, Emancipation of women, Plight of women.

Sri Lanka is a small country which also faces problems like India. One such problem is need for feminism which we can see in Shyam Selvadurai's *Cinnamon Gardens*. This has viewed all perspective of denial of human rights with regard to women living in a conservative patriarchy. The background of the novel is set in Sri Lanka. The novel portrays the changes happened between 1927-28 where it shows the study based on gender and sexuality. This novel deals with the dream of a girl who wanted to become a teacher. Even the cultured women of that society were not allowed to oppose for selfish purpose. It also focuses on a society ruled by upper class people, rituals and ancient traditions. Selvadurai shows the way of doing things which was made for the women. He says that the women were not allowed to know about the proper way of making teas, dinners, parties, the daily meetings. The male society did not spend some time with their families. Thus, the men are not able to understand the feelings of women. The women in their heart have some fear on their husband's mood which swings often but they try to find their mood to compromise them. The women need to get compromise with the mistake of men even though it is bigger one.

In this novel, the protagonist Annalakshmi Kandaiah's life parallel to the political changes in colonial Ceylon. Annalakshmi is a grandniece of the family patriarch the most powerful Navarantram Mudaliyar, whose job is to help the British Government agent to carry out the colonial policies. Annalakshmi's mother Louisa Barnett a strong-willed woman, is forced to raise her daughters alone while her husband enjoys his life with a mistress abroad. Annalakshmi is in dilemma in the story that shows the similar problem faced by most of the women in the society.

Annalakshmi's society is one of those societies where women were given job only if they were either poor or too unattractive to get a husband. This system has been changed later. In the year 1927 the women of the bourgeois elite were involved in public life restricted only to religious activities or meeting on the needs of working girl. Sonia is the aunt of Annalakshmi. She is an active new member which makes the twenty-two-year-old Annalakshmi to have dream of her as new women. This makes her to challenge the gender roles. Her strong loves for education and unconventional behaviour helped her to reach her challenge against the society of those men were a remarkable one. The exploring choice of Annalakshmi is the highlights of the events in Sri Lankan history in 1927. The event shows Annalakshmi's course of life is further augmenting her decision concerning career and marriage much to the embarrassment of the

women in Sri Lankan society including her own mother. Though Annalakshmi's struggle, it explains the state of women's struggle for liberation in Ceylon, Selvadurai highlights the marginal roles of women in Ceylon society of 1920's where Annalakshmi is considered as over educated, even by women of their own class including her relatives who consider her teacher profession (dream) is greatest crime.

The bicycle which she ricked was the gift from her British teacher in school. As a new woman she was not "ashamed or afraid to ask for share of the world" (Cinnamon Gardens 5). Annalakshmi on the same hand finds nothing wrong with the vision of Ceylonese women on a bicycle. The society and Louisa were having a narrow mind that the activities of Annalakshmi is not right as their family belongs to a very high reputed family which thinks that spectacle girls don't ride bicycles. Therefore, Annalakshmi should give up her wish to ride the bicycle.

All the other people considered Annalakshmi's activities as foolish and objectionable but for Annalakshmi, the bicycle stands as freedom that her thought is to enjoy only as the western women. This made clear in her words with her sister Kumudini where she queries about the tradition. "How will the women of this country ever progress? European women can ride bicycle and do all sort of things because a few brave women made a start." (Cinnamon Gardens 8).

By riding the bicycle, she wants to compete with European women. By the way she can full-fill her desire to ride bicycle. When Annalakshmi steps forward to ride a bicycle, her own family members don't mind accepting it. Her sixteen-year-old sister Manohari says "She looks just like monkey on a bicycle and I'm sure people will pay us lot of money to see her do tricks." (Cinnamon Gardens 7). Annalakshmi's world is bloomed when her teacher gifted the bicycle. Her public bicycle ride culminates her happiness from getting marked as a fast woman in the society. Were the society unable to take those things casual. In such tie, Annalakshmi doesn't worried about their dignity in the society and she crosses the womanly barriers which were framed by men in their society.

The powerful rights of men build a nation which plays a major role in the novel. Only few women were able to understand it and they put their development were Annalakshmi is one such lady. Here Annalakshmi's Character is reflective at the time when the women groups' played role during the Donoughmore Commission's hearing. In this novel, the reader can find out that the novel creates a debate about right for vote to women through an issue which is related to women franchise.

When Annalakshmi attends a meeting with her aunt Philomena, her aunty wants Annalakshmi to follow the words of the society where she gives some examples of Tamil nationalist leader Ponnambalam Ramanathan, who has given a speech for the people's power and

for women's vote which are against our great Tamil tradition. She also says that the purity, nobility and the modesty of women would be incapacitated if they would be given voting rights. A woman should engage herself in servicing their husband all the time. The Sri Lankan women also have the mentality that women are made to serve the family members and they are not given rights to live a life of their own.

Annalakshmi is different from others as she has overcome all the difficulties which were given to her by the society. She is cheated under the pretext of love by Seela. She has faced the discrimination and forced to marry a boy who lives in male dominated society. Annalakshmi has faced many physically and mentally torched after entering her adulthood her father doesn't support her. Selvadurai has explained the condition in a better way by saying,

“Annalakshmi's screamed out of pain when Murugasu pulled her hair and slapped her. Apparently, Annalakshmi had not swept the drawing room. Yet Louisa later found out that the real cause of violence was severing of the bond between father and daughter.” (Cinnamon Gardens 43)

Louisa comes to know about his activity. She wants her daughter to be saved from Murugasu. For that reason, she wants Annalakshmi to marry soon. Louisa never feels that why can't this same happen to Annalakshmi in that home. Most of the women in Ceylon were also victims of convent gender-based violence. From this the reader can get to know the mindset of those people and fear of the people which stops them from raising their voice against the men in the society. In which Annalakshmi is different where she struggles for independence and rejects her marriage which was planned by her father. She knows very well that this marriage would create a great disturbance in her achievement and will be forced to live a life that might be filled with violence throughout her life span. Annalakshmi rejects the marriage and finally joins as a teacher in a Hindu school. She then lives a life for her own in the society.

In the world everyone has different thoughts regarding a person, thing or an issue likewise in this novel, the reader can analyse the problems of women in the patriarchal society. Some women use to follow the tradition, but some consider it as a degradation of the society. In the East, women still face many differences in wages as they are paid low wages compared to men. They are also less respected in cases of work. They compress their talents to limited areas. The suppression of women is been seen everywhere in this nation. Due to this the women were internally affected and that changes their mind affects them psychologically. Therefore, the feminism psychologies are traced out in this novel and were the reader gets a clear view of the women in the societies.

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The Use of Imagery and Its Aesthetic Values in Igbo Riddles

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Abstract

The study investigates imagery and its aesthetic values in Igbo riddle. A riddle is a popular genre of oral literature that appeals to people of all ages, gender and status. A riddle is a literary genre that employs figurative language to evoke rich imagery and requires indigenous thinking before a response. The study sets out to identify and analyze the types of imagery used in Igbo riddles as well as their aesthetic values. The study was purely descriptive with qualitative approach. Data for the study were collected through oral interview and unstructured questionnaire. The study looked at symbolism, simile, personification, repetition, metaphor, satire and parallelism as some of the imagery embedded in the riddles. The findings of the study revealed that analogical

reasoning plays a critical role in the enunciation of the Igbo riddles. Igbo riddles involve logical association of themes in the question and responses. The study further showed that some Igbo riddles have more than one possible response however this does not pose challenges to participants in searching for the acceptable answer. Also, the study revealed that Igbo riddles are characterized by figurative meaning and employed both perceptual and conceptual imagery. The imagery paints the picture of a situation and at the same time evokes the appropriate emotion. The study also revealed that for one to understand the imagery employed in the riddles, one must be familiar with culture and the words themselves which form the responses to certain riddles. Finally, types of imagery such as symbolism, parallelism, repetition, simile, metaphor and personification are used to veil their meanings which enrich the human intellect and encourage hidden solutions.

Keywords: riddle, context, imagery, performance, aesthetic, and culture.

1. Introduction:

Riddling is one of the ways by which the Igbo people transmit their culture and tradition from one generation to the next. Riddling game is only performed in some few rural communities these days. The dying out of the performance of riddles in the communities that were known to be performing this game is partly attributed to the in-road of modernization, separation and migration of the youth to the urban areas from older people who would have been spending time with them. In most communities with electricity, reading, watching of videos and football matches has taken over riddling which was used for educating and developing the minds of the youth, and at the same time, a source of entertainment. The evening or night period that was used for riddling in rural communities is now used for different activities such as watching of video by the people. These activities have lead to the gradual disappearance of riddles which are our cultural heritage and there is need to document them for the present and the incoming generations.

Riddles constitute part of oral tradition literature. They are a legacy from the past, handed from one generation to another by word of mouth. Kyoore (2010) posits that riddles bind the generations together to experience the magic of archetype and through that the world is unveiled. For instance, the Igbo riddle: E nwere otu nna, mgbe o bula okporo gi, I gaghi aju (I have a certain father, when he calls you, you cannot refuse) the response of the

riddle is death (onwu). Death is no respecter of person. The implication of this riddle shows that death has no respect for age, gender, or status and as such no one can avoid one and equal. Kyoore (2010) further states that riddles are found in historic literature in nearly all cultures throughout the world. In Kyoore view, it is very likely that riddles might have spread through oral tradition as a means of fireside storytelling and education. This study shares the same view with Kyoore.

A riddle is a question or statement that requires ingenious thinking before a response. Riddles as a literary genre employ figurative language to evoke imagery. According to Abrams (1993) figurative language is defined as a language which deviates from ordinary language in order to achieve special meaning or effect. Abrams view, figurative language departs from ordinary language by changing the order and significance of words. In similar regard, Motebele (1997) states, that one of the most common means of constructing figurative language is the use of imagery. She goes further to say that imagery entails deserting an object or concept in terms of another by bringing out the similarities and differences between them. Identifying the imagery in riddle means that you know how to organize the universe within your minds. Also, Motebele (1997) mentions that organizational principles are discovered within the contest of riddles by creating a collision of meanings caused by a clash between literal and figurative meaning created by the montage of related images.

The Igbo people see riddling as a game for the young people through adults are also known to be active participants. Sometimes, adults perform riddles with children in riddling session where they share their riddles with them. Adults may also engage in the art. Riddles are also performed and transferred between children alone. The act of riddling among the Igbo is perceived as a means of knowledge transmission. This view is supported by Finnegan (1970:441) when she noted that among the Chaga of Tanzania, there are riddles used to threaten, to convey secret information and to effect indirect suggestion this implies that, these riddles are obviously for adults and this supports the view that adults take part in riddle performance in the Chaga culture just as the Igbo people do.

The Igbo people perceive riddles as a dialogic contest and the performance requires a riddler, a riddlee and an audience. It is the riddler who drops a riddle to the riddlee and they are required to give a response. There is turn taking in riddling session among the

Igbo, where one riddler presents a riddle to a riddlee and vice versa. The rule of the game does not allow one to lie, hide part of the truth or change the conditions of the contest to enable one win.

Igbo riddles have an opening procedure to prod an individual into riddling session and it is stereotyped. For instance the riddler says; gwa m, gwa m, gwa m, (tell me, tell me, tell me) the riddlee say; “koazian na nti ghere oghe” meaning say it, we are listening or waiting. The function of the opening formula is to establish the contextual situation of riddle exchange.

The performance of riddle among the Igbo is guided by understood rule. For instance, riddles are mostly performed at night as a form of social control so that time is not wasted. This therefore, is meant to train the child to follow time-lines and activities, so that they do not forget other given chores. Riddles can also be performed during the day time in schools.

Riddles are performed for a variety of purposes which include teaching and values, proof of intelligence and way of socializing the child into the poetics of the society. Scholars study riddles as a form of literary expressions by members of society because riddles reflect the environment and people’s intellectual dexterity. Riddles may play an important role in the holistic development of young people. Riddles do not only perform social and educational functions but also they include moral and cultural functions in the society. Traditional, Igbo riddle provide to the people strong sense of cultural value such as unity, respect, honesty and others. The values are important element in the proper development and the education of the youth. Some Igbo riddle are in structure, they may mention names or make reference to historical events. Undoubtedly, riddles develop a sense of observation and creativity in the people’s mind. Igbo riddles are an effective means of testing and improving the listeners ability to think very fast and accurately too. Ajayi (1990) supports this view when he notes, that riddling constitutes an impressive moral and intellectual exercise that develop the individual reasoning ability which is the key to good moral judgment such as uprightness and kindness. Socially, riddles bring people together to interact, compete and make friends with one another. Riddling creates a spirit of competitiveness among the players and also a spirit of togetherness for those who find themselves in the same group.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This section concerns the review of relevant literature under conceptual, theoretical and empirical studies.

2. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1.1 IMAGERY:

Imagery is a prominent feature in Igbo riddles. Agyekum(2013) defines imagery as a way by which oral and written literatures employ words to paint mental pictures that appeal that our feelings and our understanding. He further posits that imagery is basically based on comparison of items by listing their specific attributes and lining them up to see areas of resemblance and contrast. Giddon(1977) in his own view sees imagery as a term used to represent objects, actions ,feelings, ideas, state of mind and sensory experience. He defined imagery as the images produced in the mind through the use of language. The use of imagery in literary art is to achieve concentration and forcefulness. Images which are drawn by using figures of speech such as metaphor, simile and personification serve the function of beautification. In this study, imagery is used to depict the picture represented in a person's mind. It is a concrete representation of a sense of impression feeling and idea. They are mental and physical images that are produced by figurative language in the form of comparison based on association. Their meanings are always inferred from larger cognitive, cultural or environmental context.

2.1.2 Context

Context as a concept is what comes before and after a word, phrase or statement helping to fix meaning. Webster (1980) defines context as the whole situation, background or environment relevant to some happening or personality. Mbah and Mbah (2007) define context as many occasions in which oral literature is performed. In continuing, they say context is the setting of the oral performance, which helps to explain what is being done. There must be an occasion that necessitates the performance of oral literature. This occasion could be – a funeral ceremony, an installation, a marriage celebration or village festival. Oral literature is important but without the context, it is lifeless (Onuigbo, 2006).

2.1.3. Performance

Performance is an element in all oral art, and that is why some of the controversies about style of art can only be fully understood by reference to performance. According to Jakobson (1974:11) performance is defined as a form of expression which uses poetic language of which body is the vehicle that gives form to that which one wishes to communicate. Each act of performance is reflexive, creating an experience while reflecting upon this experience at the same time. Schechner (1982:15) in his own view considers performance as the retired behaviour. Onu (2014:22) defines performance as an interactive enterprise where a performer performs before a participating audience. He added that the skill and personality of the performer, the nature and reaction of the audience, the context and the purpose are essential aspects of a performance. Ihedigbo (2017) sees performance as any form of artistic display in the presence of an audience.

Bauman (1975:11) defines performance as

A mode of verbal communication which consists in taking responsibility of a performer with regard to the audience, by manifesting its communicative competence. This competence is supported in knowledge and talent and it possesses to speak in the socially appropriate way from the audience's point of view, the performer's expressive acts which are subject to evaluation according to their efficiency. The better the capacity, the more intense the experience will be, thanks to the pleasure offered by the intrinsic qualities of expressive acts.

Scheubs (1977: 89) sees performance as "underlying process of balancing, loosening, bending, twisting, reconfiguring and transforming the permeating eruptive energy and mood below and to the side of focused attention. Derrida (1978:12) describes performance as repetition of action. Schechner (1982:15) in his own view considers performance as the retired behaviour. In the case of this study performance is used to mean a collective activity which involves one or more performers and audience.

Turner (2002:13) asserts that:

performance is a didactic of flow that is spontaneous movement in which action and awareness are one and 'reflexivity'. In which the central meanings, values and goals of a culture are seen in action as they shape and explain behaviour. A performance is declarative of our shared humanity, yet it utters the uniqueness of particular cultures. We

will know one another better by entering one another's performance and learning their grammars and vocabularies.

In the context of this study performance is used to mean a collective activity which involves one performer or more as well as an audience.

2.1.4. Culture

Culture is described as the software of the mind by some scholars such as Andrew Milner and Jeff Browitt (2002). Milner and Browitt (2002) draws attention to four important kinds of meaning that attach to the word culture: an individual habit of mind, the state of intellectual development of a whole society; the arts; and the whole way of life of a group or people. In William Bascom's term, 'culture has been referred to as man's social heritage and as man-made part of the environment' (William Bascom, 1965: 27). In the present study, culture is understood as the way of life of Igbo people. A proverb is thus part of culture as it codifies and/ or reflects how people live. One of the most important issues in human life that proverb reflects is gender. Given that culture is dynamic, the construction of gender roles keep on adjusting to changing social, economic, and political imperatives, first as the language and literature that reflect the situation are to be.

1. Theoretical Framework

The study is anchored on social constructivist theory propounded by Kjørholt (2004). Social constructivist epistemology approach presents childhood as a social construction and children as social actors. This theory is based on social constructionism and has engaged international researchers with interdisciplinary academic backgrounds – sociologists, anthropologists, historians, geographers, psychologists – who have contributed to the development of interdisciplinary childhood studies (Kjørholt, 2004). Social constructionism is drawn on the perspective of the social construction of oral tradition to explore children and their oral tradition. As the focus of this study on children's riddling practices, social constructionism theory is used as a concept for understanding children and their play culture.

This theory presents child as social actors and childhood as social construction. James and Prout (1990:i) explain it as an interpretative frame of explaining the way children are perceived and articulated in particular societies into cultural specific set of idea and philosophies, attitude and practice. The concept of children as social actors has emerged as a new paradigm in research with children by engaging children as active participant in the research process about their everyday life (Lancy & Montgomery, 2009). Based on this concept, researchers involve children as active subject who are competent to shape each other as well as to influence their social situations which shows that they have rich perspectives about their social world. Corsaro (2011) posits that children, through their peer culture and routine, achieve their autonomy and reduce adult control. This study emphasis that the fact that children in their play activities demonstrate their desire to achieve freedom from the rules and authority of adult and to gain control over themselves show that they are social actors.

Thus, Corsaro's notion of children as social actors as well as Kjørholt's analysis of children as social participants shows us that children are subject with the capacity to construct meanings in response to the social practices in which they guide themselves. The role of Igbo children play in the performance, interpretation and transmission of oral tradition and construction of knowledge through this process are made manifest in their riddling practice.

Children always appreciate information they gain from adult into their peer culture through their own way of doing and sharing. This notion of appropriation and sharing thus denotes that through interactive event children become parts of cultural system that create and maintain their cultural practices through their own way of teaching each other. This theory is relevant to the present study because it focuses on the notion of interactive event that pertain to children play practices within the context of dual interaction, which include peer interaction (children interaction with each other) and children interaction with adults.

Corsaro and Matinaro (2000) argue that an ethnographer should be an active participant in children pair relationships through taking part in their everyday activities in order to attain their full investment in ethnographic fieldwork activities. Silbery (1986) claims their success in ethnographic research lies in multiple methodological activities which include watching, listening and understanding children's social practices in their cultural contexts. These are what social constructionist theory stands to achieve in this study.

2.2 Empirical studies

Summer (1995) writing on the complex form and structure of riddling note that it is comparable to the proverb. This is usually highly metaphorical while the proverb is mainly connotative. In this way, riddle exhibit a wider and deeper scope of meaning,

operating and interpretation.

Similarly, Galit Hassan and David Shulman (1996) rightly assert that the riddle, both itself and its contextual embeddedness, is rich in existential context. This means that a riddle act can stand out on its own as a text and with its added advantage of the situational linguistic and cultural context that inform its being, a riddle contains a multiplicity of meaning. What is more, the things to be translated in the riddle included the audiences' perceptions of the riddle precedents set before them.

Magachi (2015) conducted a study on the pragmatic analysis of Ekegusii riddle. The study is based on a pragmatic analysis of Ekegusii riddles. He opines that riddles play an important role in educating not only children but also adults. The study categorized riddles into literal and metaphorical riddles. The study is anchored on relevance theory. The findings of the study revealed that Ekegusii riddles are classified into literal riddles which are interpreted and understood based on context and cultural knowledge. It also discovered that both children and adults take part in the riddling process and that context and cultural knowledge play a major role in interpreting and understanding Ekegusii riddles.

Gachanja and Kebaya (2013) carried a study on the pedagogical aspect of riddles: A critical examination of Abagusii riddles. Primary data for analysis was obtained from a field work conducted among children and adult purposively sampled from Abagusii community. The researchers engaged participatory and observational approaches in data collection. The paper investigated the various education values and skills inherent in the riddles and show that both the riddling and the riddle embody educational values. In this regard, the author emphasized that riddles should be embraced as an important teaching and instructional method.

