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## Intersectionality in Rupa Bajwa's *The Sari Shop*

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### Abstract

The concept of intersectionality suggests that various forms of social factors like race, class, gender, sexuality and nationality, do not exist separately from each other, but are really mutually dependent and intersecting in nature. Though the theory of intersectionality emerged only in the 1970s, the idea of intersectionality grew out of black feminism. The interconnections between racism and sexism have been examined by the black feminists such as Maria W. Stewart, Ida. B. Wells and Anna Julia Cooper. Sojourner Truth, a black woman who had been a slave, delivered a speech in 1851, at the Women's Rights Conference in Ohio, in which she described how her identity was not just shaped by her gender; race and class were also the factors determining her identity. Kathryn Gines categorizes their works as proto-intersectional as their works suggest racism and sexism as systems of oppression that work together and mutually reinforce each other. This paper attempts to look deep into the lives of the characters of *The Sari Shop* by Rupa Bajwa for the truth of the concept of intersectionality regarding women's oppression as well as other factors such as caste, race, class etc.

**Keywords:** Rupa Bajwa, *The Sari Shop*, Women's Oppression, Intersectionality, Black Feminism, Racial Discrimination, Gender Discrimination, Multiple Consciousness

The works of black feminists like Audre Lorde, Angela Davis, bell hooks inspired the concept of intersectionality. Audre Lorde in her essay "Hierarchy of Oppressions" says that when an individual faces two different kinds of oppression, in that case both oppressions are to be considered as mutually interacting and both these matter. The Combahee River Collective's idea of "interlocking systems of oppression" and Deborah King's concept of multiple jeopardy and multiple consciousness can be considered as the basis of the theory of intersectionality. The Combahee River Collective, a group of black feminist activists from Boston, considered to be the first to theorize the interconnections between gender, race, class and sexuality. (Allen)

Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw, a legal theorist first used the term “intersectionality” in 1989 in a paper titled “Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrines, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics” which was published in *The University of Chicago Legal Forum*. In this work, Crenshaw critiques single-axis framework which treats race and gender as exclusive categories. According to her, this framework distorts the multiple and intersecting forms of subordination experienced by a black woman due to race and gender. Crenshaw states:

Intersectionality ... was my attempt to make feminism, anti-racist activism, and anti-discrimination law do what I thought they should – highlight the multiple avenues through which racial and gender oppression were experienced so that the problems would be easier to discuss and understand. (Eric-Udorie n.p.)

Crenshaw coined the term to show how racial and gender discrimination overlap. Though the term was used by Crenshaw to describe the situation of coloured women, the theory has been widely adopted and expanded. Patricia Hill Collins broadened the concept of intersectionality in her book *Black Feminist Thought* including class, sexuality and nationality into this concept.

In the book *Intersectionality: Key Concepts*, intersectionality is described as

Intersectionality as an analytic tool examines how power relations are intertwined and mutually constructive. Race, class, gender, sexuality, dis/ability, ethnicity, nation, religion, and age are categories of analysis, terms that reference important social divisions. But they are also categories that gain meaning from power relations of racism, sexism, heterosexism, and class exploitation. (Collins and Bilge n.p.)

The theory of intersectionality considers how a person is oppressed for belonging to one group while being privileged for being a part of different group. For example, a white woman is oppressed in relation to sex, but is in a privileged state in relation to race. Similarly, a black man is in an oppressed position in relation to race but is in a privileged state in relation to sex. The experiences of a black woman are different to that of the experiences of a white woman or of a black man:

Intersectionality offers us a way to understand how multiple structures – capitalism, heterosexism, patriarchy, white supremacy, and on – work together to harm women: women who are poor, disabled, queer, Muslim, .... or a combination of those things. Intersectionality is a way for marginalized women to talk about how their lives are affected by multiple oppressive structures – ableism,

racism and sexism, for example – that thus hit them harder and cause them to exist in double or even triple jeopardy. (Eric-Udorie n.p.)

According to feminist scholars, intersectionality includes all subject positions. However, Jennifer Nash argued that theorists ignored the intimate connections between privilege and oppression. They have over-emphasized on oppression in intersectionality theories. For example, an individual might be both victimized by patriarchy and privileged by race. As a response to this concern Ann Garry puts forth a more inclusive view of intersectionality which lays emphasis on both oppression and privilege.

Rupa Bajwa, in her novel *The Sari Shop*, portrays the life of women who belong to different social classes. It also depicts their different roles and responsibilities based on their social class and position in the society. The experiences of the women characters in the novel are based on the mutually dependent and intersecting nature of the factors – class and gender. Rina Kapoor is the daughter of Ravinder Kapoor, the biggest industrialist in Amritsar. She did her Masters in English Literature and is an aspiring writer. Bajwa portrays Rina Kapoor as an upper class, educated and a “self-assured” woman. She is clear about what she wants from life and expresses herself clearly whenever it is needed: “I like to read, I like to explore new things, I like to take every day of life as a new experience ... I think life is an adventure. And when you explore life, you also explore yourself”. (81) She is very passionate about her writing. Though she is busy with the preparations of her marriage, she makes sure that her writing does not get affected:

... yesterday I wrote another poem. One of the poems in which I find that I can express the true meaning of life. And do you know when I wrote it? While a man who brought over crystal bangles for me to see was waiting outside. I felt the urge and I knew that bangles could wait, but I needed to get the creative process going. (81)

Rina Kapoor’s position as a woman is oppressed in relation to gender. The society expects her to fulfil certain roles and responsibilities as a woman. As an upper class woman, her father and the society expect her to marry a rich upper class man:

Ravinder Kapoor ... told the Guptas that his own daughter, Rina, was getting married in three weeks’ time. He wasn’t very pleased about it, because it was a Love Marriage, and his daughter had chosen to marry a Captain in the Indian Army. Ravinder Kapoor still couldn’t believe it, but he had not tried not to let his disappointment show. (163)

Soon after she gets married the society expects her to stay at home. When she visits the Sevak Sari Shop three days after her marriage, everyone in the shop is shocked to see her alone in the market soon after her marriage:

Ramchand was astounded. Brides never ventured out alone for months after their wedding! They had to be present at post-wedding ceremonies, there were invitations to lunches and dinners, special pujas had to be performed. He had heard of how things worked in families. But this was surprising. (133)

However, Rina Kapoor's position as an upper class woman gives her opportunities to follow her dreams. To understand the experiences of an individual, it is necessary to consider both the oppression and the privileges faced by the individual as these factors are mutually dependent on each other:

... the inclusion of both privilege and oppression in intersectionality implies that members of dominant groups must consider the factors of privilege in their own identity and positionality. Intersectionality applies to everyone, not only to members of subordinated or marginalized groups. (Garry 829)

Rina being an upper class woman has access to education which gives her confidence to express herself: "I just hope I can achieve something. Make sense of things. In our strange, multi-layered society that is a very, very difficult thing to do" (93). She makes her decision after assessing it thoroughly. While doing her bridal shopping, her confidence makes her decide on what she wants and why she wants it:

I was thinking I must be very careful while buying both clothes and jewellery. I don't want the usual conventional bridal trousseau. I want a collection that is me. A collection that is a mix of traditional and contemporary styles. You know, that way you don't get a fixed image and you can experiment with your looks. (67)

Rina's status and education gives her the opportunity to fight for her rights and her desires. Though her father is against her decision to marry an army officer, she is successful in convincing him. She is able to choose her life partner and also able to convince her family of her choices. She does not want to fix herself into the traditionally held social norms:

When my father heard that I was in love with you, an army officer, he wasn't pleased. He always used to tell his friends, "When my daughter gets married, the whole city will watch". But, well, I convinced him. I am not one of those girls who'll just marry a rich man and go to kitty parties. (82)

Though society expects her to stay at home soon after marriage, her position in the social class allows her to live on her own terms. She visits the Sevak Sari Shop, three days after her marriage to do her research for her novel. Within few months of her marriage she publishes her novel. Since she is rich, she makes her novel popular and seeks the attention of the people towards her book:

... since Rina was recently married, rich, glossy and permed, and wanted to draw the attention of the cream of Amritsar, she did. There was a spectacular launch of the book in New Delhi. There were press conferences and interviews in magazines. (186)

Rina's position due to her gender is that of an oppressed woman, but her position due to her class is that of an oppressor. She refers to the working class men as "stupid sari-wala" and "greedy jeweler" without even knowing them properly. Her opinion on whom she describes as "service class" people is also made clear in her conversation with Mrs. Sachdeva:

... though I must say that these days, with bribes and all, even they are doing quite well. Most of them have big houses at the outskirts of the city. Also ancestral property, I suppose. Some Sikh families, even the most ordinary-seeming of them, sometimes own quite a lot of land in villages. (93)

Rupa Bajwa portrays Shilpa as a meek and shy girl. She is the daughter-in-law of Mr. Gupta, a reputed businessman. Shilpa was not interested in studies and she somehow managed her way through one year of college. She felt that she was not witty or talented enough. She also felt that she was not stunningly beautiful, and her English was not good. However, she knew that her rich father would find her the best alliance: "The biggest thing in her favour was that her father was a well-known, rich businessman. She had known they would find a brilliant match for her" (162). Like Shilpa had hoped, her parents found her a match. Tarun Gupta is a rich, upper class, good looking man, and the elder son of the Gupta family. Shilpa did everything she needed to please her mother-in-law. Mrs. Gupta is aware of Shilpa's attitude before the wedding that, "She seemed meek and eager to please, her shy manner completely unlike the brash way some girls behaved these days. Anyway, she could be moulded" (16). Like she had contemplated, Mrs. Gupta trained her daughter-in-law to make her perfect at everything. She kept a close watch at everything her daughter-in-law did: "She instructed Shilpa in everything – clothes, make-up, behavior, recipes. She was kind and sweet to her, at the same time keeping a sharp eye and an iron control over how Shilpa looked, dressed and behaved" (164). Though Shilpa is aware of her mother-in-law's controlling nature, she felt that their relationship was much better than what she had seen in many households. Mrs. Gupta and Shilpa spent their days trying to show-off their



cleanest house, their nicest clothes and new recipes. Shilpa allowed herself to be trained and moulded by Mrs. Gupta:

Mrs. Gupta had a competitive streak in her. She liked to be the best. In her circle of friends and relatives, she liked to have the best complexion, the cleanest house, the nicest clothes. And she passed on this competitiveness to the previously inert Shilpa, galvanizing her into a new life of self-improvement. (165)

Though Shilpa always seemed meek and shy and allowed Mrs. Gupta to have her way, she was as materialistic as Mrs. Gupta. She lets Mrs. Gupta to have her way as she knew that “Mrs. Gupta would grow old, and then the factory, the house, all the property – it would all be hers” (164). When Shilpa realizes that she is pregnant, she “fervently hoped it would be a boy. That would forever consolidate her position in the family” (166). Shilpa represents the materialistic and patriarchal thinking of the upper class society when she hopes her unborn child to be a baby boy so she could attain power in her husband’s house

How did one behave when expecting a child? What would she be expected to do? ... In her parents’ family, they had the Godbharai ceremony. She wondered if they would have it here. If they did, then she’d get new clothes, a couple of jewellery sets ... it had to be a boy ... that would make things a lot easier for her ... she didn’t want a daughter ... (167)

Though Shilpa’s position as a woman in the society made her to play the role of a perfect and obedient daughter-in-law, her position as an upper class woman belonging from a rich family helps her live a comfortable life. Shilpa’s parents had made sure that she led a comfortable and happy life by giving their daughter and son-in-law expensive gifts on their marriage:

And all this – the room, the furniture, the air conditioner and the car, were in addition to all the cash, jewellery and clothes they had given to Shilpa, and all the gifts of clothes and jewellery they had given to her in-laws and to her husband. Yes, she had no reason not to be able to hold up her head in her new family. (164)

Rupa Bajwa portrays another female character, Mrs. Sachdeva, Head, Department of English at a local college. She is an educated and independent woman. Other than a few upper class women and middle class housewives, people respect her for her position and knowledge. When Mrs. Kapoor dislikes Rina keeping company with middle class women like Mrs. Sachdeva, she expresses her respect for Mrs. Sachdeva

Mother, there are other things in the world besides money. You know, this a big world, and out there, there are people, who are considered very high status because of their learning, because of the work they have done. And it is not like this respect, respect from a few small towners, a few crass businessmen. No ... it is respect from all over the world, from the academic, cultured world. It is recognition in its true sense. (91)

Mrs. Sachdeva as a teacher sees a lot of potential in Rina Kapoor. She motivates and guides Rina and feels that she could achieve great heights if she focuses on the right path. She advises Rina to focus on her career after marriage: “I will watch your future progress with great interest. I do hope, Rina, that you will not let the mundane things of life take over the real things” (94). When Rina Kapoor publishes her novel, Mrs. Sachdeva is extremely proud of her student. She clearly states how career and creating identity for a woman are the essential aspects:

True, money is very important. To maintain a standard of living. But there must be other things in life apart from money. Now look at Rina Kapoor. Doesn't lack anything in life. She has money, beauty, a solid family backing. But she has carved out a niche for herself by writing a book, by earning her own reputation. (207)

Belonging to the middle class section, Mrs. Sachdeva plays the role of both the oppressed and the oppressor. The upper class women like Mrs. Kapoor do not like to keep the company of a middle class woman and expresses her irritation to Rina for keeping her company: “Really, Rina, now these people have started to come to our home also. We are friends with the highest status families in Amritsar ... And just because of you, we have these ordinary, professor-type, service-class women coming here” (91). She becomes the oppressor when she talks with contempt about Ramchand, a shop assistant: “You can't really make these people understand, you know” (28).

As a middle class woman Mrs. Sachdeva becomes the victim of oppression when upper class women like Mrs. Gupta gossip about her: “Mrs. Sachdeva has no children and her husband is also just some professor somewhere. She is a nobody” (209). However, as a middle class educated woman she also gets opportunities to pursue her career, to express her views and to live her life on her own terms and it is necessary to consider both oppressions and privileges to understand the experiences of an individual

Oppression and privilege by race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, class, nationality, and so on do not act independently of each other in our individual lives or in our social structures; instead, each kind of oppression or privilege is shaped by and works through the others. (Garry 827)

Mrs. Sandhu is a middle class woman. Her husband is a Chief Engineer in the Punjab State Electricity Board. Mrs. Sandhu's happiness is based on the achievements of her husband and her sons. She is materialistic and finds happiness in materialistic things like owning a house and furniture. Mrs. Sandhu finds extreme happiness in bragging about her sons' achievements in her conversations: "My elder son, Manu, Mandeep, his name is, but we call him Manu, he has cleared his entrance exams. He'll be able to get into the Amritsar Medical College ... All Waheguru's blessings" (206). Manu's treatment of Mrs. Sandhu points to the oppressed situation of women in the patriarchal society. When Mrs. Sandhu offers Manu a glass of milk, he pushes the glass away saying, "Didn't you strain it? You know I hate cream in milk. Take it away" (14). However, Mrs. Sandhu is very happy about her status in the society. Her only aim is to maintain her status in society and to take care of the future of her children

Mrs. Sandhu thought she was as good as anybody now. Never mind her weight, at least she was better than all those thin women with dark, rough skins and mousey hair. A beautiful house, status-family, a caring husband and good looks ... what more could a woman ask for? Now, if only the children would do well ... (13)

Rupa Bajwa portrays Kamla as a poor, working class, uneducated woman. Her father is a factory worker and her mother worked as a maid. When her mother passes away, she starts working as a maid to support her family. At the age of sixteen, her father gets her married to Chander, a factory worker. As a woman from the marginalized section, her approval or suggestion is not even asked in the subject of her marriage. Soon after the marriage, Chander loses his job. He starts drinking and hitting his wife: "Chander drank often and beat her up. This was pretty common, she knew. Men often beat up their wives. It was a matter of routine, nothing personal. It shouldn't have worried her. But it did. It turned her temper sour" (152).

Domestic violence and loneliness make her life miserable and hopeless. She has to stay at home alone and is not allowed to work: "She was expected to bear children soon, and Chander told her there was no point in starting on a job that she'd have to leave soon anyway" (151). When she realizes that she is pregnant, she gets some hope. However, Chander hadn't found a job yet and poverty and hunger result in Kamla's miscarriage. When she needs her husband's support, she has to face more oppression from Chander. He blames her for all the misfortunes in his life: "you are unlucky even for your own family ... You have a black heart, a black heart, a black heart" (157).

Chander's accusations, beatings and her pain push Kamla towards alcoholism. She starts drinking and snapping at men in the streets who try to take advantage of her drunken state. The society blames Kamla for drinking and fighting, Chander's colleague Gokul describes Kamla as

“not a good woman” (119). Soon Kamla realizes that Mr. Gupta and Mr. Kapoor were responsible for her sorrows. Chander worked in their factory and when the factory went on to lose, they shut the factory without paying the last three months’ salary to the workers which resulted in hunger and poverty in Chander’s house and was the reason for Kamla’s miscarriage. In rage and drunken unconsciousness, Kamla hits stones at Mr. Gupta’s house and screams abuse at them. Guptas get her arrested where she is brutally raped by the police constables. Kamla does not stop expressing her anger towards the Guptas and the Kapoors. When she hits a stone at Mr. Kapoor, he decides to stop her by getting her killed. He sends goons to Kamla’s house and the goons burn the house down with her in it: “Kamla’s fate was sealed at that very moment. Ravinder Kapoor couldn’t help it. It was a matter of his prestige in the city. He could not let a common woman go scot-free after that. Yes, it was a matter of his prestige, a matter of honour” (216).

The experiences of Kamla are the result of her marginalized position in the society. She faces oppression because of the intersection of factors such as gender and class. “Intersectional paradigms remind us that oppression cannot be reduced to one fundamental type, and that oppressions work together in producing injustice” (Collins 18).

The women characters in the novel *The Sari Shop* experience the gender oppression, no matter their position, class and education. The female characters’ experiences and the intensity of the oppression vary accordingly. Though Rina Kapoor is expected to get married to a rich upper class man, because of her position as an upper class woman in the society, she gets the opportunity to express herself and make her own decisions. She gets the opportunity to establish herself as a writer. Shilpa is trained and “moulded” by her mother-in-law but it is Shilpa’s own conscious decision to allow her mother-in-law to mould her. Her position as an upper class woman allows her to lead a comfortable life. Mrs. Sachdeva is criticized for being childless by the society. However, her position as a middle class woman gives her the opportunity to focus on her career and gain respect from the society for her achievements in her professional life.

Mrs. Sandhu’s life centers on her husband and sons. Her position in the society allows her to lead a comfortable life and she enjoys her social status and is content with her life. As Kamla belongs to the marginalized section of the society, her position as a marginalized woman subjects her to both class and gender oppression. She is subjected to domestic violence and sexual assault not just because of her gender, but for being a woman who belongs to the marginalized section of the society.

Thus, class and gender are mutually dependent in nature and to understand the experiences of an individual clearly, an individual’s intersecting position in the society must be taken in consideration. Through the concept of intersectionality, it is clear the character of Kamla

struggles the most in the novel due to her marginalized position in society which subjects her to double marginalization – class and gender oppression both at the same time, as these factors are mutually dependent and work together.

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**Transformation from Man to Superman: A Study of John  
Steinbeck's *The Moon is Down* and *Of Mice and Men***

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**Abstract**

Once in a joint letter written to his agent and publisher, Elizabeth Otis and Pascal Covici, John Steinbeck (1902-1968) declared, "My whole work drive has been aimed at making people understand each other..." (Fensch38). Therefore, most of his writings deal with the lives and feelings of the ordinary people, of whom he writes with profound sympathy and heartfelt care. The vitality, strength and honesty of his works must be due to his keen perception of mankind and his success in discovering that within every man is sleeping the seed of a superman which springs up when events demand. This transformation from man to superman may take place when one has to save his own country and its people or when one is simply desperate to save one's best friend's life. This paper aims to explore the seminal role love plays in transforming the lives of the characters from ordinary to the extraordinary ones and focuses on two novellas, *The Moon Is Down* and *Of Mice and Men* to establish it.

**Keywords:** Steinbeck, *The Moon is Down*, *Of Mice and Men*, superman, ordinary man, love, mover

Before being a vibrant lifer at literature, John Steinbeck, the sixth American to fetch a novel prize in literature (1962), has been a onetime reporter on a newspaper in New York, a brick layer of the Madison Square Garden, a chemist, a marine biologist, a painter's apprentice, a ranch hand, a day laborer and the caretaker of an estate at Lake Tahoe for one whole snowbound winter. The list clearly implicates that life has offered this enormously sensitive writer myriad chances to make wonderful connections with people and to freely and refreshingly document their experiences, both blissful and baneful, in his writings. Mayor Orden and George Small are two characters who Steinbeck has wrought out of his real life experience.

It is better not to expect from these characters any superhumanly achievement as readers do from the age-old supermen, they are very much familiar with by means of their repeated ventures through numberless superman comic series or ever- recurring TV adaptations. Steinbeckian superheroes are hoi polloi like us only with the slight yet grand difference that they are movers; they can make moves out of patriotism and love, which entail sheer courage and inborn integrity of mind and soul. They are supermen because they can break their ordinary human shells and transport themselves to such a humane level, which even the fictitious superman cannot. Furthermore, they are unlike the superman or Ubermensch of Nietzsche, upon whom this maverick philosopher has placed the consummate expression of highest human development. When Nietzsche suggests, “the Roman Caesar with the Christ’s soul”(Stumpf 379) as an ideal for his Ubermensch or superman, Mayor Orden or George only have their share in “the Christ’s soul” part as alike Christ they sacrifice their life or dream to save others.

Many of Steinbeck’s novels are staged in his hometown Salinas, California, but sometimes the raconteur takes a flight outside it to savor the world around better. When the United States of America entered the Second World War Steinbeck responded eagerly to the calls of various government agencies to help and used his journalistic capacities and abilities to record events in forceful details paid off during this period. About the only war based novella of Steinbeck, Watt says , “*The Moon is Down* had its origins, in a similar way, in the interest of the Office of Strategic Services in helping resistance movements in occupied Europe: it was to be a kind of celebration of the durability of democracy.” (Watt77). This anti – Nazi novel, captures a small Norwegian town under German occupation during the Second World War. The people of this town have a long tradition of freedom and they never have tasted domination. The sudden and rather treacherous and forced seize of their hometown leaves these peace loving people at a loss and disoriented for a time. Because for the first time they are experiencing how it feels to be conquered. But this phase is very short. They pull themselves together and embark on a mission of freedom hunt. As days, weeks, and months drag on these people metamorphose. Very silently and in an imperceptible way they begin to revolt in their own individual fashion. At one point of time, the conquerors confront such lines of attack which they are completely unprepared for and which is beyond their war strategies. Each able man and woman changes, presenting a deadly weapon bent upon to liberate the town. And to top them all is the Mayor of the town who is the very embodiment of his office. This small town is such a world where Mayor Orden is the leader of men, the Idea-Mayor, the patriarch, and the shaman of his people, “He and his office were one. It had given him dignity and he had given it warmth. (214)”.

At the outset six young men of the town were killed in an attempt to scare and scar the town’s people but the plan backfired. The conqueror party has a proven stratagem that worked

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out so far fittingly - the best way to throw the people of a city off guard is to startle them. Citizens of this town are scarred but definitely not scared. In order to keep the tides of victory unabated they need to unearth and ship the coal of this town desperately. The town has mines to produce premier quality coal and most of the residents are also miners. To give them an impression that they are operating in this town with the mayor's direct approval they set their temporary camp right in the palace of the mayor. But the commoners are not to be misled so easily. When Mayor Orden is first introduced he appears rather a clown than the circumspect elected representative of the people. He seems thoroughly careless about his look and surrounding, a person who likes to be bossed over by his wife and spends days free from care. But as the story moves forward the picture reverses.

Actually, it is not the mayor to revolt against the conquerors first, it is his cook Annie. When Colonel Lanser asks mayor Orden whether his people are going to work for the invaders without offering any hostility or how they are going to behave if they have to serve for the enemies, the mayor simply replies that he does not know. At one point he says, "I don't know sir. They are orderly under their own government. I don't know how they would be under yours. It is untouched ground, you see. We have built our government over four hundred years. .... They made me and they can unmake me. Perhaps they will if they think I have just gone over to you" (219). Immediately after, he says so Annie throws boiling water at the soldiers guarding the backyard. This is the first piece of physical revolt that the army encounters and many such attacks follow, personal or collective, till the end of the novel. She is a part of people who has never been conquered and now when it has happened, she finds it hard to swallow. Since she, like every other person of the town does not have familiarity with fear, she boldly clarifies her position. To get co-operation of these people neither coaxing nor threatening works. When chapter one closes Annie is angry and Christine is angry. Probably the whole town is angry. Anger lights up the town slowly but surely. They are not very violent, but they are very hushed in their daily rounds, which is more tormenting for the army. The town dwellers have simply forgotten how to laugh. They embark on a remonstrance against the occupation in unison. When one of the miners is sentenced to death penalty as an attempt to quell down further disobedience it fails miserably. Rather this event sends invitation for the people to be more impatient to unfetter the town. They do not give up their pursuit even for a moment. One of their very plain yet tormenting and gruesome tactics for the enemy is their simple and unbreakable silence that settles on the shoulders of the conquerors like unshakable loads. With every move, glance, gesture and posture they made it vivid that the outsiders are outsiders and will always remain so. This town will never give in; it will never yield to their unlawful demands. The victors begin to feel that the world is closing in upon them and it is a matter of moment for the town to get ignited and to cause a deluge which will flood away the enemy battalion without leaving behind

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the tiniest residue: “Now it was the conqueror was surrounded, the men of the battalion alone among silent enemies, and no man might relax his guard for even a moment” (65).

The second and decisive attack on the invaders comes in the form of a young man, Alexander Morden. When ordered to go back to work he refuses. And when he is forced, he attacks one of the officers to stop him without any ulterior intention of killing him. When his mock trial is held under the roof of Mayor Orden only to establish to the townspeople that the Mayor is working in collaboration with the invaders, he plainly asserts that he is a free man and has gone mad of taking orders from aggressors. When he receives death penalty for his crime even then he says, “No, I don’t think that I’m sorry” (239). The ball has gathered momentum and it doesn’t need any more pushes. His public execution, which is intended to intimidate people, has galvanized the people into activity. They want their town free. Intrepidly Mayor assures Alex in their final parting, “Alex, go, knowing that these men will have no rest, no rest at all until they are gone, or dead. You will make the people one. It’s a sad knowledge and little enough gift to you, but it is so. No rest at all” (239). The mayor keeps his promise. One act of uprising follows another automatically and effortlessly. People are shot in warning and it made no divergence. The residents have forgotten to laugh, drink, sing or dance. Even most of their conversations take place in monosyllables. They move about the town in seamless silence and carry out the duties imposed on them noiselessly and even without looking at enemies, “Thus it came about that the conquerors grew afraid of the conquered and their nerves wore thin and they shot at shadows in the night. The cold, sullen silence was with them always (241).