Shuaibu (2014) in his work titled, "Hausa riddles and game pertinent to the development of Mathematical things: A reconstruction focus" examines how Hausa riddles and game could be used in the teaching of mathematics lesson. The author interviewed students, lecturers, and other members of the society in Kano to gather some examples of some Hausa riddles and games. The findings of the study revealed that there are so many numbers of Hausa riddles and games very relevant to the development of mathematical thinking which mathematics teachers and students could use to improve mathematics teaching and learning and at the same time can be used for recreational activities and psychological tension release.

Kyooore (2010) conducted a study on riddle among the Dagora of Ghana and Burkina Faso. The study examined closely riddles of Dagara people of West Africa, emphasizing the importance of the genre as a cultural tradition. The riddles are analysed were collected during a folktale narration session in the Nandom area of the upper west region of Ghana. The study argues that riddles as metaphors are a logical association of objects or human behaviour, and calls for inclusion of folklore of folklore study in elementary school curriculum.

Summary of the Reviewed Literature

The literature reviewed so far indicate that not much has been done in children's riddling as an academic exercise. More so, none of the reviewed works focused on Igbo riddles showing that no scholarly work has been done in Igbo riddles at least to the best of the researchers knowledge. It is this gap that the present study intends to fill to stimulate further research in Igbo riddling game.

2. METHODOLOGY

This section presents the methodology that was employed in carrying the study.

This study was purely descriptive with qualitative approach. It aim at describing the imagery in some selected Igbo riddles in the context and concept of Igbo culture. In this study, the population consisted of all the people in Nsukka Igbo culture area. The study employed purposive sampling to select participants. The sample was drawn from a population of young and old Igbo riddler's from male and female ages between 16 and 60, who volunteered to participate in the riddle performance. A total of 15 riddlers, 5 females and 10 males were used for the study. Fifteen riddlers were selected from six primary and secondary schools were sampled for analysis based on researcher's intuition as a native speaker. Data were collected through participant observation an oral interview. The method of data analysis was purely descriptive and focus was on the imagery in which the riddles are used in relation to the Igbo way of life.

3. DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

This section analyses fifteen (15) riddles which are presented with the focus on imagery in the riddles. Imagery is the creature of both mental and physical pictures so as to describe objects, events, human characters and their qualities either through indirect reference or in the, medium if figurative language. Figurative language depart from what users of the language know as the standard meaning of words or the standard order of words, in other to achieve special meaning or effect.

5.1.1 Use of symbolism in Igbo riddle.

RIDDLE 1

Riddler- E nwere umuaka ato. o buru na otu anoghi ya, abuo ndi ozo enweghi ike iru oru.
Gini ka m bu?

Riddlee- Ekwu

Riddler: I have three children. If one is absent, two cannot work. what is it?

Riddlee- hearth stone

RIDDLE 2

Riddler: E nwere otu nne. O buru na nwa ya anoghi ya, o gaghi eri ihe obula. Gini ka o bu?

Riddlee: nwa igu

Riddler: there is a certain mother when the child is not there, she cannot eat. What is it?

Riddlee: millstone

The picture created in the mind of this two riddles above is unity. Traditionally, Igbo riddles give especially the youths the strong strength of cultural values such as humility, honesty, and unity. It is clear that umuaka (children) and nwa (child) in riddle 1 and 2 respectively depicted working together. If one is absent, the remaining cannot work alone, the strength of the Igbo society as portrayed by its riddles is found on communal welfare based on cooperation and unity amongst its members. Therefore failure to accept the working together of the people implies failure to acknowledge that exist among them. The Igbo work as a unit and it is through that unity that they succeed in holding unto the adage “igwe bụ ike ma adiri na otu” (united we stand, divided we fall).

The unity implied in the two riddles symbolizes the strong communal spirit and value of the people. The riddler urges his members to work together since working as an individual implies, in the eyes of the community, a failure. This situation of individualism is the fear among members of the community and the Igbo riddlers being part of this community. This study observed was reacting to these fears in these riddles .

The two riddles abound in symbolism. The subject disguised in the riddle question are the ‘*ekwu*’ (hearth stone) and ‘*nwa igu*’ (a grinding stone) which are described as

“nwa”(child) and “umuaka”(children) actions in the riddles symbolize unity. The use of symbolism is very common in Igbo riddles.

3.1.2. THE USE OF SATIRE IN IGBO RIDDLES

Cohen (1973:195) defined a satire “as the criticism of a person, human nature, event, movement or institution by the use of ridicule, sarcasm, irony and humour in order to reduce the subject of absurdity”. In satire the aim is to explore an attack vice and folly. The Igbo oral artist including the riddlers often prefers to correct the fault, malice and follies through veiled expression rather than degrading or attacking a person openly. The riddle below demonstrates this assertion.

RIDDLE 3

Riddler: O were otu onye m nwere na-agaghi enye onwe ya nri mana o na – ebuga nri na ahia

Riddlee: nda (akpisi)

Riddler: I have a certain fellow that refuses himself food but sends it to the market

Riddlee: an ant.

The riddle paints the pictures of a rural community where one can see ant everywhere even in the roads especially when it rains and the ground is wet. The riddler employs the image of an ant to present his message. Grachanja and Kebaya(2013) posit that generally, ants are regarded as the most hardworking animal and that their behavior gives them the honor to be earning the simile “as hardworking as an ant”. This shows that riddlers have a close observation of nature and the environment. Ant are depicted in many cultures as dedicated and always determined to succeed in any undertaken. However, Igbo folktale has it that even though ants are perceived as hardworking they eat

very little as they like keeping the rest for future use.

By equating human behavior to that of ants, the riddle is drawing the attention of the society to some of the unattractive human behaviors. This also reasons the question of the essence of some human actions that negates their own well being. This riddle substantiates the Igbo adage which says “okpa aku eri eri lekwa ka onu di onye nwuru anwu”(one who gathers wealth without enjoying should look at the mouth of the dead person). The imagery created in the riddle is absurd. It does not make sense for one to leave his family to starve, only to take the food items to the market and sell them. The riddle is suggesting, it is bad that one’s love for money is making one deny him and the family food while taking the food items to the market and sell to strangers to enjoy.

By questioning the rationale behind such inhumane action, the riddle exposes such eccentricism in the society and satirically attacks the members of the society who practice such selfish behavior. The Igbo people employ satire to evoke imagery and provide amusement for the community. It is evident from the above that imagery in Igbo riddles satirizes certain behavior which society does not uphold. This gives to confirm Awedoba(2000) that riddles provide opportunities for critical observation and assessment of beliefs, norms and notions as well as behaviors, even if they end up confirming the status quo rather than subverting it.

3.1.3. USE OF PARALLELISM IN IGBO RIDDLES

Nypson(2001) defines the parallelism as the repetition of words , phrases or sentences that have the same grammatical structure or that restates a similar idea. Fabb (1997) in his own view sees parallelism as an organizing principle that divides the text into sections and requires the second half of each section to resemble the first half. Agyekum (2007) describes parallelism as sameness between two sections of a text.

In parallelism two things or ideas are always involved in a similar construction. In this study, parallelism is a poetic device by which the riddler brings together in a balanced relationship, ideas and images that may seem independent of one another. The examples below illustrate below the use of synonymous and antithetic parallelism in Igbo riddles. Synonymous parallelism in the situation where the proposition is repeated either totally or partially, the expression may be different but the meaning is either completely or nearly the same. Antithetic parallelism occurs with contrast so that the correspondence lines are by means of opposition sometimes by expression or sense only.

RIDDLE 4

Mgbe nwa onye kpuru isi nwuru asi na o bu aka oru amosu, kedu maka nwa onye amosu nwuru?

(when the blind person's child died, they said it is the work of the witch, but what about the witch's child that dies?)

This riddle paints the picture of ignorance. "onye kpuru isi" refers to a visually impaired person. Its usage here metaphorically means someone who is not a witch or an ordinary person who has not got a witchcraft powers. An ordinary person's child dies and people attribute it to witch hunting and a witch's child also died. The question then is, is the death of this child also attributable to the work of a witch? Why will a witch kill her own child? In this riddle, the Igbo always want people to reflect about their society and be positive about their way of life. The riddle encourages the person to also be curious and ready to find answers to new things as they occur. This is because society is dynamic. The imagery created in the riddle suggests that even the witch's child is not spared death how much an ordinary person's child. The imagery depicted in the riddle response

suggests that, there is something more powerful than all human beings. Through their remarks the riddles wonders why the witch who is regarded more powerful and miraculous and through whom the unseen and unknown are discovered and the lives and prospects of individuals and community are saved or destroyed should suffer such as ordinary being. The riddle provide avenue for the society to reflect on their belief system and paints the picture that as far as the destiny of the human being is concerned, the supernatural being controls our lives. The riddle employed parallelism as an imagery to present the message.

There is synonymous parallelism in riddle number 4. The blind person's child that died and the witch's child that also died are both expression about death.

RIDDLE 5

Kedu onye huru nzomukwu obu mgbe o na-aga ije n'ime nkata (abo)?

Who sees the footprint of a dove when it walks in a basket?

The above riddle paints the picture of secrecy. Secrecy is deliberately hiding information or behavior from other people (Kelly, 2002). In this study secret refers to knowledge permitted only to those who deserve it. Igbo riddles just like the riddles of other cultures are good reflection of the societal values such as honesty and respect for traditional norms viewed as a cultural practice that upholds the best tradition. The riddler uses "obu" (dove) in the riddle in the response to present the message. Dove is often use as symbol of peace in many cultures. When dove walks on the ground one finds it difficult to see its footprints not to talk about walking in basket. In the basket, the dove's footprints could not been seen, one can never know how a dove entered a basket through the appearance of its footprint. A dove normally will not be at where there are people. Even when it comes it will hide. When no one's attention is on it, it will then move to do

what it wants to do. The imagery in the riddle underscores the essence of secrecy and confidentiality regarding society and Igbo cultural practices.

RIDDLE 6

Kedu onye huru eze otu ebe o na-amu amu n'ime ulo?

Who sees the teeth of a vagina when it laughs in the room?

In this riddle “otu” (vagina) naturally, the position of it is such that no one can see or else you're permitted. As a result one cannot see it when it laughs and not to talk about seeing the teeth of it. The imagery in the riddle underscores the essence of secrecy and confidentiality and Igbo cultural milieu. Traditionally, “otu” (vagina) is not mentioned in plain language and issues relating to it not also discussed in public. The Igbo people regard vagina as the path that brings life. Respect and other moral activities concerning it are held secretly and in confidentiality.

The imagery in the riddle suggests that there is the need for individuals to learn the rules of etiquette regulating the society in order to safeguard the traditional norms and cultural values of the people.

Igbo riddlers who are observant and part of the society refer to a woman accepting her male counterpart in bed as vagina laughing. As the activities of the couple in bed are known to them only it is referred to by the riddle as the footprint of the dove in the basket. The activity of a man and woman in bed results to pregnancy. This suggests that the riddle refers to the pregnancy as tooth of the vagina. The riddle demands certain logics and induces critical thinking. The logic is embedded in a comparison of the dove that walks in a basket and vagina that laughs in the room.

3.1.4. THE USE OF PERSONIFICATION IN IGBO RIDDLES

Personification is a figure of speech in which a thing, an animal or an abstract thing is made human. Agyekum (2007) stated that personification endows animals, ideas, abstractions and inanimate objects with human form, character and sensibility and emotions.

Personification is a very popular imagery Igbo riddlers often employ to drive home their message and create more fun in the course of riddling. Each personified object is often made symbolic of some kind of good or evil attribute which the riddle wants to praise or condemn. Riddlers cleverly make the non humans behave an act like human being by use of certain verbs, adjectives, nouns and sometimes pronouns. The riddle below illustrates personification.

RIDDLE 7

Riddler: E nwere m otu enyi na-arụ oru n'ugbo oge nile mana o naghị akunye ihe n'ubi.
Gini ka o bu?

Riddlee: Ezi

Riddler: I have a certain friend that always farms and farms but he never sown. What is it?

Riddlee: pig

The above riddle create the image of occupation “ na-arx qrx xgbq oge nile” farm and farm in the riddle question depicts emphasis the riddle attaches to work. This suggests that people should work hard. The main tool use in farming amongst the Igbo is the hoe. It is used for clearing the land and weeding.

The pig performs similar activities as done by the people and it is useful to them. The pig uses its nose to remove grass and level the ground just as the hoe does on the farm but nobody will sow seed there. The pig does it in search of food and for pleasure.

Whether the pig gets the food or not it never loses hope in doing it because of the pleasure component it attaches to doing it.

The imagery in the riddle is suggesting that there are other things that can clear the land and not the hoe only as the people always do. This implies that people should add other innovations in doing their farm activities.

The riddle employs personification to present the message. “ezi”(pig) in the riddle response is a non human being which is endowed by the riddle with human character and sensibility. It is human beings that farm but in the riddle through the creative use of language, a pig is seen to be farming where no one sows for it. The effective use of personification in the riddle by the riddler does not only add beauty to the language but also depicts the creative and manipulation of language among the Igbo oral artist. The imagery in the next riddle depicts strength.

RIDDLE 8

Riddler:Anwu agbaa osisi iroko n’obi. Gini ka o bu?

Riddlee: qnwx

Riddler: A bee beats the iroko tree in the heart, what is it?

Riddlee: death grabs a young man

This riddle paints the picture of strength. “anwu agbaa” means a bee beats and this depicts the strength and character of this small insect known as bee. Iroko is one of the strongest trees in Igbo land. Even in the event of rain storm, when an iroko falls, the people are always surprised. The riddle response – death – teaches the people that death is not a respecter of person whether young, rich, poor, old, strong or weak. It comes unannounced and whoever it comes to call cannot refuse its call.

The riddle uses the imagery of personification to present the message. The riddle cleverly makes the non-human being “anwu” (bee) and “onwu” (death) behave and act like human beings by the use of certain verbs in the riddle and response respectively such as “agbaa”(beat) and “ejideela”(grab). Naturally, it is human beings that beat but in the riddle question it is used by a non-human being. The bee is endowed with human qualities, sensibility and emotions to act in this manner. In the riddle response, death a non-human entity is seen having the strength, ability and courage to grab a strong young man by the hand without fear.

3.1.5. THE USE OF METAPHOR IN IGBO RIDDLES

Metaphor occurs frequently in everyday’s speech and adds beauty to the language. Agyekum(2013) states that metaphor is a poetic device which concisely compares two things by saying that one is the other. In this study metaphor is a statement that one thing is something else which literal sense is not. The riddles below are metaphorically constructed.

RIDDLE 9

Riddler: E nwere m otu osisi na-eto oge nile mana onweghi mgborogwu. Gini ka o bu?

Riddlee; Mmadu

Riddler: There is a certain tree that grows but does not have root, what is it?

Riddlee: A human being

The riddle paints the picture of strength. Among the Igbo the word “too” which means “grow” is used for the development of a human being and a tree. The nominal “osisi” (tree) in the riddle question and “mmadu” (a human being) in the riddle response are used metaphorically in the riddle. The riddle refers to the human being as a tree that

has no root yet always grows. Here the tree is substituted for a human being. Physiologically, there is no correlation between a tree and a human being. However, in the riddle they (tree and human beings) are made to satisfy the same purpose. As Anang (2013:4) articulated, “metaphor deals with the unlocking of mystery, the unknown ... metaphor speaks about one thing in terms that suggests another, involving the presentation of facts of one category in the idiom appropriate to another, two things active together interacting and in the interaction producing meaning”. The riddle below laments about individualism.

RIDDLE 10

Riddler: Nnam ruru otu ulo o bu naani m na- ano n’ime ya. Gini n.a. o bu?

Riddlee: akpukpo ukwu

Riddler : My father built a certain house for me that I am staying in alone , what is it?

Ridlee : Footwear

This riddle paints the picture of ownership. The response to the riddle question is straight forward “akpukpo ukwu”(footwear). Footwear in the Igbo society is not shared. They believe that when someone has bad luck and you use the person’s footwear you will get that person’s bad luck. The message embedded in the riddle suggests that, individualism is taking a center stage in the Igbo society as oppose to communalism which is the traditional practices of the people. The riddle alludes to the rise of individualism in the Igbo society. This is so because an individual implied in the riddle as owner of the house depicts him as the only one allowed to staying in his house.

The riddle is seen as an attempt by the riddler to advise the society against individualism and expresses the danger that comes as a result of the negation of the

traditional practices (communalism) among the Igbo. The riddle laments the loss of communal practices in the community as individualism take the center stage. The riddle shows that members of the community are uncomfortable with the advent of individualism in the society since it encourages and selfishness and greed which are widely regarded as vices among the Igbo people.

3.1.6. LOGIC IN IGBO RIDDLES

Maritain(1979:109) sees logic as “logic... means to help our reasoning correctly and efficiently in the attainment of truth. Reasoning is the process by which certainties are arrived at on the basis of known statement”. Igbo riddles reveal and demand certain logic in their performance. This induces critical reasoning or thinking on the part of the riddlers or riddles who take part in the riddle performance sessions. Gwaravanda and Maranda (2010) are of the view that the answer to a given riddle acts as a conclusion of the logical process and it May often in one word answer which is both precise and clear to the participants. All the different types of Igbo riddles and responses demand certain degree of analogy and it’s only the one word response that involves logical reasoning. The logic is always embedded in a comparison of two things or two types of behavior. Igbo riddles employ both inductive and deductive reasoning. Glovier(2005) sees inductive reasoning as involving extrapolation from experience to further conclusions. This implies that known issues can give information’s about unknown cases as the excerpt below illustrates

RIDDLE 11

Riddler: Nnukwu okuko ocha bi n’otu ebe ma ha anaghi ahu ibe ha anya , gini ka o bu?

Riddlee: Anya

Riddler: Two white hens incubating side by side but don't see each other, what are they?

Riddlee: Eyes

RIDDLE 12

Riddler: Nne m nwere otutu umu yichere akwa ocha ma no to onwe ha nso. Gini ka o bu?

Riddlee: Eze

Riddler: My mother has some children and they all wear white shirts standing close to one another. What are they?

Riddlee: Teeth

RIDDLE 13

Riddler: E nwere otu nne nwere ite abuo mana mgbe o bula e kujuru ha mmiri I mara na e nwere onye obia. Gini ka o bu?

Riddlee: Ara

Riddler: I have a certain mother with two pots and any time they are filled with water it means there is a stranger in the house, what are they?

Riddlee: breasts

In the excerpt above, the known cases are “nnekwu okuko ocha abuo” (two white hens), “akwa ocha abuo” (two white shirts), and “ite abuo” (two pots). The unknown cases are the things that resemble or have attributes similar to that of the two white hens, white shirts and two pots. These items are “anya”(eyes), “eze”(teeth) and “ara”(breast).

There is a logical analogy between the riddler and their responses in that just as two white hens are incubating side by side but they do not see each other, the two eyes

have similar attributes standing side by side yet they do not see each other. What these riddles demand some logical association of objects and actions.

Also, some children wearing white shirt, standing close to each other so as teeth are white standing cloth to each other on the gum and finally a certain two pots are filled with water means there is a stranger in the house, the breasts are two and only have water (breast milk) when a child is born. A new born baby among the Igbo is considered a stranger.

Igbo riddles empower the participants to cross check the acceptable riddle responses and manner that makes meaning of the riddle. This goes to concur with Awedoba (2000) that riddling equipped language user, among other things with analytical skills in some cases are similar to those language education seems to provide to students in schools.

Besides analogy, Igbo riddling process also relies on inference. Inference is a conclusion drawn about something on the basis of information that is available. Igbo riddles cover every sphere of life or nature making their content widely varied throwing big challenge to riddlers. For one to be able to be easily respond to the riddles, one need to have ample knowledge of the things in life and nature since the riddles require one to observe and discern various features that characterize his surrounding, hence demanding inference knowledge. Riddles whose enunciations is on natural feature are shown in the excerpts below

RIDDLE 14

Riddler: E nwere m umuaka ato, o buru na otu anoghi ya ndi ozo enweghi ike iru oru. Gini ka o bu?

Riddlee: Ekwu

Riddler: I have three children if one is absent two others cannot work. What is that?

Riddlee: hearth stone (tripond stand)

RIDDLE 15

Riddler: Nna m nwere otu nwa, mgbe obula o gawara ije nwa ahu n'onwe ya agawa ma o kwusi news ahu akwusi. Gina n.a. o bu?

Riddlee: onyinyo mmadu

Riddler: My father has a certain child, whenever he is walking the child is also walking and when he stops the child stops. What is it?

Riddlee: Human shadow

The above riddles require one to make inference on the similarities. “e nwere umuaka ato, o buru na otu anoghi ya, ndi ozo enweghi ike iru oru” (I have three children, if one is absent, two others cannot walk) who’s response is hearth stones requires one to make inferences on the similar ties between three children and that which appears in the environment with similar features. The same applies to the riddle. In “Nna m nwere otu nwa, mgbe obula o gawara ije nwa ahu n'onwe ya agawa ma o kwusi nwa ahu akwusi” (my father has a certain child, whenever he is walking the child is also walking and when he stops the child stops) whose answer is a human shadow. The human being is likened

to the inseparability of the shadow of the object that gives birth to it. Hence, the response to this riddle is based on close relationship.

In these two riddles cited above, inferential reasoning is invoked. The imagery used in the two riddles can only be deciphered through inferences hence demanding that Igbo riddlers should not be logical but also analytical. For one to come out with the acceptable response to riddle, one must be familiar with many aspects of reality to derive the appropriate response of the riddle from it. The implication of this is that one has to have broader knowledge of the immediate environment and culture for one to be able to decode the embedded meaning of imagery in the riddles

4. FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

The findings of the study revealed that analogical reasoning plays a critical role in deciphering the correct response to Igbo riddle. All the different types of riddles and responses demand certain degree of analogy and that involves logical reasoning skills which assists the riddle as the work through possibilities and probabilities until the acceptable response is gotten for a given riddle. Riddling performance involves logical association of objects and actions rather than an association of themes in the riddle questions and responses

The study further revealed that Igbo riddles are characterized by figurative meaning and employed both perceptual and conceptual imagery. The imagery paints the picture of the situation on the same time evokes the appropriate emotion.

The study, further revealed that for me to understand the imagery employed in the riddles, one must be familiar with the culture and have the understanding of how the Igbo people disguise movement, shape, color, size and the words themselves which form the responses to certain riddles.

Also the study showed that Igbo riddles employed different types of imagery such as personification, satire, parallelism, metaphor as well as symbolism to veil their meanings which enrich the human intellect and encourage the hidden solution.

Finally, the study revealed that imagery in Igbo riddles depicts diversity of meaning and therefore is not subject to a single interpretation since the same riddles may be interpreted differently by different scholars and therefore the analysis of imagery in this study is based on the Igbo culture and contexts in which they were used.

5. CONCLUSION

Based on the evidence of the findings in the study, the following conclusion can be drawn: the main purpose of the Igbo riddles is entertainment. However, apart from the entertainment that riddles give to the people, they also constitute a formidable moral, cultural, and intellectual exercise and are used as a medium for developing the people's reasoning power as well as skills in decision making.

More so, riddles empower the people with analogical and inferential Reasoning knowledge which serves as a tool for creative thinking.

In addition, Igbo riddles are association of ideas, objects and actions, rather than an association of themes in the questions and responses and since riddle is an exercise on the association of ideas which are derived from observation made of nature and human life, it affords an opportunity for Igbo riddles to be reinvented as well as learning the Igbo culture. The discussions made in this study confirm that the riddles are never literal due to their use of symbolic language, and the imagery in the riddles is revealed by the material world surrounding the people. Imagery in Igbo riddles paints the picture of the situation and at the same time evokes the appropriate emotion. The main function of imagery is pictorial.

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Types of Proper Nouns as Slang in Russian Language

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Introduction

The language of slang is marked as a special language, which is used in an informal way. Slang words sometimes are called as vulgar and abuse, are categorised as non-standard language. We can find slang words as noun, verb, abbreviations and idioms. But as a definition, these are words, which denote a particular social group or generation, associated with common interests, conditions of society and subjects. Slang is sometimes considered as a synonym of the word *jargon*. Their meanings and definitions are quite similar to each other even though there are conflicts among some linguists over the definitions of these two words (slang and jargon). Some consider them (Jargon and Slang) equal or synonymic, based on their functioning in the concerned language. On the other hand, many linguists define them separately.

That's why for a researcher, it becomes necessary to analyse different definitions of slang and jargon in order to understand and identify them. The word "*slang*" is derived from English word as "*sling*" which means in Russian as "метать" или "швырять". The word "*slang*" at the beginning in English language was used in oral form and then in 18th century it was used in written forms as in popular literatures. Although everyone knows that slang is widely used, the Soviet regime and Official Soviet linguistics scholarship censored it and through censorship they made every effort to prevent the appearance of slang in literary works and in the pages of newspapers and magazines. The article "*What is slang?: A survey of opinion*" explains – *Slang is the changing vocabulary of conversation; it comes into sudden vogue, has a meaning, usually figurative, which is known by a particular set or class*¹ Slang is considered to be a synonym of its literary equivalent words.

Some popular definitions of slang and jargon by different linguists are as follows:

According to Russian philologist, **O. S. Akhmanova** *slang is «разговорный вариант профессиональной речи (colloquial version of professional speech)» or «элементы речи социальной группы, которые, проникая в литературный язык или вообще в речь людей, не имеющих прямого отношения к данной группе лиц, приобретают в этих*

¹ Reves, Havilang Ferguson. What is slang?: A survey of opinion. American Speech. Publ. Duke university press. Vol. 1. no.4 (January, 1926). pp. 216-220.

разновидностях языка особую эмоционально-экспрессивную окраску (особую лингвистическую функцию)».² (elements of speech of a social group, which reach to literary language or generally in speech of people, who do not keep direct relation to a particular group of people and they acquire in these variations of a language, specially emotional-expressive version (special linguistic function))

According to, **В. А. Хомякова**: “Сленг – это относительно устойчивый для определенного периода, широко употребительный, стилистически маркированный (сниженный) лексический пласт (имена существительные, прилагательные и глаголы, обозначающие бытовые явления, предметы, процессы и признаки)”.³ (Slang – this is relatively a stable thing for a particular period, widely used, stylistically marked (lower) lexical layer)

“Сленг – слова и выражения, употребляемые лицами определенных профессий или социальных прослоек”.⁴ (Slang – are words and expressions, used by person of specific profession or social background).

“Сленг – это лексика, возникающая и употребляющаяся прежде всего в устной речи”.⁵ (Slang – this is a kind of lexis, related and is used first of all in spoken speech)

“Многие слова и выражения сленга непонятны или малопонятны для основной массы населения (особенно в период их возникновения и перехода в более широкую сферу употребления)”.⁶ (Many words and expressions of slang are non-comprehensive or less comprehensive for the specific group of a generation, (especially in the period of their origin)).

On the other hand, the word ‘*jargon*’ is believed to have been derived from old French language, which means, ‘*chattering*’ or ‘*twittering*’. Jargon is generalised as the social variation of a speech. Jargon uses a professional lexicology and phraseology of common language. “Жаргон (франц. *jargon*) – социальная разновидность речи, характеризующаяся профессиональной (нередко экспрессивно переосмысленной) лексикой и фразеологией общенародного языка”.⁷. (Jargon (French word) – a social variation of speech, characterize professional (always expressively reconsidered) lexis and phraseology of a national language)

² Ахманова, О. С. Словарь лингвистических терминов. М.: Советская энциклопедия, 1966.

³³ Хомяков В. А. Нестандартная лексика в структуре английского языка национального периода. Автореф. докт. Дис. ...канд. филол. наук. Л., 1980.

⁴ Словарь-справочник лингвистических терминов. М.: Советская энциклопедия, 1980.

⁵ Н.О. Орлова. Сленг VS жаргон: проблема дефиниции.

(http://vestnik.yspu.org/releases/novye_issledovaniy/24_6/) 10:20 PM

⁶ Орлова, Н. О. Сленг vs жаргон: проблема дефиниции. Ярославский педагогический вестник. 2004. № 3 (40).

⁷

The word *jargon* appeared as a new term in comparison to the word slang. Jargon is basically used for the oral form and it is linked to the particular social group of the society. Jargon divides people according to their profession and interests. For example, sports jargon, social jargon, political jargon, economic jargon, professional jargon, computer jargon, internet jargon, technical jargon and so on. Thus, we can notice that both the words (slang and jargon) are quite similar in their definitions. They might be distinguished according to the time- period in which they are used to define a lower lexicology or non-standard language.

In any society, slang or jargons are widely used. Slang words are the informal way of communication and society accepts every new slang and finds it easier to communicate using slang. As It is mentioned that slangs have mainly figurative meanings or symbolic. Some figurative meanings could also be vulgar or humorous. Slangs with their figurative or symbolic meaning can be universal or with same meaning. Slang words are formed to replace a direct meaning in order to create humour or give a new meaning to that particular word. For example, in Russian language, the word «*Арнольд*» as slang is used in order give the meaning of a person who is physically strong, and this word can be used universally. The word “*Головёшка*” which means charcoal is used as a slang in jokes in order to address a black person or an African.

If we analyse Russian dictionaries for slang or jargon, we come across a number of slangs of different types. Every type or category of slang or jargon defines its peculiarity in the society. But, present research concentrates on the proper nouns used in Russian language as slang. Proper nouns can be as names of individuals, names of countries or nationality, names of popular buildings, names of a particular group, like rock group, pop-group, names of rivers, etc. But, in the Russian dictionaries of slang and jargon, proper nouns are characterised in different forms and in different word combinations as slangs or jargons. They are found as names of individuals, names of countries or nationality, names of common nouns in order to symbolize proper nouns related to that, names of animals or birds in order to symbolize an individual, and others. There are some examples of such proper nouns, which needs to be mentioned here for the analysis.

Names of Individuals:

The names of famous personalities are used as slang in Russian language and these names have specific peculiarities according to their physical appearance, special identification or qualities. Some of the names from the dictionaries of slang and jargon are given below.

1. **Гитлер** -а, м., јос. 1. A large bottle of strong wine (lit. a Hitler). ◆ Маленьких бутылок не было, только гитлеров продают. “There were of any small bottles.” They were only selling ‘Hitlers’ 2. Strong drink ◆ Вот это гитлер, сразу пьянеешь! “That stuff is real ‘Hitler’ – you get drunk the minute you touch it”⁸

⁸ Shlyakhov, Vladimir and Adler, Eve. Dictionary of Russian Slang and Colloquial Expressions. 3rd edition. 2006.

2. **Сусанин** – (army, joke. from Susanin, the hero of Musorgsky’s opera Иван Сусанин who led Polish invaders to their death in a Russian forest) – 1. a guide who doesn’t know the way or whom others suspect of not knowing the way. 2. an air force navigator.⁹
3. **Пушкин**, -а, м., joc. Someone or other; I don’t know who. ♦ И кто испортил ковёр? – Пушкин. “Who made this stain on the carpet? – Pushkin”¹⁰
4. **Самурай**, -я, м., A Japanese (lit. samurai) ♦ Этот самурай Москвы совсем не знает.
5. **Арнольд** –а, м. *Культурист; сильный мускулистый человек. 25. // шутл. –ирон. Юноша мужчина, занимающийся культуризмом в ущерб интеллекту.*¹¹

Names of Rock Groups

1. **Бон** –а, м. ♦ **Бон жёванный**, шутл. *рок-группа «Bon Jovi»*
2. **Баба** –ы, ж., шутл. *Поп-группа «Абба».*

Names of Countries or Nationality

1. **Еврей** - а, м., шутл/joke. A Jew (formed from еврей with the nationality-formative-ин). ♦ *Зачем мы взяли ещё одного еврейца на работу, у нас и так их полно.*¹²
2. **Джапан** - а, м., youth. A Japanese person.¹³
3. **Катманду**, нескл., м., ж. или ср. Ирон-бран. Полное...! Иди ты в..! От назв. города в Непале; аллюзия к манда.”¹⁴
4. **Индус**, -а, м., crim. A prisoner receiving punishment for bad behaviour (lit. an (East) Indian). ♦ Будешь как себя вести, попадёшь в индусы. “If you act like that, you’ll be put in a punishment cell.”¹⁵
5. **Джорж** - а, м., шутл. youth, A Georgian (from Eng. “Georgian”). *Ты знаком с тем джоржем?*¹⁶
6. **Юс**, -а, т. & f., *youtj An American (from U.S.)* ♦ *У нас преподавательница – юс.*¹⁷
7. **Кацап**, -а, м., rude. A Russian (from the point of view of non-Russians, esp. Ukrainians; with special reference to Russian pronunciation). ♦ На Украину сейчас кацапы почти не ездят. “These days there are hardly any Russkies going to Ukraine” • Шёл хохол, насрал на пол, шёл кацап, зубами – цап! A hostile rhyming phrase used by non-

⁹ Shlyakhov, Vladimir and Adler, Eve. Dictionary of Russian Slang and Colloquial Expressions. 3rd edition. 2006.

¹⁰ ibid

¹¹ В. С. Елистратов, Толковый словарь русского сленга, Москва АСТ- ПРЕСС. 2007.

¹² Shlyakhov, Vladimir and Adler, Eve. Dictionary of Russian Slang and Colloquial Expressions. 3rd edition. 2006.

¹³ В. С. Елистратов, Толковый словарь русского сленга, Москва АСТ- ПРЕСС. 2007.

¹⁴ ibid

¹⁵ Shlyakhov, Vladimir and Adler, Eve. Dictionary of Russian Slang and Colloquial Expressions. 3rd edition. 2006.

¹⁶ ibid

¹⁷ ibid

Russians; lit. “A Cossack went and crapped on the floor, along came a Russky and slurped it up”¹⁸

Names of the River

1. **Байкал** –а, м. угол., мол. *Слабо заваренный чай*. Тихоныч, не много заварки сыпь, байкал сделай.¹⁹

Common Nouns with Their Symbolic Meaning for Individuals

1. **Урюк** – (lit. a dried apricot) – a person from the eastern republic of the former Soviet Union. а Kazakh, Tadjik, Uzbek.²⁰
2. **Головёшка**, (lit. charcoal) -и, f., youth, joc. a black person, African.²¹
3. **Гуталин** -а, м., joc. A black person (lit. black shoe polish) ♦Здесь живёт мой знакомый гуталин.²²

Names of Buildings

4. **Пентагон**, -а, м. The Russian Defence ministry (lit. Pentagon). ♦ Ты знаешь, где в Москве Пентагон? ²³
5. **Байбл**, неизм., м. и ж. ♦Библиотека.²⁴

Names of Animals with Their Symbolic Meaning for Individuals

1. **Зверь** (lit. a wild animal) –я, м., A person from the Caucasus. ♦ Ты этого зверя знаешь.²⁵
2. **Урюк** – (lit. a dried apricot) – a person from the eastern republic of the former Soviet Union. а Kazakh, Tadjik, Uzbek.
3. **Индюк**, (lit. a turkey) -ка, м., neg. An (east) Indian. ♦Индюки нам больше чай не поставляют.²⁶
4. **Гиббон** –а, neg. A strong hairy man (lit. a gibbon ape). ♦ Я таких гиббонов не люблю.²⁷
5. **Таракан** –а, m. 1. A nickname for Stalin (lit. cockroach) ♦ Таракан народа погубил – жутко! 2. m., neg. A mustached man (e.g. Stalin; lit. a cockroach) ♦ Ты знаешь этого таракана?²⁸

¹⁸ Shlyakhov, Vladimir and Adler, Eve. Dictionary of Russian Slang and Colloquial Expressions. 3rd edition. 2006.

¹⁹ Мокиенко, В.М., Никитина, Т. Г. Большой словарь русского жаргона. Санкт-Петербург. 2000. стр. 45.

²⁰ ibid

²¹ ibid

²² ibid

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²⁴ ibid

²⁵ ibid

²⁶ ibid

²⁷ ibid

²⁸ Shlyakhov, Vladimir and Adler, Eve. Dictionary of Russian Slang and Colloquial Expressions. 3rd edition.

Abbreviations

1. **ГКЧП** abbr., joc. Properly, the state Emergency Committee (Государственный комитет чрезвычайного положения) formed in 1991 to remove Gorbachev from power. Jokingly deciphered as Государственный комитет чрезвычайных придурков.

Conclusion

Proper nouns are in large number in Russian language. They are found in different types. But we have noticed that proper nouns as slang are found maximum in the form of names of individuals. Proper nouns in slang for individuals can be compared to animals or insects, food, material, etc. For example, the word ‘**Таракан**’ which means cockroach has been used symbolically to refer to Stalin. They can also be used directly as words like, ‘**Юс**’, ‘**Джапан**’ and ‘**Джорж**’. Apart from proper nouns of individuals, there are others, which carry same importance and usage in Russian language.

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Types of Proper Nouns as Slang in Russian Language

<411-416>

Linguistic Ecology of Karnataka (A State in the Union of India)

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Introduction

First let us look at two concepts. *Landscape* is ‘all the visible features of an area of land, often considered in terms of their aesthetic appeal.’ *Ecology* ‘is the relationships between the air, land, water, animals, plants etc., usually of a particular area, or the scientific study of this.’ It takes hundred or thousand or more years to bring changes in the grammatical structure of a language. Even after that time the change may remain incomplete. This refers to the internal changes in a language. But the economic, social and political and policy decisions in a country do not need more time to modify the linguistic demography. This reflects the external changes relating to a language.

India became independent in 1947, conducted its first census after independence in 1951. It reorganised its administrative units on linguistic lines in 1956 and conducted the first census after reorganisation in 1961. The census data of 2011 helps us to understand the changes that have taken place in fifty years since 1971. This paper explores the linguistic demography of Karnataka, one of the states in India in terms of its landscape and ecology using the census data of 50 years from 1971 to 2011.

Karnataka

Karnataka is one of the states and union territories in southern part of India. It was carved in the process of linguistic reorganisation of the geographical territories of the country in 1956 with Kannada as its major language. After reorganisation of the state the population of it, as per the 1961 census was 2,35,86,772. The same in 1971 stood at 2,92,99,014. The latest 2011 census records 6,10,95,297 (5.05%) as the population of the state. Now the rural population is 3,74,69,335 (61.33%) and the urban population is 2,36,25,962 (38.67%). Among them 3,09,66,657 (50.68%) are male and female are 3,01,28,640 (49.32%).

If we leave the North East of the country, Karnataka is the most multilingual state. Kannada is the Official Language of Karnataka as per the Official Languages Act -1963. It is also one of the important languages of judiciary, administration and education in the state. Karnataka is geographically surrounded by the states having Marathi, Konkani, Telugu, Tamil and Malayalam as official languages.

Decennial Census and Languages

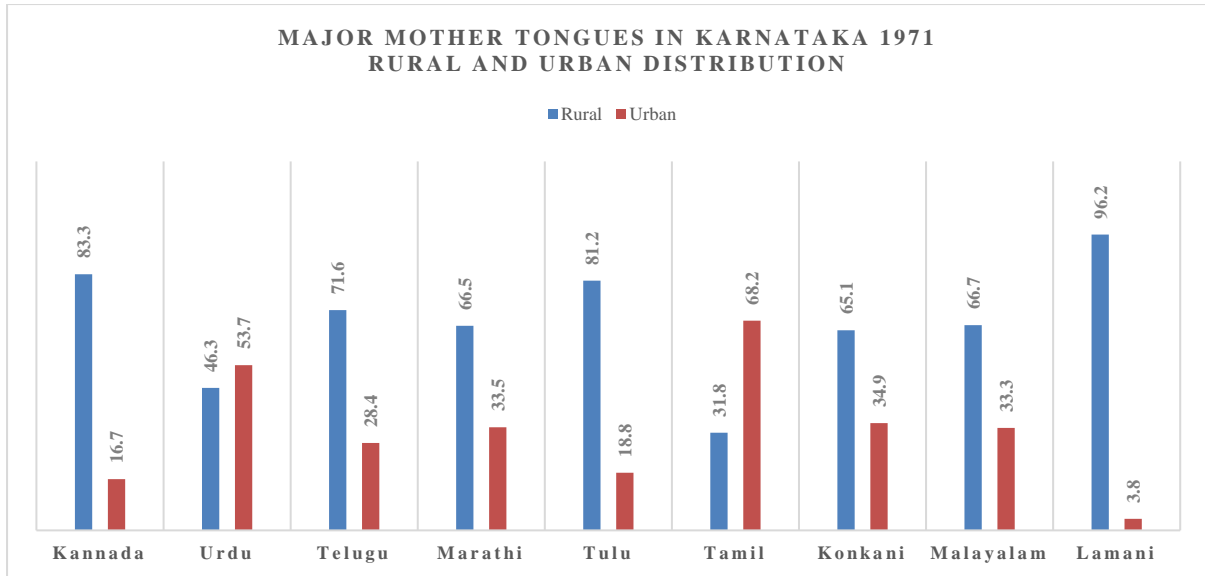
Indian census is an important resource which provides data on linguistic landscape of the country and its states. It uses two concepts mother tongue and language. In 1971 Mother tongue was identified as ‘the language spoken in childhood by the person’s mother to the person. If the mother died in infancy, the language mainly spoken in the person’s home in childhood will be the mother tongue. In the case of infants and deaf-mutes, the language usually spoken by the mother is recorded’. In the 2011 census too, this definition continued to be the same. Thus, in the context of the Census of India, a ‘mother tongue’ is a concrete entity/unit. Once such data is gathered on mother tongue of the individuals, languages are arrived at by applying genetic or functional criteria. So, language is an abstract entity/unit. All Indian languages are mother tongues, but all mother tongues of India are not languages. In the post-independence India, due to the division of Indian languages into the category of Scheduled and Non-Scheduled languages, most of the language related discussions are cantered around this bifurcation. Discussions around mother tongues have reached a ciphers. While looking into the ecology of languages of a state it is essential to take into account the languages that are numerically more in its geographical territory irrespective of their status as scheduled or non-scheduled language. At the micro level when we discuss linguistic situation of a state or union territory, it is better to consider the unit of ‘mother tongue’. I like to focus on mother tongues of the state also, to paint a realistic picture.