It has been pointed out before that the Steinbeckian heroes are not like the mythological heroes or the puissant superman imbued with extraordinary intellectual supremacy and miraculous bodily strengths. They are not miracle – makers. They are common, peace loving and closely knitted. But this change is the inevitable upshot stemming from an unexpected and unlooked for reversal of state of affairs for which they were not geared up adequately. Everyman actually takes up the challenge to throw the yoke of enslavement away. But surely Mayor Orden is the trailblazer. He does not participate in the war directly which is not possible on his part as he shared the same roof with the occupants and is under constant watch. But he supports every move for freedom from behind the screen and assures the townsfolk again that he is not only their political leader but also their spiritual chief. He is nothing different from his people. He and his people are on the same side of the line. He will always voice their thought and mirror their will.

Mayor Orden faces his ultimate destiny in life at the end of the book but readers can sense it coming just from the beginning. Both Doctor Winter and Mayor accept calmly their final destiny. The coda has been set very carefully by the raconteur. When Corell suggests that they

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can hold the Mayor as a hostage to control the people Colonel Lanser unambiguously asserts that it is not going to work. Still he orders the arrest. So far, it's been seen that Mayor Orden is an unassuming man with an uncanny power over his people, which stems from his sheer simplicity and redoubtable propensity to stand by his people. He is not a superman and he is a common man. Like any regular man he is scared at the prospect of his imminent death. He even considers the possibility of seeking mercy to avoid death. He is just as afraid as was Alex but finally he is able to amass the courage to admit to his friend, as old as his life, "You know, Doctor, I am a little man and this is a little town, but there must be a spark in little men that can burst into flame".

Very beautifully Steinbeck has juxtaposed and blended the last moments of one ordinary man with those of an extraordinary trailblazer, an immortal sage. He recollects and recites some lines from Socrates' *Apology*. These extracts he memorized when he was a school going boy and his performance on stage was poor. Forty years back, instead of listening to his recitation, teachers and students were busier holding their breath so that a burst of laughter might not blurt out because his shirrtail was out and peeping from his pant. He never has shown the promise of being someone uncommon. But his second and last performance just before his looming death passes out smoothly. He does very well in his denunciation, "If you think that by killing men you can prevent someone from censuring your evil lives, you are mistaken" (267).

He knows it very well that his being held as a hostage is not going to prevent his people from acting rebelliously. The flicker has been there before and was twinkling like a firefly in the dark. His death will only light up the torch to blaze the road from darkness to dawn. His people are in his blood and he knows them as he knows his own self. His people are not born to be bridled and bent down: "The people don't like to be conquered, sir, and so they will not. Free man cannot start a war, but once it is started, they can fight on in defeat. Herd men, followers of a leader, cannot do that, and so it is always the herd men who win battles and the free men who win wars" (269). His death is not offered before us, but we know it is to happen. So, in *The Moon is Down* Mayor Orden is the superman, he is the mover as he overcomes the fear of death to ignite the rebellious souls of his people to claim their freedom.

*Of Mice and Men* is the fourth novel of the introvert Californian, Steinbeck, and the first financially successful one. Published in 1937 this best-selling novel brought for him the extraordinarily enthusiastic reviews from the critics and keen attention from the readers. For Steinbeck it was a kind of experiment. "It is nothing but a trial horse – a copybook exercise. I wrote it simply to develop a form. Yes, the form of a play. I had no idea how to write a play, but I experimented, and it looks as though it worked" (Fensch 7) as he explained to the reporters of The New York World Telegram on 23<sup>rd</sup> April 1937.

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The setting of this rather short novel is in California, Steinbeck's California, which he knew so well. Of his bondage to California Champney comments, "More perhaps than any important contemporary American writer, except William Faulkner, his writing has grown out of a special reason." (Davis 21). The characters are drawn from actual life, though Steinbeck has attached fictitious names to them. He worked with them in the same farm. The two major characters are two farm hands and alike other immigrant workers of that period they are rootless drifters. At the beginning of the action these two characters are seen to camp by the side of a small pond for the night. The author is very wary to show from the start that they are diametrically opposite to each other: in their physical and mental built up. Lennie Small is mentally slow titan who is capable of mighty labor and George Milton is a small man who is compassionately intelligent. Watt views their mysterious relationship as, "George and Lenny are bound by feeling more articulate beings would have called love, even though it may often seem the kind of love that joins master and dog"(Watt 58). Chance has teamed them together, has made them soul mates. When pressed by reports of New York Times to comment upon the characters of this novella Mr. Steinbeck said, "Lennie was a real person. He is in an asylum in California right now. I worked alongside him for weeks" (Fensch 9).

Lennie loves to touch soft things – which range from dead mice to the soft silk dress of a lady in a fair. Because of this last item these two friends were forced to flee from Weed as Lennie was charged with attempt to rape. Now they are on their way to a farm in Soledad, in another part of California. As the night draws in they gather by the side of the fire and George made Lennie do some drills regarding the role that he is going to play the next day, when they are supposed to meet their new boss. Before falling asleep George fatefully points to a particular bush and asks Lennie, " Well, look Lennie, - if you jus' happen to get in trouble like you always done before, I want you to come right here an' hide in the bush"(Steinbeck 17).

On their arrival the duo meets Curley who suffers from Napoleon complex and he immediately targets Lennie as his victim. This man starts to hate this gigantic man unprovoked. Curley has an unhappy wife whose favorite pastime is to flirt around with the cowhands of the ranch. But her twisted nature is never entertained by the men of the farm. Everyone identifies her as a "rattrap" (Steinbeck 36), too poisonous to get near to. On one of her searches to find her husband she comes to the bunkhouse and Lennie watches her admiringly. But as George warns him of the potential threat, she can pose for any man from her over possessive husband; Lennie cries out ominously, "I don't like this place, George. This ain't no good place. I wanna get outta here" (Steinbeck36). But as days are passing by these two friends settle in their workplace smoothly and everybody except Curley grows a soft corner for the dumb Lennie.

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When Slim's, the jerkline skinner dog gives birth to a couple of puppies, Slim presents Lennie a brown and white one. They feel that Lennie is dumb but not crazy. Unlike other cowhands George and Lennie have a dream for future. They want to buy a small farm of their own and they are going to raise all kinds of domestic animals there. Lennie's most favorite activity is to make George talk on and on about that Adamic dream farm where he will be permitted to tend the rabbits of all colors. These two tramps are saving money to that end. But fate comes to Lennie in the shape of a woman, Curley's wife. One evening when all the men of the farm are off to the city except old cook Candy, the nigger stable buck Crooks and the imbecile Lennie, who have no use for the city, stayed back. After a friendly chat with the two men Lennie goes to the stable to have a look at the puppies. There comes Curley's wife, a nameless woman in the novel, who begins to share her happy past, almost unbearable present and rosy future to an unwilling listener Lennie. George's repeated warning is being flashed at the back of Lennies' mind when he falls for in the pit – an invitation from Curley's wife to feel her soft hair. This is irresistible for Lennie, the dangerous giant.

When Lennie touches her silk like hair he freezes and keeps on doing so until her hair gets messy. She tries to stop him and when the man becomes overpowering, she screams out. Lennie asks her to stop and she yells the more. A frightened Lennie puts his mighty hand on her mouth and he gives her a jerk to make her stop. She dies with a broken neck. As Lennie perceives that he has “done another bad thing” (Steinbeck103), he rushes out to the spot where George asked him to go. He holds an imaginary conversation with his Aunt Clara, the only person apart from George who loved Lennie unconditionally. George reaches the spot before the posse which has set out to hunt Lennie down. Both friends sit together and talk of their dreams when all the while George is aware of the footsteps of the farm lynching party nearing towards them to get Lennie. At one point George shoots Lennie to death.

*Euthanasia* is a word which originated in the early 17th century with a Greek root. According to Helga Kuhse, Australian philosopher and bioethicist, “Euthanasia is compound of two Greek words – *eu* and *thanatos* literally meaning ‘a good death’”. Generally speaking, it means the killing of one person by another person for the betterment of the first mentioned.

*Of Mice and Man* has been banned for a period of time in the United States with an accusation of promoting Euthanasia. George murders Lennie. But why? George's love for Lennie is without limit. Whenever George blurts out his anger at Lennie, he ends up with a list of things he could have done if he doesn't have to carry Lennie on his back. But he actually tells the truth. Life without Lennie would have been much lighter and carefree for George. George is not a kin to Lennie and in no way he is answerable to anybody for not taking proper care of Lennie. But he has been doing it since his boyhood. He has sacrificed his own happiness to make Lennie

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happy. Most of the time he shouts at Lennie but his kindness prevails over his rudeness. One speech from Aunt Clara suffices as a proof, “He been doin’ nice things for you alla time. When he got a piece of pie you always got half or more’n half. An’ if they was any ketchup , why he’d give it all to you”(Steinbeck 114). George’s sheer love for Lennie makes him understand Lennie even more than Lennie himself. When the lynching party will drag him to any large tree he will not realize the course of events. But definitely he’ll be afraid , afraid to death. He will meet a brutal death which he undeserves. George wants to prevent this.

It is not easy for a human being to destroy what he has built. But George, the mover, has accomplished this feat. To George , Lennie is the only friend and family. Though Lennie invites mostly troubles for him , the good time spent together washes up the irritation. Taking care of Lennie is obviously painful for George , but it also guarantees him happiness. Lennie , for George , is like a mirror where he can see his own reflection. To take the decision to kill Lennie and to materialize it demands out of George the uprooting of his own life. George steadies his mind and hand and kills himself and Lennie together with one shot. It takes the courage of a superman. A superman delivers people out of trouble and George delivers Lennie out of troubles. By shooting him George has blocked the doors for all the fear, danger, hatred or threats to enter his life. George knows even before killing Lennie that life will never be the same, the agony of his actoin will stay with him till the remainder of his days. He will never get the chance to spend time of unalloyed joy with his best pal, life from now on will be grey and dismal. With Lennie, George also kills their lifelong dream of owning a small farm of their own, “With Lennie gone, George will not try to keep the dream alive.” ( Davis 67). He will be an ordinay man like many other ranch hands who spends an entire lifetime of a confirmed vagabond and George can master the courage to let this happen.

It is not that supermen always has to wear a cap or a uniform. It is not even mandatory that he has to shoot spider web at his enemies or glide in the darkness unnoticed and noiseless like a bat. In his noble winning speech Steinbeck declares, “... the writer is delegated to declare and to celebrate man’s proven capacity for greatness of heart and spirit – for gallantry in defeat – for courage, compassion and love”. Mayor Orden has proved the greatness of his heart, his gallantry in the face of inevitable death. He places his town and its people above his mere existence. George is capable of compassion and love and thereby let himself be the annihilator of his beloved friend. He is firm to free his friend who is completely unable to grasp the impact of his action, from the fright of a meaningless death decided for him by others. One mayor Orden is not an Achilles who can bring devastation for one nation single handedly. One George is not one Messiah to save his nation from the verge of extinction. Mayor Orden or George is not semi divine creatures, but their deeds are larger than life. They are movers; they make moves going

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out of their ways. They only want to make sure that this warm little world takes another turn on its axis with its happy dwellers. Steinbeck has faith on their superhuman ability, so do I.

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\*These two entries are originally two interviews of John Steinbeck taken by New York World Telegram (1937) and New York Times (1937) respectively.

\*\*This entry is a reference to anthology which has no editor, compiler or translator's name on it except an introduction by Joseph Henry Jackson.

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## Mother Tongue Education: Aspirations and Responses in Manipur

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### Abstract

The issue of teaching of Mother tongue is a long pending issue in the context of multilingual North East India. Though, Manipur has recognized 18 tribal /minority languages in education with the desired benefits of having Mother tongue education and as a response to the aspirations of the people as well as the country's policies and programmes like Sarva Siksha Abhiyan (SSA) and Right To Education (RTE) Act 2002. Mother tongue education in the state has encountered various problems. The paper is based on a research conducted in Manipur on the attitude and perception of mother tongue education by various stakeholders. Data was collected from parents, community members, teachers and students. It is evident that the unclear policy on language, low functional load, and lack of resources like teaching learning material, teachers and the shrinking domain of usage of mother tongue are few issues creating problem in the mother tongue education in the state.

**Keywords:** Manipur, mother tongue education, three language formula, educational stakeholders, attitude

### Introduction

Manipur is a multilingual state with 38 different ethno-linguistic communities living in harmony. The communities are Aimol, Anal, Angami, Chiru, Chothe, Gangte, Hmar, Kabui Inpui, Koirao, Koireng, Kom, Kharam, Lamkang, Liangmei(Kacha Naga), Mao, Maram, Maring, Mate, Meite, Meitei Pangal, Mizo, Monsang, Moyon, Nepali, Paite, Paumai, Purum, Ralte, Ruangmei (Kabui), Sahte, Sema, Simte, Tangkhul, Thadou-Kuki, Thangal, Vaiphei, Zeme and Zou. Among these Meiteis and Meitei pangals (Muslims) speak Meiteilon/Manipuri which is one of the scheduled languages of India. As per the three language formula the state designate Manipuri or one of the 18 recognised tribal language as L1, English as L2 and Hindi as L3<sup>1</sup>. Manipur government is proactive in the sense that the state had recognized the importance of bringing mother tongues in the schools, way back in 1965 till date 18 tribal languages are recognised either as a subject of instruction or as a medium of instruction in the school system. As there exist a strong identity consciousness and identity reassertion in the North East as a whole the state has been continually adding the number of recognized languages in the education system. The reasons for not recognising the remaining

<sup>1</sup> There are also provisions for taking up Hindi/Bengali/Assamese and Nepali as L1 for the students who are desirous of taking it up as a subject.

as a subject of instruction or as a medium of instruction in the school system. As there exist a strong identity consciousness and identity reassertion in the North East as a whole the state has been continually adding the number of recognized languages in the education system. The reasons for not recognising the remaining languages may be the numerical strength<sup>2</sup> and the lack of teaching learning material.<sup>3</sup> The following table shows the numerical strength of the tribal population in the state in 2011 and their status of recognition in education:

**Table: Tribal languages, Population and status of recognition in Education**

Sl. No.	Language	2011	Status	Textbook Production body
1.	Aimol	3190		
2.	Anal	23,509	Recognised	
3.	Angami	95		
4.	Chiru	8599		
5.	Chothe	3858		
6.	Gangte	17,178	Recognised	Gangte Literature Society
7.	Hmar	48,375	Recognised	Hmar Literature Society
8.	Inpui #	13,000		
9.	Ruangmei (Kabui)*	1,03,908	Recognised	Ruangmei Literature Society
10.	Linagmei (Kacha Naga)**	66,158	Recognised	Liangmei Literature Society
11.	Kharam	1,145		
12.	Koirao	4,475		
13.	Koireng	1,873		
14.	Kom	14,528	Recognised	Kom Literature Society
15.	Lamgang	7,770		
16.	Mao	93,343	Recognised	Mao Academy
17.	Maram	27,524	Recognised	
18.	Maring	26,424	Recognized	
19.	Any Mizo***	8,064	Recognized	
20.	Monsang	2,427		
21.	Moyon	2,516		
22.	Paite	55,542	Recognised	Paite Literature Society

<sup>2</sup> The lesser the speakers of the tribe fewer the number of children going to school and producing books and hiring teachers for few children is difficult in terms of the finance incurred.

<sup>3</sup> Board of Secondary Education gives recognition to languages to become a subject of instruction only after evaluating the available school related books in the language.



23.	Poumai	127,381	Recognised	Poumai Literature Society
24.	Purum	278		
25.	Ralte	17		
26.	Sema	40		
27.	Simte	6,728	Recognised	Simte Literature Society
28.	Suhte	804		
29.	Tangkhul	1,78,568	Recognised	Tangkhul Literature Society
30.	Thadou - Kuki	2,15,913	Recognised	Thadou Literature Society
31.	Vaiphei	42,957	Recognised	Vaiphei Literature Society
32.	Zeme	22,294	Recognised	
	Zou	24,294	Recognised	Zou Literature Society
34.	Tarao	1,066		
35.	Any Kuki	28,342		

\*Kabui is also called as Ruangmei

\*\*Liangmei and Zemi are called Kacha Naga in Manipur, and in 2016 Liangmei is recognised by Board of Secondary Education Manipur.

\*\*\* Mizo is recognised as Lusahi in Manipur

# ref. W. Pinky Devi (2011)

It is clearly visible from the above table that the literature societies of the concerned languages taken up the pains of developing the textbooks in the language at their own expense with partial little assistance from the Tribal Research Institute (TRI) at the same time take responsibility of distributing the books to the various stakeholders (Gangmei R. 2017). The efforts put forward by the literature societies are worth appreciating, they have shown their love and concern towards their mother tongue as well as opened up opportunities for the young child to be in school, happy and learning what is relevant in the community, the value system and of course taught the love for the language. The bigger question here in this juncture is are all people in the community as well as the mass in general support the mother tongue education? What is the future? What we want to achieve through it? And more importantly the sustainability question is to be taken into consideration. The educationists want mother tongue education, many in the community wants it, few governmental provisions provided it to whatever the little extent may be, but the reality sometimes is something else<sup>4</sup>. Many students do not get the opportunity to learn their mother tongue at whatever the level of school education, those students whose mother tongue is taught have to make serious efforts to opt for the mother tongue paper, many a times they have to appear examination in that paper without being taught. That is the theory say something and the reality is something else. Now it's time for each one of us to look into the reality and take a serious

<sup>4</sup> It is seen that many language teachers appointed through RMSA are utilised to teach other subjects as there is no facility/opportunity to teach the language in the schools they are posted.

step towards making the tribal minority children learn the worth of being a child with equal rights and privileges.

Though the state recognizes and given the rights to learn their own languages to the tribal communities, the same scene of linguistic hierarchy prevailing among the Indian languages is also visible in the state. Manipuri being the schedule language and the lingua franca of the state enjoys the highest in the hierarchical scale, English follows the next<sup>5</sup>, Hindi the official language of the country comes up as one of the most used language as a link language, the need probably had arisen as for the business purposes<sup>6</sup> and with the migrant workers. The question of visibility of the tribal languages in the public sphere is almost nil and utility seems to be restricted to small pockets in the state. Therefore, the people in general see little prospect in being educated in the tribal language. Adding further to the problem is that the capital city and smaller towns in the district headquarters are full of English medium schools<sup>7</sup> where the tribal languages have no place till they reach high school.

### **Attitude and Perception towards the Status of Mother Tongue**

Language is a social mechanism and any attitudinal study can only make sense against its actual context. The process of language learning whether it is L1 or L2 learning can be better understood if the social dimension is included. It plays a major role in developing in the teacher and the student a set of attitudes towards the language learned. It is the background which shapes most of the teachers and students' attitude and explains their reactions and options to different aspects of education in general and to the teaching of English in particular.

Attitudes are therefore a vital force, which determines whether a learner embarks on a task at all. They determine the effort and the time the learner puts in trying to learn the language. The learner approaches the language with certain attitudes – or in other words, learning is accompanied by emotional reactions which may sometimes leads to a constellation of likes and dislikes directed towards the language in question and to all languages in general. Because of this it can be assumed that an understanding of how attitude facilitates or hinders language learning will reveal how much they can be controlled or manipulated to enable the learner to be more confident in language learning.

One of the most important component of mother tongue education is the proper curriculum and it pedagogy with perfectly train teachers in the mother tongue / multilingual education. While the language acquired as mother tongue has different condition for using it as medium of instruction or subject of instruction. Even teacher and educationist know that even the best

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<sup>5</sup> However, because of the opportunities and status attached in English there is a high preference of English in the educational sphere.

<sup>6</sup> The market has a sizeable chunk of non-Manipuris who dominate the business of non-local products and produces.

<sup>7</sup> 71.1% of the children in Manipur goes to English medium school (ASER 2011).

curriculum and most perfect syllabus will remain non-functional unless quickened into life by the right method of teaching and by the right kind of teacher, a teacher with the right kind of attitude.

The perception teachers have to their role and their contribution to the learning process, their own experience and proficiency to the mother tongue, all influence the view that teachers have. Again, language learning is not one-way process. Teacher and student develop a network of interpersonal relations that can contribute positively and meaningfully to success in language learning. A teacher is an irreplaceable element in language instruction and the centrality of his/her role in the learning process remains unchallenged. However, a teacher's view or for that matter, a teacher's attitude is not often considered a worthwhile subject of discussion. Discussion on teaching methodologies and course materials often bypass these issues. They are either considered as being too delicate, sensitive or even divisive. Yet there is undoubtedly a fairly coherent set of attitudes on the part of the teacher, which can constitute a kind of social and psychological impact on his/her students. A teacher's attitude, perception and expectation of his/her students can affect their performance immensely and can partly explain or help to determine the cause of a student's success or failure in language learning.

The process of acquiring a language involves various conditions. However, the acquisition of the L1 and L2/L3 involved different situations. The common condition for acquisition of both the L1 and L2/L3 is the learner's attitude and perception towards the language. It is the status of the mother tongue that determines the attitude and perception of the speakers and in turn the attitude and perception also determine the status of the particular language. In the case of mother tongue, tribal and minority languages suffer from negative attitude and perception about the language as absence of its representative scripts, poor scientific and technological terminologies and vocabularies and future opportunity and scope for providing job in the particular language. All these conditions and opportunities determine the attitude and perception of speakers, schools, and educational stake holders which in turn determine the status of the language.

Though the linguistic right groups advocate for equality of all the language, we still find a hierarchy of language in Indian Constitution as well as people's attitude, perception and treatment towards different languages. For example, all the languages in India are divided into different categories. First, we have seen the division of languages as 'Schedule Language' and 'Non-Schedule Language' according to Indian Constitution; second we also found it as 'Language' and 'Dialect' as per Census of India; and finally we have 'National Language' and 'Regional Language' according to official status. Such hierarchization of languages on the basis of its importance and significance has prioritized different languages unequally and emphasis is also given according to this hierarchy.

The following Table: 1, 1(A), 1 (B) & 1 (C) highlight the status and its associated perceptions and attitudes toward mother tongue and its place in formal education in Manipur.

## The Data

With the intention of studying the attitude and perception of the various stake holders towards mother tongue education data was collected from 11 tribal communities of Manipur residing in Churachandpur district, Imphal west, Imphal east, Senapati district and Ukhrul districts of Manipur. The Data has been collected both from the primary sources and the secondary sources. Primary data are drawn from questionnaire administration, focus group discussions and in-depth (individual) interviews with (i) community members (ii) parents (iii) teachers (iv) students) and (v) state educational functionaries. Questionnaires constructed by using Likert's scale were administered to the four groups of people:

- Parents (48 statements)
- Community members (48 statements)
- Students (50 statements) and
- Teachers (51 statements)

In addition to the questionnaires, focus group discussion and in-depth (individual) interviews were conducted with the Educational stake holders like literature society members and state educational functionaries. The total sample size was 326 parents, 362 students, 103 teachers and 236 community members. The statement based answers were grouped into 4 issues as:

- Status of Mother tongues
- Support and promotion of Mother tongue
- Extent of use of Mother tongue (for students).

## Results and Findings

**1. Status of Mother Tongue:** Majority of the parents, Community members and teachers agree that all the languages are equal 51.2%, 44.4%, 50.8% respectively for Parents, Community members and Teachers, while majority of the students agree with the stand (38.6%), many are undecided about the status (24.5%). The possible reason may be students are not given a proper chance to study the mother tongues and they do not see much respect being given to the mother tongues. Each category of respondents feels that bringing a proper mother tongue education will help in enhancing the status of the smaller communities. The data speaks that people are unable to exploit the provision of mother tongue education provided by the state, 62% and 33.4% of the parents and community members are not sure of the opportunity and provision of learning mother tongue in the schools. Given a chance most of the stakeholders would like their children to complete primary education in the mother tongue (61.9%, 49.9%, 47.8%, and 56.6 % of the parents, community members, teachers and students respectively), however completion of higher education in the mother tongue medium is not desired by the parents and community members(46% and 43.9%), however 71.9% of the teachers opined that higher education can also be done in mother tongues, while as many as 59.9% of the students do not opt mother tongue as a

feasible option for completion of higher education. The probable reason for this is the fast changing world, the globalised economy and the need for expansion of boundaries beyond community. (Ref. Appendix: TABLE -I).

**2. Support required for Mother Tongue Education:** All the stakeholders agree to the statement that mother tongues need to be promoted and supported in the community level 97.1% & 84.6%; 96.6% & 95.7%, 72.8% & 87.1% and 91.6% & 81.8% respectively for the Parents, Community members, Teachers and Students. At the same time, they all think that some support with regard to the promotion of mother tongue is required and expected both from the central and state government. It is revealed from the data that 28% of the teachers and students, 33.1% of the parents 30.3% of the community members are not aware of the policies on mother tongue education. This implies the need for spreading awareness in this regard. Nearly 90% by all the groups opined that one of the most important aspects which need serious attention in the present day is the development of appropriate technology and teaching learning material for the promotion of MTE.

(Ref. Appendix: TABLE -II)

**3. Extent of Use of Mother Tongue:** The survivability and sustainability question of smaller tribal languages is determined mainly by the extent of use of the language by its speakers in different domains. This also will show the path for further advancement of the language. A language shrinks when its functional load is diminished, and people do not feel any worth of the language and it remained in the status of one of the many traditions followed by the group of people. It is revealed from the data that mother tongues are still visible in the private and public domains the students/youths use their mother tongues to their grandparents, parents and to their siblings (97.2%, 97.7% and 89.9% respectively). There is no constraining in using mother tongues in public domain with the mentioned groups of people. It is only in the school and related domains. They rarely use their mother tongue with the teacher and friends (11.6% and 32.5% respectively). However, their use of mother tongue with the friend outside the school domain is more (60.5%). The data clearly shows that there is positive attitude of the use of mother tongue by the younger generation which is a healthy sign of sustainability. The reasons for which children do not use their mother tongue in school is probably because the school is an English medium school, or the teachers and classmates speak other languages. (Ref. Appendix: TABLE -III)

## Conclusion

Manipur has a lot of diversity of languages. All these languages do not occupy the same status perhaps because of the number of speakers, available literary traditions and also its takers in education. Despite of unequal position of all the languages in this state, the particular attitudes and perspective of various sections of the people like youths, parents, community, teachers and government are also a vital force, which determines the status and development of the particular language in various spheres. Though all the stakeholders in general agree on the equal status of

languages, a few people disagree on this perhaps their view is influenced by the existing hierarchy of languages prevailing in India in general and Manipur in particular. It is also observed that mother tongue has more important role for primary education than higher education in the state. It shows the importance of mother tongue for completion of primary education as it reduces the dropout level and increases children’s confidence. In higher classes (secondary onwards) studying MT is not considered important except by the teachers. There is a correlation between the promotion of the mother tongue and the preservation and promotion of identity and culture.

The survival and development of any language depends upon its support from various sections of the society - the community including government and various stake holders. It is evident that, there is the need for proper policy for encouraging mother tongue education along with other L2 and L3 teaching. The understanding that any and form of language teaching-learning should serve as a resource for lifelong learning in the languages studied. The unclear linguistic policy at state and national level coupled with the socio-political and economic constrains of the community affect strongly the successful implementation of mother tongue education in the state. Today the use of mother tongue at various places and context has a complex scenario. It is not uniform always in every sphere. Mother tongue therefore has its own context of usage and importance.

It is also observed that mother tongue is frequently used in the domestic sphere and to the kinsman. Attitude of the people towards the status of mother tongues are not so much negative. It is because of their strong ethnic identity consciousness. In fact, languages play an important role for maintaining group identity and its ethnic boundary. Taking into consideration of all the benefits of mother tongue education as is evident by the researches all around and the present study shows that we need to convince people for bringing a positive attitude and perspective towards the mother tongue education.