Mother Tongues in Karnataka

The 1971 census lists 9 major mother tongues spoken by more than 1% of its population. They were spoken by the 99% of the population of the state. The table and the graph given below illustrate their distribution in the rural and urban areas.

Table-1
Major mother tongues in Karnataka- 1971
Rural and urban distribution speakers

1971	Mother tongue	%	Rural	Urban
1	Kannada	65.94	83.3	16.7
2	Urdu	9.00	46.3	53.7
3	Telugu	8.17	71.6	28.4
4	Marathi	4.05	66.5	33.5
5	Tulu	3.56	81.2	18.8
6	Tamil	3.66	31.8	68.2
7	Konkani	1.96	65.1	34.9
8	Malayalam	1.41	66.7	33.3
9	Lamani	1.16	96.2	3.8
	Others	1.09		



The Table -1 above informs that speakers of majority of major mother tongues are in rural areas. More than 80% of speakers of Kannada, Tulu, and 96.2% of speakers of Lamani/Lambadi are in the rural areas and more than 50% of Urdu and Tamil speakers are in the urban areas.

Fifty years ago, the 1971 census recorded the existence of 166 mother tongues also in Karnataka. The Table-2 given below is indicative of the changes that have taken place in the numerical strength of 28 mother tongues from 1971 to 2011. This table includes, in addition to the mother tongue components of the 22 scheduled languages; English the associate official language of India; Tulu and Coorgi indigenous mother tongues; Yerava an important tribal mother tongue and Tibetan the mother tongue of recent Tibetan settlers in Karnataka.

**Table -2
Mother tongues in Karnataka
Comparison: 1971-2011**

	Mother tongue	1971	2011
1	Assamese	N	0.02
2	Bengali	0.02	0.14
3	Bodo	N	0.0007
4	Dogri	N	0.0013
5	Gujarati	0.09	0.11
6	Hindi	0.44	1.42
7	Kannada	65.94	66.49
8	Kashmiri	N	0.0048
9	Konkani	1.96	1.25
10	Maithili	N	0.0028
11	Malayalam	1.41	1.22
12	Manipuri	N	0.0066
13	Marathi	4.05	3.29
14	Nepali	0.01	0.03
15	Odia	N	0.104

16	Punjabi	0.02	0.042
17	Santali	N	0.0004
18	Sindhi	0.03	0.024
19	Tamil	3.36	3.44
20	Telugu	8.17	5.83
21	Urdu	9.00	10.83
22	Yerava	0.04	0.043
23	Coorgi/Kodagu	0.04	0.18
24	Tulu	3.56	2.60
25	Banjari	0.11	0.04
26	Lamani/Lambadi	1.16	1.59
27	Tibetan	0.03	0.04
28	English	0.06	0.038
	Others	0.5	1.2224

When we look at the numerical strength of these mother tongues it can be deciphered from the Table -2 above that there is no uniform or comparable increase or decrease in their strength. Mother tongues like Assamese, Bodo, Dogri, Kashmiri, Manipuri, Maithili, Odia, and Santali which had negligible percentage of speakers in 1971 are no longer negligible in 2011. Now they have got numbers. Mother tongues like Konkani, Malayalam, Marathi, Telugu, Tulu, and English have reduced in their percentage of speakers. There is an increase in the of percentage of speakers of Kannada, Hindi, Lamani, Tamil, Tibetan, Urdu and Yerava. Among this group,

According to the 2011 census now in Karnataka, more than 1% of speakers speak one of the 10 major mother tongues. Fifty years ago, as we saw above it was only 9 mother tongues and now Hindi is the new addition to this category.

Table - 3
Major mother tongues in Karnataka -2011

	Mother tongue	%
1	Kannada	66.49
2	Urdu	10.83
3	Telugu	5.83
4	Marathi	3.29
5	Tulu	2.60
6	Tamil	3.44
7	Konkani	1.25
8	Malayalam	1.22
9	Hindi	1.42
10	Lamani	1.59
	Others	2.04

Landscape of Mother tongues in Karnataka: 2011

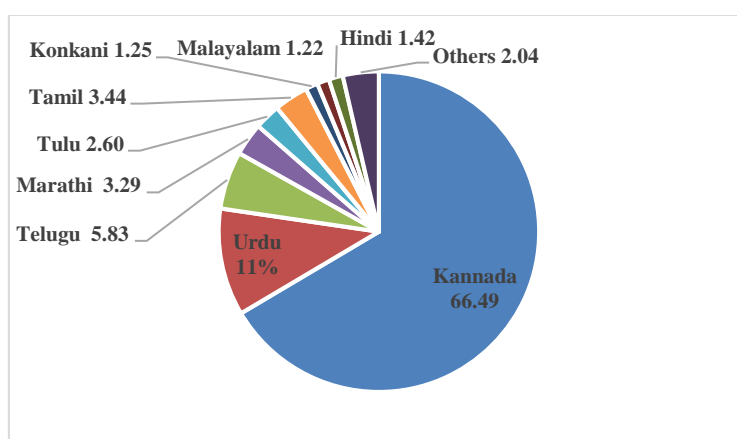
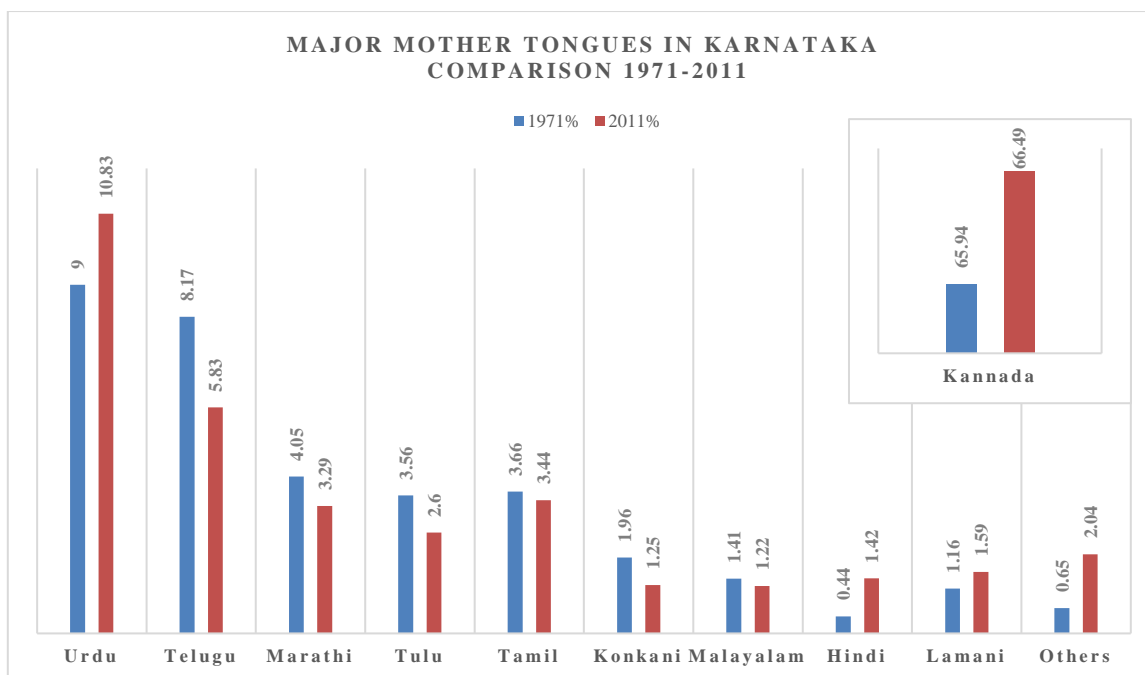


Table - 4
Ten Major mother tongues in Karnataka
Comparison 1971-2011

	Mother tongue	%1971	% 2011	% Increase/Decrease
1	Kannada	65.94	66.49	+0.55
2	Urdu	9.00	10.83	+1.83
3	Telugu	8.17	5.83	-2.34
4	Marathi	4.05	3.29	-0.76
5	Tulu	3.56	2.60	-0.96
6	Tamil	3.66	3.44	+0.22
7	Konkani	1.96	1.25	-0.71
8	Malayalam	1.41	1.22	-0.16
9	Hindi	0.44	1.42	+0.98
10	Lamani	1.16	1.59	+0.43
11	Others	0.65	2.04	+1.39



Death of Tribal Mother Tongues

Language shift due to social or economic or political reasons among mother tongues spoken by a small number of speakers is expected, especially if they exist amidst a politically and economically powerful languages. This shift leads to the loss of their mother tongue. Karnataka is a real time witness to this.

In 1961 post reorganisation of states Yerava tribal population of the state was 14,927 and Yerava mother tongue speakers was 14,489 (97.065%). In 2011, population of the Yerava tribe is 30,359 and the number of Yerava mother tongue speakers is 24,574 (80.94%). The number of mother tongue speakers continues to decline and is less than the number of corresponding tribal population. Population of the tribe is increasing but population of percentage of mother tongue speakers is not increasing correspondingly. A decline from 97.065% (1961) to 80.94% (2011). This indicates that the trend of decreasing of mother tongue speakers of this tribe continues unabated.

Here itself it is also important to note that 1971 tribal mother tongues like Koracha (3473), Korava (2832), Koraga (879), Kudubi (1090), Malekudi (165) etc., have lost their linguistic identity due to their numerical minority and got merged into 'others' of Karnataka in 2011. But some information about some of these tribes and their mother tongue could be found in the census of 2011 elsewhere. Now they are not reporting the name of their mother tongue. But they are reporting some other language/s of their environment as their mother tongue. Some Koragas are reporting Kannada as their mother tongue (Total: 3452, Urban:698 and Rural: 2757). Some others are reporting Tulu as their mother tongue (Total: 10920, Urban:4238, Rural:6682) etc. None of them are reporting Koraga as their mother tongue. Same is the case with Male Kudi tribe. Some are reporting Kannada as their mother tongue (Total: 591, Urban:47 and Rural: 544). Some others are reporting Tulu as their mother tongue (Total: 8377, Urban:147 and Rural: 8230) etc.

In case of Yeravas it is loss of number of speakers of Yerava mother tongue. But in case of Koragas and Malekudis is abandoning their mother tongue and accepting some other language as their mother tongue. Total loss of mother tongues. Living example of endangerment of tribal languages/mother tongues in Karnataka.

Languages in Karnataka

The Linguistic landscape of Karnataka given above provides a static picture, whereas the linguistic ecology presents a dynamic picture by observing into the changes taking place in languages in a particular area. Like in the country, the linguistic situation is changing from decade to decade in Karnataka also.

After knowing about mother tongues in Karnataka, let us look at the numerical strength of the languages. In our discussion here, I like to deviate from the division of languages into scheduled and non-scheduled languages. So, while discussing the linguistic scenario of the state I like to include major non-scheduled languages of the state along with the scheduled languages as 'languages of Karnataka'. Four such non-scheduled languages are English, Tulu, Coorgi and Tibetan.

Table - 5
Languages in Karnataka: 1971- 2011

Languages	1971 %	2011 %
Assamese	N	0.016
Bengali	0.02	0.143
Bodo	N	N
Dogri	N	0.001
Gujarati	0.01	0.187
Hindi	0.44	3.29
Kannada	65.97	66.53
Kashmiri	N	0.005
Konkani	1.95	1.29
Malayalam	1.45	1.266
Maithili	N	0.002
Manipuri	N	0.006
Marathi	4.05	3.379
Nepali	0.005	0.031
Odia	0.01	0.104
Punjabi	0.02	0.042
Sanskrit	N	0.001
Santali	N	N
Sindhi	0.03	0.027
Tamil	3.38	3.45
Telugu	8.18	5.84
Urdu	9.00	10.83
English	0.057	0.038
Tulu	3.559	2.610
Coorgi	0.042	0.180
Tibetan	0.030	0.045
Others	1.797	0.687

This Table -5 is more conventional one. It presents the percentage of speakers of 26 languages in the state of Karnataka. It also indicates the increase or decrease in percentage if any and provides the bird eye view of strength of speakers of languages. And indicates the change that has taken place in their relative strength in fifty years. According to this all the languages which had negligible percentage of speakers in 1971 in the span of 50 years have acquired population that could be counted. There is an increase in the percentage of speakers of Hindi (2.85%), Kannada (0.56%), Odia (0.021%) Punjabi (0.022), Tamil (0.07%), Urdu (1.83%), Coorgi (0.138%) and Tibetan (0.015%). An abnormal increase in the population of Hindi speakers in Karnataka in a span of 50 years has to be noted. Now let us come to the languages that have decreased in percentage of speakers. They are Konkani (0.66%), Malayalam (0.184%), Marathi (0.671%), Telugu (2.34%), Tulu (0.949%) and English (0.019%). In this group of languages there is an abnormal loss of percentage of speakers of Telugu and Tulu in Karnataka.

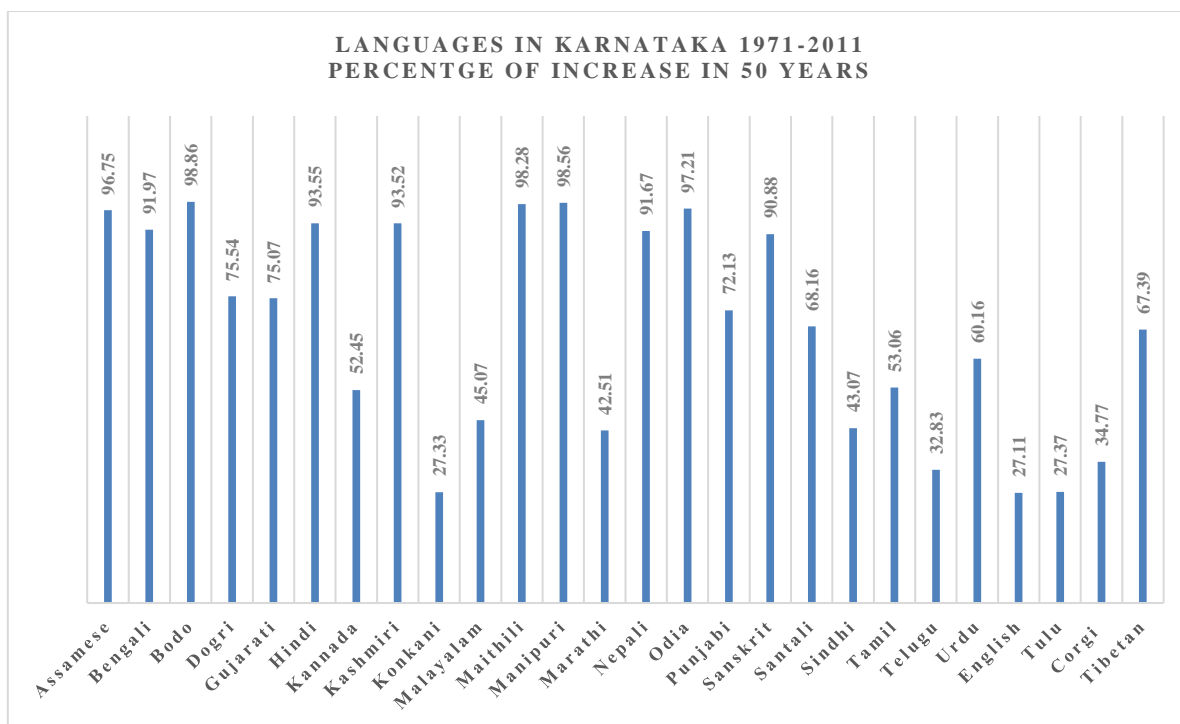
The Table-6 and 7 are not of conventional type that scholars come across. Table-6 presents the increase of speakers of different languages in the state reflected in the 1971 and 2011 census. Whereas the table -7 presents the increase/decrease of speakers of different languages in 10 years 2001 and 2011 census. One mirrors the actual growth of number of speakers within span of 50 years and another one in 10 years. In table -7, Actual number of increased populations is also given.

In order to understand the changes, let us analyse these two tables together. In Karnataka, Kannada, Tulu, Coorgi are indigenous languages. Now, Tamil, Telugu, Marathi, Konkani and Malayalam are the neighbouring languages. The rest of the languages do not have any geographic continuity with the state. The Gujarati, Sindhi and Urdu are residing here from centuries. In 50 years, the percentage of Kannada speakers increased by 52.45% and Tulu by 27.39%, Konkani also by 27.23%. Whereas it is clear from the table-6 percentage of speakers of all other languages increased abundantly.

Table - 6
Languages in Karnataka-:1971-2011, % of increase of speakers in 50 years

Language	1971-2011 % of increase
Assamese	96.75
Bengali	91.97
Bodo	98.86
Dogri	75.54
Gujarati	75.07
Hindi	93.55
Kannada	52.45
Kashmiri	93.52
Konkani	27.33
Malayalam	45.07
Maithili	98.28
Manipuri	98.56

Marathi	42.51
Nepali	91.67
Odia	97.21
Punjabi	72.13
Sanskrit	90.88
Santali	68.16
Sindhi	43.07
Tamil	53.06
Telugu	32.83
Urdu	60.16
English	27.11
Tulu	27.37
Corgi	34.77
Tibetan	67.39



The table -7 reflects the increase of percentage of speakers of different languages in 10 years between 2001 and 2011. The percentage of Kannada speakers increased by 14.30% and Tulu by 6.25%, Konkani also by 2.57%. During the same period Telugu went down by 3.62%. The long-time residents Gujarati, Sindhi and Urdu had an increase of percentage of speakers by 10.83%, 13.33%, 16.29% only. But Hindi and other languages during the same period had a high increase in percentage of speakers. This may point towards large scale migration due to economic opportunities in the state.

Table - 7

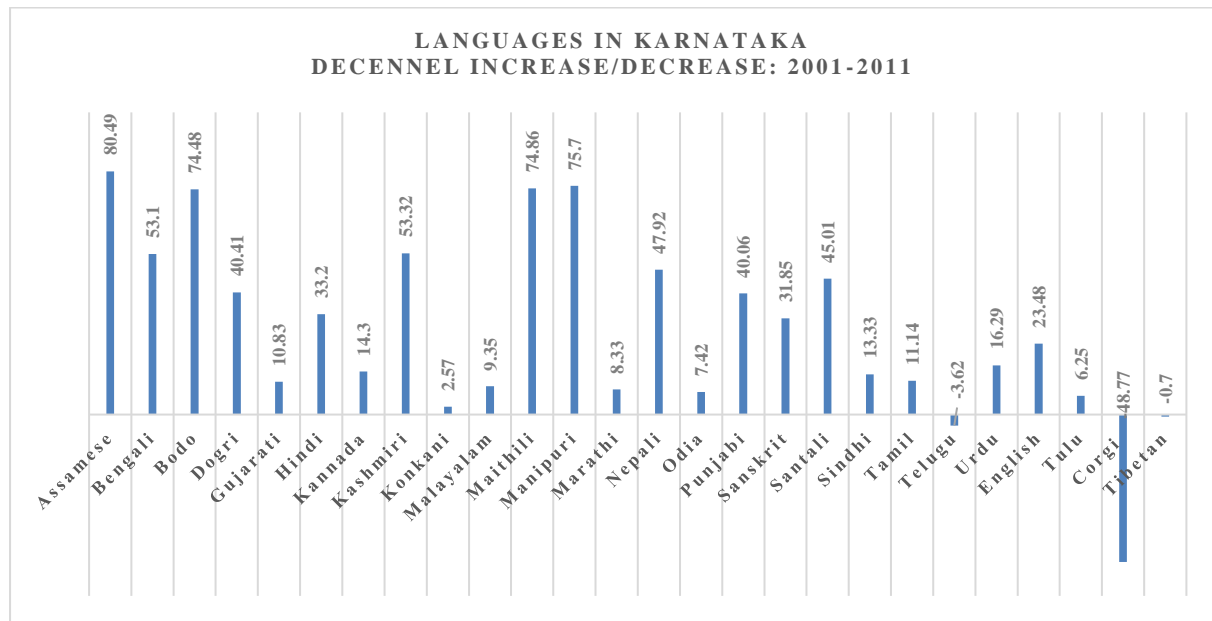
Languages in Karnataka: Decennial increase/decrease of population: 2001³-2011

Language	Difference 2001-2011	2001-2011 % of increase/decrease
Assamese	7,946	80.49
Bengali	46,707	53.10
Bodo	327	74.48
Dogri	337	40.41
Gujarati	12,421	10.83
Hindi	6,68,487	33.20
Kannada	58,13,055	14.30
Kashmiri	1,812	53.32
Konkani	20,255	02.57
Malayalam	72,384	09.35
Maithili	1,355	74.86
Manipuri	3,106	75.70

Marathi	1,72,123	08.33
Nepali	9,236	47.92
Odia	47,590	07.42
Punjabi	10,409	40.06
Sanskrit	388	31.85
Santali	140	45.01
Sindhi	2,260	13.33
Tamil	235169	11.14
Telugu	-129257	-03.62
Urdu	10,78,414	16.29
English	5,454	23.48
Tulu	99,765	06.25
Corgi *	-53,895	-48.77
Tibetan	-192	-0.70

I doubt about the accuracy of population number recorded in the 2001 census for corgi language. It is unreliable. Corgi language speakers in 1971 was 70,988, in 2001 it was 1,64,403

an increase by 93,415 persons in 50 years and in 2011 it was 1,10,508 a decrease of population by 53895 persons in 10 years.