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## The data

**TABLE –I: Status of the Mother tongue**

No.	Status of MT	Degree of Perception and Opinion toward status of MT (Frequency in %)																			
		SDA				DA				UND				A				SA			
		Pa	C m	Te a	Stu	Pa	C m	Te a	Stu	Pa	C m	Te a	Stu	Pa	C m	Te a	Stu	Pa	C m	Te a	Stu
1.	Equality of All Language	3.3	0	2.5	1.1	6.7	16.1	8.4	12.7	15.9	11.4	27.1	24.5	51.2	44.4	50.8	38.6	22.6	24.1	11.0	22.9
2.	MT and Equal Status of All	2.4	0.4	1.6	0.0	4.6	11.0	5.0	9.9	16.5	14.8	25.4	15.4	50.3	52.5	56.0	45.3	26.0	21.1	11.0	23.7
3.	School does not provide Equal opportunity for MT	7.3	8.4	7.6	7.7	33.4	34.7	16.1	37.2	10.4	23.3	14.4	12.1	31.9	21.6	43.2	30.9	16.9	11.8	18.6	25.1
4.	No option to study MT in School	7.0	11.8	5.0	6.7	50.0	49.5	3.3	35.6	27.0	19.0	5.0	12.3	11.9	17.3	68.6	30.6	0.9	2.1	17.7	35.6
5.	MT has no opportunity to complete primary Education	6.7	14.4	8.4	9.1	37.4	39.0	18.6	39.1	30.6	25.4	17.7	17.1	18.4	13.9	42.3	22.9	6.7	7.2	12.7	33.3
6.	MT facilitate the Completion of Primary Education	6.1	0.8	9.3	2.4	3.6	17.0	22.8	7.4	28.2	32.2	20.3	53.8	39.2	40.2	37.2	23.7	22.7	9.7	10.6	22.9
7.	MT and Completion of Primary/Secondary Education	6.1	1.6	0.0	0.0	3.6	6.7	9.3	6.0	28.2	37.2	30.5	52.4	39.2	41.5	45.7	25.1	22.7	12.7	14.4	23.7
8.	MT and Completion of Higher Education	4.6	5.0	2.5	3.5	25.7	11.0	5.0	24.8	27.3	10.5	21.1	28.1	23.9	45.7	50.8	35.6	18.4	27.5	20.3	25.1

SDA- Strongly Disagree, DA –Disagree, UND-Undecided, A – Agree, SA – Strongly Agree

Source: Questionnaire Survey of Fieldwork

**TABLE –II: Support required for promotion of Mother Tongue Education**

No.	Support & promotion of MTE	Support & promotion of MTE (Frequency in %)																			
		SDA				DA				UND				A				SA			
		Pa	C m	Te a	Stu	Pa	C m	Te a	Stu	Pa	C m	Te a	Stu	Pa	C m	Te a	Stu	Pa	C m	Te a	Stu
1.	Promote MT at Community Level	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.9	0.8	16.1	3.0	0.9	2.5	11.0	4.6	64.7	64.4	47.4	51.6	33.4	32.2	25.4	40.6
2.	Community Support MTE	13.5	0.4	0.0	0.9	0.3	0.4	3.3	1.3	1.5	3.3	8.4	16.4	54.9	60.6	59.3	59.1	29.7	35.1	28.8	22.7
3.	Promote MT at State Level	0.6	0.0	0.8	1.1	0.3	0.8	8.4	2.2	3.6	2.5	10.1	11.3	62.2	64.4	58.4	63.9	33.1	32.2	22.0	22.5
4.	State Govt. Support MTE	5.8	1.2	0.0	12.0	3.6	4.6	9.3	14.1	15.0	18.6	16.1	11.2	45.7	58.4	49.1	54.1	29.4	17.0	25.4	8.6
5.	Better facilities by State Govt.	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.3	0.8	0.0	1.1	2.4	2.9	5.9	1.9	51.2	55.0	64.4	47.1	45.7	41.1	29.6	49.1
6.	Promote MT at National Level	9.2	0.0	1.6	18.2	12.9	2.1	5.0	12.1	14.7	4.2	25.4	40.3	46.3	61.4	47.4	19.0	16.5	32.2	20.3	10.4
7.	Central Govt. Support MTE	8.2	3.0	0.3	28.4	3.9	5.9	8.4	12.9	18.0	30.9	24.5	27.1	42.6	43.6	41.5	18.2	26.6	16.5	24.5	13.4
8.	Better facilities by Central Govt.	0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0	1.6	0.0	1.3	0	3.8	10.1	2.4	53.3	53.8	55.0	46.1	46.6	40.6	34.7	49.7
9.	Appropriate TLM for MTE	0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0	0.8	0.0	1.3	0.6	1.6	4.2	3.5	52.7	56.7	58.4	46.6	46.6	40.6	37.2	48.0
10	Appropriate Technology for MTE	0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0	0.4	0.8	12.9	0.6	0.8	8.4	6.9	53.0	50.0	56.7	64.4	46.3	49.6	33.8	44.4
11	Present MT policy of State and benefit of All the children	11.0	14.0	5.0	12.1	16.5	23.7	18.6	33.1	30.3	39.4	28.0	34.5	27.3	17.0	36.4	16.5	14.7	5.9	11.8	3.5
12	Present MT policy of Central Govt. and benefit of All the children	16.8	14.4	9.3	10.4	17.4	28.0	11.0	30.6	37.1	35.1	22.0	43.6	25.1	16.1	47.4	12.4	3.3	6.3	10.1	2.7
13	Language teacher and support of MTE at School Level	9.5	0.0	0.0	11.1	1.8	3.3	3.3	0.7	9.5	11.0	8.4	9.6	50.6	65.2	59.3	52.1	28.5	20.3	28.8	26.5
14	Language teacher and support of MTE at Higher Education	10.4	0.8	0.0	13.1	2.7	3.8	4.2	11.7	9.5	9.7	5.0	10.6	49.3	65.6	59.3	44.1	28.5	20.0	31.3	21.0
15	Language teacher and non-support of MTE at Higher	21.7	11.4	0.0	22.2	35.5	30.0	6.7	33.1	34.6	45.0	4.2	17.9	3.3	13.5	55.0	11.2	4.6	0.4	33.8	15.6

	Education																				
16	Socio-Political and Economic Constrain of MTE implementation Socio-Political and Economic Constrain of MTE implementation	4.2	0.4	0.8	2.1	3.3	5.0	2.5	23.7	9.5	6.7	16.1	14.5	49.3	66.5	57.6	42.3	33.4	21.1	22.8	18.6

SDA- Strongly Disagree, DA –Disagree, UND-Undecided, A – Agree, SA – Strongly Agree (Source: Questionnaire Survey of Fieldwork )

### TABLE –III

**Table 4: Extent of use of Mother Tongue as perceived by students**

Sl. No	Community and Stake Holders	Degree of Perception and Opinion toward MT usage (frequency in %)				
		SDA	DA	UND	A	SA
1.	Use MT with the grand-parents	0.0	1.3	1.3	37.8	59.3
2.	Use MT with the parents	0.0	1.9	0.5	45.3	52.2
3.	Use MT with the siblings	0.0	8.0	3.0	39.5	49.4
4.	Use MT to Talk to parents in Public Places	0.0	2.4	1.1	42.2	54.1
5.	Use MT to talk to the Siblings at the Public Places	3.3	4.4	1.6	41.4	49.1
6.	Use MT to talk to the teachers in the School	26.7	52.4	9.1	11.0	0.5
7.	Use MT to talk to the teachers in Public Places	19.0	29.0	13.5	30.3	8.2
8.	Use MT to talk to friends in the School	17.6	38.6	10.7	29.5	3.0
9.	Use MT to talk to friends outside the School	4.4	24.3	9.6	42.8	18.7

**Displacement and Rootlessness in *A House For Mr. Biswas* by  
V. S. Naipaul**

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**Abstract**

Displacement and Rootlessness are related terms as displacement gives birth to rootlessness. Mohan Biswas in *A House For Mr. Biswas* is displaced again and again exclusively as well as inclusively. He has inherited displacement by taking birth to the parents who are indentured laborers. There are a large number of characters in the novel who have been separated from their roots and pass through the experience of displacement. The people who migrate to other countries for any reason feel the nostalgia for their homeland left behind and a feeling of fear on the strange land that gives birth to the feeling of homelessness. V. S. Naipaul understands how insignificant an individual is when he is without roots. In his *A House For Mr. Biswas*, one man attempts to overcome the wasteland of Trinidad's East Indian community.

**Keywords:** V. S. Naipaul, *A House For Mr. Biswas*, Displacement, Rootlessness, Homelessness, Nostalgia

Displacement and Rootlessness are related terms as both the terms are experienced by the Diaspora. Displacement gives birth to the feeling of rootlessness. The term displacement is a state of being out of one's own place. In this situation someone or something is displaced from his / her original place and put into the new place. In the situation of displacement one feels as if he or she has been cut from his / her roots. These are the common experiences faced by the immigrants as said by Mcleod, "they can be deemed not to belong there and disqualified from thinking of the new land as their home" (212). The displaced subject feels devoid of his roots as he has lost his / her original language, culture, beliefs, traditions and religion. This is because today movement from one place to another and even from one country to another has become so common due to the advanced communication and transport means. The reason behind it may be job, trade and further studies. Earlier, it was due to slavery, imprisonment, invasion and exile. The sense of place has essential significance in the understanding

of human identity. The emotional, cultural and psychological identity of these immigrants is deeply related with difference, distance and dislocation. Displacement is described by Homi K. Bhabha as “A disorienting condition: the borders between home and world become confused and uncanny, the private and public become part of each other forcing upon us a vision that is as diving as it is disorienting (41).

Displacement is the sense of being in between of two or more cultures. A homeless person does not have the feeling of belonging since he / she is in a psychological limbo which generally ends in some psychological disorders and cultural displacement. Alienation is also related with displacement. It is defined “as a feeling of separation or isolation which results problems stemmed from rapid social changes such as industrialization and urbanization which has broken down traditional relationships among individuals and groups and the goods and services they produce alienation”. (The American Heritage New Dictionary of Cultural Literacy)

The word Diaspora first entered English in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to describe the scattering of Jews after their captivity in Babylonia in the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E. The term originates from the Greek Diaspora meaning a dispersion or scattering found in Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible such as the expulsion of Jews from Judea and the fleeing of Greeks after the fall of Constantinople. Recently, different kinds of Diaspora have been discussed based on its causes such as imperialism, trade or labor migrations, or by the kind of social coherence within the Diaspora community and its ties to the ancestral lands.

Diaspora literature is a very vast concept and includes all the literary works written by the authors outside their native country but remain related to their homeland through their works. Diaspora literature always conveys the sense of loss and alienation which is the result of migration and expatriation. It has alienation, displacement, existential rootlessness, nostalgia, quest of identity as its themes. In the words of Uma Parameswaran: “First is one of nostalgia for the homeland left behind mingled with fear in a strange-land. The second is a phase in which one is busy adjusting to the new environment that there is little creative output. The third phase is the shaping of Diaspora existence by evolving themselves ethno cultural issues. The fourth is when they have ‘arrived’ and start participating in the larger world of politics and national issues”. (165)

People who have flown and tried to settle over the distant territories of the world for various reasons have always found themselves in dual conditions in the process of settling down. They don't get away from the settled assurance of home and they cannot allow their roots being blown over into garments of uncertainty & insecurities on foreign land. Robin Cohen gives several different types of Diaspora as victim Diaspora, e.g. Jews, Africans, Armenians, Labor Diaspora e.g. indentured Indians, Imperial Diaspora e.g. British, Trade Diaspora e.g. Lebanese, Chinese and Deterritorialized Diaspora e.g. Caribbean people, Sindhis, Parsis. Whatever type of Diaspora, mostly the migrants suffer from the pain of being far off from their homes and the memories of their motherland prick the minds of migrants.

Writers of the Indian Diaspora have been at the center stage in the last decade chiefly because of the theoretical formulations being generated by their works. Migration takes place due to various reasons and in the Indian context the migratory movements were governed by historical, political, economic reasons including higher education, better prospects and marriage. The Diasporic Indian writing covers every continent and part of the world. The feeling for the motherland is the most overwhelming sentiment of the Indian Diaspora, wherever it exists. When travelling was difficult and unusual, the yearning of homeland was more intense. Their nostalgia, together with a curious attachment with their native country's traditions, religions and languages gave birth to Diaspora literature.

V.S. Naipaul (1932, Trinidad), a postcolonial novelist with a Diasporic contemplation, analyses various problems of the colonial as well as Diasporic people. In the 1880, his grandparents migrated from India to work as farm laborers in the Indian immigrant community in Trinidad. In 1939, when he was seven years old, Naipaul's family moved to Trinidad's capital, Port of Spain. Ironically, Naipaul was destined to seek escape from that very country where his ancestors sought refuge, because he found the cultural bankruptcy too overwhelming in Trinidad. Naipaul tried to find roots elsewhere. In fact it is Naipaul's sense of rootlessness which leads him through numerous countries, the result of which has been the books on travel. Obviously, there is restlessness in Naipaul's soul. His search for roots has resulted in an unbroken string of literary triumph. Today, he is recognized as one of the few original voices of our time. He is the best known of the West Indian novelists, Naipaul's fourth novel, *A House For Mr. Biswas* established him as the other of a major twentieth century novel.

Naipaul's *A House For Mr. Biswas* depicts the migration of Indian people as indentured laborers in the Caribbean island. These people were not happy into Caribbean island as they had been displaced from their origin culturally physically & psychologically. The novel presents Mr. Biswas's lifelong pain for being displaced and rootless in the Caribbean island away from his ancestral land, India. Homi Bhabha describes it as "separation from origins and essences" with always a sense of "unhomeliness (Bhabha, 1994, 120).

Mohan Biswas is displaced again and again exclusively as well as inclusively. He has inherited displacement from his native country as his parents bear the stamp of indentured. The displacement is described by Nandan "Out of placements" (85). He has to run from post to pillar to find his identity and find a place of his own on the earth. As Leela beautifully describes the condition of Mohan Biswas, "In search of his own identity, Mohan Biswas shifts from village to town and from joint family to nuclear family but fails to find his own roots amidst socio-cultural change" (36). After this he goes to Port of Spain and lives with his family as a tenant of Mrs. Tulsi. He builds a house in Tulsi Estate in Short hills. But he again feels displaced as the house gets destroyed in a fire. Again he shifts into Mrs. Tulsi's house in Port of Spain. Here again he has to vacate the rooms he was living in to the other room as Owad has to live in those rooms.

The central figure in *A House For Mr. Biswas* is *Mohan Biswas*, a man aware of the void of his own future and the obscurity of his origin, desperately attempting to make a place for himself in

the world. The search of the protagonist in the novel for a home is a symbol of Naipaul's own search for roots. The novel begins at the end when Biswas has got his dream house. It is a rundown shack but that hardly matters. The important thing is that Biswas has found a place under the sun. Naipaul observes: "... How terrible it would have been at this time to be without it..." to have lived without even attempting to lay claim to one's position of the earth, to have lived and died as one had been born, unnecessary and unaccommodated."<sup>(A H F M B 13)</sup>

Naipaul too has attempted to lay claim to his position on earth. For Biswas, it does not really matter that "...The staircase was dangerous; the upper floor sagged, there was no backdoor; most of the windows didn't close..."<sup>(12)</sup> Finally, after years of struggle, Biswas has been able to realize his dream. Both Biswas and Naipaul are haunted by the same sense of rootlessness. *A House For Mr. Biswas* is the story of a community which is struggling to make a dent in an alien society, a society which will not make an alien society, a society which will not make an effort to accommodate them. Biswas and his kind struggle on their own.

As in all large Indian families, Biswas and his brothers and sisters are neglected. This kind of negative attention that Biswas gets foreshadows the neglect Biswas will face for the rest of his life because Biswas's brothers were not brought up properly. In spite of being Trinidadian by birth, the Trinidad Indian continues to borrow traits of living from the land of origin. For Biswas, there is no proper childhood. He is made to join the "glass gang". From there, he moves to the cane fields. Success among the Trinidad Indians means owing one's own house. It is just as important for them as it is for Indians in India. Biswas's elder brother, Pratap achieves the status long before Biswas himself. On Biswas's father's funeral, the photographer arranged the family members melodramatically around the coffin that shows the lack of genuine emotion. The coffin too, is "arranged" for the photographs. After the funeral, Biswas's mother is told to stop crying for the time for that is over. More down-to-earth matters, like money and the future, are now tackled. Only, there is no future for Biswas. He is trapped between two worlds, not even knowing what "belonging" is. Both culturally and emotionally, Biswas and his community are bankrupt.

After his father's death, Biswas loses the only home he has ever known, and is a wanderer for the next thirty five years of his life. He is pushed around by circumstances for the rest of his life. Industrialization conquers Biswas when the land on which his home once stood is turned into an oil-field. Rapid development has uprooted an individual from his home, just as Naipaul's forefathers were wrenched away from their home in order to fulfill the demand for labor on the West Indian plantations. A single man's aspirations are meaningless in front of such opposition. There are those Indians in the novel who try to give up the Indian way of life, but they fail to do so.

For instance, Lal is a converted Christian and holds all Hindus in contempt. He is as rootless as those who cling on to their Indianness. Biswas's mother is desperately poor, and helplessly dependent on one of her relatives for support. Young Biswas suffers one humiliation after another. Lal uses the rod on Biswas frequently, with obvious relish. The disintegration of Biswas's family life symbolizes the disruption of the family life of a Trinidad Indian. The only time Biswas is given

attention is during religious ceremonies and that too, because he is a Brahmin. Otherwise he is only a laborer's child.

Throughout the second chapter, the idea of homelessness is very clear. Biswas wanders from one house to another, searching for a sense of belonging. His stay with a relative Jairam comes to a humiliating halt when he is thrown out for stealing bananas. He goes to his mother who offers no welcome. Now, Biswas has to work in a rum shop where his position is not better than that of his grandfather who was an indentured laborer. Sometimes, he went to the back terrace to see his mother but there he felt unhappy and helpless. The job at the rum shop also ends on a note of disgrace. His mother can only remind Biswas of the pundit's words that he is an unlucky son. Biswas sets off to find another job. He tries to identify himself with a tailor and then with a barber. His search to identify himself with any of the professions is representative of the wider search for roots.

Biswas's wooing of Shama has the farcical, fairytale quality of a Hindi film with Shama's mother, Mrs. Tulsi playing the villain. It is the beginning of a long and highly unsatisfying relationship for Biswas. He is trapped into marrying Shama. After being bullied into marrying Shama, Biswas spends his time regretting the decision. After marriage his mind immediately thinks of escape. He argues with himself that if he avoids physical relationship with his wife, the final commitment can be avoided. But escape from the "Tulsi organization" is impossible. Biswas is trapped. He was expected to become a Tulsi, a nameless face with no identity of his own. Nothing except death can release him now. But he does not conform entirely to their rules, and confines himself to the narrow enclosure which serves as his "home". In his heart, Biswas knows the futility of putting up a fight against the Tulsis. He is haunted by a sense of insecurity which will be with him until the end; "suppose, Mr. Biswas thought in the long room, suppose that at one word, I could just disappear from this room, what would remain to speak of me? A few clothes, a few books. The shouts and triumphs in the hall would continue, the "Puja" would be done; in the morning, The Tulsi store would open its doors"<sup>(134)</sup>. Biswas unconsciously raises metaphysical questions on man's place on this earth. Biswas realizes how insignificant any one individual is in relation to the universe, and how doubly insignificant any man was when he is without roots, and must depend on other human beings for survival. By his defiance of the Tulsi family, Biswas is harming no one but himself. The fact, which he cannot ignore is his homelessness.

Not only Mohan Biswas, there are other characters in the novel who have been separated from their roots and they experience the "sense of displacement" (Leela 36). Such characters are Seth, Mrs. Tulsi, Govind, W.C. Tuttle, widows of Hanuman House, Raghu, Bipti, Tara, etc. All these characters are uprooted as they are away from their own original homeland, India.

In the novel, there are characters who refuse to accept their derelict status. There is W.C. Tuttle who feels he has managed the right balance between the East and the West. Here is a description of the arrangement of photographs in Tuttle's house. "In one photograph, W.C. Tuttle, naked except for a dhoti, sacred thread and caste marks, head shorn except for the top knot, sat cross legged. Next to this, W.C. Tuttle stood in jacket, trousers, collar, tie, hat..."<sup>1</sup> It was W.C. Tuttle's way of blending east and west. The description of W.C. Tuttle's attempt to balance the two cultures shows how far removed



the Trinidad Indian is from his roots. Naipaul would have recognized Tuttle as a typical “mimic man” which Biswas is fighting against being. But Biswas is nothing really. In a fit of rage his son tells him that when he grows up, he does not wish to be like his father.

Even the vacation, for Biswas and his family was like Cinderella’s dream-come-true. What most people take to be only a natural fact of life-a home- is a fantasy for the rootless. After waiting all his life for a better life, Biswas now waits for death. “A lethargy fell over him. His face grew puffy. His complexion grew dark, not the darkness of a naturally dark skin, not the darkness of sunburn; this was a darkness that seemed to come from within...” (621)

V.S Naipaul deals with the colonial society in the West Indies, which is built on slavery and indentured labor, with no political or cultural identity. The Negroes and the Indians were carried to the sugarcane plantation, and left to decay, without a homeland or an identity, in an alien environment. *A House For Mr. Biswas* is undoubtedly Naipaul’s finest achievement. In it one man attempts to overcome the wasteland of Trinidad’s East Indian Community. The West Indian society demanded a race of people whose main ability is to survive, and it is appropriate that Naipaul’s own community should have been selected by fate to keep populate the region. The East Indian Community survives by acceptance but Biswas refuses to accept. He is determined to escape but his bid to escape apparently fails. But there is a way in which he has triumphed. In spite of his death in debt and the last days clouded in worry, Biswas’s attainment of a house is an assertion of his will to be different. He controls the environment rather than be mastered by it. We can conclude that Biswas’s life ends on an ambiguous note. Triumph is there, but a tragic triumph

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**Intricate Human Relationships in Mahesh Dattani's Plays:  
A Study of *Dance like a Man* and *Final Solutions***

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“One of India's best and most serious contemporary playwrights” (Viets) writing in English, Mahesh Dattani is known for exploring invisible issues of modern Indian middle-class society. Intricate web of human relationships in a middle-class Indian family appears to interest him, as he is always keen to underline the latent issues of social and familial life of his characters. He is the first Indian playwright to be awarded the prestigious Sahitya Akademi award for his contribution to theatre. He has penned famous plays such as *Where There's a Will*, *Dance like a Man*, *Final Solutions*, *Tara*, *Do the Needful* and *Bravely fought the Queen*. He is a keen observer of life around him and he handles the situations and character very carefully so that the audience can carry a message for good while departing from the theatre.

The present paper proposes to study human relationships in two of Dattani's plays named *Dance like a Man* and *Final Solutions*. In these plays, communal and familial relationships appear complex and invite exploration. For his dramatic purpose, Dattani needs a family at a crucial juncture as a peaceful ambience in a family unit is hardly of any use for him. Dominant and manipulating father, smart and scheming young wife, and defiant son are some of the recurrent characters in his plays. Painful twists and turns in family relationships that pass as something normal in the world around us form the core of Dattani's dramatic world. Though Dattani deals with dysfunctional relationships, yet to show the abnormality of liaisons is not his purpose. He admits: “the function of drama, in my opinion, is not merely to reflect the malfunction of society, but to act like freak mirrors in a carnival and to project grotesque images of all that passes for normal in our world. It is ugly, but funny” (quoted in Roy, n. p.). Thus, by bringing uneasy relationships in the open, he appears to put question of which answers can be found out.

Dattani makes use of some recurrent motifs; and family as a battlefield is one of such motifs. All family life is complicated; family values are a sham made up of compromises, and middle-class morality is only a facade in his dramatic world. In *Dance like a Man* (1989) Dattani uses the family home as the setting. The home, its tangible, physical presence becomes crucial to the very existence of three generations of its occupants, often dictating its own terms to their habitation. Characters in the play have been put in complex situations, and they search for their identities within the

oppressive system of custom, tradition and gender. Dattani's depiction of the relationship of Jairaj and Ratna, the two young Bharatnatyam dancers, as husband and wife in this play is interesting as well as realistic.

Jairaj and Ratna live within the domain of the patriarch Amritlal Parekh, Jairaj's father, who claims to be a freedom fighter and a reformist. The father's aversion to a great many things that concern activities of his son and daughter-in-law draws the boundary lines for their behaviour within the sphere of his authority. Dance for him is the "craft of prostitute to show off her wares" (CP 406), thus improper for his daughter-in-law and absolutely unimaginable for his son. He cannot tolerate the sounds of dancing bells, which ring through the practice sessions of his son and daughter-in-law. He is aghast at the long-haired guru with an effeminate walk and cannot, most of all, stomach the idea of his son, a man, becoming a professional dancer. To him "A woman in a man's world may be considered as being progressive. But a man in a woman's world is pathetic" (CP 427). Moreover, just like Hasmukh Mehta of the earlier play *Where There's a Will*, the so-called reformist Amritlal Parekh is domineering, and does not allow his son to believe that he has rights over his father's property: "don't think you have a right to all my wealth. I have far better things to do with it than hand it over to you" (CP 425), he makes it clear to Jairaj.

Too much of stringency on the part of the father leads to revolt, and Jairaj and Ratna leave his house in defiance and go to live in her uncle's house. But the uncle proves worse than the father as he makes an attempt to molest Ratna. Therefore, out of utter helplessness Jairaj and Ratna come back to Amritlal Parekh's house within two days. Now exploiting their helplessness, Jairaj's father makes them agree to all sorts of restrictions he puts on them. He tells his son not to grow his hair any longer and his daughter-in-law not to learn the art of dance from anyone else. He further informs Ratna that man's happiness lies "in being a man," (CP 425) and succeeds in convincing her that Jairaj is merely a drag on her. Manipulating the circumstances to his purpose Amritlal Parekh makes a secret pact with Ratna that she would be allowed to dance if she helps him in making Jairaj "an adult" (CP 427) who could be worthy of a woman. Ratna barter her freedom at the cost of her beloved husband's happiness. Jairaj's bliss of ignorance does not last long as he smells a rat and his knowledge of the pact that Ratna has made with his father creates disharmony between him and his wife that ends in extreme bitterness.

Surrounded by all sorts of adversities, the two dancers expose their irreconcilable nature. Neither their guardian Mr. Parekh supports them in the cultivation of the art of dance, nor do they encourage each other in the dance of life. Blames and counter blames bounce and re-bounce and poison the relationships. Ratna accuses Jairaj that her career is finished because he has always been "a spineless boy" who couldn't leave his father's house for more than forty-eight hours. Jairaj holds Ratna responsible for his ruin. He accuses Ratna of making a pact with his father, and thus depriving him of dance, his long-cherished ambition. He, who has now taken to drinking, exposes the sore heart to her as he tells her that she has taken away his self-esteem:

JAIRAJ. Bit by bit. You took it when you insisted on top billing in all our programmes. You took it when you made me dance my weakest items. You took it when you arranged the lighting so that I was literally dancing in your shadow. And when you called me names in front of other people. Names I feel ashamed to repeat even by private. And you call me disgusting. (CP 443)

Ratna counter attacks and scolds Jairaj for his drunkenness. She holds his drunkenness, his mediocre skills as a dancer, and his father's aversion to the art of dance responsible for his downfall. But Jairaj further alleges Ratna that she is not only responsible for his failure as a dancer but for destroying his family also. She has always been after name and fame and has never discharged her duty as a mother and a wife. In order to prove herself to be dancer, she has used him as a tool, as a stage prop, as a choreographer to her dance items, and has never considered him a co-dancer, he accuses. Furthermore, she has crushed his desire to make his son Shankar a dancer of whose death she is guilty. She as well as the *ayah*, in an attempt to keep the child away from weeping for his mother, administered an overdose of opium, which killed the child. This incident widens the chasm between the two, which never is bridged. The albatross of her son's death hangs in Ratna's neck for the rest of her life, and whenever she forgets, Jairaj reminds her of it. Again, Jairaj is not satisfied with the way Ratna thrusts dance as a career upon their daughter Lata. Later, when Lata becomes a success in the field of dance and her mother wants to paste Lata's photographs in her own album, Jairaj accuses Ratna of being jealous of her own daughter. Thus, Jairaj and Ratna quarrel on petty issues even.

Indeed, the very foundation of Ratna-Jairaj relationship has been shaky as the two do not trust each other. The only thing that the two share is dance. Jairaj believes that Ratna dances because she wants to show her physical beauty; Ratna doubts his faithfulness to her, and she watches in whose room he has "sneaked into" at 3 a.m. in the hotel at Moscow (CP 399). In fact, the disagreement and distrust between Jairaj and Ratna gets exposed in their very first meeting with the audience in Act I. The distrust continues till the end of the play and one partner never proposes to the other, as the lovers in Arnold's poem "Dover Beach" do: "Ah, love, let us be true/To one another!" (Arnold 484)

The ghosts of the past, and the dark secrets of human consciousness that torment the present, come to visit *Dance like a Man*, like they do in other plays such as *Where There is a Will*, *Final Solutions*, *Tara* and *Bravely Fought the Queen*. The ghost of past never lets peace prevail in the household of Jairaj and Ratna. The past incidents such as the behaviour of Ratna's uncle, when he attempted to molest her, and the death of their son Shankar prove too much for them for the rest of their life. These two incidents shatter their mutual trust. Jairaj never forgives Ratna for the secret pact that she made with his father. Ratna's impulsive nature, her habit of taking credit for every success and blaming Jairaj for every failure, her non-seriousness in bringing up Shankar, and the sense of importance that she attaches to her own career, combined with Jairaj's jealousy and escape in the bottle of wine, mixed with his father's dominance destroy their mutual relationships. Towards the end of the play Jairaj admits:

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“We were only human. We lacked the grace. We lacked the brilliance. We lacked the magic to dance like God.” (CP 447)

A critic B. Yadava Raju rightly observes that “The unison and ‘*jathi*’ that are required in any successful dance item, are lacking in their day-to-day life” (76). In this play, Dattani seems to suggest that one should be allowed to have freedom of choosing one’s occupation. Hobbies and interests of individuals should not be trampled under the prejudices of orthodoxy.

The streak of dysfunctional family continues in Dattani’s third play *Final Solutions* (1992). The play is “outwardly focused on Hindu Muslim incompatibility but inwardly full of mutual disagreements amongst the family members” (Das 168). Using family as a microcosm of Indian society, Dattani not only traces the Hindu-Muslim conflict but also probes into the conflicts within the family through three generations of a Hindu Gandhi family around which the play revolves. Three generations of the family repeatedly witness fragile relationships - Hardika, the grandmother is treated very badly in her husband’s house by the varied members of the family, her son Ramnik Gandhi does not share smooth relations with his wife and daughter, and her granddaughter Smita feels stifled in the family owing to the narrow minded approach of the elders in the house. The pulls and counter-pulls of the family are exposed when two Muslim boys, Babban and Javed, seek shelter in their house on being chased by a baying Hindu mob.

In this play, the incidents of present are enacted on the stage while the past is recollected through memories, sequences and diaries. The past appears to have an indelible impression on the present. “The entire action of the play is seen through” (CP 165) the eyes of Daksha (another name of Hardika). She moves in past and present and lets us see the tangles in communal as well as familial relationships. When a young girl of fourteen, she is Daksha who represents past, while after forty years she becomes an old woman, Hardika, who stands for present times. She records in her diary that her mother-in-law Gaju was an exceptionally traditional woman and her husband always felt some sort of pressure in her presence. Thus, unhealthy relations in a family are underlined:

DAKSHA. Gaju . . . one has to move with times. Gaju won’t budge. Wagh is just the opposite. Wagh is my name for my father-in-law. . . . In front of Gaju, he is like a big pussy cat. And he never bathes. He only makes himself wet with half a bucket of water. And he snores. The first night I heard him snore, I thought there was a tiger in our courtyard. (CP 175)

The next generation is the other way around. Here the husband Hari dominates his wife Daksha. Rather than being a friend and a lover, he is a “lord” and “master” (CP 175) to Daksha. He bothers least about the wishes of his wife and treats her like a caged bird. His parents, with his help, deprive her of her cherished ambition of becoming a singer like Noor Jehan. Choked with emotion, she writes in her diary:

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DAKSHA. All my dreams have been shattered . . . I can never be a singer, like Noor Jehan. Hari's family is against my singing film songs. His parents heard me humming a love song to Hari last night. And this morning they told him to tell me . . . (*Suddenly strikes her forehead.*). (CP 166)

Married at an early age of fourteen, Daksha never finds solace in her own home and experiences nothing but suppression. She recalls how her husband called her names, beat her mercilessly and confined her like "a dog that had gone mad" (CP 223) when he was told that she went to meet her Muslim friend Zarine in her house and ate some food there:

DAKSHA. (*as if to Hari*). No. What are you saying, Hari? It is not true! It is just not true! Kanta is lying. She lied to you! I did not touch their food! (*Recoils as if she has been hit.*) Ah! Don't hit me! (*Angrily*) Don't do that! I swear I didn't eat anything! Aah! Stop that! Stop it! All right. I won't go there again. Please, leave me alone. (*Crying.*) Please! Stop! (*Lies on the floor, sobbing.*). (CP 222)

This incident of violence speaks volumes about the kind of relationships Hari has with his wife Daksha. After this incident Daksha lost the kind of belongingness to her husband, which earlier she had. That is why she describes her husband as a man with "the brains of a silly goat" (CP 174). Thus, distrust and violence become the cause of brittle relationships between husband Hari and wife Daksha.

The next generation, Ramnik Gandhi, and his wife Aruna also differ in their tastes and temperaments. Ramnik is a liberal, open-minded non-ritualistic Hindu while his wife is full of communal prejudices. Ramnik is haunted by the guilt of past and wants to improve relations with Muslims while Aruna hates the Muslim community. She wants their daughter Smita to learn from her grandmother Hardika "the truth" that Muslim "people are all demons" (CP 173). Two individuals, husband and wife, with different principles, naturally come against each other. The humanist husband tries to fill the chasm that exists between Hindus and Muslims while the wife, a religious extremist, believes in spending time in "pooja-paath" and nurturing hate for other religions. She becomes irritated due to the overburden of her religious rituals and complains of uneasiness. Now her husband asks her:

RAMNIK. Nobody is asking you to pray all day.

ARUNA. Who do you think is protecting this house?

RAMNIK. Who do you think is creating all this trouble? (CP 173)

This short dialogue indicates how the attempt at separating two communities actually separates two life partners. In addition to her over religiosity, she is highly prejudiced against the Muslims. When the two Muslim youths, Javed and Babban, save themselves from the ferocious Hindu mob by hiding in the Gandhis' house, Ramnik goes all out to protect them but Aruna wants to

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throw them out to the blood-thirsty mob. It is only on Ramnik Gandhi's request that Aruna serves water to the boys but the way she does it makes her prejudices obvious:

ARUNA (*sarcastically*). Would you like some more?

JAVED. Not for me. Thank you.

*Aruna holds the glasses with her thumbs and index fingers, on the sides which have not been touched by their lips. She takes them away and keeps them separate from other glasses. (CP 185)*

This kind of attitude is another form of violence. Jasbir Jain notes: "Physical violence is not the only form of violence. This kind of distancing, humiliation and indignity does not do the inter-community relations any good . . ." (189). This kind of behaviour on Aruna's part adversely affects her relationships not with Muslims only, but within her own family also. Now, when Aruna's prejudice against the Muslims stand confirmed, her husband and daughter develop dislike for her.

The reality of relationships among the members of Gandhi family is exposed on the crucial night when Javed and Babban take refuge in their house. It is on this night that Smita gets assured that her mother, under the garb of religiosity, hates other communities. Aruna makes a lot of hue and cry when Javed offers to help Smita in filling the drinking water. She directs Smita that the water should not be touched by a Muslim: "We bathe our gods with it, Smita. It has to be pure. It must not be contaminated" (CP 209). Smita feels a deep sense of pain to see that Javed and Babban are being treated like untouchables in her home and her patience runs out. She eventually gives expression to her pent-up feelings, which are against her mother:

SMITA. Don't! Please, mummy, don't try so hard! You are breaking me. Ever since I was small, you have been at me to go to the temple, make garlands, listen to you reading from the Gita. I love you, mummy, that's why I did that. I listened to you and I obeyed you. I tolerated your prejudices only because you are my mother. Maybe I should have told you earlier, but I'm telling you now, I can't bear it! Please don't burden me anymore! I can't take it! (CP 213)

These words expose the girl's antipathy towards her mother. Until now she never spoke against her mother. The girl has indeed been living in a forced harmony. She loves her mother but hates her too much involvement in the religious rituals and her abhorrence for other communities. On the other hand, Smita dislikes her father but never speaks a word against him. That is why when it comes to choose between father and mother, obviously her choice is the mother. The girl is undoubtedly uncomfortable with her mother's behaviour, but it is not true to say that Smita hates her father or mother to the extreme. However, she and her mother make Ramnik Gandhi feel isolated but surprisingly enough Smita never says a word against her father. It seems that Smita has been suppressed in her own family. She leads a life like that of "a mouse in the family of cats" (CP 218) and even she sarcastically thanks her mother for making her "feel like a rat in a hole" (CP 210).

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Intricate Human Relationships in Mahesh Dattani's Plays: A Study of *Dance like a Man* and *Final Solutions*

Smita feels stifled and when her mother asks her, “Does being a Hindu stifle you?” she says, “No, living with one does” (CP 211). Perhaps the lack of freedom that she experiences in her family also forces her to forget her love for the Muslim boy Babban.

The Muslim families in the play are no different from the Hindu families. Javed does not live with his parents but goes to meet his sister in her hostel and is concerned about her happiness. Therefore, it can be said that love-hate relationship is there among the members of Gandhi family as well as Javed’s family. But the question arises - what prevents people from forming durable relationships? Probing into the reasons behind such tangled familial relations in this play, a stage director Alyque Padamsee says:

This is . . . about transferred resentments. About looking for a scapegoat to hit out at when we feel let down, humiliated. Taking out your anger on your wife, children, or servants is an old Indian custom. . . . Ramnik, the father, transfers his resentment at his own father’s black deed . . . Smita, the daughter, hits out at her mother, Aruna, when she can’t cope with her hidden love for Babban, the outsider. (161)

The richness of Dattani’s art comes to the fore in his suggestion of relationships through symbols in the play *Final Solutions*. The darkness of night is symbolic of bitterness and revolt, while the morning light denotes acceptance and fairness in relationships that it brings with it. The light dispels darkness that eventually paves the way for a better understanding among people. Javed admits his faults; Hardika realises her mistake, and Ramnik accepts the blunders of his parents. The darkness in which the whole action of the play takes place gets replaced by the advent of dawn towards the end of the play.

Most of the relationships, communal or familial, Dattani deals with in this play are brittle. However, there is no dearth of angels who help in improving such relationships. Smitas, and Ramniks are there to create a better bond between human beings. Throughout the play, Ramnik Gandhi appears to be bent under the weight of the guilt of injustice of burning the shop of Muslim business rivals, done by his ancestors. Nevertheless, since he loves his mother, and knows that she has been a sufferer throughout, he never reveals this secret to her so that she can live in peace. He tries to undo the wrong done in past by protecting the two boys from the mob. Again, though most of father-son relationships are fragile in Dattani yet his plays are not without examples of healthy father-son relationships. Viswas, Lata’s fiancée, in *Dance like a Man*, has a good kind of understanding with his father. The boy cares for his father and looks after his business in his absence. And Viswas’s father also allows him freedom to marry Lata, the girl of his choice. Indeed, Dattani seems to have contrasted Jairaj-Ratna relationship with Viswas-Lata relationship. On the one hand, Lata is supported by her parents and goes to perform her dance with ease of mind and succeeds, on the other hand, Ratna and Jairaj had to face the opposition of Jairaj’s father, and they themselves made their career a big burden and failed in the end.



In the two plays of Dattani discussed above, almost all familial relationships are fragile. Parents against their own children, and husband against wife is almost a norm in the families depicted by Dattani. Yet here and there examples of smooth and healthy bonds can be discerned which seem to have been introduced purposely. The playwright does not show delicate familial relationships only, but he seems to hint at the reasons behind such relationships also. In *Dance like a Man*, factors like excess of patriarchal dominance, manipulation, greed for money, selfishness and lack of freedom and wisdom become the reasons for breach in relationships. Finally, the familial bonds in *Final Solutions* are weakened by evils like violence, communal hate, anger and transferred resentment, and the homes are left dysfunctional. Dattani believes that the younger generation has a better understanding of human relations than the older one. Moreover, older generation is orthodox in beliefs and creates rift between communities while the younger generation cements the cracks made by prejudices. Dattani raises issues of social and familial relevance and makes the audience think about their stance in relation to fellow humans.

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## Afghan Students' Attitudes and Motivations Toward ESP and EGP Courses

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### Abstract

This mixed-methods study investigated the students' attitudes and motivations toward English for Specific Purposes (ESP) and English for General Purposes (EGP) courses. It also explored the perceived reported experiences of Afghan English teachers regarding teaching ESP and EGP courses. The quantitative data was collected through distributing questionnaires among students, and teachers were interviewed through semi-structured interviews for the qualitative data. The results revealed that students' interest can be further enhanced if they were taught in more homogenous classes, with creative and well-qualified teachers. Besides, the instructional materials should be further goal oriented, resulting in addressing the needs of students' needs. Moreover, from teachers' perspectives, lack of diverse use of teaching activities, and scarcity of appropriate materials, and class size were among the significant challenges which teachers and learners are faced with. In the light of the study results, implications for teaching, research and higher education were also provided.

**Keywords:** Afghan Students, ESP, EGP, Students' Attitudes, Students' Motivations, Teachers' Reported Experiences.

### Introduction

Most of us as teachers have heard the complaint coming out of parents or the educational institution leaderships, or even from the students themselves that there are students who have studied English for two or more years yet cannot say more than a couple of sentences. The complaint is quite deeper and complex than what we, teachers, can primarily perceive. Because of the comprehensive growth of English, many policies have been developed to institutionalize

English as a medium of teaching and learning. Amid all these advancements, Afghanistan has tried to modify the medium of instruction to English; however, through a very slow process. English has been an essential and required course in all the universities throughout the country. Learning English is very important for Afghan university students because it helps them access more academic resources and opportunities. It also provides the academia to engage in academic discussions and exchanges in an international level. Recognizing this need, Afghan students are required to take English courses for minimum four semesters to maximum six semesters. However, there has been little done to develop English courses for specific needs of university students.

English for Specific Purposes (ESP) is a new and growing concentration in the field of EFL in Afghanistan as more specialized focus is needed in many different disciplines. ESP courses aim at helping students develop language skills they need for their specific field of study. Unlike general English courses, ESP courses focus on language skills students need to acquire to be able to use English in their studies or work in their specific fields such as law, business, medicine, and so on.

At Herat University, English has been a required course for all disciplines. Before 2010, these English courses were simply general English courses where commercial series such as New Intercom, Interchange, and Headway were used. In 2010, the university decided to change these Basic English courses with ESP courses. However, there were no specific textbooks or guideline for ESP instructors who had not been trained for the job. In winter 2010, some faculty went through a two months training at Hartford University. Under supervision of an ESL specialist, some of these instructors developed seven ESP textbooks for some disciplines and began teaching them. In developing ESP textbooks, the instructors worked closely with the discipline faculty to develop materials which cater to specific needs of each academic discipline.

Currently, students normally with very little or even no prior knowledge of English enter universities every year. As the English departments at every university should design a program for them, the English Department at Faculty of Languages and Literature, Herat University has developed a framework for better outcome. There are 16 colleges in Herat University. Every college has multiple departments comprising 72 departments. In general terms, based on the general policy of Ministry of Higher Education, every department should offer 4 courses of English to their students. The English department, as its cumulative plan, decided to teach English for general purpose (EGP) for the first two semesters, enabling students to enhance enough English language ability. Then, the following two semesters deal with English for specific purposes (ESP). In other words, the first two semesters bank on the idea of enhancing students' fundamental abilities in the four skills. Students are required to learn basic English

grammar, reading skills, and speaking/listening skills for their communication purposes. Later, the final two semesters purely deal with the basic terminologies, grammatical structures, and reading texts strictly related to their majors.

However, students' language proficiency is below the expectation. According to personal interaction with many employers, many students, after graduation, cannot function very well because of their lower proficiency in the technical English required in their job. Moreover, teachers complain about lack of students' interest in the subject. They consider their lack of proficiency in the language skills required in the professional career as their inadequate motivation and seriousness in learning it. Therefore, the main aim of the current study is to investigate the causes of low English language proficiency after two years of taking English courses. In addition, the study examines the teachers' reported experiences regarding students' motivation and interest in learning English in EGP and ESP courses.

Although learning English is essential for academic and professional success for Afghan university graduates. ESP and EGP courses are believed not to be taken seriously by Herat university students and teachers. Students' lack of motivation is profoundly noticed by many ESP/EGP teachers at the English Department, Herat University. Most of the students consider the course an unnecessary one in their curriculum. Therefore, most of them do not pay much attention to the original outcome. Not only students, but also teachers ignore the fact of its critical impact on the future careers of the students. It seems that neither the material, nor the teaching methodologies are effective and useful for increasing students' motivation and interest. Therefore, students' language proficiency is below the expectation.

Finding about students' attitudes toward ESP/EGP courses will assist Afghan ESP and EGP teachers with their teaching practices. It also helps the administrators and curriculum and course developers to design more engaging and motivating courses for the future. This also supports the efforts to prepare students for engaging in global exchange of knowledge and experience with academia around the world.

### **Research Objectives**

This research aims to explore the students' attitudes toward ESP/EGP courses and their motivation level. It will help teachers and administrators plan and design more effective courses, teaching materials, and teaching strategies through increasing students' motivation.

### **Research Questions**

1. What factors impact students' low-motivation in ESP and general English courses?

2. Can teaching materials, teachers' teaching methodology, and the instructional material impact students' attitude and motivation in such courses?
3. What are the ESP and EGP teachers' reported experiences regarding teaching ESP and EGP courses at Herat University?

### **Null Hypothesis**

Students are demotivated because of low self-efficacy, non-supportive learning environment, lack of appropriate material for both ESP and EGP courses, teacher's methodology and teacher's behavior.

### **Literature Review**

#### **ESP Definitions, History, and Features**

As far the economy and trade/commerce are globalized and more keenly, English being the primary medium, the more people need to learn the language to their specific need. Researchers in the field of ESP suggest different reasons for the emergence of the need for English for specific purposes. Gatehouse (2001), and Hutchinson and Waters (1987) propose three main factors prevailing the need: (1) the post-world war II geopolitical change and oil crisis in early 1970s, (2) the global spread of science, technology, and economy, and finally (3) the universal advancement on the teaching and learning concepts. Hutchinson and Waters pointed the rising need for English for science, technology, economy, and so on in the following terms: "This expansion created a world unified and dominated by two forces – technology and commerce – which in their relentless progress soon generated a demand for an international language. ... this role fell to English (p. 6)."

So, all the aforementioned revolutions, in a sense, went hand in hand to spark the need for an English which can fit for the context of science, oil industry, or any other technological related aspects of the language use. Many Arab countries in early 70s, invested in English language programs to enable their employees to function with new technologies and the trainers who can speak only English. According to Abedeen (2015), Kuwait was one of the nations who felt the severe need for English those purposes because of oil industry. Furthermore, after 9/11 and American and foreign troops arrival to the country, many proposals were made to promote ESP in at least our undergraduate programs.

Learners at universities are required to acquire necessary language, in our case English, skills to adopt to the market or even academia. Therefore, ESP is defined as "a course which concentrates on three main factors of meeting specific needs of the learners, making use of the underlying methodologies of the discipline... focusing on the appropriate skills necessary for this purpose" (Kashef, Khorasani & Zahabi, 2014, p. 860). Kashef, Khorasani & Zahabi (2014)

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Afghan Students' Attitudes and Motivations Toward ESP and EGP Courses

focused on the attitudes of students toward instructional method used for teaching EAP courses claiming that teachers have been using traditional (grammar-translation) methods in teaching the courses. In their view, that methodology was not appropriate. Their findings show a significant difference in the students' attitudes toward traditional vs. learner-centered teaching methods. The participants appear to prefer the latter over the former.

In terms of theory, ESP, as a discipline consists of three areas (1) language, (2) pedagogy, and (3) content auspiciously considering students' areas of interest in mind. Dudley-Evans (1997; cited in Anthony, 1998) categorized the characteristics of ESP courses as “absolute” and “variable” (p. 116) ones. An ESP course should have the absolute characteristics; however, the variable characteristics can be optional in such courses.

To begin with, absolute features of an ESP course include: (1) designing materials to meet the learner's specific needs, (2) using activities and methodology strictly related to the source discipline or major, and lastly, (3) concentrating on areas of language like vocabulary, structure, register, and so on to do the activities.

After absolutes, variable features of ESP courses according to Dudley-Evans (1997) include: (1) probable use of different methodology in ESP than EGP, (2) developed for a special discipline, (3) taught in a contextually variable setting such as, in professional situation, secondary school level, tertiary institution, or adult schools, and finally (4) ESP courses prerequisites at least an intermediate level or above of language. It will be safe to conclude that ESP is a goal-oriented language learning course which serves the language supplementary function to the discipline and/or occupational requirements.

### **EGP Definitions, History and Features**

English for General Purposes (EGP) is considered to the base formation stage for any ESP course. Widdowson (1984) defines EGP as the foundation of English learning in which learners come with heterogeneous number of objectives. They, the learners, may come with different purposes, yet they will be fed with more fundamental aspects of the language such as general grammar, day-to-day vocabulary, and so on.

The history of this can go back to the early language learning experiences where grammar-translation was commonly utilized. Their purpose was to be able to learn reading of a language plus be able to translate or write back.

EGP like any other field requires careful administration of curriculum in order to fulfill the learners learning objectives. According to McDonough, in designing material for EGP, we

have to consider the “age, purpose, aptitude, attitude, motivation, previous English knowledge, and inclination of the learners (as cited in Zohrabi, 2015, p. 679). In sum, Widdowson (1984) asserts that we normally build the foundation through EGP and move forward on a scale toward ESP.

### **Teaching ESP vs. EGP**

Among many distinctive features and differences that ESP and EGP may have, the need is the most important one. What ESP aims for – professional or academic gains – may not be normally achieved with EGP. In addition, to need, curriculum design, material development, teaching methodology, and finally evaluation also plays a vital role in distinguishing between the two, according to Flowerdew, 2013. Furthermore, very rightly Hutchinson and Waters (1993) believe that there is no difference between ESP and EGP in theory, but in practice there are plenty of differences.

Moreover, many researchers (e.g., Hill et al., 2010) suggested conducting a systematic needs analysis for both types to avail the required material and add them for teaching purposes is crucial; despite believing one’s expertise on being aware of the needs of one’s students.

As previously pointed out (i.e., introduction), today in Afghanistan English is widely learned both for ESP and EGP purposes. Universities (public and private), language institutes and any academic and educational body provide both ESP and EGP courses. However, the question of what to teach for the course makes ESP different from EGP; needs and wants of the students decide what methodology is suitable for the course. Having said that, John and Dudley Evans (1991, p. 305) pointed out that, "ESP requires methodologies that are specialized or unique"(emphasis is added); the uniqueness is determined by the major, learning purposes and/or job requirements.

Researchers (Hutchinson & Waters, 1993; Hyland, 2006; Jordan, 1989; Paltridge & Starfield, 2013; Robinson, 1991;) have poured enough ink on agreeing that ESP teachers should have the qualities of EGP teachers besides a thorough knowledge of ESP. In order to avoid the misinterpretations and misconceptions of what ESP is, Hutchinson and Waters (1993) define ESP instruction with three key points: (1) an ESP course not only teaches a certain register or form of English, but also it provides exposure to certain contextual features through language use. (2) Furthermore, through only learning several technical words and specific grammar does not suffice the enhancing of proper communicative skills in the learners. (3) ESP like any other type of language teaching is dependent on learning principles. So, the processes of learning for both EGP and ESP are similar. Therefore, teaching of ESP does not need any special methodology. To support the arguments of Hutchinson and Waters 1993), Ahmadi (2008), in his

descriptive study at Shaheed Beheshti Medical University observed that students of ESP classes believed that in teaching ESP courses, language teachers are more qualified than discipline-specialist teachers. In other studies, dealing with ESP it is quite evident that problems of ESP programs pertain three major factors: Teacher, teaching methodologies, and Textbook (Ahmadi, 2008; Hayati, 2008).

### **Attitudes of Students Toward ESP and EGP Courses**

Before indulging ourselves into students' attitudes toward ESP and EGP course, let us consider what attitude and its interfaces are. Likert (1932, p. 9), cited in Gardner (1980, p. 267), defines the term attitude as "an inference which is made based on a complex of beliefs about the attitude object". Elaborating on Likert's definition, Gardner (1980) defines attitude as "the sum total of a man's instincts [sic] and feelings, prejudice or bias, preconceived notions, fears, threats, and convictions about any specified topic" (p. 267). Later, Ajzan (1988) perceives attitude as "a disposition to respond favourably or unfavourably to an object, person, institution, or event" (p.4). Lastly, Baker (1992) looks at attitudes as "a hypothetical construct used to explain the direction and persistence of human behavior" (p. 10). We can conclude that attitude to be a behaviorally-oriented perspective that can evoke the positive or negative human behavior.

After comprehensively (to some extent) defining attitudes, now we will look at some studies that looked at the attitudes issue. In studies which examine the attitudes of students toward ESP, it has been pointed out and showed that students' positive perspective toward teachers, teaching methods, and materials highly enhanced their learning outcome. According to a study conducted by Martinović and Poljaković (2010) in Croatia, their results revealed that students have a positive attitude against the researchers' primary personal intuition. ESP being though of a more technical domain normally perceives a rather negative attitudes or more accurately low motivation.