The table – 8 gives a comparative picture of growth of Indian languages in Karnataka in 10 years and 50 years. This supplement consolidates the information in tables 6 and 7. Deliberately Coorgi and Sanskrit are not included in this table.

**Table -8
Comparative table of growth of Indian languages in Karnataka in
10 years and 50 years**

Language	% of Difference 10 years 2001-2011	% of Difference 50 years 1971-2011
Konkani	02.57	27.33
Tulu	06.25	27.37
Odia	07.42	97.21
Marathi	08.33	42.51
Malayalam	09.35	45.07
Gujarati	10.83	75.07
Tamil	11.14	53.06
Sindhi	13.33	40.07
Kannada	14.30	52.45
Urdu	16.29	60.16
English	23.48	27.11
Hindi	33.20	93.55
Punjabi	40.06	72.13
Dogri	40.41	75.54
Santali	45.01	68.16
Nepali	47.92	91.67
Bengali	53.10	91.97
Kashmiri	53.32	93.52
Bodo	74.48	98.86
Maithili	74.86	98.28
Manipuri	75.70	98.56

Assamese	80.49	96.75
Telugu	-03.62	32.83
Tibetan	-0.70	67.39

Hindi in Karnataka

This needs a special and specific attention. Let us look at the table – 8. It provides the growth of Hindi in the state.

Table- 9

Hindi	1971	2011
Mother tongue	1,28,043 [0.44%]	8,71,809 [1.42%]
Language	1,29,842 [0.44%]	20,13,364 [3.29%]
Difference between language and mother tongue	1799 [Nil%]	11,41,562 [1.87%]

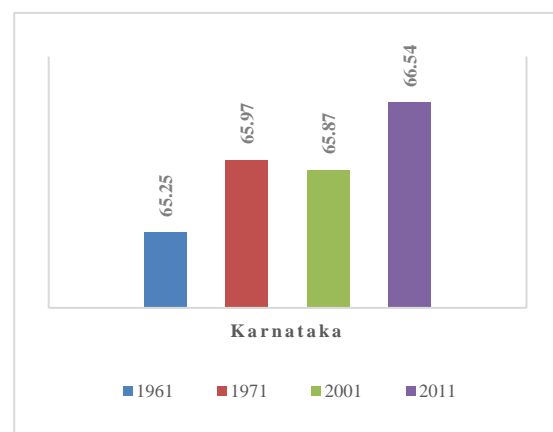
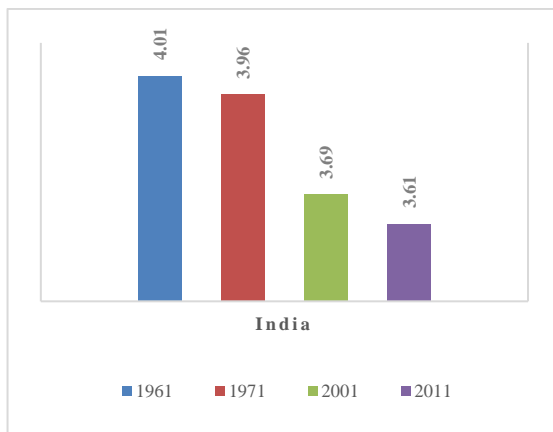
Karnataka has become a major host for Hindi speakers in Post-independence India. They are the maximum beneficiaries.

Kannada in India and Karnataka

It can be seen in the table-8 that in 60 years the percentage of Kannada speakers in India has reduced from 4.01 in 1961 (that is the first census after reorganisation of states) to 3.96% in the subsequent census in 1971 to 3.69 in 2001 and to 3.61% in 2011. Gradually the proportion of number of speakers of Kannada is decreasing in India.

**Table – 10
Kannada in India and Karnataka 1961-2011**

	1961	1971	2001	2011
India	4.01%	3.96%	3.69%	3.61%
Karnataka	65.25%	65.97%	65.87%	66.53



However, the proportion of number of Kannada speakers in Karnataka has increased from 65.25% in 1961 to 66.54% in 2011. An increase by 1.29%.

The table – 9 exemplifies the distribution of Kannada speakers within Karnataka and outside of it. We already saw earlier how non-Kannada population has made inroads into Karnataka. But Kannada speaking population are not moving out of state. Their population outside Karnataka is on decline from 10.97% in 1971 to 7.00% in 2011.

Table - 11
Percentage of Kannada speakers inside and outside Karnataka: 1971-2011

	1971	2001	2011	Difference 1971 - 2011
Inside Karnataka	89.03	91.86	93.00	+ 3.97
Outside Karnataka	10.97	8.14	7.00	-3.97

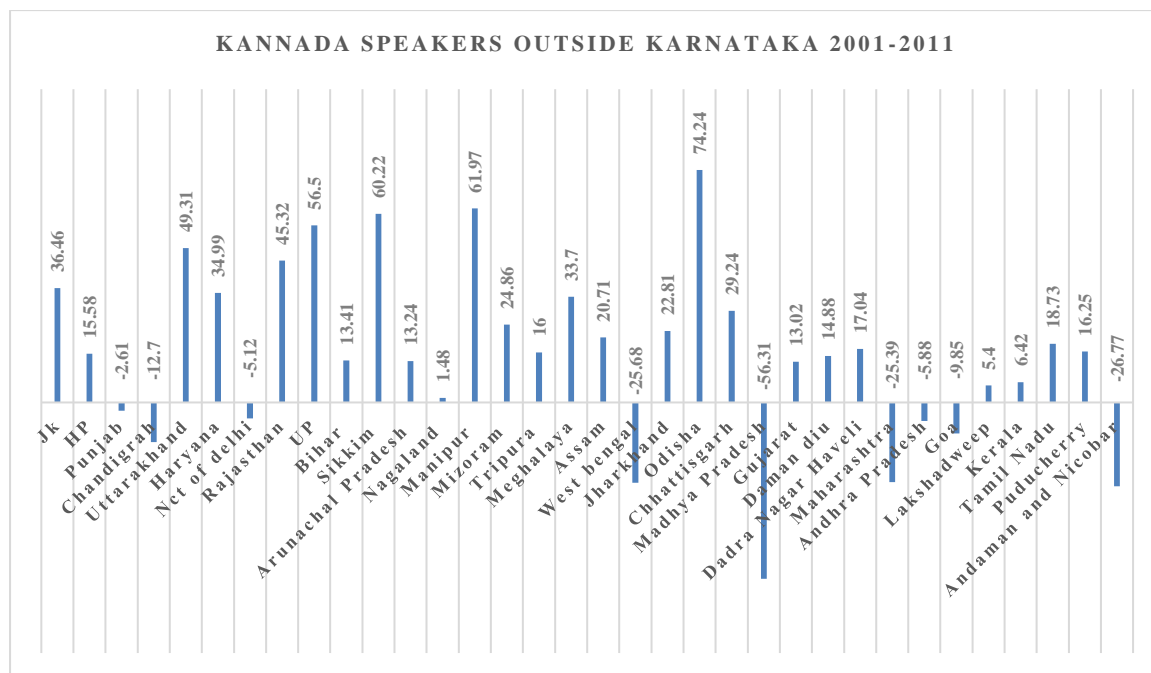
The table – 10 illustrates the distribution of Kannada speakers outside the state of Karnataka in different states and union territories. It provides increase or decrease in terms of number of people as well as percentage of the same. First let us look at the states and union territories where there is decrease in Kannada speaking population in one decade of 2001 to 2011. They are Punjab, Chandigarh, NCT of Delhi, Madya Pradesh, Andaman and Nicobar, bordering states of Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Goa. Major increase of Kannada speakers is in another neighbouring state of Tamil Nadu. This table and chart could be seen for further details.

Table - 12
Kannada Language speakers outside the state of Karnataka 2001-2011
Decennial increase /decrease

States and UTs 2011 census	2001-2011 Increase Decrease in numbers	2001-2011 Increase Decrease in percentage
Jk	2535	36.46
HP	72	15.58
Punjab	-102	-2.61
Chandigarh	-54	-12.70
Uttarakhand	608	49.31
Haryana	1110	34.99
NCT of Delhi	-513	-5.12
Rajasthan	2688	45.32
UP	3636	56.50
Bihar	66	13.41
Sikkim	221	60.22
Arunachal Pradesh	71	13.24
Nagaland	5	1.48
Manipur	396	61.97

Mizoram	47	24.86
Tripura	108	16.00
Meghalaya	153	33.70
Assam	538	20.71
West Bengal	-563	-25.68
Jharkhand	302	22.81
Odisha	2727	74.24
Chhattisgarh	593	29.24
Madhya Pradesh	-2351	-56.31
Gujarat	2349	13.02
Daman Diu	68	14.88
Dadra Nagar Haveli	151	17.04
Maharashtra	-254056	-25.39
Andhra Pradesh	-31430	-05.88
Goa	-6692	-09.85
Lakshadweep	2	05.40
Kerala	5589	06.42
Tamil Nadu	240937	18.73
Puducherry	304	16.25

Andaman and Nicobar	-64	-26.77
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Multilingualism in India

The Census of India is gathering information about other languages known to speakers of different languages. In the post-independence India, the 1951 census information about a subsidiary language ‘if a person commonly spoke an Indian language besides mother tongue’ was collected. In 1961 Census it was expanded to ‘any language and number of such languages’ expanded to two languages. In 1971 Census, the information on ‘Other languages’ known was again collected from each individual. Changes in information elicitation reflect the linguistic concerns of the nation at that point of time. This is an official recognition of India as a multilingual nation.

Hence, in 1981, information on two languages Indian or foreign other than his/her mother tongue was collected. It was recorded in ‘...the order in which he/she speaks and understands them best and can use with understanding in communicating with others. He/she need not be able to read and write those languages. It is enough if he/she has a working knowledge of those subsidiary languages to enable him/her to converse in that language with understanding.’ In 1991 information on two languages known in addition to the person’s mother tongue were recorded in the order in which he/she speaks and understands them best and can use with understanding in communicating with others. In 2001 names of ‘First Subsidiary Language, Second Subsidiary language was collected.

In the 2011 census ‘other languages known up to two languages, Indian or foreign, in order of proficiency excluding mother tongue were recorded. The person need not necessarily be able to read and write these languages. If she/he had a working knowledge of these languages to enable her/him to converse in those languages with understanding, then such languages were recorded’. The data is presented as ‘Number of speakers speaking subsidiary languages (1st language) and ‘Number of speakers speaking subsidiary languages (2nd

language)’. We from our understanding interpret them as information on bilingualism and trilingualism.

It may be noted that Indian multilingualism is ‘self-declared’ by the language users and not a result of any evaluation of language competence against any set parameters. The following is the reported bilingualism percentage for India:

1961: 9.70%
 1971: 13.04%
 1981: 13.34%
 1991: 19.44%

And the trilingual population for 1991 was reported as 7.26%. With this bilingualism and trilingualism details we can analyse the same for the years 2001 and 2011 in detail for India in brief and in detail for Karnataka.

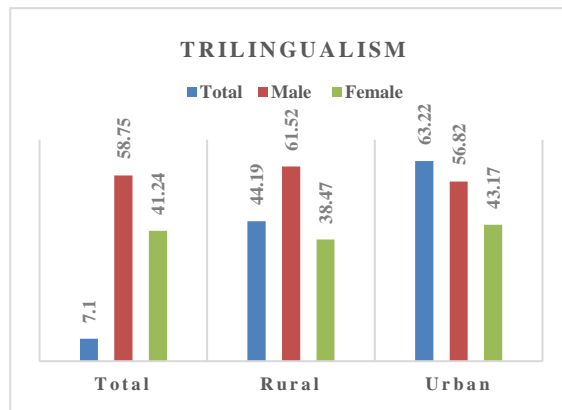
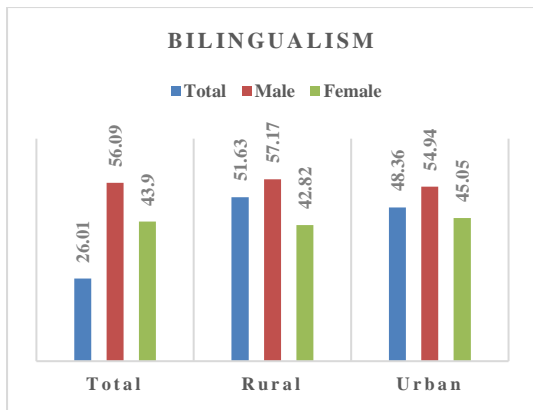
The table – 11 and the chart there on provide the details of on bilingualism and trilingualism in India. It can be seen that in the course of 50 years 1971-2011 bilingual population has almost doubled to from 13.04% to 26.01% in the country. In 2011, trilinguals population of the country stood at 7.10 % little less than 7.26% reported in 1991.

In 2011 more rural (51.63%) population are bilingual than the urban (48.36%) population in India. However, more urban female (45.05%) population is bilingual than the rural female (42.82%) population.

When it comes to trilinguals, urban (63.22%) population has more trilinguals than the rural (44.19%) population. The rural male (61.52%) population outnumbers urban male (58.68%) population in trilingualism. So is the case with female population. More urban women (43.7%) are trilinguals than the rural women (38.47%).

Table - 13
Bilingualism and Trilingualism in India: 2011

	Bilingualism			Trilingualism		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Total	26.01	56.09	43.90	7.10	58.75	41.24
Rural	51.63	57.17	42.82	44.19	61.52	38.47
Urban	48.36	54.94	45.05	63.22	56.82	43.17



Multilingualism in Karnataka

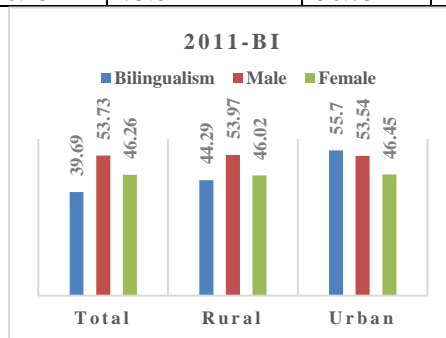
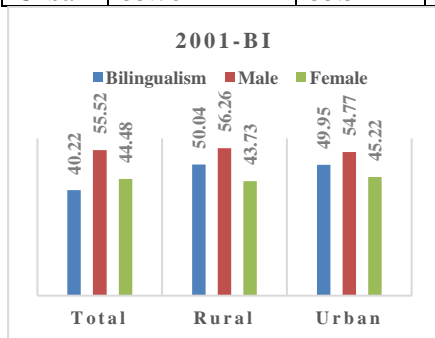
In 1971, 29.31% of population of Karnataka [Male (57.08%) Female (42.92%)] had reported that they know one or more languages in addition to their mother tongue, which is more than double of the national average of bilingualism 13.04%, at that time in the country. The number of subsidiary languages reported at that time was 30. In the beginning itself I said that Karnataka is most multilingual state in the country. This is reflected in the large percentage of population reporting that they know more languages in addition to their mother tongue.

Table - 14
Percentage of Bilingualism and Trilingualism in Karnataka: 2001

2001	Bilingualism			Trilingualism		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Total	40.22	55.52	44.48	16.6	60.44	39.56
Rural	50.04	56.26	43.73	36.01	64.06	35.93
Urban	49.95	54.77	45.22	63.98	58.4	41.59

Table - 15
Percentage of Bilingualism and Trilingualism in Karnataka: 2011

2011	Bilingualism			Trilingualism		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Total	39.69	53.73	46.26	12.81	57.69	42.30
Rural	44.29	53.97	46.02	26.15	60.35	39.64
Urban	55.70	53.54	46.45	73.84	56.75	43.24





The Karnataka state has a population of 6,10,95,297 persons. It is 5.05% of the total population of India. It is important to note that 39.69 % of its population know two languages and 12.81% know three languages. This exceeds the national average of bilingualism 26.1% and trilingualism 7.10% respectively. Population of bilingual and trilingual men (53.73% - 57.69%) is more than those of women (46.26% - 42.30%).

When it comes to the urban and rural spread of multilingualism, the urban population is more bilingual (55.70%) and trilingual (73.84%) than the rural (44.29%) and (26.15%) population. It is interesting to note the big gap in the figures of urban and rural trilingualism figures. This indicates that the third language is yet to make its inroads into rural Karnataka. It has a long way to go.

The rural male population (53.97%) are marginally more bilingual than urban male (53.54%) population. Conversely the urban female (46.45%) population are more bilingual than the rural female (46.02%) population. This trend is reflected in the case of trilingualism also. Rural men (60.35%) are more trilingual than their urban (56.75%) counterparts and the urban (43.24%) female are more trilingual than their rural (39.64%) counterparts.

Now with the 2011 information, we can compare the multilingual situation to that existed 10 years ago in 2001. The percentage of people who reported that they know two languages (40.22%) and three languages (16.6%) in 2001 is more than what it is in 2011. Now it has got reduced to 39.69% and 12.81%. In 2011, less percentage of rural people 44.29% have reported as they know two languages. But in the year 2001 their percentage was 50.04%. Same with the case with the percentage of persons knowing three languages in the rural areas. It was 36.01% in 2001 and it is 26.15% in 2011. At that time also, more men (55.52%) were bilingual than the females (44.48). Even in trilingualism men (60.44%) outnumber females (39.56%). Knowledge of three languages by people is more an urban (63.98%) phenomenon when compared to the rural (36.01%) areas. More urban females (58.4%) know three languages than rural females (43.24%). Reductionist tendency in multilingualism is a serious linguistic trend in managing multilingualism in a plural society. The reasons for this downward trend in both bilingualism and trilingualism from 2001 to 2011 need to be investigated in depth from sociolinguistic and economic angles.

The table – 13 and 14 track the micro information of spread of Kannada among speakers of other languages and spread of other languages among Kannada speakers. They refer to the

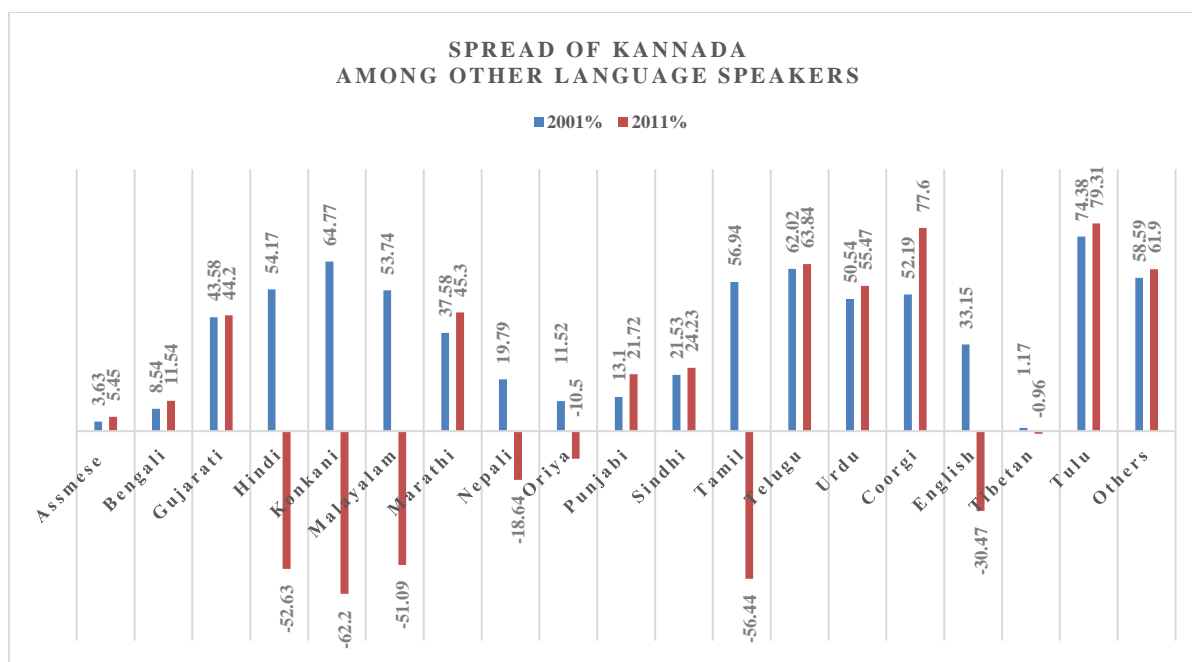
spread of first subsidiary language. Issues relating to the second subsidiary language/s are not covered.