In addition to what has been said, it is brought to our attention that learning a language is closely related to the attitudes towards the language (Starks & Paltridge, 1996). Karahan (2007) reflects upon the idea saying that "positive language attitudes let learners have positive orientation towards learning English" (p.84; emphasis added). As such attitudes may play a very crucial role in language learning as they would appear to influence students' success or failure in their learning.

All the above-mentioned studies reconfirmed the importance of identifying learners' motivation and attitudes towards the English language. Some studies have been carried out to investigate second/foreign language learners' motivation. These studies help the researchers to understand how to identify learners' motivation. As a result, to assess petroleum engineering



students' motivation, Al-Tamimi and Shuib (2009) explored attitudes issue from four main perspectives. The one that concerns us is regarding the attitudes of students toward learning English. Their study revealed that Yemeni students have positive beliefs toward English instruction at their university and even suggested English to be added to secondary school subjects as well (pp. 45–46).

### **Motivation and Language Learning**

As Gardner (2006) states “motivation is a very complex phenomenon with many facets...Thus, it is not possible to give a simple definition” (p. 242). This is because the term motivation has been viewed differently by different schools of thought. From the behavioristic perspective, motivation is "quite simply the anticipation of reward" (Brown, 2000, p. 160). However, the cognitivists view the term motivation as being more related to the learner's decisions. Keller, quoted by Brown (p. 160), pointing at the cognitivist views defines motivation as "the choices people make as to what experiences or goals they will approach or avoid, and the degree of effort they exert in that respect" (1983, p. 389). However, in the constructivists' definition of motivation, they place "further emphasis on social contexts as well as the individual's decisions"(p. N/A). Despite the differences, in all the definitions of motivation given by the three schools of thought the concept of "needs" is emphasized, that is, "the fulfilment of needs is rewarding, requires choices, and in many cases, must be interpreted in a social context" (p. 161).”

The importance of motivation in enhancing second/foreign language learning is undeniable. Lifrieri (2005) pointed out that “when asked about the factors which influence individual levels of success in any activity – such as language learning –, most people would certainly mention motivation among them” (p. 4). Brown (2000) stated that "it is easy in second language learning to claim that a learner will be successful with the proper motivation" (p. 160). With similar views, Gardner (2006, p. 241) posits that “students with higher levels of motivation will do better than students with lower levels”. He further added that “if one is motivated, he/she has reasons (motives) for engaging in the relevant activities, expends effort, persists in the activities, attends to the tasks, shows desire to achieve the goal, enjoys the activities, etc.” (Gardner, 2006, p. 243).

A considerable number of studies have addressed motivation either directly or indirectly. In 2005, Dornyei reported that during a decade about 100 research were published on different facets of motivation. According to Ellis (2008), studies on motivation, in 1970s and 1980s, were first focused on Gardner’s and Lambert’s (1972) integrative motivation. In the next decade, it shifted to cognitive oriented aspects of motivation. Among them, there exist studies by Crookes and Schmidt (1991) and Williams and Burden (1997), which investigated the classroom learning

motivation. More recently, the dynamic role of motivation in language learning has been much explored.

Albert Bandura's (1986 & 1997) theory of self-efficacy has important implications regarding motivation. To support Bandura, Schunk (2003) believed that perceived self-efficacy or students' personal beliefs about their capabilities to learn or perform at designated levels, plays an important role in their motivation and learning. Zimmerman (1997) added that students' perceived self-efficacy influenced their skills acquisition both directly and indirectly by highlighting their persistence. Motivation is directly related to self-efficacy in that if someone perceives him/herself as able to handle a situation (high self-efficacy), s/he will be more motivated to work hard and successfully perform in that situation. Pajares (1997) noted that self-efficacy could influence choices made, efforts expended, and perseverance executed when confronted with obstacles, stress and anxiety. Specifically, students who had high self-efficacy beliefs were persistent when faced with challenges and were more successful in academic achievement (Schunk, 1990; Wang & Pape, 2007). Furthermore, Multon, Brown and Lent's (1991) meta-analysis of researcher studies showed a positive relationship between self-efficacy beliefs and academic achievements (Zare & Davoudi, 2011).

An effective teacher can surely motivate the students and increase their interest in the course. Eggleton (2007) in his article claims that motivation is the key to effective teaching. After discussing some features of motivation, he explains how teacher's personality and style lead to motivation. Personality is one of the aspects of motivation that is difficult to be changed. Some personality features of teachers may be motivating to the students. Among them are teachers' love, kindness, concern, sense of humor and high expectations (Cotrell, 1987; Mathews, 1988; Vasquez, 1988; Meek, 1989; cited in Eggleton, 2007). Eggleton (2007) also maintains that appropriate tasks and interaction can facilitate motivation and learning.

Entertainment and fun are not enough to make a class motivated. The teacher should be able to use various techniques of teaching such as cooperative learning, teacher-student interaction, student-student interaction, competition and problem solving tasks to tackle motivation.

One more issue that facilitates motivation is "attitudes toward instructional setting" (Ortega, 2013, p.172). According to Ortega, this antecedent plays a vital role in determining the perception of students toward their curriculum and learning environment (2013). Some motivating factors that help to establish class environment more motivating; include teacher discipline, respect and supportive material aiming to the students intrinsic, extrinsic orientations (Davoudi-Mobarakeh, Eslami-Rasekh and Barati, 2014; Eggleton, 2007). A study by Connell

and Wellborn (1991, cited in Amorose and Horn, 2000) showed that some aspects of teachers' attitude can influence students' intrinsic motivation facilitating learning. Niemiec and Ryan (2009) reviewed that plenty of empirical research proved the positive correlation between motivation and involvement in high quality learning. They implied that teachers' considerations of learners' psychological needs are conducive to better academic learning and autonomous performance.

## **Methods**

The research design in this study is mixed methods—a combination of both quantitative and qualitative data. According to Creswell (2012), “the combination of both forms of data provides a better understanding of a research problem than either quantitative or qualitative data by itself” (p. 22). For the quantitative phase, data has been collected from undergraduate students at Herat University through questionnaires; for the qualitative phase, seven teachers have been interviewed and their views have been sought.

## **Participants**

Herat University is considered as the boundary of the research. The population size for the quantitative phase of this study is approximately 8000 students; however, 2500 students were targeted for this study. Based on Cochran's Formula, with a confidence level of 95% and margin of errors of 5%, 471 ESP students and 471 EGP students were randomly selected for this study.

The data was maintained to be covering all majors and colleges. Therefore, our sample size for both ESP and EGP courses (in total 942) is composed of 12 colleges at the university. For the qualitative data, teachers who had taught ESP and EGP courses at the university were requested to participate in a 30-minutes semi-structured interview in which the researchers asked them about their reported experienced regarding the significance of learning environment, teaching methodology, teacher's qualifications and seriousness, and whatever they thought to be profoundly important for motivating and changing the attitudes of the learners.

## **Data Collection**

The motivation and Interest Questionnaire (adopted from, University of Sydney's project) is one of the latest questionnaires measuring the students' interest and motivation towards courses. The researchers, in this study, have adopted the structure and scale of the questionnaire and developed one that fits the contextual needs of the target population. Since this study is a mixed-methods research design, both quantitative and qualitative data has been collected. The quantitative data has been collected from about 2500 undergraduate students from 12 faculties at Herat University. However, the data sample under study is 942 participants (EGP: 471, and ESP: 471) which were randomly picked from the total data poll. In this, since

students comprise one great portion of the EGP/ESP courses, several variables regarding ESP/EGP students' motivation in these courses was measured using a survey questionnaire (Motivation and Interest Survey, 2008). The questionnaire was composed of 45 statements on a Likert scale of "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree" options. The bullet point description has been provided below.

**Table 1**

**Methodology**

Research Design	Mixed-methods
Participants	Qualitative phase: 7 teachers
	Quantitative phase: 471 ESP students & 471 EGP students
Data Collection Methods	Quantitative: questionnaire
	Qualitative: semi-structured interviews
Data Analysis	Quantitative: SPSS
	Qualitative: Content analysis

**Data Analysis**

The quantitative data is analyzed through SPSS software. After collecting the data, the questions of the questionnaire were divided into five major categories: learning environment; teacher qualifications and seriousness, teaching methodology, learning materials, and learner's goals. The means and standard deviations have been extracted in order to determine the spread and divergence of the data.

After collecting the qualitative data, the interviews were transcribed verbatim. The transcripts were analyzed through content analysis. After coding the data, five major themes were constructed from the data, which include: (1) Heterogeneous large classrooms hinder quality teaching (2) Lack of ESP department (3) Insufficient appropriate teaching materials for different disciplines (4) Inadequate skilled ESP teachers (5) Inadequate skilled ESP teachers.

**Results and Discussion**

**Quantitative Data Phase**

Table 2

*Means and Standard Deviations for ESP Courses*

<b>Data Categories</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Standard Deviation</b>
Learning Environment	3.15	1.22
Teacher Qualifications and Seriousness	3.17	1.24
Teaching Methodology	3.47	1.12
Instructional/ Learning Materials	3.55	1.21
Learner's Goals	3.71	1.12

Table 3

*Means and Standard Deviations for EGP Courses*

<b>Data Categories</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Standard Deviation</b>
Learning Environment	2.78	1.24
Teacher Qualifications and Seriousness	3.34	1.20
Teaching Methodology	3.5	1.13
Instructional/ Learning Materials	3.73	1.13
Learner's Goals	3.82	1.1

## **Learning Environment**

Besides observing the table for EGP participants, the mean (2.78) revealed that they have a more neutral standpoint toward learning environment. However, for ESP participants (mean: 3.15) the otherwise appear to be evident. Having the standard deviation quite stable, the ESP participants considered learning environment more significant than that of EGPs'.

The questionnaire had four specific questions related to the learning environment pertaining to the class size, and homogeneous and heterogeneous proficiency levels. The first two questions enquired about the class size which is, evidently, a huge issue at Herat University. Majority of the EGP participants favored the small class of (20 to 30 students) over a large class of (50-70 students). Seven hundred and ten participants out of 942 (75.3%) either totally or partially agreed that they can learn better when their class size is small. In contrast, only 244 participants (25.9%) favored the otherwise. Furthermore, pertaining the proficiency level in the class, participants' perception toward homogeneous and heterogeneous proficiency levels in a class show a significant difference. Eighty one percent of the responses are in the favor of studying in the homogeneous level class while only 63.7% agreed on not being interested in their English class because of heterogeneity. As statistics in table 2 demonstrates, majority of the participants agrees that learning can be effective in small and homogeneous class rather than in large and heterogeneous. However, the later homogeneous and heterogeneous issue is not as significantly divergent, yet we can see the difference.

## **Teacher Qualifications and Seriousness**

Besides learning environment, the researchers were concerned with the teacher's qualifications and seriousness factor pertaining to students' attitudes and motivation toward learning English. Therefore, six questions specifically dealt with the mentioned factor. The data was categorized in two sub-groups of teachers' qualifications and their seriousness in the class. To further clarify, my qualification we meant the teachers knowledge of the subject matter in ESP classes as well as their proficiency level in EGP courses. In addition, seriousness merely reflected upon how committed teachers are.

Among the six questions on the questionnaire, two dealt with teachers' qualification. Majority of the participants (82.6% of them) considered teachers as highly qualified both in ESP and EGP courses. Evidently, this high favoritism in teachers' qualification shows the important role of it in deriving students' interest and motivation toward learning English.

The four other questions were related to the teachers' seriousness on the course. A large poll of participants (84.05%) agreed to teachers who are so tough and pay more attention to

individual students learning achievements. This factor besides teachers' qualifications (as shown in the Table 3 below) can largely impact students' motivation and attitude according to current data poll.

### **Teaching Methodology**

In addition to the previous two categories, teaching methodology is one of the most significant factors that has been quite frequently emphasized in the literature. The current study also wanted to look at this variable from a communicative language teaching (CLT) and traditional (grammar-translation) methods even though only two questions were related to the grammar-translation (or traditional) methods.

In contrast, 87.935% of the participants agreed with CLT which included classroom discussions, group and pair work activities, diverse activities, and using audio-visual materials in the class. Quite surprisingly, 93.8% of data poll seemed to be interested in having audio-visual materials in their classes. This can be of great importance to both teachers to enhance their students' motivation and for students to get involved and motivated in learning.

### **Instructional/ Learning Materials**

One of the crucial factors that can either motivate or demotivate students can be the instructional materials used in both ESP and EGP courses. Learners are often motivated if they are learning things that they can either apply in future or can support their other curricular activities. A larger number of (7) statements in our questionnaire were related to this aspect. The statements can be further categorized into 4 major themes: (1) challenging material, (2) interesting material, (3) understandable material, and (4) diverse material.

Eighty-five point eight percent of the participants either totally or partially agreed to have challenging material in classes so that they can learn something new every day. So, we can speculate that students need instructional material that is a bit challenging for them. Besides challenging material, students also prefer materials that can spark their interest in the subject matter. Two statements which explored attitudes toward their learning materials include: if they work hard in the course because the material is interesting to them, and if they like the materials in the courses. Both ESP and EGP participants majorly (81.75%) agreed to the statements (for means and standard deviation look Tables 2 and 3). Moreover, 81% of the participants agreed if the course offers or utilizes diverse material and material that is not much beyond their understanding, they will spark in the course.

### **Learners' Goals**

Most of the time, students are motivated, or they motivate themselves through their future goals. Our data's last category deals with the link between students' attitudes and motivation with their future goals. Around 85% of the participants showed a positive attitude toward learning English both as ESP and EGP based on their future goals. Most of the participants believe that for a better future, academically, occupationally, professionally, and economically they need English as a tool.

### **Qualitative Data Phase**

Seven Afghan English teachers who had the experience of teaching English to students of other disciplines have been interviewed through semi-structured interviews. Upon completion of the interviews, the data was transcribed verbatim, and four major themes were constructed.

These themes include: (1) Heterogeneous large classrooms hinder quality teaching (2) Lack of ESP department (3) Insufficient appropriate teaching materials for different disciplines (4) Inadequate skilled ESP teachers (5) Inadequate skilled ESP teachers  
Heterogeneous Large Classrooms Hinder Quality Teaching

All the study participants claimed that teaching English in large classrooms, where there are more than 40 students, is highly difficult. One of our participants noted that he had 137 students in one of his ESP courses which prevented him from incorporating various teaching techniques and classroom activities in his sessions. Besides, three of our participants reported that teaching heterogeneous courses is boring not only for the teachers but also for the students. For instance, one of the participants asserted, "Students who take Kankor Exam [the nationwide university entrance exam] do not prepare for English subject since it is not being measure in Kankor Exam" (Interview, August 2017). According to her, when these students enter university, they have difficulty with English subject because either they had not prepared for English or they did not have skilled teachers during their high school. In the same vein, another participant argued that in some disciplines (e.g., agriculture, sociology) because students believe that English is not significant in their discipline, they do not invest a lot of time on this subject prior to Kankor. Therefore, when entering university, there are students with different English proficiency levels, which make the teachers' job difficult.

Our participants reported that ESP courses are mainly for high-level students who have prior knowledge of English at least to upper-intermediate or advanced, but unfortunately as it was mentioned above, most of the students are not in such levels of proficiency. Moreover, the participants argued that majority of their students are unsure of the importance of English language in their future studies. Thus, after obtaining their bachelor's degree, if students decide



to continue their postgraduate studies, without the knowledge of English language related to their field, they will encounter a lot of difficulties.

### **Lack of ESP Department**

All participants noted that workload is a major challenge for addressing students' English needs. They specifically argued that there is a conspicuous lack of ESP department at Herat University. One of the participants claimed that establishing an ESP department can address many of the challenges teachers and students experience in English courses for different majors. He, for example, suggested that hiring a specific teacher for one or two disciplines could allow teachers to invest more on the courses they teach. According to him, currently teachers who teach English courses for students of different majors are being shifted every now and then. If Herat University and higher education authorities allocate a specific department for teaching English courses at different faculties, professors will take the courses more seriously. According to this participant, now there is no incentive for professors to spend time and develop materials for their courses, especially for ESP courses.

### **Insufficient Appropriate Teaching Materials for Different Disciplines**

Lack of appropriate instructional materials, particularly ESP materials, was common among the participants of this study. They all stated that there is an urgent need for designing and developing English materials, particularly ESP materials, that address students' background and needs. For example, two of the participants noted that three years ago some of their colleagues, through a project sponsored by the US Embassy in Kabul, developed some ESP materials for six different majors. According to these participants, because the project was funded for a short-term, the program stopped, and no other teacher designed ESP textbooks for ESP courses. These participants reported that those ESP textbooks had some shortcomings as they were the first edition. Now that the teachers have used those textbooks in their courses have realized that changes should be brought to those materials. On the other hand, other participants stated that they tried to find eBooks on the Internet, but they could only be found few. According to these participants, they have used books, which they had downloaded off the Internet, in their courses but they faced some problems, such as the level of the books was higher than the level of their students, the context of the books was not familiar or related in some units, or the context was inappropriate for Afghan context.

### **Inadequate Skilled ESP Teachers**

The last major theme, which was being constructed, addresses the challenge of lack of skilled ESP teachers. Three of the participants reported that teaching English in other faculties at Herat University requires teaching ESP, particularly for sophomores. Teachers who teach these courses, according to the participants of the study, need to have basic knowledge of that

discipline. However, according to these participants, some of the disciplines like medicine or engineering are difficult if teachers do not have background knowledge in them. This causes some teachers not to use English textbooks which are prepared for students of different majors. One of these participants postulated that upon establishing an ESP department at Herat University, ESP teachers should go through some basic trainings on how to teach English to students of other majors.

The three participants also noted that Afghan ESP teachers should meet with professors from different disciplines when they have concerns related to translating materials. Besides, some of our participants are eager to design and create their own materials based on the needs of their students; our participants should know how to conduct a need analysis first, but they need this knowledge, and how to plan lessons or design specific activities for different disciplines. In addition, since the majors are different, the teachers may need special methods to convey the ideas to their students.

### **Discussions and Conclusion**

This study aimed to explore the attitudes and motivations of students toward taking EGP and ESP courses. It also investigated the teachers' perceived reported experiences with teaching EGP and ESP courses. In the light of the results of this study, implications for teaching, research and policy making can be drawn. The current English curriculum and materials at universities have not been developed according to the students' needs. That is, when these students graduate, they are not equipped with the English skills which are required in the job market or for continuing their studies abroad. Therefore, there is an urgent need to revise and develop English curriculum for each discipline following extensive needs analysis process to include views of all stakeholders, including alumni, employers and experts in the field. After doing such needs analysis, outcome for English curriculum should be developed considering the perspectives of English and related discipline experts.

As the results of this study yielded, most disciplines at Herat university offer only four English courses without specifying the content. That is, the teaching materials for these courses have not been specified. There is also no rational (e.g., needs analysis) for offering four courses. It seems that some disciplines may need more or a smaller number of English courses; further research can explore this number. Moreover, as the findings showed, most of the materials being used for English courses at Herat University are commercially developed materials. Although some ESP textbooks were developed by Afghan English faculty members, they had not been designed following a systematic needs analysis procedure. Therefore, material developers should work closely with the discipline faculty members to develop materials which respond to real needs of students upon graduation.

At Herat University, English department teachers are mostly required to teach EGP and ESP courses beside teaching English majors at the English Department. As a result, faculty members cannot develop skills and knowledge related to specific ESP courses. There is also a conspicuous lack of knowledge of discipline among ESP teachers. According to the study participants, students mostly preferred English teachers who had background knowledge of the students' disciplines. Therefore, establishing an ESP department seems crucial in addressing some of these challenges.

The establishment of an ESP department could have numerous advantages. First, it provides job security for faculty members and they can focus solely on EGP and ESP courses. Second, the new organizational structure allows the department to hire more expert faculty members. Third, the ESP department can focus on planning and executing ESP and EGP courses for all disciplines. For example, the department can conduct specific teacher training programs for building the capacity of its faculty members.

To address the issue of large and heterogeneous classes, it is recommended that ESP courses are offered based on students' levels not their disciplines. The ESP department can give a placement test to students of similar disciplines and divide them into different classes according to their levels. This way learning can be facilitated, and the instructors would not face a class of many different levels of proficiency.

Regarding the teaching methodology used by English instructors, the study clearly shows that the participants prefer student-centered approach. Using active learning and engaging students in the process of learning will help the students learn more and be motivated attending ESP courses. Moreover, student-centered approach increases the quality of learning by providing students more opportunity to use the language skills and learn by practice so that they can use English outside classroom.

Another motivating element to be used in English classes is technology. As the results of this study clearly shows students' attitude toward English classes where technology is used to enhance teaching and learning is very positive. Therefore, it is recommended that ESP classes should be equipped with educational technology and ESP instructors use technology frequently in their lessons. Material developers also should make the best use of technology while developing ESP materials for university courses.

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## Revisiting Cleopatra through Feminist Lens

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### Abstract

Cleopatra is one of the most remarkable women that have survived through generations of human history, which has been more or less man-history. A monarch, who governed over her people for around twenty years, is considered, through historical anecdotes, no more than a royal courtesan who managed to save her career through her association with great generals of Roman empire. Following suit, the literary artists have not lagged behind; they also portray her as a seductress and a heroine of a love tragedy, the onus of which lay in her fatal flaw of inconsistency in consistent coquetry. However, recent researches reveal that Cleopatra was not a woman of great feminine charm and multifarious factors contributed to her success. The present paper attempts an analysis of Cleopatra as depicted in William Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra* (1606) through the feminist lens of counter-historical perspective. The objective of the paper is to explore the alternate histories of her fictional image in the classic tragedy.

**Keywords:** Cleopatra, monarch, seductress, coquetry, sexuality, inconsistency, gaps, power, counter-history, gender.

Cleopatra (69-30 B.C.) was the queen of Egypt for twenty years. Generally known as 'the Jewel of the Nile', she is one of the most fascinating women of the world, a woman whom no man could resist. No doubt, she is an inexhaustible topic of discussion for historians, litterateurs and artists. Even after a lapse of two millennia, she is still talked about, she remains firmly entrenched as one of the greatest women of the world and can hold on her own even against that paragon of beauty, the legendary Helen of Troy, the queen of Greece. Enobarbus, a character in Shakespeare's play, *Antony and Cleopatra* praises her in these words:

Age cannot wither her, nor custom stale  
Her infinite variety. (2.2. 234-35)

Stacy Schiff, the renowned American non-fiction historian, gives a rather grandiloquent description of Cleopatra:

A goddess as a child, a queen at eighteen, a celebrity soon thereafter, she was an object of speculation and veneration, gossip and legend, even in her own time. At the height of her power she controlled virtually the entire eastern Mediterranean coast, the last great kingdom of any Egyptian ruler. For a fleeting moment she held the fate of the Western world in her hands. She had a child with a married man, three more with another. She died at thirty nine, a generation before the birth of Christ. Catastrophe reliably cements a reputation, and Cleopatra's end was sudden and sensational. She has lodged herself in our imaginations ever since. (*Cleopatra: A Life* (2010))

However, most writers have pictured Cleopatra as a most unsavoury character. Propertius dubbed her "the whore queen". "For Dio Cassius, she was "a woman of insatiable sexuality and insatiable avarice". Boccaccio called her "the whore of the eastern kings". She was "a carnal sinner" for Dante. Thus, most writers repeatedly speak of Cleopatra's insatiable libido and the other qualities of her head and heart are overlooked. This may, partly, be because Octavius Caesar after defeating the forces of Antony, and of Cleopatra, left no stone unturned to tarnish her image. Almost all subsequent writers blindly accepted the Roman version of Cleopatra. The poet Horace called her "a crazy queen plotting to demolish the Roman Empire". The Roman poet Lucan labelled her "the shame of Egypt, the lascivious fury who was to become the bane of Rome" (Schiff, "Rehabilitating Cleopatra").

In spite of all that is said about Cleopatra, as A.C. Bradley puts it, "Many unpleasant things can be said of Cleopatra and the more that are said, the more wonderful she appears," (Brown 149). Cleopatra has inspired a good deal of writers of various times and climes to relate her story of power and pelf, love and lust, glory and shame and the kind of life she lived and death she had. In English literature, she figures prominently in William Shakespeare's tragedy *Antony and Cleopatra* (1607), John Dryden's tragedy, *All for Love* (1677) and George Bernard Shaw's comedy, *Caesar and Cleopatra* (1901).

As it seems, Shakespeare, from the very beginning, takes upon himself a project of presenting Cleopatra as a coquette and a seductress, in fact, as a whore, and not a decorous, dignified queen. At various places in the play, the characters refer to her as a whore. The play opens with the speech of Philo, a friend of Antony's, who condemns Cleopatra as "a tawny front" (1.1.6), "a gipsy" (1.1.10) and "a strumpet" (1.1.13). Case, a renowned critic on Shakespeare has observed, that "his picture of Cleopatra is 'of courser fibre' than that depicted in Plutarch" (qtd. in Turner 80). Morgan also thinks that Shakespeare emphasizes Cleopatra's faults more than Plutarch (qtd. in Turner 83).

Cleopatra is presented as a cunning and crafty lover in Shakespeare's play. Antony, who cannot resist her charms, calls her "enchanted queen" (1.2.112) and makes her enigmatic in the eyes of Enobarbus saying, "She is cunning past man's thoughts" (1.2.120) and laments, "Would I had never seen her" (1.2.136).

Cleopatra's sexual impact is repeatedly emphasized in the play. Anthony is completely infatuated with her. Even Dolabella, a servant of Octavius's, is infatuated with her. A.C. Bradley also



reflects, “The exercise of sexual attraction is the element of her life and she has developed nature into a consummate art ... If she is dark, it is because the sun himself has been amorous of her” (149).

In the play, according to Enobarbus, Cleopatra’s sexuality has a unique characteristic:

Other women cloy  
The appetite they feed; but she makes hungry  
Where most she satisfies; for vilest things  
Become themselves in her. (2.2.234-38)

Even Cleopatra’s attendants are well aware of her wily nature. They expose her hypocrisy by making a mention of her own earlier words of praise for Julius Caesar, wherein Cleopatra, making a comparison between her love for Caesar and for Antony blames her own immaturity for admiring Caesar in her youthful days:

My salad days,  
When I was green in Judgement, cold in blood. (1.5.66-67)

Shakespeare makes his heroine’s promiscuity quite apparent when he makes her offer her hand to be kissed even to a petty messenger.

And here  
My bluest veins to kiss, a hand that kings  
Have lipped and trembled kissing.” (2.4.28-30)

Again, she is made to behave in a crass, churlish manner when she is conversing with the messenger who has brought the news of Octavia’s marriage to Antony. She does not exhibit any grace of the genteel during the course of the play. She becomes hysterical when she is not given attention by Antony. She is truculent and boisterous in her treatment of Antony, whom she is nagging all the time. She speaks to him frivolously when he takes leave of her in order to attend his wife, Fulvia’s funeral.

Evidently, in the earlier acts of the play, Cleopatra is shown as a shrewd diplomat exercising her feminine arts and her coquetry on Antony, and on the part of Antony, too, it is the urge of lust rather than love that keeps him in Egypt away from his own country. But in the last act of the play both Cleopatra and Antony are presented as true lovers who live for each other and die for each other.

CAESAR. She (Cleopatra) shall be buried by her Antony:  
No grave upon the earth shall clip in it  
A pair so famous. (5.2.357-59)

Most critics have a consensus on the point that in the last act of the play, Shakespeare has given royal dignity to Cleopatra when she, being apprehensive of the kind of treatment she would receive at

the hands of Octavius and the Romans, prefers a decent death of her own choice. Marianne Novy, in *Shakespeare and Outsiders* says, “Although Cleopatra receives her share of scorn, she is also described in more admiring words than are most of other ethnic or national outsiders. The lovers construct and reconstruct their own space, and Cleopatra dies with glory in Roman as well Egyptian terms” (15). Again, in the Epilogue of the same book, Novy emphasizes, “In *Antony and Cleopatra*, the cultural outsider stages a glorious death that even Romans can appreciate” (153). However, an overall analysis of Shakespeare’s portrayal of Cleopatra establishes that she has met with unjust treatment. But if our eyes are not dazzled by the exultation in the last act, as M.R. Ridley observes, we shall recognize that it would be hard to find anywhere in literature a more unsparing picture of the professional courtesan than Shakespeare’s picture of Cleopatra. (qtd.in Turner 83)

Again and again, in *Antony and Cleopatra*, Antony is shown to put the blame of his failure on Cleopatra:

O, whither hast thou led me Egypt? See,  
.....  
You did know  
How much you were my conqueror: and that  
My sword, made weak by my affection, would  
Obey it on all cause. (3.11.56-66)

Antony is guilt-ridden for fleeing the battlefield with Cleopatra. Here, Antony is made to behave in an escapist’s manner when he seeks refuge in Cleopatra’s affection:

Fall not a tear, I say: one of them rates  
All that is won and lost; give me a kiss;  
Even this repays me. (3.11.67-70)

On a closer analysis, it seems hardly convincing that Antony would have been a slave to somebody who is declining in her youth (she is already 39), overbearing in temperament and peevish in behaviour. What keeps him in Egypt, then? Her actions do not comply with the description given by Enobarbus that “she did make defect perfection” (2.2.231). “The infinite variety that Enobarbus makes a mention of, is not her physical beauty or her coquettishness alone; she must have possessed far greater qualities of head and heart that she unfailingly clutches the hearts of two greatest of Roman Generals—first Julius Caesar and then Mark Antony, not to speak of the Egyptian subjects who reposed their faith in her governance for twenty years.

Hence, there is a great contradiction in the image of Cleopatra created by the Roman commanders and the character traits possessed by the heroine in the play. Again, there is trouble with Cleopatra’s delineation in the earlier acts and her exaltation in the last one. Various critics have pointed out this contradiction and try to give their own justification. As quoted in Turner, “Case’s view presented as a general view is of divided hearts, of compromised motives....In Cleopatra herself it is

the confusion of motives surrounding her death: her love of Antony conflicts with and is compromised by her dislike of ignominy; (81-82)” to M.R. Ridley, “the story itself is undramatic” (82); Lord David Cecil concentrates on the political aspects of the play and argues that the central theme is not love but success. (83)” Ana Murphy Jameson has called Shakespeare’s Cleopatra “a brilliant antithesis, a compound of contradictions, of all that we most hate, with what we most admire” (*Shakespeare’s Heroines* 262). However, she offers no viable justification. She simply affirms, “But to make the extreme of littleness produce the effect like grandeur...to do this, belonged only to Shakespeare, that worker of miracles” (262). Adelman calls it “a tragic experience embedded in a comic structure” and Michael Neill identifies hyperbole as the play’s basic rhetorical and structural principle” (qtd. in Kahn 230).

This enigma of Cleopatra, this inconsistency in her character, this orifice in history, plastered over by various historians and the dramatic version of Shakespeare, seems to have its explanation in new historicism, as, for, Raymond Williams, “the discrepancies became legible mainly between the lines of literary works, where “hegemony” collided with what he called “experience”. Reading for the not-quite-said, Williams turned literature itself into a form of counter-history” (*Practicing New Historicism* 62). Williams affirms:

“There are times...when there is so high a tension between experience and description that we are forced to examine the descriptions, and to seek beyond them for new descriptions, not so much as a matter of theory but as literally a problem of behaviour.” (qtd. in *Practicing New Historicism* 63)

Again, as Cleopatra has interested historians even more than litterateurs, Stacy Schiff makes a close observation about the historians of Cleopatra, none of whom was her contemporary, and hence, none could be relied upon for the authenticity of their version:

History is written not only by posterity, but for posterity as well. Our most comprehensive sources never met Cleopatra. Plutarch was born seventy-six years after she died. (He was working at the same time as Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John.) Appian wrote at a remove of more than a century; Dio of well over two. Cleopatra’s story differs from most women’s stories in that the men who shaped it — for their own reasons — enlarged rather than erased her role. Her relationship with Mark Antony was the longest of her life, but her relationship with his rival, Augustus, was the most enduring. He would defeat Antony and Cleopatra. To Rome, to enhance the glory, he delivered up the tabloid version of an Egyptian queen, insatiable, treacherous, bloodthirsty, power-crazed. He magnified Cleopatra to hyperbolic proportions so as to do the same with his victory — and so as to smuggle his real enemy, his former brother-in-law, out of the picture. (*Cleopatra: A Life*)

Coppelia Kahn has also appropriately remarked in the essay “Shakespeare’s classical tragedies”, “Writers under Octavius’s patronage who were later venerated as ‘Augustan’—Virgil,

Ovid, Horace—fused xenophobia with patriarchal ideology in order to demonize Cleopatra as Rome’s most dangerous enemy, a foreigner and a woman whose power was fatally infected by her sexuality" (*The Cambridge Companion to Shakespearean Tragedy* 230). On a closer analysis, it may well be inferred that what one finds in the name of history of Cleopatra is as much as a fictional version as the fictional arts are. In the era, in which Shakespeare wrote the play, when King James I had recently taken over after around half a century’s reign of a woman—Queen Elizabeth, it was the moment to celebrate the end of women’s era, and Shakespeare also catered to the popular opinion and taste by deriding a woman who attempted to subvert the patriarchal model of Europe headed by Caesar. Viewing through the new historicist lens, the case of Cleopatra becomes a significant one in women’s studies. Gallagher and Greenblatt, in the introduction to *Practicing New Historicism* say:

Women’s studies, and the feminism that motivated its formation, has served as an important, if little acknowledged, model for new historicism in that it has inspired its adherents to identify new objects for study, bring those objects into the light of critical attention, and insist upon their legitimate place in the curriculum. It has also served to politicize explicitly an academic discourse that had often attempted to avoid or conceal partisan or polemical commitments, and it unsettles familiar aesthetic hierarchies that had been manipulated, consciously or unconsciously, to limit the cultural significance of women. (11)

Treating Cleopatra as a centre of power generated among the successive historians and literary artists a fear of effeminization which did not find any expression during the Queen’s reign. Discussing the gender equations in cultural terms, Stephen Orgel, in “Shakespeare, sexuality and gender” reveals:

The fear of effeminization pervades the moral literature of the age: boys must be trained to be men, and to remain manly required constant vigilance. Associating with women, falling in love, was inherently dangerous to the masculine self: lust, it was said, effeminates, makes men incapable of many pursuits; hence the pervasive antithesis of love and war throughout the age. The classic Shakespearean example is Mark Antony, transformed by love from ‘the triple pillar of the world’ into a strumpet’s fool’ (I.I. 12-13); and Cleopatra, playing her own entirely conventional role, completes her effeminization:

Ere the ninth hour, I drunk him to his bed,  
Then put my tires and mantles on him whilst  
I wore his sword Philippan. (2.5. 21-3) (220-21)

Kahn also affirms, “In the dizzying succession of defeats and victories, quarrels and reconciliations that follow Antony’s defeat at Actium, he undergoes an experience of self-loss triggered not so much by defeat at Caesar’s hands as by his sense of betrayal at Cleopatra’s: not defeat *per se*, but what he perceives as domination by a woman, is what unmans Antony" (232).

Quite contrary to the popular belief, Cleopatra's beauty (or even the lack of it) did not count much with the Romans or the Egyptians. Plutarch averred that her sexiness stemmed from her intelligence and described her as a brilliant leader. Stacy Schiff, the author of '*Cleopatra: A life*' (2010) has drawn attention to the sterling qualities of Cleopatra's character. Leaving aside her physical beauty and sexiness, she describes Cleopatra as "a commanding woman, versed in politics, diplomacy and governance, fluent in nine languages, silver-tongued and charismatic." (Kakutani "The Woman").

Ethnically, Cleopatra was a Greek and descended from Alexander the Great's general Ptolemy I Soter. But she was the first in the dynasty to learn and speak the Egyptian language in order to establish direct rapport with her subjects. She is supposed to have written some books also on a variety of subjects such as weights and measures, cosmetics and even magic. Recent feminists have revived the studies in Cleopatra as a queen and woman of substance who could bring the emperors on their knees not by her seductive strategies but through her political acumen. Alessandra Stanley records, "'We have sought to show her as the ancient Egyptians saw her, as a very effective queen who was very well loved", said Susan Walker, a British Museum historian who helped curate the no-nonsense exhibition, "Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt" (Stanley "Cleopatra, Career Woman"). She further quotes Mary Hamer, who teaches cultural history at Harvard and wrote an essay on the myths of Cleopatra for the exhibition's catalogue, "The sheer belief of this exhibit is to say: Forget all that stuff about sex and love. Here is a capable ruler who was highly intelligent, a brilliant linguist and an admirable administrator" (Stanley "Cleopatra, Career Woman").

Cleopatra's foreign policy aimed at securing not only her own safety but also the security of her country, maintaining Egypt's independence from the rapidly expanding Roman Empire, "in one papyrus dated to 35 B.C. Cleopatra is called 'philopatris', 'she who loves her country'. By identifying herself as a truly Egyptian pharaoh, Cleopatra used patriotism to cement her position." (Crawford "Who was Cleopatra?").

As a stateswoman, Cleopatra plays her cards skilfully. At first, she establishes intimate relationship with Julius Caesar, the most powerful dictator of Rome. Her presenting herself, in order to have audience with Caesar, tumbling out of a carpet when it is unrolled speaks volumes for her intelligence, ingenuity and inventiveness. Interestingly, Caesar was also an equal player in the game. He also found it more accommodating to rule Egypt through Cleopatra. Suetonius, the historian on Roman politics comments:

When he found Pompey dead, he waged a very difficult war on king Ptolemy whom he perceived plotting treachery against him. Both time and place were convenient: it was winter and the enemy was skilful and well supplied within the city walls. Caesar lacked supplies and preparation. Victorious, Caesar allowed Cleopatra and her younger brother Ptolemy to rule Egypt, since he feared that if he made it a province, in the future it might be a means of political insurrection for a rather impetuous governor. (Jones *Cleopatra: A Sourcebook* 54)

With Caesar's help, Cleopatra's rival brother-cum-husband Ptolemy XIII is defeated and drowned in the Nile. Then she gets her another brother Ptolemy XIV killed. Thus, her own survival and that of her son Caesarion begotten from Julius Caesar is ensured. At the same time, Cleopatra does not stop being human and has a life full of passion, vivacity and exuberance when she has Caesar as her partner. Michiko Kakutani, in her *New York Times* review of Stacy Schiff's *Cleopatra: A Life* analyses:

In fact, Cleopatra and Caesar had not only complementary political agendas, Ms. Schiff observes, but also closely matched personalities: both were congenial, charismatic, quick-tongued people with an intellectual curiosity that was the trademark of their age, a light heartedness and a humour that set them apart from their peers. Both were natural performers. Both had daringly crossed lines in their bids for power; both had let the dice fly. Both, she continues, had as great a capacity for work as for play and rarely distinguished between the two. Caesar was so impressed with Cleopatra's kingdom that on returning to Rome he would establish a series of reforms, inspired partly by what he had observed in Egypt: most notably, laying the foundation for a public library, commissioning an official census and planning a series of engineering innovations based on Egypt's sophisticated locks and dikes. ("The Woman Who had the World Enthralled")

When Julius Caesar is assassinated in the Roman Senate in 44 B.C, she develops close ties with the great Roman ruler, Antony for personal reasons as well as in the interest of her country. It is a fine stroke of diplomatic move. With the combined forces of her own army and that of Antony, her country could successfully meet any foreign invasion and preserve its sovereignty. But again, Antony was not a fool to fall to Cleopatra's designs without a thorough consideration of his diplomatic requirements. He, too, needed Cleopatra as his political ladder as much as she did him. Here, it would not be out of place to suspect an inverted strategy; Antony exploited this opportunity and seduced Cleopatra to make his political career. Kakutani, reviewing *Cleopatra: A Life*, reveals:

As for Antony, Ms. Schiff writes, he had immediate, practical needs. Egypt's wealth could help underwrite his military ambitions that dovetailed with Cleopatra's long-range imperial ambitions and her thirst for territory. Unlike most Romans, Antony had longtime experience with quick-thinking, capable women (including his mother and his wife), while Cleopatra shared his taste for theatre and the ability to indulge it.

The possibility of inverted positions is not a mere fantasy, rather, it has been supported by many modern historians. Stanley M. Burstein also records in his *The Reign of Cleopatra* (2004):

While Antony's superiority over Octavian was declining, Cleopatra's position in Egypt was gradually improving. The details are lost, but the extensive programme of temples and monument building Cleopatra undertook in Upper Egypt and Alexandria in honour of herself and Caesarion indicates that she took advantage of her kingdom's recovery

from the famine and plague years of late 40s BCE to build support for her kingdom in the Pharaonic manner. With her hold on Egypt secure, Cleopatra's position was much stronger when Antony summoned her to Antioch to discuss his planned invasion of Parthia than it had been at the time of their first meeting at Tarsus four years earlier. (25)

Subsequently, Cleopatra takes up Antony as her lover, who abandons his wives, first Fulvia and then Octavia for her (Cleopatra's) sake and lives with Cleopatra in Egypt, neglecting the affairs of his own country. She has three children by him. When Antony is defeated by Octavius Caesar, Julius Caesar's nephew, in the war, he kills himself on hearing the news of Cleopatra's death (which is fabricated by Cleopatra to test his love for her). Thereafter, knowing that Antony has taken his life, Cleopatra, too, commits suicide uttering:

“Husband, I come;  
Now to that name, my courage proves my title.” (5.2.288-89)

Now the question arises; Is Cleopatra right in calling Antony her husband? One answer is that the last words of a dying person are taken to be true even by the court of Justice. The other answer is provided by Stanley M. Burstein, who says in his book, *The Reign of Cleopatra* (2004) that Antony married Cleopatra in 33-32 B.C (xvi). If Burstein's statement is authentic and can be relied upon, it absolves them of the charge of adultery levelled against them, proving that their relation was not illicit. Turner also says:

Cleopatra is said to be an expert in the ancient art of the courtesans which she has been accused of having practised successfully upon Pompey and Julius Caesar. But in the case of Antony, her aim is love and it is also Antony's. It is the merest fatuity of moralizing to deny the name of 'love' to their passion and write it off as 'mere lust'. Maybe, it is not the highest kind of love; but it has in it something that should be an element in the highest kind of love; and, at least, it is the passion of human beings and not of animals, of the spirit as well as of body. (83-84)

Notwithstanding her dark complexion (if Plutarch is to be believed), Cleopatra embodies in her personality irresistible charm, a sort of magnetic force that draws, besides some contemporary high-ups, two most powerful Roman generals, Julius Caesar and Mark Antony, one after the other, towards her, pulling at their heartstrings and becoming their weakness. Her manoeuvring in establishing human relations and conducting the state-affairs should not be wholly attributed to her bewitching beauty that she is supposed to have (though some knowledgeable authors deny it altogether). The other traits of her character outweigh the influence of her physical appearance. Hence, her larger than life portrait emerges in the final act of *Antony and Cleopatra* despite her earlier flaws. As Stephan Greenblatt in his essay “Culture” says,

For great works of art are not neutral relay stations in the circulation of cultural materials. Something happens to objects, beliefs, and practices when they are repressed, reimagined, and performed in literary texts, something often unpredictable and disturbing. That “something” is a sign both of power of art and of the embeddedness of culture in the contingencies of history. (*Practicing New Historicism* 230-31)

To conclude, it may be said that Shakespeare was a genius in delineating the character of Cleopatra with dreamlike fantasy, but he slandered her to satisfy the contemporary society’s masculinist urges. However, his valorisation in the final act unsettles the placid waters. The glorious image of Cleopatra in the last act is unpredictable as well as disturbing as it does not proceed logically. Hence, it is not a confusion of stylistic or generic frameworks that leads to ambiguity of the heroine’s character, rather, it is a cultural manoeuvring and a historical wish on the part of a male dramatist not to acknowledge a woman’s greatness to which Shakespeare ultimately succumbed. Still, the artistic perfection is achieved through objective correlative in the various sets of images, situations and series of events through the genius of Shakespeare.

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## Nature of Intertextuality in the Poems of Jibanananda Das: A Cognitive Poetics Approach



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### **Abstract**

The Pragmatics of intertextuality is viewed as a broader cognitive and contextual reality that prompts readers into forming intertextual connections between texts. Intertextuality refers to overt allusions forming a functional part of a narrative, marked or unmarked quotations from other texts as well as references to names of literary characters etc. In poetry, intertextuality is seen as the result of a cooperative process between the poetic text and the readers. With a cognitively informed approach if we place primacy on readers, we can see that intertextuality is better understood not as a property of the text itself, but as a cognitive modality of perception. In the poems of Jibanananda Das, intertextual elements are abundant and very much creative. When readers try to find implicatures from such utterances, they discover themselves lost in a world of indeterminacy as well as a highly creative poetic world. My paper aims at studying what type of ‘cognitive stance’ is taken by readers when they come across intertextual elements in the poems of Jibanananda Das. The proposed paper adds new ideas to critical studies in Bengali since it draws sufficient nourishment from pragmatics and cognitive linguistics.

**Keywords:** Jibanananda Das, poetry of Jibananadadas, Intertextuality, intertextual frames, cognitive stance, Plesionyms, Hyponymy

### **Introduction**

Jibanananda Das (1899-1954) was a leading Bengali poet of the Post-Tagore era. His most widely read poetic collections are “Rupashi Bangla” (Beautiful Bengal; 1934), “Dhusar Pandulipi” (Grey Manuscript; 1936), “Banalata Sen” (1942), “Mahaprithivi” (The Great Universe; 1944), “Satti Tarar

Timir” (Darkness of Seven Stars; 1948), “Bela Obela Kalbela” (Times, Bad Times, End Times; 1961), etc.

To begin my discussion on the nature of intertextual links in his poems, I shall first invoke the great French philosopher and literary theorist Roland Barthes who said that a text is “a tissue of quotations drawn from innumerable centers of culture” (1995:125). As I have mentioned in the ‘abstract’, intertextuality refers to overt allusions forming a functional part of a narrative, marked or unmarked quotations from other texts as well as references to names of characters, themes genres etc. Some critics like Barthes (1977, 1995), Genette (1992, 1997), Rifaterre (1978, 1980) viewed intertextuality as a property of the text itself. But with a cognitively informed approach, we see that it is a broader contextual and cognitive reality, a modality of perception.

In “The Bounded Text” (1960), Julia Kristeva views that a text is a ‘permutation of texts, an intertextuality in a space of a given text’. Even in Bakhtin’s ideas of “dialogism” and “heteroglossia” (1981,1986), there are some ideas of intertextuality. What is prominent from the ideas is that any discourse is informed by other discursive elements or voices and seeks to alter or inform it.

If the poems of Jibanananda Das are viewed from an encyclopedic approach to meaning construction, then it may be observed that words are points of access to vast repositories of structured knowledge. Hence the meaning is always realized in terms of those repositories and context of use. While reading a poem, a reader takes a cognitive stance i.e. a reader places himself/herself to a certain space in the reality of the text controlled by specific cues found in the text. Intertextuality can shed light on such cognitive stance which is actually a readiness to accept things or to deal with process, events, people, etc.

### **1. Different Types of Intertextual Frames and Their Functions in the Poems of Jibanananda Das**

In order to observe the intertextual connections and their probable efficacy in the interpretative procedure of the poems of Jibanananda Das, I shall view intertextuality from three dimensions:

- i. Semantic intertextual frames,
- ii. Topical intertextual frames and
- iii. Stylistic intertextual frames.

#### **1.1. Semantic Intertextual Frames and the Poems of Jibanananda Das**

The meaning of a word is a ‘function of sentential context’ (Evans: 2009) which guides the encyclopedic knowledge to which a word relates in a given usage. An act of reading a text is actually a situated interpretation and it is context-specific. Evans (2009:218) observes that the first step of a reading act is ‘selection’ of appropriate lexical concept. The next step is an ‘integration’ with other lexical concept in the utterance.

*Gobhir hawar raat chilo kaal --- asankha nakshetrer raat;  
Sararaat bistera hawea amar masherite kheleche;  
Masherita phule utheche kakhono mausumi samudrer peter moto,  
Kokhono bichana chinre  
Nakshetrer dike urea jete cheyechheye;  
Ek ekber mane hochhelo amar --- adho ghumer bhiter hoito ---*

*Mathar upper mashari nei amar,  
Swatitarar kol gheshe neel hawar smuddre sada baker moto urche se.*

Translation: Last night it was an intensely windy night  
A night of innumerable stars,  
An expansive wind played about my mosquito net;  
At times billowing it like the belly of a monsoon sea,  
At times tearing it off the bed as if to cast to the stars;  
Sometimes I felt ---- may be in partial-sleep ----- that there was  
No net on my bed,  
That it was drifting like a white heron  
In an ocean of blue winds alongside the Swati star.  
[“Howar Raata” (A Windy Night), 1-8]

While going through these lines, a reader can have access to a potentially large number of knowledge structures. Here are narrow selections like ‘mosquito net’, ‘windy night’ etc as well as broad selections like ‘Swati star’ etc. When these are integrated, the inherent semantic potentiality of such words gives rise to other layer/layers of meaning. the ‘mosquito net’ may relate shackles of existence and contrarily, ‘white heron’ may appear to be a mark of freedom. Similar frame may be discovered in Rabindeanath Tagore’s poem “Balaka”. In both the poems the poetic entity seeks freedom in the infinity of existence.

When the readers of a text come across such intertextual links, they need to bring together two types of information:

- i. Text specific information and
- ii. Their intertextual knowledge triggered by a lexical item

As in the following lines:

*Hazar bachar dhare ami hanthitechee prithivir pathe,  
Singhal samuddra theke nishither andhakare malay sagare  
Anek ghurechee ami; Bimbisar Ashoker dhusar jagate  
Sekhane chilam ami; aro dur andhakare Bidarbha nagare;  
Ami klanta pran ek, charidike jibaner samudra safen,  
Amare du danda shanty diyechilo Natorer Banalata Sen.*

Translation: A thousand years I have walked these paths,  
From the harbour of Malacca in the dark of night  
To the straits of Ceylon at glimmer of dawn.  
Much have I travelled—  
The grey world of Ashoka-Bimbisara,  
Further yet,  
The dark city of Vidharbha;  
Around me life foams its stormy breath.  
Weary of soul,

I found a moment's respite in her presence—  
She: Banalata Sen of Natore.  
(Banalata Sen; lines- 1-6).

Here both types of information are brought together in an online processing domain termed as intertextual frame. Semantic intertextual frames arise from the identification of a single lexical item that triggers the reader's intertextual knowledge stored in the cognitive model Literary Entity. They arise from:

- a. Direct access routes and
- b. Indirect access routes.

## 2. Direct Access Routes

Direct access routes are created when a lexical concept affords access directly to the primary cognitive model Literary Entity triggering the formation of an intertextual frame. This takes place when same lexical item is identified in the source and the activated text alike. Any open-class lexical item is capable of triggering this type of connection. As for example I shall first mention a translation of Jibanananda Das's poem "Hai Chill" (Kite, alas) from poetic collection "Banalata Sen":

*Hai chill, sonali danar chill, ei bhije megher dupure  
Tumi ar kendonako urei-urei Dhanshiri naditir pashe  
Tomar kannar sure betar phaler moto tar mlan chokh mone ashe...*

Translation: Kite, alas, golden-winged kite, in this noon of moist clouds,  
Cry no more as you fly beside the Dhansiri river!  
Your keening brings back her eyes, pale like cane fruit.

The lexical items like 'cry' and 'eyes' remind us of a poem by W B Yeats:

O curlew, cry no more in the air  
Or only to the water in the west,  
Because your crying brings to my mind  
Passion-dimmed eyes and long heavy hair.

There are also cases where such knowledge originates from a plurality of sources and it is closely related to the reader's cultural knowledge. Such an example is mythological knowledge and the possible intertextual connections that arise due to the identification of mythological figures in a text. In Jibanananda Das's poetic collections like Jharapalak, Banalata Sen, Maha Prithivi, Rupashi Bangla, Satti Tarar Timir, Bela Abela Kalbela etc we find extensive exploitation of Hindu Mythology. In the poem Deshbandhu from poetic collection Jharapalak, the reference to 'Dadhichi' is such a lexical concept. Dadhichi sacrificed his body for using his bones for preparing thunder that was used by the king of Gods, Indra, to kill Batrasur. Hence 'Dadhichi' becomes an epitome of self-sacrifice. With a glance at contemporary history of Bengal, we find that the social and personal life was very much corrupted, and the poet sought reference to 'Purana' for the quest of a reformation.

Again, in the poem “Amishashi Tarabari” in the poetic collection “Maha Prithivi”, the reference to cunning conspirator ‘Shakuni’ from the Mahabharata, bears another significance. We know that Shakuni made a deep-delved conspiracy to demolish the Kuru Dynasty. Though Shakuni was killed in Kurukshetra War, he was ultimately successful in his mission. The contemporary society of Jibanananda reflects the same image of a dark era of destruction. In several poems of “The Rupashi Bangala”, Goddess Lakshmi and her vehicle ‘Owl’ have been mentioned to refer to the prosperous condition of Bengal. In many poetic collections of Jibanananda like “Jharapalak”, “Banalata Sen”, “Maha Prithivi”, “Rupashi Bangla”, etc, the readers come across scores of references from the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and the deities like Shiva, Vishnu, Krishna etc. Hence, the ‘Mythological Entity’ gives the readers entry to ‘Literary Entity’.

### 3. Cognitive Synonyms and Plesionym

*“Is it an indigo-laden blue field?  
Or is it an azure sky?” (Kartiker Bhorbela)*

Here the words are cognitively synonymous with another word, as they refer to the same thing independently of context. A word becomes cognitively synonymous with another word if all instances of both words express the same exact thing and the referents are necessarily identical. It means that the ‘interchangibility’ of such words is not context-sensitive. Cruse (1986) gives the example of ‘hide’ and ‘conceal’. Cruse (1996:284) views that the difference between cognitively synonymous words lie in their ‘expressive meaning’ that Cruse associates with style, namely ‘the language characteristics that make different relations between participants in a linguistic exchange’. Some more examples may be the lexical items like extinguish, die, perish etc. Since cognitive synonyms share by and large the same association areas, they form intertextual connections.

Death appears in various forms in the poems of Jibanananda Das with a cognitive synonymy. Here are some examples from the poetic collection of “Rupashi Bangla”:

- i. *Je ingite nakshatra o jhare*  
Tr. The gesture that causes the stars to **fall**.
- ii. *Kuashai jhare pare dike dike rupsali dhan*  
Tr. Lovely paddy **drops down** in fog in different places.