Table - 16
Karnataka 1971, 2001-2011
Spread of Kannada among other language speakers*

Language	1971 %	2001 %	2011 %
Assamese		3.63	5.45
Bengali		8.54	11.54
Gujarati		43.58	44.20
Hindi	48.81	54.17	-52.63
Konkani	49.41	64.77	-62.20
Malayalam	25.70	53.74	-51.09
Marathi	31.48	37.58	45.30
Nepali		19.79	-18.64

Odia		11.52	-10.50
Punjabi		13.10	21.72
Sindhi		21.53	24.23
Tamil	34.23	56.94	-56.44
Telugu	45.82	62.02	63.84
Urdu	39.46	50.54	55.47
Coorgi	72.32	52.19	77.60
English		33.15	-30.47
Tibetan		1.17	-0.96
Tulu	42.25	74.38	79.31
Others		58.59	61.90

*The languages with negligible number of speakers is not reflected in the table and chart for 1971.



The table-13 and the chart give the details of spread of Kannada among other language speakers in Karnataka as first subsidiary language. Between 1971 and 2001 there is an increase in bilingualism among speakers of all language speakers with varying degrees. Maximum is Tulu 79.31% Coorgi-77.60%, Telugu 63.84%, and Konkani next to it with 64.77%. Tulu and Coorgi languages and people are indigenous to Karnataka and living in the Kannada environment since centuries. There are no surprises in it,

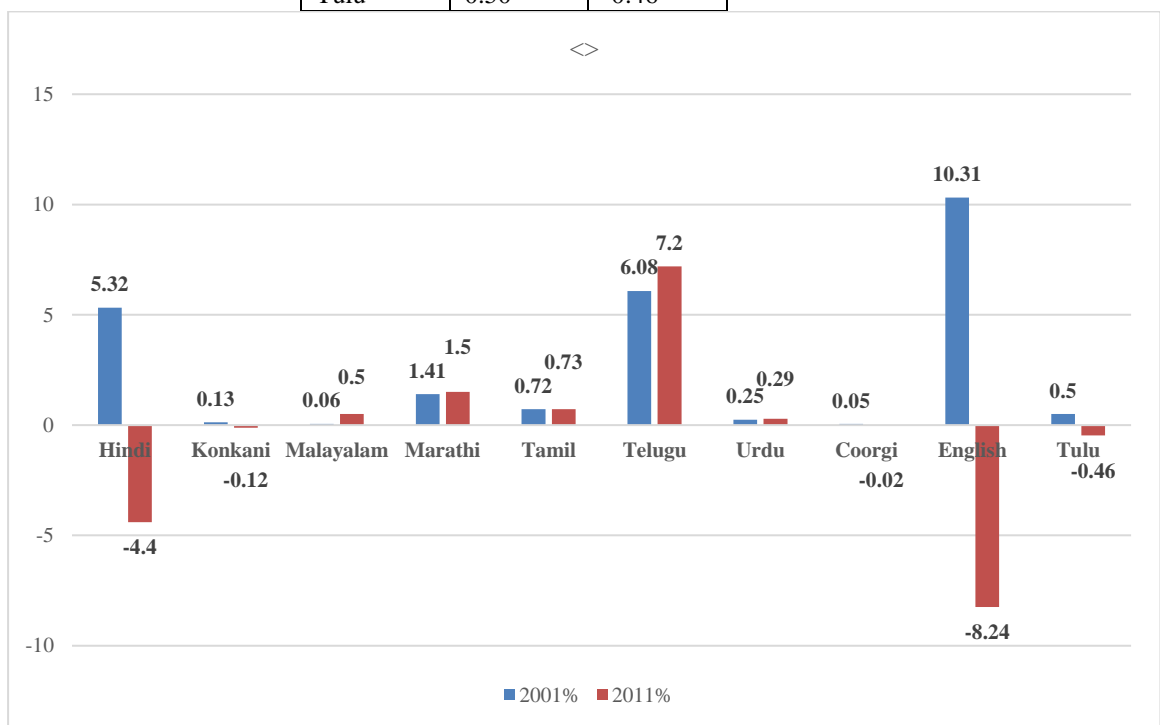
Least spread of Kannada is among the speakers of Tibetan-1.17%, Assamese-3.63%, Bengali-8.54%, Odia-11.52% Punjabi-13.10 and Nepali-19.79%. We can understand that the people of scheduled languages may be recent migrants and are content with Hindi as first

subsidiary language. But it is strange that the Tibetan speakers being the permanent settlers of the state and not having knowledge of Kannada and the reasons for the same are to be probed.

Between 2001 and 2011, the percentage of other language speakers reporting Kannada as their first subsidiary language has dropped: Hindi- 54.17% to 52.63%, Konkani-64.77% to 62.20%, Malayalam-53.74% to 51.09%, Tamil-56.94% to 56.44%, English-33.15% to 30.47%.

Table - 17
Karnataka 2001-2011
Spread of other languages among Kannada speakers

	2001 %	2011 %
Hindi	5.32	-4.40
Konkani	0.13	-0.12
Malayalam	0.06	0.50
Marathi	1.41	1.50
Tamil	0.72	0.73
Telugu	6.08	7.20
Urdu	0.25	0.29
Coorgi	0.05	-0.02
English	10.31	-8.24
Tulu	0.50	-0.46



In 1971, only 4.42% of the Kannada speakers had reported as they know English as first subsidiary language and 1.37% Hindi as third subsidiary language in addition to their mother tongue Kannada.

After 50 years also position of English remains unchanged as the second subsidiary language and Hindi as the third subsidiary language of Kannada speakers in Karnataka. However, the percentage of English subsidiary has increased from 2.42% in 1971 to 8.24% in

2011 and Hindi the third subsidiary from 1.37 % to 4.40%. But, like other languages, in case of Kannada speakers also there is drop in the reporting of other language as their first subsidiary language during 2001-2011: Hindi-5.32% to 4.40%, English-10.31% to 8.24%, Konkani-0.13% to 0.12%, Coorgi-0.05% to 0.02%, and Tulu-0.50 to 0.46%. Reasons for drop in Hindi and English bilingualism among Kannada speakers between 2001 and 2011 needs to be investigated further.

Inference

Though population of Kannada speakers is increasing in Karnataka, their population is decreasing in India from decade to decade. The population of Hindi speakers is fast increasing more than the speakers of all other languages in Karnataka. Kannada is not spreading fast outside the state. But instead it is decreasing in some of the states in the country. Percentage of bilinguals and trilinguals is much above the national average in the state. English and not Hindi continues to be accepted as the first subsidiary language by Kannada speakers.

Some of the tribal mother tongues are dead in the state and some others are dying due to the mother tongue shift taking place towards majority mother tongues with social and economic power.

Karnataka in India is a living example of endangerment of tribal languages/mother tongues in 21st century.

Data Sources

1. Karnataka State Gazetteer Vol - I. 1982. Government of Karnataka. Bangalore.
2. Decennial Language Tables of the Census of India. Government of India.

**Straddling Worlds: Strategies Of Positioning in
Manu Joseph's *Serious Men***

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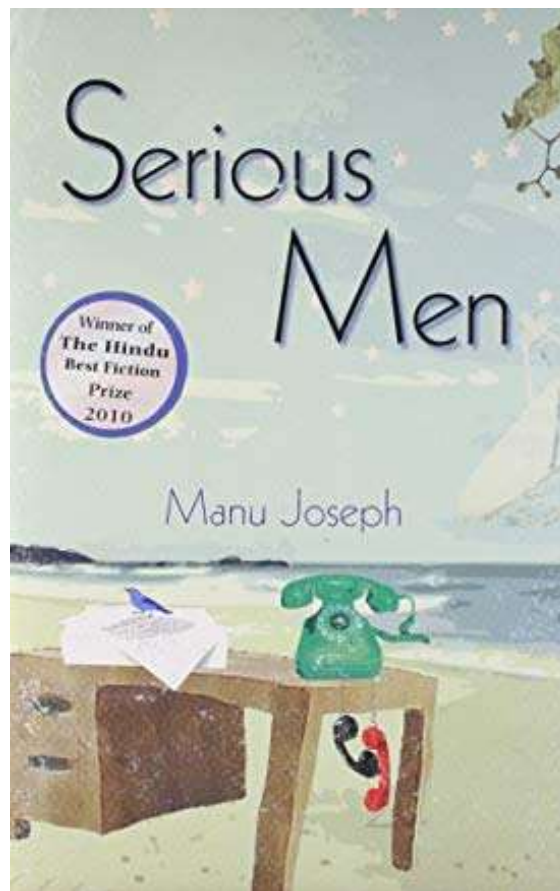
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Courtesy:

https://www.amazon.com/s?k=Manu+Joseph%E2%80%99s+Serious+Men&i=stripbooks&ref=nb_sb_noss

Abstract

The two main forms of social division have been class and caste. In India caste plays an important role in the social hierarchy. To some extent it decides the position that a man occupies in society. Independent India abolished caste discrimination but for various reasons and in different forms it continues to exist. Even in the present century, educated Indians who have inherited their caste have found no escape from this cultural construct. Manu Joseph is an Indian writer who has examined casteism in contemporary Indian society in his debut novel, *Serious Men* (2010). It narrates a story of Ayyan Mani, a middle-aged man from a lower caste, working as an assistant to an intelligent upper caste astronomer at a research institute in Mumbai. Mani is frustrated that he is unable to improve the humble conditions of his life. As a strategy to hide his status, he projects his ten year old son as a mathematical genius. The plot revolves around his continuous attempt to straddle across the opposing hierarchies of caste in an attempt to position him in the centre.

The paper aims to examine *Serious Men* against the arguments explicated by Gayatri Spivak on 'Strategic Essentialism' (Spivak, 1988). It denies the ideal notion of 'essence' as discussed in 'Essentialism'. Strategic Essentialism seems inevitable among the subalterns as they use it to present themselves. There are situations as depicted in the novel when the subaltern mimic the dominant caste to try and gain inclusion even as they remain within their own identity as the case demands.

Keywords: Manu Joseph, *Serious Men*, social hierarchy, caste divisions, strategic essentialism, straddle across two worlds

The two main forms of social division have been class and caste. In India caste plays an important role in the social hierarchy. To a large extent it decides the position that a man occupies in society. The caste system not only dealt with the religious considerations of an individual but also influenced upon their roles and controlled their choices of occupation. The social hierarchy thus evolved created various dimensions of overlapping problems and denied access to valued resources like wealth, income, prestige and power. Renowned Indian historian and writer, Ramachandra Guha refers to India as an 'unnatural nation' where caste has been one of the three conflicts, other than language and religion, that threatened social security in India (Guha, Prologue).

Independent India abolished caste discrimination but for various reasons and in different forms it continues to exist. With education it was expected that people would become liberal and rational in their thinking. However, the growth of literacy in India did not have any considerable effect on the caste-conscious members of the society. New attempts were made by caste organizations to strengthen loyalty and identity to their respected denominations. From being interdependent, castes became competitive among themselves for vested interests. Noted Indian author and activist, Arundhati Roy in her lecture on "The Doctor and the Saint" observed how caste continued to serve as a brutal hierarchical division in the Indian society and that it has escaped valid scrutiny. Alongside, the caste discrimination also led to class distinction in society. The dominant caste who had better access to land and wealth became the upper class of the society. They thus seem to have the advantages of both caste and class. It may take many generations for the lower caste to reach there. B.R Ambedkar, the architect

of the Indian Constitution, maintains in “Annihilation of Caste” that an economic interpretation of the Indian society based on the western logic that property is the source of power would not be acceptable to oppressed classes (292).

Several novelists in Indian English literature have focused on the ills of casteism and its social consequences in their works. Most of the novelists did not belong to the lower castes but have tried to portray the differences between the oppressor and the oppressed. Novels of Mulk Raj Anand, Bhabani Bhattacharya and Jhabvala were efforts in this direction. Mulk Raj Anand’s *Untouchable* (1935), R.K Narayan’s *Waiting for Mahatma* (1955), Ruth Praver’s *The Nature of passions* (1956), Nayantara Sahgal’s *A Time to be happy* (1956), Manohar Malgonkar’s *The Princes* (1963) are such examples. Contemporary Indian fiction in English has also witnessed several writers like Aravind Adiga, who have portrayed the impact of casteism in a globalized Indian society. Manu Joseph is one such writer who handles the issue of ‘class’ and ‘caste’ against the backdrop of the twenty first century Indian society which moves around with modern technology and the politics.

Manu Joseph (1974 -) is an upcoming contemporary Indian novelist whose debut novel, *Serious Men* (2010), is a portrayal of the minds of the modern times upper and lower caste who move around in the same gallery but continue to have their finest invisible margins. This project is an attempt to analyze Manu Joseph’s *Serious Men* (SM) against the arguments explicated by Gayatri Spivak on ‘Strategic Essentialism’ (Spivak, 1988). It denies the ideal notion of ‘essence’ as discussed in ‘Essentialism’. Strategic Essentialism seems inevitable among the subalterns as they use it to present themselves. There are situations as depicted in the novel when the subaltern mimic the dominant caste to try and gain inclusion even as they remain within their own identity as the case demands. Manu Joseph is an Indian journalist and writer who was formerly the editor of the magazine called ‘Open’ and also a columnist for *The International New York Times* and *International Herald Tribune*. He entered his literary scene with his debut novel *Serious Men* (2010). His second novel *The Illicit Happiness of Other People* (2013) is a semi-autobiographical novel. The recent and third novel *Miss Laila, Armed and Dangerous* (2017) is a political satire on liberal egg heads and pseudo-feminists. Manu Joseph in his novels always interested in creating mysteries and then unwrapping it. His novel’s underlying theme is the discovery of truth. Constant pursuit of truth by the characters in his novel brings out startling realities of human life. In 2011, *Serious Men* was awarded The Hindu Literary Prize and The PEN/OPEN Book Award. In the same year *Serious Men* was shortlisted for Bollinger Everyman Wodehouse Prize and the Huffington Post’s Ten Best Books of the Year included *Serious Men*. *The Independent* reviews Joseph’s and credits him as “The finest comic novelists know the small world can illuminate a culture and an age. With this funny-sad debut, Joseph does that.” (Blurb, Joseph, 2010) Hindustan Times commented on the novel as *Serious Men* goes beyond genre. *The Guardian* credits the novel as “sophisticated entertainment” (Blurb, Joseph, 2010).

The two central characters of the novel are Ayyan Mani and Aravind Acharya. Ayaan Mani was a peon at Bombay’s Institute of Theory and Research, and worked under the dedicated scientist Aravind Acharya, the Big Man of the Institute, and highbrow intellectual who was rumored to be on the list of Nobel Prize Winners.

Ayyan Mani belonged to a lower caste, otherwise called a 'Dalit', while Acharya was a Brahmin. The plot is set in contradictory backgrounds of the hustle and bustle of congested living rooms of the lower class tenements on one side and on the other side the serious intellectuals, starch stiffened Scientists who were engrossed in their various research to which Aravind Acharya belonged. Aravind Acharya was working on his balloon mission to trace the presence of aliens in the atmosphere. Hence, he was always submerged in his passionate scientific experiments. The novel largely revolves around these two characters.

Serious Men is divided into seven parts. The first part, 'The Giant Ear Problem' is about what is happening inside the research institute, Nambodri who is one example among the chief scientist of radio astronomy wanted to have his new research which is called as 'The Giant Ear', but Acharya who is the head of the Institute will not agree to the research. Ayyan Mani's descriptions, his chawl, his family, and his son's school are introduced in this part of the novel. The second part is 'Big Bang's Old Foe', the old foe is none other than Acharya, who does not believe in this particular theory. Ayyan's vengeance, the outside world which creates desire in him. The ways in which he created a myth around his son are focused here. The third part is 'Basement Item' where the readers comes to know more about Acharya, his personal life, his feelings for his wife and also his illicit relationship with Oparna Goshmaulik, a fellow Scientist in the research institute. The fourth part is 'The first thousand Prime numbers' where Ayyan and his son's one of the plans to seek attention from media by making Adi to recite first thousand prime numbers at a stretch. The fifth part is 'Aliens use aliens to make curd' where Acharya's success in research, and Oparna's revenge for Acharya and suddenly how there comes a twist in Acharya's life and he is expelled from the Institute for various reasons. The sixth part is 'One last shot' where Ayyan gives a try to make Adi write JET, to seek bigger attention. Nambodri and his team finds Ayyan is a fraud and Adi is a fake genius. The last part is 'The Riot' where Ayyan takes revenge on Nambodri and his team, brings back Acharya to the institute by releasing a recorded news item of the scientists' plebian views on Dalits and Ambedkar. This creates a riot in the city and becomes a great sensational news.

Joseph presents Ayyan Mani as a contemporary low caste Indian who is juxtaposed between two worlds; his lower class home at BDD chawl and his workplace, Bombay's Institute of Theory and Research. His "home was exactly fifteen feet long and ten feet wide" which accommodated his wife and only son, Adi and also a television, a washing machine, a golden Buddha and a towering steel cupboard (Joseph 9). Each time he entered the chawl "an old familiar sorrow rose like vapour inside him" (Joseph 9). For Ayyan Mani, his workplace was an "asylum of great minds" (Joseph 23). It was dominated by the Brahmins and he "had a haunting desire to escape from this madhouse" (Joseph 23). Ayyan Mani even after thirteen years as a peon, never felt at ease at his workplace. The director, Arvind Acharya, and the scientists Nambodri and Oparna Goshmaulik were all working on The Balloon Project Problem. Ayyan Mani was critical of their ways and "could not bear the grandness of their vocation" and their empty arguments (Joseph 24).

Ayyan Mani is a keen observer endowed with extraordinary listening skills. In both these worlds he sharply takes note of every detail and that in turn affects his mind. It creates a desire in him to alter his condition both at home and the workplace. He desires to have a life of material satisfaction through which he could make his presence recognizable in society and also project his son as a great mind among his colleagues at the Institute. Ayyan Mani desires to break the myth that “all peons are Dalits” (Joseph 22).

The strategies that Ayyan Mani evolves to straddle across these two worlds make up for the plot of the novel. Ayyan Mani drawn by the inequalities that overshadowed his life adopted various strategies to gain a winning position in both the worlds. He uses various strategies like creating a myth of his son’s genius, playing pranks, committing forgery, mimicking the upper caste people, seeking attention from media and finally even goes to the extent of instigating a riot.

Among these the strategy he plans with his son is pivotal to analyse his character as that was his master plan to escape the miseries that chained him and his progeny. Ayyan had to escape the trailing realities that chased him every day. “The vigilant mind of Ayyan began to think of a simple plot, to achieve nothing more than some fun and a distraction from the inescapable miseries of BDD” (Joseph 119). He found a new plot that will somehow divert him from the inescapable miseries chaining him, and the dull air surrounding, the morbid social circumstances of his life. He drew a series of plans and political designs to create a myth about his son Adi who was partially deaf. This is the soul string of the novel. All these he plays very well through his perfectly laudable hypocrisy, keeping his wife in a delusion that her son is ‘a genius’. “The myth of child genius was surprisingly simple to create, Ayyan realized, especially around a boy who was innately smart and who wore a hearing-aid” (Joseph 20). “Adi had to simply say something odd in the class once a week to keep the legend alive” (Joseph 120). Ayyan Mani’s wife, Oja was not aware of the secret games that the father and son were playing around. She soon became worried about their son’s super-intelligence which was far bigger than his age. In her attempt to keep him normal, “She had bought a comic book for him to ensure that he read something normal, something far more ordinary than the fat reverential books that his father was encouraging him read. She was worried that her son was becoming abnormal... The fear of raising a strange genius was eating her for some time” (Joseph 48). He even created a fake advertisement in a newspaper column about his son’s genius. This increased the hype of attention that his son received in his family, school and the BDD chawl. Despite his contempt for the dominant caste, he nurtured a desire to at least place his son on a par with them. Ayyan Mani sought a place and identity among them through his son.

Ayyan made Adi to ask irrelevant questions in class to create attention. Those questions were beyond a ten year old boy’s thinking ability. This startled the teachers in the school, and he became the topic of discussion among the schoolteachers. No sooner he became the little star of the school. Adi enjoyed this new attention, rather than being called as a ‘special child’ Adi felt really special when everybody called him a ‘genius’. Adi started questioning in the class; “If plants can eat light, why aren’t there things that eat sound?” (Joseph 119). “How do stars die, Miss?” (Joseph 124), “Why do we learn only the decimal system?”, ‘Why not the binary system?’” (Joseph 97). “Adi’s questions

became more complex: ‘If plants can eat light, why aren’t there things that eat sound?’...’ ‘The average depth of the ocean is 3.7 kilometres, why aren’t lakes so deep?’... But his silence did not surprise the staff. He was, after all, just a little boy. An odd, laconic little boy who was also partially deaf” (Joseph 119). These questions created a special interest about the ten year old boy in the school and also in the chawl. Ayyan enjoyed this attention, and the mere pleasure of being called by others as ‘the father of a genius’.