“Plesionyms” designate very similar concepts and at the same time exhibit slight meaning differences so that they cannot be considered identical in meaning (Cruse, 1986:285; Storjohann 2009). An interesting feature of Plesionyms is that they shade gradually into non-synonymy. There is always one member of a Plesionymous pair in which it is possible to assert, without paradox, while simultaneously denying the other member (Cruse 1986,285).

Let us view a few lines from the poem “Adbhut andhar ek” ( A strange darkness):

*Advut andhar ek eseche e prithivite aaj  
Jara andha sabcheye besi aaj chokhe dekhe tara..*

(Transl.) A strange **darkness** has come upon the world today,  
They who are most **blind** now see,

In the first two lines two lexical items ‘darkness’ and ‘blindness’ denote different ideas. But here they are cognitively synonymous.

#### 4. Indirect Access Routes

Intertextual connections may also be formed through indirect access routes or looser lexical associations. A prominent form of such cases is ‘hyponymy’. Hyponymy is a relation in which the meaning of one item is included in the meaning of the other. In the poems of Jibanananda Das we find a number of names like owl, crow, shalik, pigeon, kite etc all of which are hyponyms of the lexical concept ‘bird’. Hyponymy involves entailment. A familiar idiomatic expression ‘as wise as an owl’ is embodied in the poem “Pencha” (‘Owl’) where it lacks animality and becomes an epitome of wisdom and intellect. Still it creates a separate world of its own with the less important avian entities like crow, pigeon, shalik, sparrow etc. In the legendary poem “Banalata Sen”, the expression “eye like a bird’s nest” may refer to a quest for a peaceful abode. “Trees” also come with myriad images and mystique forms:

*Banglar much ami dekhiyachhi  
Tai prithvir rup khujite jai na aar  
Andhokaar jege othe **dumurer** gache  
Cheye dekhi chhatar moton boro patatir niche bose ache  
Bhorer doyel pakhi  
Charidike pallaber stup. **Aam jam kanthaler**  
**Hijoler asother** kore ache chup.*

Transl. I have seen the face of Bengal  
I need not look for the beauty of the earth.  
When I arise in darkness I see in the **Dumur** plants  
A Doyel bird of morning sitting under a big leaf as large as an umbrella.  
I see everywhere heaps of leaves of the **mango**, the **plum**, the **jackfruit**  
The **Hijal**, the **peepal** trees  
All in silence.

All these reflect a silent and sublime appearance of Bengal. Thus, a single lexical item may offer access to encyclopaedic knowledge and initiate intertextual links. The readers try to recall and combine them to create a resonant link.

#### 5. Topical Intertextual Frame

Topical intertextual frames are created on the basis of similarities between themes of two or more literary works. Here readers activate multiple models that create global effects on reading experiences. For example, I quote a few lines from Jibanananda Das’ “Rupashi Bangla”.

There is a place in this earth---the most beautiful—serene

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Where green banks are totally covered with ‘madhucopy’ grass  
There the names of trees are: jackfruits, peepul, banyan, jarul and hijal.

We find a thematic similarity of these lines with W B Yeats’ poem : ‘The Lake Isle of Inisfree’:

I will arise and go now, and go to inisfree,  
And a small cabin built there, of clay and wattles made;  
Nine bean rows will I have there, a hive for the honey bee,  
And live alone in the beeloud glade.

In the ‘discourse world’ of both the poems, the narrative voices use certain textual elements in order to construct the ‘text world’. The most prominent world building elements are related to time, place and entities. As Stockwell (2003: 253) notices, readers need to keep track these entities along with the viewpoint that form the ‘fictional world’. This ‘fictional world’ becomes objects of the active, evolving and recycling cultural memory (Dolzel 1998).

Transl. After the sunset, a certain lonely-haired darkness  
Appears to fix her hair in a bun but by whose hands?  
But it remains loose and flowing as she stares out but  
For whom?

Here the reference to ‘loose hair’ may remind a competent reader of the humiliated and bespattered condition of ‘Droupadi’ in the Mahabharata. When Dusshasana humiliated Draupadi, she made a pledge that she would not fix her hair in bun until she could drench it with the blood of Dusshasana. Now, does it insinuate that the contemporary Bengal needed someone as mighty as Bhima in Mahabharata to protect the women from humiliation? In the poem “Banalata Sen” also, there are a number of historical references:

**Natore:** a place in today’s Bangladesh in the district of Rajshahi, noted for the palace of Rani (queen) Bhabani, a noted social worker.

**Bimbisara:** a great king of Haryanka dynasty of ancient Magadha and a protector of Buddhist culture.

**Ashoka the Great:** a great emperor of Maurya Dunasty, noted for his promotion of Buddhism.

**Vidharbha:** a place situated in Maharashtra in the northern part of the Deccan plateau, also an abode of some rulers who patronized the construction of some of the caves of famous Ajanta.

**Shravasti:** one of the six largest cities in India during the life time of Gautam Buddha who spent a part of his Monastic life in Shravasti.

**Vidisha:** a prosperous town in central India, now located in Madhya Pradesh; Emperor Ashoka governed here during his father’s lifetime.

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Again, these lines from the poem “Hi Chill” (Kite, Alas): *‘ke hai hriday khunre bedeana jagate bhalobase’* (trans. Who would want to suffer, digging up sorrow from the heart’s recesses?), remind us of that famous line from Shelley’s “Ode to the West Wind”: “I fall upon the thorns of life! I bleed!” Here one thing must be mentioned that topical intertextual frames are very closely related to semantic intertextual frames. Topical frames are activated when a reader comes across various lexical items that give rise to related semantic intertextual frames.

## 6. Stylistic Intertextual Frames

Stylistic intertextual frames are related to the act of identification of formal and structural characteristics including quotations in a literary text. Here the idea of ‘genre’ is very closely related to the stylistic intertextual frames. For example, the poems in the poetic collection “Rupashi Bangla” are all sonnets some of which follow Petrarchian tradition of Octave and Sestet and some others follow Shakespearean model of three quatrains and a concluding couplet. We also find examples of some “ornamental quotations” that are actually repetition of a pretext in a subsequent text. As for instance, W B Yeats writes in his poem ‘The White Birds’:

For I would we were changed to white birds on the  
Wondering foam: I and you....

Jibanananda writes in ‘Ami Jadi Hotam’ (‘If I were’):

If I were a wild drake, were you a wild duck...

‘Schema’ plays a vital role in identification of such frames. In a number of poems of Jibanananda like ‘Ghora’ (Horse), ‘Horinera’ (Deer), ‘Buno Hans’ (Wild Duck), ‘Hower Raat’ (Windy Night) etc, there is an influence of Surrealistic thoughts.

We are not yet dead – yet images are born all the time:  
On the moon-lit pasture of an autumn night, Mohin’s horses graze,  
As if from the Stone Age – still roaming, greedy for grass,  
On this grotesque dynamo of the earth.

.....

In the round table the serene breath of time  
Blows out the paraffin lamp,  
As it touches the horses’ Neolithic moonlit silence.

(“Ghora”; Lines 1-4; 9-11; translation Utpal kr Basu)

Here are ample illustrations of the workings of the sub-conscious mind. Here manifested dreams and emotions are not controlled by reason or chain of logic.

## 7. Creativity and Intertextuality

From all the examples so far discussed, it may be said that intertextuality is a realization of the potentiality of language for indefinite extension of its resources to new contexts and situation. For a holistic consideration of creativity, the semantic, topical and stylistic intertextual frames must be taken

into consideration. Among the three frames I have discussed, semantic intertextual frames are most creative since their creation depends solely on the cognitive models, individual readers possess. It depends on the activation of cognitive model 'Literary Entity' associated with a particular lexical concept. Here intertextual links create added layer of meaning. The richness that intertextual knowledge creates in the 'text world' exposes the creative nature of intertextuality. Here readers' creativity is seen as their ability to furnish the intertextuality based text world and richness that it acquires. But in case of stylistic intertextual frames, the degree of readers' creativity is more limited. Here the role of the author is more prominent because it is based on generic schematic activation. Moreover, affective responses like emotion are deeply correlated with intertextuality.

Readers can easily identify themselves with the protagonist of a literary text and sympathise with the feelings of the authorial intention. Such mode of communicative operation also serves as an adjustment of social relations. In this way the intertextual elements in the poems of Jibanananda Das are very much creative.

## 8. Conclusion

'Walking' bears a special meaning in different poems of Jibanananda Das. The poet himself walked extensively across various avenues of human thoughts, contextualized them in his own way and created a valid domain for 'aesthetic aptness'. By considering the intertextual links in the poems of Jibanananda Das the readers can have a distinct view of the text world created by both the poet and the readers. Both the author and the reader share a common cognitive space in relation to the alluded text. The structure of the text enriched with intertextual connections enhances the probable implicated premises of the text. The current approach also captures impressionist readings and emphasizes the importance of investigating responses of 'real readers'.

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## Phonology of the Language of Uraly Tribes

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### Abstract

Tribes, a cognate group of people, featuring some amount of cultural and linguistic homogeneity. They are the integral part of our civilization and having rich distinct cultural heritage. According to the 2011 census, tribal people constitute 8.6% of the nation's total population. The total Scheduled Tribe population of Kerala, as per latest census (2011) is 4,84,839 which constitute 1.45% of the total population of the State and it has 37 Scheduled Tribes recognized by the Government. The present paper tries to find out the Phonological aspects of language of Uraly Tribal Community. A brief description of the general Demographic profiling of the community is also given for the statistic understanding of the community. Present work is focused on the Uraly tribal community in the Idukki district. Based on descriptive phonological analysis, total number of Vowels and Consonants is listed and their distribution, gemination, cluster formation, etc., are also mentioned.

**Keywords:** Uraly, Kerala Tribes, Shamanic, Vowel, Consonant, Syllable, Dialect, Shaman, Uuru

### Introduction

The tribes of Kerala are descendants of the Pre- historic settlers of the region. Kerala has around 37 Scheduled Tribe Communities. The total Scheduled Tribe population of Kerala, according to 2011 census is 484839 which constitute 1.45% of the total population of Kerala in which the total population of Kerala is 33406061([www.censusindia.gov.in](http://www.censusindia.gov.in)). Indian Tribal group constitutes 10.4 % of the total population of the country. Tribes are the integral part of Indian civilization and possess rich cultural heritage. The tribes of Kerala are descendants of the Pre-historic settlers of the region. Most of them are settled in the district of Wayanad, Idukki, Palakkad, Kasargod and Malappuram districts. Wayanad district has the maximum number, close to 38.4% of the overall population (Researchers, 2011).

### Aim and Objectives

The main objective of this proposal is to study the phonological aspects of Uraly Language of Uraly Community in the Idukki district of the state of Kerala.

## Literature Review

“The influence of the Dominant Language” an article written by Dr. Sam Mohan Lal in the international Journal ‘Language in India, edited by Dr. MS Thirumalai and B. Mallikarjun in 2002 is an excellent work regarding mother tongue influence of Uraly in the Tamil background. In this article he pointed out that the Uralys have frequent verbal and other material interaction with the non Uraly, especially the Tamils living in the region and the impact is reflected in their cultural aspect as well as their language aspect. In this study he was focused on the Uraly community in the Satyamangalam Taluk of the Periyar district in Tamilnadu State.

The descriptive analysis of Uraly by Dr Sam Mohan Lal, published by CIIL in 1991 was an excellent study regarding the language of Uraly Language. In this study, the author pointed out that the Vowel system exhibits some structural holes so as the vowels /i/ and /o/ do not have their centralized counterparts. As Robert Hall pointed out in his book ‘Introductory Linguistics in 1964, that ‘the phonetic change precedes Phonemic change’; like ways the phonetic change that has occurred in the Uraly speech may be ‘its first instance’. He identified that Uraly language has 36 segmental phonemes where 16 are vowels and 20 are consonants. And he declared that the Vowel sounds are classified into two, namely, centralized vowel series and noncentralized vowel series.

Grammar of Uraly language written by Syama is an excellent work regarding Uraly community at Idukki district Kerala.

An article published by Mallikarjun. B published in the International Journal Language in India in 2002 according to the 1961 Government of India Census is an excellent article related to mother tongues. In this article, certain language chart was published, and it contains 1652 mother tongues. The author pointed out that identified mother tongues may not have been identical to the languages, dialects or even speech forms of Individual.

‘The Shamanic Healing experiences and religious system among Uraly Tribes of India; A Sociological Analysis’ was one of the best articles written by Indu V Menon in the Journal of Kirtads, Vol. I, 2017 March, PP (18-26). In this article the author detailing briefly about the shamanic performance regarding the Uraly tribal communities of Kerala state.

## Methodology and Data collection

Descriptive and Analytical methodologies are followed in this study. First of all, during data collection identification of sounds, terms and conversation may give more emphasis. Primary data will be collected through extensive field work. Various methods may be used in this study such as Observation, Discussions, Interview methods and surveys. Secondary data

may be collected from official records, books, Library reference, etc. So, the present study uses both primary and secondary data.

### **Statement of the Problem**

Uraly Language of Uraly tribal community is in the state of language endangerment. The education of tribes is still a big problem. Most of the Tribal languages do not have a script. A small number of students have the real opportunity for education in the medium of their mother tongues. In spite of a lot of efforts, they have not yet been brought to the mainstream. Almost all are admitted to schools, but a majority among them became dropouts. Low level school learning was found among tribal children not only because of household factors but also problems with the language of instruction which is quite distinct from their mother tongue.

### **Need of the Study**

This study is very important for the language of Uraly tribe. It would be more useful for the teachers, students and researchers. This study will provide a comprehensive understanding of the Uraly Community's native language.

### **Uraly**

Uraly tribal communities were residing at Idukki, Kottayam, Wayanad districts of the state of Kerala. The etymology of the term 'Uraly' is 'rulers' (Ali or Alunnavan) of the land (ūru) (Indu V Menon, 2017). More number of Uraly tribal communities is residing in Idukki. In the district of Wayanad, Mullukurumans refer them as Kuruman so as to distinguish them from Uralykuruman, whereas the Uraly Kurumans refer themselves as Uraly to distinguish themselves from Mullukurumans. Both of them have to be enumerated as Kurumans. But Uralykurumans are enumerated as Uraly and they are also included along with the Uraly of Idukki district, a quite distinct tribal Community (Scheduled Tribes of Kerala, at a glance, KIRTADS, 2003).

Uraly tribal people are rich in the traditional knowledge like other tribal groups of Kerala. Approximately 58% of the total Uraly populations in Kerala live in highland region of Peerumedu and Thodupuzha taluks of Idukki District and parts of Wayanad district. The Uraly population is mostly living in rural areas, whereas a small number of Uraly people live in urban areas in search of jobs (Researchers, Kirtads, 2013). The shamanic ritual practices of the Uraly tribe are called 'Eluppam Kuthth'. In this process the shaman invokes the spirit into a square shaped box known as 'Eluppam petti'. This process is called 'Cheppikkal'. Usually this type of practices starts in the dusk and the night. (Indu V Menon, 2017).

According to 1991 census report, the total tribal population of the state is 320967, which is 1.10% of total population of the state, 39098518. According to 1991 Census, the total Uraly community population is 10335, in which total male population is 5316 and Female population is 5019. Percentage of total tribal population is 3.22. Uraly tribal population in the

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Idukki district is 5843, Kottayam district is 617, Pathanamthitta district is 1155 and in Wayanad district is 2469. According to 2001 Census total population of the Uraly Community is 11103. Total male population is 5545 and female population is 5558. Sex ratio is 1002 and literacy ratio is 63.33. According to Kila report, Uraly population in the Idukki district is 6823, Kottayam district is 671. The population among Wayanad district is 3466, that of Idukki district is 6438 and Kottayam district has a population of 675 people. According to 2011 Government of India Census total population of Uraly tribal community in the Kerala state is 11179. Total male and female populations were 5602 and 5577 respectively. Total sex ratio is 996 and literacy ratio is 80.1. The total percentage of Kerala is 2.3%. According to 2011 Census, total Uraly Tribal community population is distributed in four districts namely Idukki, Kottayam, and Wayanad as 6515, 666 and 3654 and the total households is 3298 respectively. The demographic features of scheduled tribes described in the book 'Scheduled Tribes of Kerala: Report on the Socio Economic Status' published by Scheduled Tribe department, Government of Kerala details the distribution of Uraly community in grama panchayats is given below (Report on the socio Economic Status, 2013).

Sl No	District	Families	Population			
			Male	Female	Total	%
1	Kottayam	183	333	338	671	8.87
2	Idukki	1894	3478	3345	6823	98.28
3	Ernakulam	22	37	28	65	0.85
Total		2099	3848	3711	7559	100

**Table. 1:** Distribution of Uraly Community in Grama Panchayats (Report on the socio Economic Status, 2013).

Sl No	District	No	Grama panchayats	Population
1	Kottayam	1	Erattupetta	4
		2	Poonjar Thekkekara	319
		3	Teekoy	314
		4	Thalanad	30
		5	Mundakayam	4
2	Idukki	6	Adimali	85
		7	Santhanpara	3
		8	Chinnakanal	9
		9	Vannappuram	684
		10	Udumbanoor	544
		11	Velliyamattom	1796
		12	Karimannoor	13
		13	Idukki Kanjikizhy	491
		14	Vathikudy	12

		15	Arakulam	456
		16	Kamakshy	2
		17	Vazhathope	215
		18	Mariyapuram	14
		19	Upputhara	1777
		20	Kanchiyar	150
		21	Ayyappankovil	308
		22	Kumily	12
		23	Elappara	13
		24	Vandipperiyar	239
3	Ernakulam	25	Kochi(Corporataion)	4
		26	Varappetty	3
		27	Kuttampuzha	49
		28	Palakkuzha	2
		29	Paipra	4
		30	Kothamangalam(Municipality)	3
<b>Total</b>		7559		

**Table. 2:** Detailed distribution of Uraly Community in Grama Panchayats (Report on the socio Economic Status, 2013).

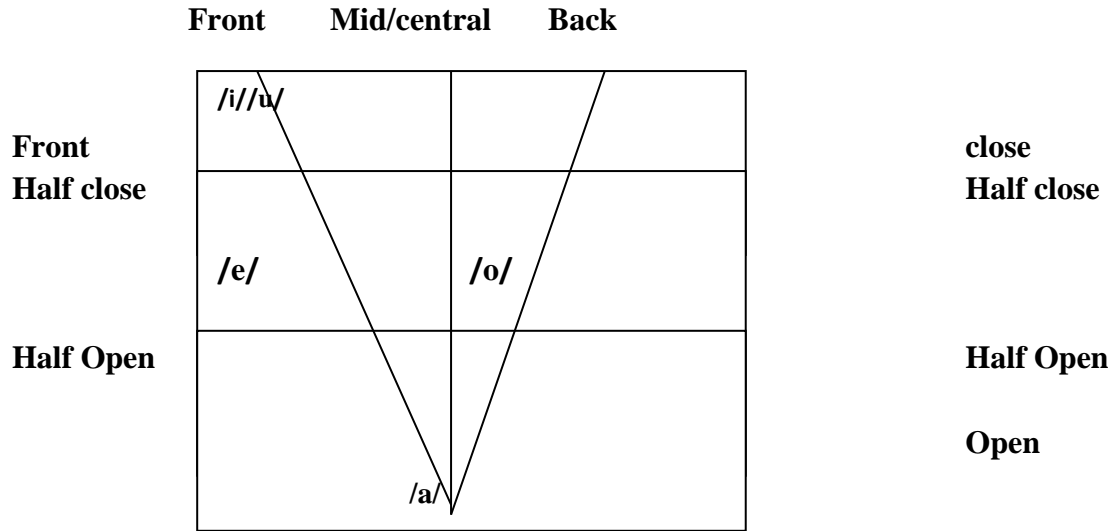
### Phonology

Phonology is a branch of Linguistics which studies the sound system of Languages. Minimum unit in the sound system of a language are called Phonemes. The aim of Phonology is to demonstrate the patterns of distinctive sound found in a language. In Uraly Language, 29 phonemes are identified. Total Vowels identified are 5 and Consonants are 24.

### Vowels

Vowels are sounds in which there are no obstruction to flow of air as it passes from larynx to lips. Vowel phonemes identified in this language are /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/ and /u/ called short Vowels and Long Vowels are classified as /ā/, /ē/, /ī/, /ō/, and /ū/. (CG Syama)





**Fig: 1 Vowel**

	(Front)	(Central)	(Back)
(High)	/i/		/u/
(Mid)	/e/		/o/
(Low)		/a/	

**Table: 3 Positions of Vowels**

**Short Vowels**

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mild	e		o
Low		a	ə

**Table: 4 Positions of Short Vowel**

**Distributions of Short Vowels**

/ a e i o u /

**Short Vowels in Word initial position**

Eg:	/a/	/accilʌ/	‘snail’
	/e/	/eɭēdu/	‘when’
	/i/	/iɖattu/	‘left side’
	/o/	/oyiccu/	‘poured’
	/u/	/uluŋkan/	‘a stingy person’

### Short Vowels in Word Medial Positions

Eg:	/a/	/kaku/	‘vomit’
	/e/	/kaɖɛdu/	‘to steal’
	/i/	/oɖiccu/	‘broke’
	/o/	/toɖa/	‘thigh’
	/u/	/puttimuɖtu/	‘botheration’

### Short Vowels in Word Final Position

Eg:	/a/	/nāɖa/	‘korocene lamps’
	/e/	/peɖɛ/	‘female’
	/i/	/tēnīccii/	‘honeybee’
	/o/	/eppo/	‘when’
	/u/	/naɖu/	‘to plant’

### Long Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	ī		ū
Mild	ē		ō
Low		ā	

Table: 5 Positions of Long Vowels

### Distributions of Long Vowels

/ā ē ī ō ū/

### Long Vowels in Word Initial Position

Eg:	/ī/	/iiRa/	‘reed’
	/ē/	/ēɳa/	‘gum’
	/ā/	/ārttu/	‘cried’
	/ū/	/ūribaru/	‘slip down’
	/ō/	/ōli/	‘pond’

### Long Vowels in Word Medial Positions

Eg:	/ā/	/nāɖa/	‘wrack’
	/ē/	/cēɖatti/	‘elder sister’

/ī/	/cīmpu/	‘to tear’
/ō/	/ōḍōṇ/	‘tortoise’
/ū/	/oRRamūnki/	‘a type of plantain’

### Long Vowels in Word Final Position

Eg: /ā/	Nil
/ē/	Nil
/ī/	Nil
/ō/	Nil
/ū/	Nil

But after analysis it was found that some colloquial terms during conversation and some imperatives and onomatopoeic words has noted with the long sounds.

Eg: nī pō	‘you go’
nī vā	‘you come’
minuminā	‘referring to glittering
niṅgaḷu vṇṇā	‘you come back’?

### Consonants

Consonants are speech sounds during the articulation of which there is an obstruction. That is, Consonants can be defined phonetically as sounds made by closure or narrowing in the vocal tract so that the airflow is either completely blocked or so restricted that the audible friction is produced. It also occurs in word initial, medial and final positions.

(Position of Articulation) → -(Manner of Articulation) ↓	Bilabial vl vd	Labiodental vl vd	Dental vl vd	Alveolar vl vd	Retroflex vl vd	Palatal vl vd	Velar vl vd
<b>Stops/Plosives</b>	<b>p b</b>		<b>t d</b>		<b>ʈɖ</b>	<b>c j</b>	<b>k g</b>
<b>Nasals</b>	<b>m</b>		<b>ṅ</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>ɳ</b>	<b>ɲ</b>	<b>ŋ</b>
<b>Laterals</b>				<b>l</b>	<b>ɭ</b>		
<b>Flaps</b>				<b>r R</b>			
<b>Fricative</b>				<b>s</b>		<b>ś</b>	
<b>Continuant</b>		<b>v</b>				<b>y</b>	

Table: 6 List of Consonants

Based on the position of articulation consonants may be classified in to seven; namely, Bilabial, Labio-Dental, Dental, Alveolar, Retroflex, Palatal and Velar Sounds. Bilabial sounds includes /p/, /m/ and /b/, Labio Dental sounds includes /v/, Dental sounds includes /t/, /d/ and /n/, Alveolar sounds includes /n/, /l/, /s/, /r/ and /R/, Retroflex sounds includes /ʈ/, /ɖ/, /ɳ/ and /ɻ/Palatal sounds includes /ɲ/, /ʃ/, /j/, /j/, /y/and /c/and Velar sounds includes /k/, /g/ and /ŋ/. Likewise based on manner of articulation consonants may be classified in to six; namely, Stops/Plosives, Nasals, Laterals, Flaps, Fricative and Continuant. Stops/Plosives sounds includes /P/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /ɖ/, /ʈ/, /j/, /c/, /k / and /g/, Nasal sounds includes /m/, /n/, /n/, /ɳ/, /ɲ/ and /ŋ/, Laterals sounds includes /l/ and /l/, Flaps sounds includes /r/ and /R/, Fricative sounds includes /s/ and /ʃ/and Continuant sounds includes /v/ and /y/ respectively.

### Distribution of Consonants

Distributions of consonants in the language of Uraly community are described as follows.

#### Bilabial Stops

/p/ is a bilabial voiceless stop identified in this language. It occurs word initially and medially.

/b/ is a bilabial voiced stop, occurs word initially and medially.

Eg:	/petṭemān/	‘male deer’
	/peṭa/	‘hen’
	/cōppu/	‘red’
	/cāmpere/	‘ash’
	/bayinēram/	‘evening’
	/umba/	‘child language to represent cow’

#### Dental Stops

/t/ is Dental voiceless stop, occurs initially and medially

/d/ is Dental voiced stop, occurs word initially and medially.

Eg:	/tēkam/	‘body’
	/tiṅkina/	‘ate’
	/pātaram/	‘vessels’
	/pokkutaṅdu/	‘navel string’
	/dēvi/	‘goddess’
	/kādu/	‘ear’
	/cedu/	‘to that place’

#### Retroflex Stop

/ʈ/ is the voiceless retroflex stop identified in this language. It occurs word medially.

/ɖ/ is the voiced retroflex stop. It occurs word medially.

Eg:	/talakkōṭṭi/	‘skull’
	/miṭṭəḷu/	‘locust’

/ōḍōṇ/	‘tortoise’
/oḍi/	‘to break’
/cekkīḍakkuṇa/	‘that which lay at a distance’

### Palatal Stops

/c/ is the voiceless palatal stop which occurs initially and medially.

/j/ is the voiced palatal stop which occurs initially

Eg: /cuyippi/	‘a hairy spot in head’
/cetti/	‘a species of chrysanthus’
/mudupācci/	‘old woman’
/jimukka/	‘an ear ornament’
/jamandi/	‘a type of flower’

### Velar Stop

/k/ is voiceless velar stop which occurs word initially and medially

/g/ is the voiced velar stop which occurs word initially and medially.

Eg: /kiḷli/	‘armpit’
/kaḷaRkku/	‘to play’
/maryadakkeḍu/	‘disobedience’
/vekku/	‘heat’
/guRakka/	‘watch man’
/pāgupetṭi/	‘nail’
/palagāra/	‘sweet food’
/cagaṇi/	‘the inner fibrous filament of the flesh of the jack fruit’

### Nasals

There are six nasal phonemes identified in this language.