At the same time, Ayyan Mani, at his workplace, made use of many strategies to express his resentment towards the dominant caste. Although not direct, his ways found him a sense of satisfaction. One such strategy was the manner in which he misused the morning task of writing the ‘Thought for the Day’ on the blackboard in the porch of the Main block in the Institute, each day. On most days Mani wrote genuine quotes but on many other days he either invented quotes that reflected his oppressed caste or he wrongly acknowledged the quotes for fun. He wrote: *It’s a myth that Sanskrit is the best language for writing computer code. Patriotic Indians have spread this lie for many years_ Bill Gates* (Joseph 24). He was conscious of the power of the written word. Once a week he wrote a phony quote because “that way his subversive abuse of the Brahmins would not attract too much attention” (Joseph 98). Here, Ayyan Mani seems to wish to rewrite history, the history of his caste that was created by the dominant caste.

Ayyan Mani’s use of this prank was an expression of the growing insecurity that the predominantly Brahmin men in the Research Institute created within him. On one side he desired to become like them but on the other he detested their lack of empathy towards the lower castes. He felt all the men were so unreal. Always thinking about mathematical solutions, and problems, “Ayyan found these men more unreal than he could ever have imagined. And they were repulsive” (Joseph 107). They failed to understand the practical difficulties of everyday life of the poor and the insecurities of the lower caste. Ignoring the needs of the terrestrial beings like Ayyan Mani and his community, they were in search of extra-terrestrial intelligence. Their arguments, debate, over science and its development were beyond the realities of the world. They were more serious about discovering whether aliens existed in the stratosphere or the measure of time. Ayyan Mani considered their deliberations insane. He heard them search for a never-ending quest for truth. Ayyan was very sure that there was no such thing called truth.

The Brahmins inside the institute, reminded Ayyan Mani about his history; the pains and sufferings, the unheard cries and the fearful suppressed voices of the subalterns. They made him observe that, “In this delusional heritage of the country, his own ancestors were never included” (Joseph 286). The history that did not include his ancestors, did not probably give them voices either, as they were marginalised. The subalterns were never granted rights of a human being. They were treated as slaves, where their services were enjoyed with no respect given in return. These thoughts that flooded his mind, made Ayyan Mani secretly rejoice whenever the heads of the institute fought among them. “The clash of the Brahmins, an entertainment that even his forefathers enjoyed in different ways in different times and had recounted in jubilant folk songs that they once used to sing beneath the stars, was now coming to the institute” (Joseph 105). The cold war between Acharya and

Nambodri somehow gave him a sadistic pleasure and fulfilment that he never felt when they were united. This also reminded him of his forefathers, who in deep of their hearts enjoyed the clash of the mighty castes.

This rage against the Brahmins grew inside him and he looked at ways to take revenge. He arrived at a strategy to increase his race and thereby overthrow their dominance. He came upon “the insane idea of donating his Dalit semen to the fair childless Brahmin couples” at a fertility clinic’s nascent sperm bank. Having heard that such banks did not reveal the identity of the donor, he imagined his seed could impregnate hundreds of unsuspecting high-caste women. He hoped stout brooding Dalits would spring up everywhere...But doctors there told him that he had a defect and so his contribution could not be accepted” (Joseph 52). Ayyan was so furious at times like these. The novelist sarcastically draws our attention to the fact that Ayyan Mani who was making attempts to escape the predicaments of his caste, was making a foolish plan to increase the number of dalits across India.

Apart from the chawl and the workplace, Ayyan Mani always made note of the division that prevailed between his caste and class and that of the dominant castes and their privileged social position. On the way to his home from the Institute there were many external things that reminded him of his class. It provoked him to question his identity and to scorn at the lower strata of the society into which he was born.

The cars, their faces frowning in a superior way through the bonnet grilles, were the Brahmins. They were higher than the motorcycles who were higher than the pedestrians. The cycles were the lowest of the low. Even the pedestrians pretended that they didn’t see them. The bus had to be something in this structure, and Ayyan decided it was him. Lowly, but formidable and beyond torment. In any given situation in this country, Ayyan thought with a chuckle that did not surface, someone was Brahmin, and someone was the Untouchable (82).

According to Ayyan Mani, if the cars were considered as a class symbol, then he symbolized a bus. The gulf that divided the upper and the lower class, he understood, was because of the generations of suppression that his community had to bear. It created a dichotomy within his mind. He aspired to become like the dominant caste and wanted to escape being identified by his lower caste. At the same time his close encounters with the Brahmins in his workplace made him repulsive towards them. One of the strategies that Ayyan Mani used is ‘mimicking’. He experimented with his knowledge, by trying to learn the Binary system in Mathematics. He found it very difficult for his understanding, “He then read about binary codes, a whole language built on the arrangement of zeros and ones, and he grudgingly conceded that it was so clever that even if he had been born into privilege, he might not have been smart enough to invent it” (Joseph 85).

In *Serious Men*, the novelist shows how the subalterns, try to adopt the ways of the dominant caste, like the colonized tried to do with the colonizers. Postcolonial theorist Homi Bhabha, observed that mimicry was at once ‘resemblance’ and ‘menace’. The result is a ‘blurred copy’ which can be quite threatening. It mostly appears to parody whatever it mimics. (Aschcroft 115) Thus Ayyan seems

to agree to the fact that intelligence is inherent, and that it was not necessarily an attribute of a dominant caste.

Ayyan Mani's attempts to mimic, included his efforts to dress himself and his family to appear like the dominant caste. During the inter-school quiz competitions, Ayyan, Oja and Adi, all dressed up well so that they would be readily welcomed like other parents. However, his attempt failed.

Ayyan studied the fathers. His own shirt, he knew, was good. It had cost him five hundred rupees, but there was something about the shirts of these men and their trousers and the way they stood, that made him feel that he looked like their driver...in their midst, he was somehow smaller. And Oja looked like their cook...They stood at the periphery of the group (201).

Ayyan tried as much as he could to hide his social position. The 'elegance' or 'arrogance' that Ayyan identified in the dominant caste, made him feel more conscious about his surroundings, his position in life and his mere existence in society. He bought new shirts, which he could not easily afford, yet he felt he looked like their driver. And his wife looked like their cook. Though he tried to imitate the other upper class men, it almost always became an absolute failure.

Ayyan knew very well, the lies that he was creating was dangerous to both him and his son. But he felt compelled to do it, because he somehow wanted to prove himself to the world. "The bewitching life of creating a whole myth, was dangerous" (Joseph 241). But on the other side looking into the world, "In the world that lay outside his home, there was nothing right or wrong. Every moment was a battle, and the cunning won" (Joseph 121). The World around him appeared like a battlefield, and so he argued to himself that if he had to survive, he had to be cunning; nothing was considered right or wrong until it was questioned. If he managed to win over these situations without being found out, he would succeed in his intentions. Ayyan thought the world that lay before him was cunning, and he had to choose the path of the tricky, crooked and vile. So there was nothing wrong in creating his myth. 'Survival of the Fittest' as Darwin says only the fittest among them will survive. (Darwin 77).

In his attempt to belong, Ayyan started intentionally learning things around him so that he could equip himself. He thought knowledge could help improve his identity, and hence started reading everything possible. "Ayyan had developed the habit of reading anything in front of him, even if it was something he did not really understand, because he believed that one reason why everybody including the sons of municipal sweepers, was to collect as much information as possible before dying with a funny look on the face (Joseph 28). From his boyhood days, he read everything that he found and that was how he learnt English.

Ayyan Mani was curiously intrusive about all that happened in the Institute. He always devised a strategy to get information about everything that happened in the workplace. Ayyan Mani eavesdropped upon the telephonic conversations of his superiors.

Usually, one of the receivers was left off the hook. That was because he almost always arrived before Acharya, called one of the director's landlines from here and left the receivers of both the phones slightly askew. That was Ayyan could just pick up his phones slightly askew. That way Ayyan could just pick up his phone and hear the conversations in Acharya's room, and keep abreast of all the developments in the institute and, as a consequence, in the universe. (Joseph 25).

Through this strategy, Ayyan Mani kept himself abreast of what all the happenings in the Institute. Aravind Acharya, the Institute's Head was busy with his Balloon Mission which was not welcomed by many of his colleagues. Acharya however overlooked the opposition. Jana s, who was supposedly to be the next head after Acharya's exit had developed long term differences with Acharya. Meanwhile, Acharya who was sentimental by nature to the extent of using his wife's name as his e-mail password, at one point falls for the charms of Oparna Goshmaulik, a fellow Scientist and his partner in the Balloon Mission. Acharya's illicit love with Oparna Goshmaulik was temporary. When guilt hits him for being infidel he returns to his wife. But before that, the secret relationship was revealed and Aravind Acharya is expelled from the Institute because Oparna complained against Acharya.

Ayyan in his institute knows very well how to switch into his own group. He gets and bonds with his peer group, whenever the other peons in the institute seemed help, he readily helped them. Through this technique he represented himself a Dalit, and he knew that these men will be of help to him, if not today but in future. This what Spivak calls 'temporary essentialisation' (Spivak 197-221). One such temporary essentialisation in Ayyan happens when a peon asked his help to get a residence proof. "Mani,' he said in a whisper, I need a residence proof. I'm applying for a job in the Gulf. I've to make a passport now.' Ayyan appeared thoughtful. 'I've a friend who can help', he said. 'Give me exactly two days.'" (Joseph 103)

The changed leadership at the Institute brings new challenges to Ayyan Mani. It is in these circumstances that Ayyan Mani and Aravind Acharya have a deal. After Acharya's expulsion Nambodri took charge of the Insitute. Ayyan Mani tried to use his strategies with Nambodri for accomplishing his vicious plans but Nambodri refused to oblige. As a result, Ayyan Mani took advantage of a broken Acharya whose wife had deserted him after the scandal. Ayyan Mani in his continued pursuit to establish his son as a genius, was looking for means to help his son clear the Joint Entrance Examination (JET) for his higher studies. He had gathered all the information about the printers of the question papers but wanted to know where it was being stored. When Acharya hesitated, Ayyan Mani played a recorded conversation between Acharya and Oparna. This strategy sealed both their futures. "Let's talk about the future, Sir', Ayyan said... Acharya ate the rest of the banana without uttering word.... 'There are three versions of the question-paper'" (Joseph 307). Acharya agreed to reveal the questions of the JET exam, as he was one of the committee members of the Board. Ayyan Mani's son Adi wrote the JET and cleared the exam with high score.

As the novel concludes, Ayyan Mani's sense of identity is shifted more to his own caste. However, much he longed to try and behave and achieve like the dominant caste, when he heard derogatory comments made by Nambodri about the lower castes, he was enraged. Moreover, Nambodri the conversations also included statements about his son's genius. "I have never come across a Dalit genius. It's odd you know." (Joseph 294). Here as a strategy, he had recorded the controversial statements made by the new director of the Institute. He played the recorder to the peons of the institute to instigate riot, to trigger their hidden grievances against the dominant caste. Ayyan instigated them by saying "You are black because your parents were black. They are saying that you are dumb because your parents were dumb. And the Brahmins are smart because their parents were smart. And they are saying about me that I am only fit to be a toilet-cleaner because I am a Dalit." (Joseph 295).

Mani's son, Adi who participated in JET cleared the exam with high score, so Mani strategically devises a plan to bring Acharya back the head to the Institute by playing the recorded tape at the press meeting which was arranged to celebrate the young Dalit genius. During the interview he released the recorded tape of Nambodri and others, who were heard commenting on Dalits to the News media. This angered the city. "What Nambodri had said about Dalits was so damning that the silver Dictaphone in Ayyan's hand was a weapon that could consign to flames not just the institute but also the whole country." (Joseph 29). Ayyan on releasing the recorded remarks to the media seemed to pose himself as a fearless future leader of the Dalits. He deliberately walked bare foot to be noticed for being indifferent. Even in these small actions he is very much strategic.

It was too late for Nambodri and his colleagues to match Ayyan's plan. The institute was attacked by the mob. After the riot the police arrested members of the mob. Nambodri and his peer group of supporters were rescued. Ayyan Mani emerged as a super villain in front of the other scientists. This became the ultimate victory of his life's strategies. Ayyan Mani and his son's game of fooling takes a new spirit at the end of the novel.

The above analysis of Ayyan Mani's strategies may rightly place him a strategic essentialist. Ayyan Mani who is solely driven by circumstances, who is totally straddling in a world of entirely juxtaposed situations. Adi's victory gave him a sense of accomplishment.

We have to notice the very setting of the novel. "The whole country, it seemed, was in the trance of the Dalit genius, the son of a clerk, the grandson of sweeper. 'At the end of the oppressive centuries, at the end of tunnel of time.' Ayyan was quoted by the newspapers, 'my son has finally arrived at the edge of an opportunity.'" (Joseph 317). But this was short lived.

The novel's title 'Serious Men' seems to be deliberately ironic. Ayyan and Arvind are both serious men moving through an increasingly absurd and comic scenario. At the very beginning of the novel the novelist gives a humorous description of 'Serious men', "If you stare enough at serious people, they will begin to appear comical." (Joseph 4).

Manu Joseph has written on serious issue in a lighter vein. The author struggles and straddles to position himself and try not to lean on entirely on the side Dalits. Ayyan, the lower caste protagonist is portrayed as realistic. On the other hand, Aravind Acharya who represented the upper caste is depicted with human frailties like falling for women who much younger to him. He is also character haughty enough to object the Big-bang theory for the only reason that he is not a Christian. “Acharya, universe did not have a beginning, it did not have an end. ‘Because I am a not a Christian,’ he had famously said.” (Joseph 33).

Ayyan Mani and Acharya at one stage become mutually dependent. Arvind needed Ayyan Mani’s craftiness to save his career; Ayyan Mani needed Arvind to make his son, Adi a genius. Mani strategically devises plan to bring Acharya back as head to the institute in which he becomes successful. The novelist here tries to prove that how Acharya from a dominant caste readily agrees to the vicious plans of the lower caste Ayyan. Caste does not play any role here, the dominant and the lower caste join hands to position themselves in the world of competitions.

Manu Joseph’s *Serious Men*, like Arvind Adiga’s *The White Tiger*, depicts an India that is divided into haves and have-nots. *The Guardian* reviewed *Serious Men* as “a ground-breaking examination of caste in contemporary India”. The novelist attempts to draw focus on the lasting impact of birth-based caste on the Indian society. “The Untouchables, in modern times, had won the useless right of being touched by the High caste, but they remained the poorest in the city” (Joseph 280). While open oppression by the dominant caste has been almost controlled, the essence of one’s caste continued to be nurtured in each individual.

Social divisions in the past existed within a framework of inequality and it continues to prevail. Contemporary India has witnessed much opposition to caste and gender hierarchies. The Constitution of India entitles equal rights and concern to each individual. Caste is no longer a barrier to gain education or access a job or land. However, this has not ensured a casteless society. “A bisected study into the caste structure of the nation’s social setup reveals how the whole myth sags behind the progression and economic growth by disintegrating people in business and institutional spaces” (Sundaram). A sense of essentialism has perhaps grown among the castes over the years.

“Essentialism is the assumption that groups, categories or classes of objects have one or several defining features exclusive to all members of that category. Some studies for race or gender, for instance, assume the presence of essential characteristics distinguishing one race from the another or the feminine from the masculine” (Hawley 153). Essentialism is the view that all things have a set of particular characteristics, attributes or essence; that which makes them distinct from other entities. This is in contrast to a philosophy called ‘non-essentialism’, which argues that there are no such specific traits to those entities. Essentialism stated that the essence was permanent, unalterable and an eternal substance or ‘form’. Plato was one of the first essentialist who believed in the ‘ideal forms’, an abstract entity of which individual objects are mere facsimiles. In this respect Classical Humanism has an essentialist conception or notion and it firmly believes in unchangeable human nature. (www.philosophybasics.com). At the same time, it has been observed that not all with the sense of

essentialism stay loyal to their castes. Subaltern studies have reviewed this social behaviour and analysed it as an act of survival.

Alternatively, Strategic Essentialism, ‘a term coined by Gayatri Spivak stressed the need for the subaltern or the oppressed to go beyond their essential subjectivity’ (Hawley 157). Spivak explained it as “the ways in which the subordinate or marginalised social groups may temporarily put aside local differences in order to forge a sense of collective identity through which they band together in political movements” (qtd. Stoll). Strategic Essentialism is a political tactic employed by a majority group acting on the basis of shared identity in the public arena in the interests of unity during a struggle for equal rights.

Serious Men intertwines Ayyan Mani’s and Arvind Acharya’s stories. They represent the two worlds that Ayyan Mani was straddling across to position himself in the society; his own and that of the dominant caste. The novelist introduces Ayyan Mani as a lower caste who had a fairly good livelihood. “In a way, this (BDD Chawl) was the easiest place to be a man. To be alive was enough. To be the sober and employed was fantastically impressive. Ayyan Mani was something of a legend” (Joseph 7). So, unlike the condition of their caste people in the past, contemporary India had made it possible for individuals like Ayyan Mani to secure a job. However, as a peon, he felt repressed to be placed at the bottom order of the hierarchy “they are saying about me that I’m only fit to be toilet-cleaner because I am a Dalit.” (Joseph 295) Ayyan had to escape the trailing realities that chased him every day and that motivated him to adopt unscrupulous strategies. The Norton Review on *Serious Men*: “a subtly wicked satire of subterfuge and ambition.” (www.publishersweekly.com)

Conversion was adopted by many lower castes to escape the stain of their past. Ayyan Mani called himself a Buddhist although his wife remained loyal to Hinduism. But as noted Indian Historian, Romila Thapar wrote, “Even on conversion, the link with caste was frequently inherent. A multiplicity of identities remained, although their function and need may have changed’ (1005). Sundaram in his analysis of the caste-conflicts in Manu Joseph’s novel, opines that, “sometimes the inner crisis of national integration caused by caste stratification gave way to foreign missionaries to convert the weaker lower caste sections to their religion” (4). Ayyan Mani’s conversation with the catholic sister, at his son’s school, reflects this tendency. She tries to woo him to her religion by reminding him of the oppression that his ancestors faced at the hands of the Brahmins. “That’s why you’re a good Christian, Mr. Mani. You’ve forgiven them, the Brahmins, whose great fiction Hinduism is.” (Joseph 22)

Ayyan Mani’s inner ranting explains his predicament; “But what must a Man do? An ordinary clerk stranded in a big daunting world wants to feel the excitement of life, he wants to liberate his wife from the spell of jaundice yellow walls. What must he do?” (Joseph 5). His social position in life seemed to be preordained with no escape. He could not easily match the pace of the upper caste in fulfilling his ambitions. The caste he was born into was his impediment.

“He could have done any of those jobs. Oja too. And they could have lived in a building that had lift, and when they entered the kind of restaurants where emaciated men parked the cars of fat men...cold air inside and the smell of mild spices and the difficult names of fish. It was so easy to be the big people. All you had to do was to be born in the homes where they were born” (Joseph 81).

There were instances that proved Ayyan Mani had his share of intelligence. He was irked when the others in the Institute remarked about it. ‘You are such a clever man, Mani,’ he said. ‘If only you had the fathers that these men had, you would have had a room of your own today with your own secretary’” (Joseph 27). The novel is largely “a depiction of this densely imagined subaltern resentment and gloom” (<http://middlestage.blogspot.in/2010/07/rage-and-love-in-manu-josephs-serious.html>).

Ayyan Mani is limited by caste and position but not by ambition or wit or courage. Driven by a great aspiration to be relieved from the chains of his caste and class, Ayyan Mani evolves to become a strategic essentialist. This tendency agrees to Spivak’s philosophy that “there are in principle no essential identities” in individuals, suggesting that, “in practice people act, and need to act as if there were” (Sage 189). The practical character of social and political life, as in the case of Ayyan Mani, determines the distinction. He had no escape from his caste but his strategies like fabricating a myth around his son’s genius and mimicking the upper caste reveal his strategy to position himself as an upper caste. ““At the end of the oppressive centuries, at the end of the oppressive centuries, at the end of the tunnel of time,’ Ayyan was quoted by newspapers, ‘my son has finally arrived at the edge of an opportunity.’” (Joseph 317). At the same time, the Brahmins in his workplace and their attitude towards his caste provoked him to play pranks with the daily thought that he wrote on the blackboard. As rightly pointed out by Shashi Deshpande, who was one of the jury members that awarded Manu Joseph the Hindu Fiction Award 2010, “Manu Joseph writes about serious matters with a marvellous, light touch, which is wonderful in any writer.”(qtd. *The Hindu*)

Ayyan Mani could not resist displaying solidarity with those from his caste either. He strategically manipulated situations to establish his fellowship with them, as he understood that it was difficult to completely detach himself from associating with them.

Spivak pointed out that “the idea of strategic essentialism always raises the question of where to draw the tactical line” (Sage 189). Ayyan Mani had to draw the line when his prime strategy to make his son appear a genius almost failed. The attitude of Nambodiri, the new Brahmin chief of the institute irked him to draw the strategy of seeking attention of the media to expose Nambodiri’s offending comments against the Dalits and Dr. Ambedkar. “The trick is to try to hold both the plasticity and the practical fixity of identity in mind at the same time thereby enabling one to oscillate between them for particular purposes” (Sage 189). Ayyan Mani, ultimately oscillates strongly towards his own case and strategically instigates a riot. Just as Ayyan Mani’s mixed loyalties draw criticism, the tenets of strategic essentialism drew criticism that Spivak distanced herself from the concept at a later stage.

Ayyan Mani and Acharya are shown to be, in their own ways, serious men, comprehending their fraught positions in great depth. Their disparate worlds and ambitions, and their belated, surprising complicity, are depicted in *Serious Men*. Shaunna Hunter called this satirical novel “a smart and touching addition to the growing group of works by young, Indian-born authors writing in English.” Manu Joseph, as a novelist, seems to also straddle across his positions in support of the predicament of the upper and lower castes in contemporary India. But his suggestion for an ostensibly new India is conveyed in his justification of Ayyan Mani’s strategies: “He had to abolish the world he grew up in to be able to plot new ways of escaping from it” (Joseph 7). “In contemporary times, we not only reconstruct the past but we also use it to give legitimacy to the way in which we order our own society” (Thapar 3). Manu Joseph, in his conversation at the Hindu Literary Festival 2018, stated that it is only “when sons and daughters do not want to be like their fathers and mothers, will society change.” His statement echoes the viewpoint that change should begin in the ‘particular’ to affect the ‘general’, until which point a casteless society in India would remain a mere ideology.

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Contribution of Eminent Native Tamil Scholars to Tamil Literary History

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Abstract

This paper attempts to bring to light the contribution of history of Tamil Literature through various methods and examples. Also, this paper presents the importance of Tamil and the difficulties faced by the Tamil literary historians. Moreover, this paper presents various religious principles and philosophical principles. This paper tries to prove that the classical language, Tamil admired not only by Tamilians but also western people. As the western literary theories have been influencing in Tamil literature. It reached the (goal) world. It proves that through western people, Tamilians have to know the importance of Tamil Literary history.

Key Words: Tamil Literature, Ethics, Tamil culture, Western literary theories.

It is out and out acceptable and true that formerly writing literary history was nothing but a narration of stories; but slowly the trend has got changed to effect a commendable and good survey of Tamil literary history in the light of Western theories and ideas, related to literary historiography, thereby explaining what is literary history and its development in the 20th century with a focus on the growth of the art of writing the history of Tamil literature and the availability of sources and the difficulties to be faced in making a survey of the few notable books on Tamil literary history. M.S. Purnalingam Pillai pays more attention to the legendary stories related to Tamil literature while V. Selvanayakam gives a clear picture of the history of Tamil literature. Prof. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai attempts to write a scientific literary history of Tamil. Whereas A. Veluppillai's book inaugurates a new approach and T.P. Meenakshisundaram's book *A History of Tamil Literature* makes a laborious attempt to present a survey. While M. Arunachalam presents a precisely bright account of the history of Tamil literature, Kamil Veith Zvelebil offers a wide study of the history of Tamil literature trying to draw parallels between Tamil literary theories and western literary theories.

Since Tamil is a classical language, fixing the date of its origin demands great efforts, immense intellect and authentic source. Entertaining or clarifying the doubtful matters associated with the history of Tamil and Tamil literature is, no doubt, a herculean task. There may be controversies as regards the data of composition of important works. The sources which are made

available now are not enough to derive the facts without any doubt. If future provides reliable sources of great importance, it will be a key to unlock the mysteries. Changes do occur now and then and so it is better to accept healthy improvements. Tamil literature is admired not only by the Tamil scholars but also by the foreign scholars. The western literary theories have been influencing Tamil literary trends from the beginning of the 20th century. The realm of knowledge knows no geographical boundaries. Literary contributions or interpretations often lead to novel improvements. Any attempt to write a Tamil literary historiography will certainly win the admiration of all men of letters and lovers of literature.

Writing literary history is called literary historiography which means the act of writing literary history scientifically. James Thorpe observes:

“Literary historiography is an art not a science, however much it may share with science the ideal of discovering and recording truth, and however much it may borrow from science its methods of discovering, selecting and classifying the data of its researchers” (P 57).

The literary historian should have some knowledge of order and the art of employing some techniques. There are a few important scholars like Robert Spiller, Barbara K. Lewinsky, Rene Wellek, Ulrich Weinstein, H.P.H. Teesing and R.M. Meyer who are solely responsible for the practice of the new methodology after the dawn of the 20th century. Spiller is said to be the first writer for giving a correct perspective of literary history. “Literary history is concerned with describing and explaining the expression in literature of a people during a period of time, in a place, and usually in a specific language” (Thorpe 55). For Rene Wellek, literary history traces the development over time, of specifically literary elements leading to “the history of literature as an art, in comparative isolation from its social history, the biographies of authors, or the appreciation of individual works” (Wellek 265).

Writing literary history is a complex art and a literary historian is expected to be beyond the clutches of all sorts of pride and prejudices. In a genuine and committed literary historian, one can find a linguist, a literary scholar, a literary critic, a textual critic and a literary historian. One can understand and make a thorough analysis of a work of art or a literary writer only with the help of the knowledge of literary history. For example, Tamil is the oldest of the Dravidian group of languages. The glory of Tamil is that it is the only living, classical language.” The language embodies an ancient, and varied literature, and a literary tradition whose origin is lost in the mists of pre-history. Among what is known as the Dravidian group of languages, Tamil is recognised today as the earliest to cultivate a great literature and a noble culture. It is gratifying that it is receiving in the latter half of the 20th century an increasing recognition among the linguistic scholars of the world” (Arunachalam P.XIII). If one sees the bright side of the intellectual world, there are many literary scholars who act

as intermediaries building bridges between the East and the West. The Tamil scholars try to widen the realm of Tamil literature and criticism by practicing and utilizing western theories.

Writing Tamil literary history is a 20th century phenomenon. Tamil is said to have been adorned with the ornaments of celebrated magnificent works of art. Tamil literature has made its historical march through the past twenty five centuries. While its antiquity adds supremacy to it, it causes many problems to the Tamil literary historians. On the basis of the sources available, this humble attempt is made to write something about Tamil literary history and a few Tamil literary historians why did contribute to the growth of Tamil literary history.

If the primary task of the literary historian is to record and explain the life histories of literary works, he is to make certain assumptions about the kinds of sources with which he is deal” (P 59). There are some important sources which provide the literary historian with helping evidences. As Prof. T.P. Meenakshisundaram puts it, “Any history can be only on the basis of the chronological arrangement of facts available”. Tradition, manuscripts, literary works, the colophons to the Cankam verses, inscriptions, references made by the foreigners and references formed in the other languages are the main sources available in Tamil. The age of every Tamil classic is a matter of dispute; and so, fixing the exact dates of some important works is a major problem. Tamil literary historians differ among themselves in utilizing the sources, and in handling the problematic factors. The survey of some of the books on the Tamil literary history illustrates it clearly.

Purnalingam Pillai’s *Tamil Literature* was considered the first literary history of Tamil written in English in 1904 in which the author discusses the growth of Tamil literature and its three grant generic divisions by pointing out that the ancient Tamil country was the submerged continent of Lemuria and the Tamil land was nothing but the cradle of the whole human race. There being an age-wise classification of Tamil literary history, he has divided it into six ages and the book is divided into six parts in accordance with its classifications. Part I which says about the Cankam age, narrates the traditional stories and anecdotes regarding the biography of the great poets like Akatiyar, Tolkappiyar and Valluvar; Part II deals with the age of Buddhists and Jains. In the first section, five major epics are discussed. The story of *Manimekalai* is narrated and there is a mention about its age. He is of the opinion that the time of its composition was the time of Ceran Cenkuttuvan, i.e. about A.D.90. He says that *Manimekalai* is the earliest of five great Tamil epics. After giving a canto-wise narration of *Cilappatikaram*, he tries to fix its age with reference to Gajabahu and Suthakarni. There is an analysis of the geographical details regarding the two epics Tiruttakkatevar’s *Civaka Cintamani* and *Nari Viruttam* are analysed. It is followed by a brief account of *Kuntalakeci* and *Valayapati* and a critical summary of *Perunkatai*. He draws comparisons between *Perunkataia* and *Civaka Cintamani*. The third part deals with the works, life history and the stories related to the life of the four Saiva Acaryas in detail and while it is dealt with in the first section, the second section offers a details analysis of the works of the twelve Alvars and the stories about them. Part-IV titled as ‘The Age of Literary Revival’ in which the first section discusses the ‘Great Trio’ – the works of Kampar, Pukalanti and Ottakkuttar and Part-V speaks of the Age of Mutts and or Matams’ which is the longest part with thirteen sections. The first four sections deal with some important poets like

Kalamekam, Villi, and Arunakirinatar and the king-poets like Ativirarama Pandiyan and the minor poets like Param Joti while the rest of the sections deal with the poets belonging to different mutts and matams and the last part titled ‘The Age of European Culture’ discusses the origin and development of Novel, Drama and Journal listing twenty poets belong to ‘Jaffna School’. The age-wise classification is based on the literary and religious conditions prevailed in Tamil Nadu.

Tamil Ilakkiya Varalaru by the Ceylon scholar V. Selvanayakam published in 1991 got divided into six periods in which the classification is made in accordance with the political upheavals. The first division titled as ‘The Cankam Period’ discusses the time between 100 A.D. to 200 A.D. After giving a brief note on the three Cankams, the author speaks about Akatiyar and his disciples. Next he discusses the works of *Ettuttokai’s* and *Pattuppattu* and analyses how their special qualities were brought to eminence and prominence. Then he speaks in praise of *Tirukkural* and says that *Cilappatikaram* and *Manimekalai* are the best epics belonging to ‘The Post-Cankam Period’. In his opinion, the two epics provide a vivid picture of the contemporary political, religious and literary conditions. After presenting the critical appreciation of *Patinenkilkanakku* works, he explains how Poykai Alwar, Putan Alvar, Peyar Alwar and Karaikkal Ammaiyyar sowed the seeds of the literary movement which flourished in the Pallava period. Next the author explains how the Bhakti movement determined the literary movements of the Pallava period. Then he discusses the influence of Sanskrit on Tamil prose literature which paved path to a new style called Manippravala style.

The division called ‘The Cola Period’ between 900 A.D. to 1400 A.D. resembles Cankam period because there was a progress in every walk of life including literature, for, he has called this period the period of epics by painting out that the influence of Sanskrit gave a new direction to Tamil literature. While giving a brief note on *Tirumarai* and *Nalayira Tivya Prabandham* he has pointed out that the literary movement flourished in the Pallava period is also found in the Cola period. Under the sub-heading Kaviyankal, the author speaks about the ten epics. *Cintamani*, *Valaiyapati*, *Kuntalakesi*, *Nekakumara Kaviyam*, *Kantapuram* and *Periyapuram* receive critical discussion here. In his study about *Kampa Ramayanam*, the author explains how the Sankam literature influenced Kampa and in what way the circumstances fertilized the inspiration in him.

The Nayak period starting from 1400 A.D. and ended in 1800 A.D. considered as the fourth division depicts the political and religious state of the Nayak period with a focus on the qualities of the literary works of this period in terms of the contribution of the kings and the mutts to the enrichment of Tamil literature and the last period titled ‘The European Period’ talks about the change in the literary movement due to the western influence and the favourable factors which are responsible for the growth of prose literature and also the development of drama. Since the classification is done on the basis of political upheavals, it effects the literary classification. In the words of Robert E. Spiller,

“the basic structure of literary history,
is to be found in the rise and fall of
literary movements, delimited by time into

“periods” which are not sharply marked
By specific dates and may well be composed of
Literary works, their authors, and the
Controlling temper and ideas of that time and
Place” (Tharpe 64).

In the words of Weinstein,
“Periods, according to Teesing, are the
time spans of varying length’ which are
in themselves, relatively unified and
which distinguish themselves markedly
from others” (P 77).

These definitions can be applied to the periodization done by the author. While period belongs to temporal category, movement refers to literary event. In this book, each period stands for the temporal category in which the literary movements are explained.

Prof. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai’s *History of Tamil Language and Literature* discusses at length about the history of Tamil language and literature from the beginning to 300 A.D. in the first part and then from 300 A.D. to 1000 A.D. in the second part. In the first part, he does try to fix the time of birth, growth and development of Tamil suggesting a probable chronological order of the collections with a focus on the structural analysis of *Ettuttokai* and *Pattuppattu* followed by a discussion about the poets of the Cankam period. While the first part titled as “Anthology’ deals with *Ettuttokai* and *Pattuppattu*, the second part deals with *Paripatal* and *Kalittokai*. He speaks in praise of ‘Vairanandi Sangam’ and its literary achievements. Prof. Pillai, while speaking of the grammatical and ethical works, takes Akattiyam into account and he writes:

“No doubt’ the earliest grammar known to tradition is Agattiyam written by Agastya, a Brahmin sage. But even he was a member of the first Tamil Sangam, which as mentioned above, owed its origin to the Jains. He was followed by a number of distinguished Jaina grammarians, the chief among them as Tolkappiyar” (P 61)

He further writes:

“A work on Tamil grammar is attributed to him and he is said to be the father of Tamil. Perhaps someone claiming to be a descendant of Agastya wrote a grammar of the Tamil language. But the story that he was the

Guru of Tolkappiyar is of late origin,
perhaps of about the 10th century. Pannirupadlam
in whose payiram we find a reference to
Agastya being the Guru of Tolkappiyar
Is of doubtful authenticity” (P 65).

It is followed by the discussion of age and content of *Tolkappiyam*. In an elaborate segment, he suggests that Tolkappiyar is indebted to the Sanskrit works like *Panini*, *Siksha* and *Parata Natya Castra* and he makes a detailed analysis of *Tirukkural* in which he says that Tiruvalluvar is largely indebted to well-known treatises in Sanskrit like *Manu*, Kautilya, Kamantaka, Ayurvedic treatises and *Kamasutra*. Presenting a brief comparative analysis of *Tirukkural* and those Sanskrit works thereby speaking in praise of its supremacy, he writes:

“Valluvar, the Tamil sage, excels each one
of these ancients in his respective sphere” (86).

Pillai’s *History of Tamil Language and Literature* has become the target of severe criticism, for various reasons. His work has been repudiated by many scholars, especially his chronology of Tamil works.

Prof. T.P. Meenakshisundaram’s *A History of Tamil Literature* is one among the very few books on the history of Tamil literature which has won much attention and admiration in the realm of scholarly research and literary investigation. “The literary historian may – in fact, he must to a greater or lesser degree – be trained as a linguist, a textual critic, and a literary critic, but in his role as literary historian he has a separate and quite precise function” says Spiller. Prof. T.P. Meenakshisundaram is a linguist, and a literary critic. He is an eminent scholar, and the range of his scholarship is wide; and he is justly known in Tamil as “Panmolippulavar” which means scholar of many languages. His genuine literary knowledge plays a major role in bringing out the literary historian in him.

The entire book is divided into ten sections among which the first one makes some general remarks and the rest tell the story of the history of Tamil literature. The classifications are myriad in kind and most of them are literary classifications. The first section titled as “General Remarks” has four sub-divisions namely i) Introduction 2) Sources - Difficulties 3) Chronology – I Tradition and 4) Chronology-II other criteria. The brief introduction which points out the importance of Tamil, is followed by an analysis of the sources on which a Tamil literary historian can depend, and the difficulties he has to come across and he lists the difficulties faced by the Tamil literary historians.

T.P. Meenakshisundaram says that any history can be only on the basis of the chronological arrangement of the facts available. In the third sub-division, he explains how tradition becomes the main source. The other sources, like the internal evidences found in the literary works themselves, the external evidences received from the references to synchronisms, inscriptions, copper plates and foreign references are listed in the fourth division. According to T.P. Meenakshisundaram, the

survey of tradition has given us a rough division of the periods of Tamil literary history namely 1)The golden age of the Cankam Poets and its continuation” 2)The Pallavan Period 3)The Cola age and its continuation and 4)the age of foreign contact and the modern age. In his book *Opilakkiam (or Arimukam)*, Dr.V. Sachithanandam clearly states as follows:

“T.P. Meenakshisundaram has utilized his multilingual scholarship and writes a history of Tamil literature in English, which comprises Tamil literature into ten major divisions. But since he had delivered these lectures within a short time, he had to exclude certain important notes and remarks. If he had included them, when it was published in The form of a book, it would have been more useful. In spite of it, he has analysed the problems, which arise, When one writes a history of Tamil literature, in the first chapter, which runs up to sixteen pages. It will induce and kindle the thoughts of the literary Historians interested in doing research in this field” (P 136).

As regards the achievements of this book, C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar points out; “This account is a valuable addition to the literature of sympathetic and discerning literary criticism” (P 9). In a word, Prof. T.P. Meenakshisundaram proved himself to be an eminent literary historian in presenting the historic march of Tamil literature through the ages, with its varying fortunes.

A Velupillai’s *Tamil Ilakkiyatil Kalamum Karutum* traces the history of Tamil thought as it is revealed in Tamil literature. There are five divisions namely the period of Natural Principle, the period of Moral Principle; the period of Religious Principle and the Period of Scientific Principle. In the chapter titled as Ilarkai Nerikkalam, Tamil thoughts and ideas known from the analysis of Cankam literature is spoken of. While taking into consideration the location of Tamil land, contemporary political, social and religious states, he describes some of the special features of Tamils, like valour, pre-marital love, family life, hospitality, religious concepts, philosophical thoughts, political policies etc., thereby trying to trace how the foreign influences might have changed the Tamil thought. *Purananuru* is considered the source of information for the author to reveal the ideas of Tamils in this period. Under the title, the period of ‘Moral Principle’ he explains how the moral ideas dominated when *Tirukkural* and other *Patinenkilkanakku* works were written:

In the section ‘the period of Religious Principle’, he discusses how the Tamils were attracted by various religions making a critical analysis of the ideas put forth by the four Saiva Kuravas, Alvares, Nayanmars, Tirumular, Cekkilar and Kampar. According to him, when Appar and Campantar overcome the external forces like the influences of other religions in order to stabilize

Saivism, Cuntarar and Manikkavacakar who lived during the period in which Saivism dominated, tried to overcome the inducements of the human mind. He has explained a truth in a metaphorical language as follows:

“In the reign of Pallava kings, Compantar sowed the seed of Saivism, on the banks of the river, Vaikai. Towards the end of the Pallava reign that seed had grown into a tree, called Manikkavacakar which gave the fruit named Tiruvacakam.” (P 39)

In the section ‘the period of philosophical principle’ he explains how the religious feelings form the basis for philosophical thoughts and how the social and political conditions favoured the growth of philosophy and in the ‘the period of Scientific Principle’ he explains how the scientific principles have awakened the Tamil thought also and how Western Scientific knowledge removed the stagnation found in Tamil thought effecting a new approach to life and literature. In a word, it may be said that Velupillai’s novel approach has inaugurated a new method of writing Tamil literary history.

As per classifications made in terms of ages, periods, views principles and critical views and analysis, help the reader view Tamil literature from different angles. As Spiller puts it, “the ultimate and highest aim of the literary historian is therefore to help to explain the existence of master works” (60). M. Arunachalam’s *An Introduction to the History of Tamil Literature* published in 1954 is not only a short introduction to the history of Tamil literature but it is intended to acquaint the eager English reader with the wide range of Tamil literature over a time of more than twenty centuries. The primary concern of this book is not with dates but with the structure of works, and their several trends, and conspectus of literary events. The author has endeavoured in this book to survey each branch of literature from the beginning to the modern day, utilising political history, cultural phenomena, metrical growth, linguistic peculiarities and thoughts development. Though he does not adopt the western concepts regarding the art of writing a literary historiography, he does present a vivid, clear view of the history of Tamil literature. K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar says:

“Mr. Arunachalam’s book is just what it claims to be: it is an introduction to a great subject, it is broad-based, it is very readable it is informative and instructive, and above all it is a labour of love and devotion to the cause of Tamil letters” (43).

To conclude, it may be stated that Tamil literature is a classical language admired not only by the Tamil scholars but also the foreign scholars. The western literary theories have been influencing Tamil literary trends from the beginning of the 20th century. If the Tamil literary historians collaborate and write a history of Tamil literature with the help of the western theories and

definitions related to the art of writing literary historiography, there will arise a more admirable Tamil literary historiography.

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