/m/ is the bilabial nasal, which occurs word initially, medially and finally.

Eg: /maḍiyāte//	‘without folding’
/miṭṭum/	‘will shudder’
/nēma//	‘Father’s younger brother’s wife’
/biyyum/	‘will fall’

/n/ is the Alveolar nasals, which occurs word initially, medially and finally.

/noccikkuḍi/	‘to suck’
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/nālu/	‘four’
/manam/	‘happiness’
/nālippūvan/	‘a variety of plantain’

/n/ is the dental nasal, which occurs word initially and medially.

Eg: /nāvu/	‘tongue’
/nari/	‘wolf’
/kuṇcittala/	‘hair tuff’
/paṇcāra/	‘sugar’

/ṇ/ is retroflex nasals which occurs word medially only.

Eg: /tōṇi/	‘burial ground’
/pūṇi/	‘bag’

/ñ/ dental nasal which occurs word initially and medially.

Eg: /ñāññū/	‘earth worm’
/kūññilu/	‘the mid part of a jackfruit’
/kuññi/	‘small’

/ŋ/ is velar nasal occurs word medially.

Eg: /ōruṅkan/	‘a kind of bird’
/tēṅkanni/	‘honeybee’

### Laterals

/l/ and /ɭ/ are two lateral sounds identified in this language

/l/ is Alveolar laterals which occurs word medially.

/ɭ/ is Retroflex laterals which occurs word medially.

Eg: /niyalu/	‘shadow’
/kālu/	‘leg’
/kiḷḷiyaḍilu/	‘below the armpit’
/mōḷinōṇa/	‘in the upper gum’

### Flaps

/r/ is a flap sound identified in this language, which occurs word medially.

/R/ is a flap sound identified in this language, which occurs word medially.

Eg: /iruvaru/	‘two persons’
/irāvāṇi/	‘a type of snake’
/ṛRa/	‘reed’
/tāRuḍukku/	‘wear cloth tucked in a clue’

### Alveolar Fricative

/s/ is Alveolar Fricative which occurs word medially.

Eg: /iruvaru/	‘two persons’
/viśēsam/	‘news’
/satya’/	‘truth

### Palatal Fricative

/ś/ is Palatal Fricative which occurs word medially.

Eg: /pāśi/	‘moss’
/vīśu/	‘to winnow’
/viśēsam/	‘news’

### Continuants

/v/ and /y/ are two continuant phonemes identified in this language.

/v/ is Labiodentals continuant which occurs word initially and medially

/y/ is palatal continuant which occurs word medially.

Eg: /vekku/	‘heat
/vīśu/	‘to winnow’
/veṭṭalu/	‘pain’
/veykkuu/	‘wear’
/vāvalu/	‘bat’
/avāḷu/	‘she’
/koyyu/	‘to reap’
/nodiyatēn/	‘a kind of honey’

### Clusters

Cluster is a term used in connected speech to refer to any sequence of adjacent consonants occurring initially or finally in a syllable.

### Consonant Clusters

When two or more consonants occur together, they are called a consonant cluster. Cluster means group.

### Different Clusters

Eg:	/Rt̪/	/saRt̪/	‘shirt’
	/nR/	/enRe/	‘my’
	/ly/	/kalyāṇa/	‘marriage’
	/yk/	/veyku/	‘to keep’
	/ñk/	/peñka/	‘sister’
	/ṅḍ/	/raṅḍu/	‘two’
	/nt/	/uluntu/	‘niggard’

### Gemination or Identical consonant clusters.

Gemination is nothing but the long consonants.

### Identical Clusters

Eg:	/t̪t̪/	/vet̪t̪u/	‘cut’
	/ṅṅ/	/nallaṅṅa/	‘gingili oil’
	/l̪l̪/	/pulleṃūkk̪an/	‘a species type of tiger’
	/l̪l̪/	/puḷḷi/	‘spot’
	/kk/	/pokuḷu/	‘navel’
	/ññ/	/periññilam/	‘a kind of tree’
	/tt/	/potta/	‘foot’
	/pp/	/appan/	‘father’
	/RR/	/t̪RRiccu/	‘made to eat’
	/mm/	/t̪rummu/	‘to pat’
	/cc/	/talaccoRu/	‘brain’
	/yy/	/koyy akka/	‘guava fruit’
	/nn/	/konna/	‘cassia tree’
	/ññ/	/muḍiññu/	‘ruined’
	/ṅṅ/	/paRṅṅu/	‘flew away’

### Syllable

In a linguistic system the smallest distinctive sound unit is the phoneme. Phonemes combine to form the next higher unit of expression called syllable. A syllable consists of one or more phonemes and a word is made up of one or more syllable. (Dr. S.K. Syam 2016). A syllable is a unit consisting of one vowel or syllabic consonants, which may be preceded or followed by a consonant or consonants. Syllables generally classified in to open syllable and Closed syllable.



### Open Syllable

If a syllable ends in a vowel, it is known as Open Syllable.

Eg: /dēvi/ 'goddess'

### Closed Syllable

If a syllable ends in a consonant it is known as Closed Syllable.

Eg: /pākkān/ 'jackal'

### Syllabification or Syllabic Structures

Syllabification is the term which refers to the division of a word into syllables. A word containing a single syllable is called monosyllabic word and if it contains two syllables, it is called disyllabic word, it contains three syllables it is called Tri syllabic word. And generally, more than one syllable, syllabic words are included in the Poly Syllabic.

### Monosyllabic Words

Eg: V /ā/ 'that'  
CVV /nī/ you  
VCCV /anne/ 'me'

### Disyllabic Words

Eg: CVVCV /nānu/ 'I'

### Trisyllabic Words

Eg: CVCCVVCVCCV /ceṇḍāmatta/ 'second'

### Conclusion

Main concern of this work was concentrated on the Phonological language concepts spoken by the Uraly tribal community. Here, the Phonological analysis of this language has been done within the data elicited from the selected informant of Uraly settlements in the Idukki District, Kerala State, in India. In this paper the Researcher included only the limited data for phonological analysis of Uraly language. From the analysis it is found that this language has immense similarities with the dialect of Malayalam having some sort of intonations. From this present study it was identified that this language has more similarities with Malayalam.

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## **Postmodern Techniques in the Select Plays of Badal Sircar**

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Badal Sircar is a renowned postmodern writer who used collage technique in his theatrical as well as the literary texts. He says that by using collage he could relate various socio-political and economic issues at a one stretch that haunt the Indian society. Moreover, he has not only created awareness but also invented his own theatre company called *Satabdi* in 1967. He coined the term “third theatre” and he took his insights from Safdar Hashmi, the pioneer of street theatre movement and also from Western theatre practitioners as well. He is not only a well-known playwright; he is also performer and directed many numerous plays. Being a Bengali middle class, he got his scholarships from University and with that scholarship he visited many foreign countries and with that insight, he came to India and formed his own theatre for the welfare of the subalterns in India. Apart from the tall claims he run his theatre with free of cost. He is not only a simple man in his altitudes and also insisted his performers to use simple costumes and considers human body as the vital source of his plays.

**Keywords:** Badal Sircar, Postmodernism, Collage, Third Theatre, Performance, Costumes.

Badal Sircar is a renowned postmodern writer who used collage technique in his theatrical as well as the literary texts. He says that by using collage he could relate various socio-political and economic issues at a one stretch that haunt the Indian society. Moreover, he has not only created awareness but also invented his own theatre company called *Satabdi* in 1967. He coined the term “third theatre” and he took his insights from Safdar Hashmi, the pioneer of street theatre movement and also from Western theatre practitioners as well. He is not only a well-known playwright; he is also performer and directed many numerous plays. Being a Bengali middle class, he got his scholarships from University and with that scholarship he visited many foreign countries and with that insight, he came to India and formed his own theatre for the welfare of the subalterns in India. Apart from the tall claims he run his theatre with free of cost. He is not only a simple man in his altitudes and also insisted his performers to use simple costumes and considers human body as the vital source of his plays.

Badal Sircar in his introduction to the Two Plays: *Indian History Made Easy* and *Life of Bagala*, says that the readers have to catch the connecting thread that lies between the play to comprehend his plays. A close reading of the text is needed and each and every play there is a social message for the audience. Even more some of his plays are open-ended. Sircar's *Indian History Made Easy* the title itself is vivid it narrates the history of India, in between the narration of colonial struggle, Sircar introduces the Hindu carnivals which took place in Bengal. This seems to be uncanny for a reader who reads Sircar.

His next play *Stale News* is the best illustration and one could witness Sircar's artistic skills of using collage. The play portrays the predicaments of Santhals (tribes) at the hands of colonial powers. While the narrating the revolts of Santhals, he discusses of the famous Hindu revolutionary leaders and patriots of Bengal like the great Raja Ram Mohan Raj, Swami Vivekananda and Rabindranath Tagore to highlight their contribution towards nation's progress. In between he gives a statistical data of those who are under poverty line and also of bond labour who works for a four rupee a day. The play starts with the character One teaches a nursery lessons to a child then followed by the child's adulthood where the man/women learns their own courses and finally followed by the old age where the person becomes sick and dies. At the end of the play, he gives the message that until unless there is a revolution change could not come towards the progress of the nation.

Sircar's *Evam Indrajit* depicts the life of Indrajit who is born free but everywhere he is in the chains. Some Men are born free and caught up by the taboos of the society. In the play, the writer says that life is routine that is School- College- Job- Marriage- Children and again the process is repeated. This is play is not an example of collage but a perfect illustration of a Bengali middle class who struggles to come up in life beyond all the social evils. Hence, Sircar make use of collage technique is unique in Indian drama. He not only proved his artistic skill in literary texts but in through street theatre performances also.

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## Interactive Classroom Enhances English Communicative Competence



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### Abstract

English Communicative Competences are to be developed by applying linguistic knowledge in professional environments. The language learners are advised to learn the language systematically. So that they can speak and write with correction, fluidity and communicative efficiency in both general and professional environments. This paper depicts interactive session as a tool through which the language learners can develop their competences using English communication.

**Keywords:** Communicative Competence, Interaction, Classroom, Information, Opinion, Project Work, Reasoning, Instructional Mode.

Communication is a requisite to discuss, discover, and learn about all other concepts. Communicative competence is comprised of grammatical competence, discourse competence, sociolinguistic competence, and strategic competence (Canale & Swain, 1980; Canale, 1983 & Savignon, 1972). Grammatical competence is the knowledge of the structure and form of a language; some of which include its morphologic, syntactic, phonemic and graphemic features. The knowledge of the interrelationship between and logic across sentences and phrases is characteristic of discourse competence. An individual with strong discourse competence can aptly judge the relationship between different ideas within a text. Sociolinguistic competence focuses on the recognition and accordance of the rules of interaction; taking turns, appropriate greetings, proper use of formal/informal register, naturalness or overall native-like language. Finally, strategic competence is

characterized by the ability to make the most of the language, particularly when compensating for language deficiencies. For instance, it is the ability to successfully circumlocute an idea or concept that an individual lacks the proper name for, or to negotiate meaning during conversation through verbal and nonverbal communication techniques. When skillfully combined, the result is successful communicative competence in which one can express, interpret, and negotiate meaning (Savignone, 1972).

Interaction is a two way process. In any communication event messages move back and forth between two speakers in a series of exchanges. Interaction in a group is thus multi-dimensional. The turns of conversation are distributed among the members of the group. Interaction involves listening to incoming information and responding to it relevantly. The listener's response to the speaker depends upon what one thinks of the speaker and one's perception towards life and the world. The interlocutors in an exchange treat each other with respect and the tone and manner of speaking reflect all this. Interaction would thus imply mutual understanding of each other's thoughts and feeling and the primary mode through which this is affected in language.

Spoken exchange in a group is spontaneous and multi-directional. Each member in a group may have something valuable to say. Each member may also respond to what the other has said. The force of one's ideas result in appropriate language forms to convey them and facilitates fluency. Another principle is that knowledge is constructed collaboratively by the participants and not just received by them from one dominant speaker. Responding to others' idea is crucial to the learning process. These natural principles of human communication patterns will help teachers in the language classroom to equip learners with communicative competence. Communicative competence is the ability to use language appropriately in real life situations. That can surely be achieved by classroom interaction.

As we know that a child learns his mother tongue through interaction with his family members first, then people in the neighborhood and finally in school. Language development happens through interaction with others and the language inputs are processed in mind. Now the question arises why do we need classroom interaction? One may feel that allowing interaction in large classrooms will result in disorders and chaos and at the same time allowing students to talk, takes a lot of classroom time and the syllabus may remain uncovered. One might also think that there is no convenient way of assessing oral communication in large classes and that the time is better spent on form practice. Here the fact remains that the emphasis in the learner Centered classroom is on making learners use language rather than just know about language. Making students initiate and respond to topics of discussion in the classroom will help them speak naturally and effortlessly. Thus, language learning is actually skill learning and not context learning and providing practice for the development of the skill will help future use of language.

Another aspect of consideration in classroom interaction is that, fluency in speaking a second language is often hindered by affective factors and encouraging learners to speak in class will help them shed their inhibitions. Allowing interaction as mode of learning other than teacher talk

does not mean that there is no lesson plan in the teacher's mind. It is only through the learner's interaction with the text, his peers and the teacher that the text begins to acquire meaning. As long as positive learning outcomes result, deviating from the lesson plan will not affect the learning objectives. What is important is that the language learning objectives are fulfilled where meaning making is more important because learning cannot be viewed as a product.

If we try to analyze the process of interaction in classroom, we find that it takes place at two levels:

- (i) At the level of the actual content of the lesson (A)
- (ii) At the level of practice & clarifications through interaction (B)

Generally, we find that level 'A' takes up a major portion of class time with the teacher doing most of the talking and there is very little time spent on level B. But if in the level B the teacher shares the students 'L1', interaction increases. So, language development will be optimal if level B and level A overlaps each other so that the language of social communication flows into the language of context communication and vice - versa.

In order that the maximum impact of this is felt, the teacher should be able to move freely between A and B so that the learners are also able to do so. It is only when content and communication interact that learning can be effective. At present what is seen in most cases is that the teacher is good in A and makes the students also proficient in A. In other words, academic language content develops mainly with the help of the textbook in the literary mode, while the spoken language that is required to internalize the learning and to communicate it to others does not happen. This retelling is what is expected in workplace communication and this is why we need to strengthen 'B'. A student should be able to explain and clarify context in simpler terms using everyday language and this can be achieved through interaction.

Now when it is very clear that learning a language requires classroom interaction, an obvious doubt pops up in one's mind that if student interaction increases that means teacher talks less. Will this not mean that learning is reduced? What is the role of a teacher when learning is made to happen through interaction? In this context, it is observed that organized forms of interaction can be arranged through pair work and group work activities. In such activities the teacher stands outside the learning circle or participates as an equal. Here the teacher's role is to provide task inputs, arrange the setting for interaction, monitor student interaction, give clarifications when students seek them, offer suggestions when a group does not know how to proceed, collect feedback on the learning achieved and consolidate learning at the end of the session. Thus, a teacher has a huge responsibility even in an interactive classroom session and moreover learners' confidence that they are not merely receivers of information but can contribute to knowledge making will encourage learners to take responsibility for their learning and initiate discussion in the classroom. This will lead them to being autonomous individuals later at the workplace with the ability to take initiative, engage in collaborative teamwork and assume leadership roles in the community.

We find that in a classroom all the teaching is done through language as it is the medium of communication between teacher and learners and in a language classroom both the content of teaching and the medium are the same. There is a difference between analyzing interaction in other subject classrooms and in the second language classroom. In the first case, we are looking at the impact of interaction on the learning of the subject whereas in the second case we are trying to understand what kinds of activities involving interaction will promote language acquisition. Here both the object of learning and the medium of learning is interaction itself. Learners need to learn to interact and they learn this by interacting.

There are various techniques through which interaction could be promoted in the classroom. The best one is supposed to be the instructional mode. Instruction in an institutional set-up can take several forms. One of them is task - based instruction. As with content based instruction, a task - based approach aims to provide learners with a natural context for language use. As learners work to complete a task, they have abundant opportunity to interact. Such interaction is thought to facilitate language acquisition as learners have to work to understand each other and to express their own meaning. By so doing, they have to check to see if they have comprehended correctly and, at times, they have to seek clarification. By interacting with others, they get to listen to language which may be beyond their present ability, but which may be assimilated into their knowledge for use at a later time. As it is well said by Candlin and Murphy (1987),

"The central purpose we are concerned with is language learning and tasks present this in the form of problem solving negotiation between knowledge that the learners hold and new knowledge."

There are various types of task - based approaches that can be implemented in classroom to promote interaction. Some of the observations are mentioned below:

1. **Information gap approach** - This activity involves the exchange of information among participants in order to complete a task. For example, an information gap activity might involve students drawing each other's family tree after sharing information for a limited time.
2. **Opinion gap approach** - It requires that students give their personal preferences, feelings or attitudes in order to complete a task. For instance, students might be given a social problem, such as high unemployment, euthanasia and be asked to come up with a series of possible solutions.
3. **Reasoning gap approach** - It requires students to derive some new information by inferring it from information they have been given. For example, students might be given a railroad timetable and asked to work out the best route to get from one particular city to another or they might be asked to solve a riddle.



4. **Project work approach** - In project work approach the language used in the classroom is predetermined after performing a three stage research. For example, students might decide to take on a project such as publishing a college magazine. This project would follow three stages. During the first stage of their project, the students would work in their class, planning, in collaboration with the teacher. The second stage typically takes place outside the classroom and involves the gathering of any necessary information. In the third and final stage, students review their project. By encouraging students to move out of the classroom and into the world, project work helps to bridge the gap between language study and language use.

Thus, we find that learning through tasks and activities demands a great deal of interaction. It is found that this sort of interaction in classroom facilitates the cognitive learning processes, develops autonomy in learners and makes interaction in real - life purposes easier that finally enhances communicative competence among the students.

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## Veracity of Gender Power with Reference to Devdutt Pattanaik's *The Pregnant King*

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### Abstract

Devdutt Pattanaik, an Indian author is famous for his works in mythology and interpretations of ancient Indian scriptures, stories, rituals and symbols. . He believes that every society exists with myths as it creates notions of right and wrong, good and bad, heaven and hell, rights and duties. He also believes that myths tell people how they should see the world. Devdutt in his work *The Pregnant King* makes the reader think about the predicament of LGBT in modern society. The author puts forth the concepts of masculine-femininity through Yuvanashva. The author through this work questions the limitations of dharma. The most interesting thing is that Devdutt not only challenges male female dichotomy but reiterates the existence of in-betweens. Thus, Devdutt Pattanaik makes it very clear through the examples from mythology that the issue of sexuality and gender is a very broad area much beyond the scope of the limited mindset of human beings and through his work he points out how thin a line is there between Male and Female powers.

**Keywords:** Devdutt Pattanaik, *The Pregnant King*, transgender, myth, mythology, gender politics

Devdutt Pattanaik, an Indian author, is famous for his works in mythology and interpretations of ancient Indian scriptures, stories, rituals and symbols. He believes that every society exists with myths as it creates notions of right and wrong, good and bad, heaven and hell, rights and duties. He also believes that myths tell people how they should see the world. Devdutt has written many books on mythology, fiction like *My Gita*, *Jaya*, *Sita*, *Business Sutra* and the *7 Secret Series*. He is an author of more than 41 books and has written over 1000 columns. Devdutt does not just present mythical stories but writes on the relevance of mythology in

modern times. His most famous work *The Pregnant King* is centered on the life of King Yuvanashva of Vallabhi who becomes pregnant and gives birth to a son and also makes his wife pregnant. Devdutt questions the veracity of gender divisions; gender politics (female vs. male) examines “the imperfection of the human condition, and ... our stubborn refusal to make room for all those **in between**.” (Wikipedia.org)

Devdutt in his work makes the reader think about the predicament of LGBT in modern society. Many countries in the modern era have taken a lot of time to recognize and accept LGBT as part of society while it was mentioned in the ancient texts like the Mahabharata. He states through this book that the lesbian, gay, bisexual and the transgender ideologies existed from 2000 years and was mentioned by Ved Vyas. He also throws light on the division of genders into male and female watertight compartments by society. He exposes society’s shortcomings in dividing the society into male and female and equating it with masculine and feminine qualities respectively. A male is expected to lead the family, the society, the kingdom, and is expected to be powerful, physically strong and aggressive. A female is embodied with feminine qualities like fertility, subservience, physical weakness, etc. “She knew just as man’s destiny was bound to his lineage a woman is bound to her body. Both are determined at birth and are immutable.” (27) *The Pregnant King* challenges these established orders. Devdutt states through Prasenajit “The human way is not the only way in this world”. (33)

The author puts forth the concept of masculine-femininity through Yuvanashva. Yuvanashva is soft-spoken and an obedient son. He is good to his wives and exhibits his motherly attachment to his son, Mandatta. He sings lullabies to his son and feeds him. Throughout his life, Yuvanashva yearns to father a child in order to be a complete King and to carry out his dharma. However, he himself becomes pregnant as he consumes the magic portion and the rest of his life he yearns to be addressed as a mother by his son Mandatta. The author presents feminine masculinity through his mother Shilavati who has all the intelligence and passion to rule Vallabhi but is denied kingship as she is a woman. Though she cannot wage wars she strategically rules Vallabhi through an excellent set of spies and thus makes Vallabhi prosperous. Shilavati from her childhood exhibited excellent leadership qualities and governing traits while her husband Prasanejit only enjoyed hunting in the forest. In spite of her capacity to rule the kingdom, she is forced to act only as her son’s regent. Towards the end, Yuvanashva yearns to become a mother of Mandatta while Shilavati reluctantly sacrifices her ruling powers and retires unwillingly - all for the sake of dharma (rules).

The author through this work questions the limitations of dharma. The author brings out several examples of people who were transformed from one gender to another or have been both at the same time bringing out the fluidity of the gender division. He presents this through the predicament of Shikandi who was born a woman but was brought up as a man in order to satisfy

his father and the kingdom. Finally, Shikandi becomes a man with borrowed genitals of a Yaksha.

Devdutt wonderfully connects this to the story of the poor Brahmin, Somvat who comes to Vallabhi as the wife of his friend Sumedha. Somvat and Sumedha were thick friends and they visit Vallabhi to receive a cow as a gift from the king's wives. Somvat is caught for acting like a female and is imprisoned along with his friend. He is transformed into a woman with the help of a yaksha but is beheaded for cheating. He is responsible for Yuvanshva drinking the magic potion that was meant to impregnate his wives. Somvat and his friend share a very close relationship with each other that they finally prefer to live with each other than to marry different women and get separated. Devdutt speaks about a different kind of love that exists between the two men connecting it to LGBT relations.

The most interesting thing is that Devdutt not only challenges male-female dichotomy but reiterates the existence of in-betweens. Yuvanashva and Somvat, were both males, were potent and could impregnate (sow their seed in) females. They both bore sons, but Yuvanashva becomes pregnant because of his consumption of a magical potion. The King bears a son in his thigh, and even lactates him. He sings lullabies and yearns to be addressed as mother.

Somvat a young man at the request of an impotent Brahmin impregnates his wife through niyoga marriage. Somvat has a very close relationship with his friend Sumedha. Although he is potent, he prefers to spend the rest of his life as his friend's wife than marry another woman. Thus, he is transformed into a woman but loses his life.

The temple of Illeshwara has the attributes of God and Goddess. The temple is visited by males when he is Illeshwara or male and is visited by females when the idol is dressed as Illeshwari or a goddess, stating the fluidity of the genders. Shilavati's husband states that Illeshwara is presented as both male and female deity in different days because "I think he loves his wife so much they merge into each other... They are not two, but one, as man and wife should be." (33), the Vishnu Lakshmi and the Shiva-Shakti concept.

The story of Sikhandi, and the predicament of Arjuna (as Bruhanalla for one year, due to the curse of a nymph), reveal the fluidity and the existence of one within the other.

Devdutt speaks of different types of marriages and the discriminatory status attributed to women in Indian mythology. He speaks of different types of marriages like anuloma, pratiloma, gandharva, rakshasa, asura, and niyoga. All these types of marriages reduced the position of a woman to a commodity that could be sold or bought to fulfill man's needs. An anuloma wedding was one in which a man from a higher varna (caste) could marry a woman of a lower caste.

Yayati married an asura wife and fathered Yadus, Kurus and Turuvasus. Yuvanashva married Keshini, a potter's daughter through anuloma marriage. If the woman of a higher caste married a man of a lower caste, then it was pratiloma marriage and is forbidden. In an asura marriage, the bride is bought in exchange of cows and other costly gifts. Shilavati bought Pulomi, the daughter of Vanga for seven hundred cows, three hundred bullocks, and a dozen bulls. In gandharva marriage the bride chooses the best man among the suitors. Yuvanashva impresses Simantini and marries her through gandharva marriage. An asura marriage is one in which the man abducts a woman and marries her. Bhisma abducts the princess of Kashi for his brother Vichitra-virya and also Madri for Pandu, Vichitra-virya's son. Somavat at an invitation of Trigarta an impotent horse-herder, has an intercourse with his wife for the sake of an heir. This was known as niyoga marriage.

Pulomi of Vanga is sold by her father to the highest bidder because she was prophesied to bear a son. The Vallabhi king is unable to impregnate his wife Simantini, but he is not found guilty and even his wife does not blame him. On the other hand, Yuvanashva buys Pulomi in exchange of costly gifts as she could bear him a son. Once Pulomi does not become pregnant the king goes for the third marriage and marries Keshini, a potter's daughter as the women of lower caste were considered to be more fertile. The wife's feelings are never given importance. Somvat is invited by Trigarta, an impotent horse-herder to impregnate his wife through niyoga marriage. Somvat describes the controlled feelings of the potter's wife as he impregnates her through the watchful eyes of Trigarta. The wife was regarded as the field and the husband as the sower of the seed (the sperm) and the lawful owner of the childlike the wives of Vichitravirya who offered their wombs to Ved Vyasa, after the death of their husband, for want of an heir.

Shilavati has all the attributes of a ruler but acts as a regent throughout her life only because she is a woman. This echo Simone De Beauvoir's "One is not born a woman but is made a woman." Shilavati is forced to lead a retired life although she brims with energy and interest as a ruler "while everyone in Vallabhi treated her as a worthy ruler for the rest of Illa-vrita she was just a king's widow. Inauspicious" (51). Vallabhi is saved several times due to the wise counsel of Shilavati and Yuvanashva falls as he fails to listen to Shilavati's sagacious advice. Women were married off only to bear the seed of their husbands. We find that in many instances an impotent husband is not blamed but his childless wife is considered inauspicious. Yuvanashva marries three women as he is not able to bear a son. Moreover, the birth of a son was supposed to relieve the forefathers across Vikarini, otherwise, they were believed to stay midway as crows. Devdutt invalidates gender divisions through a conversation between Yuvanashva, Yaja, and Upajaya. Yuvanashva is initially confused when he is asked to describe AdiNatha whom Yaja worships as a god and Upjaya worships as a goddess. He later attains wisdom and states "Neither husband and wife nor brother and sister. Something else. Symbolic man and symbolic woman.

That's what they were. Vehicles of an idea. Two ideas. No. One idea, two expressions. Two halves of the same idea. Mutually interdependent." (335)

Devdutt through the conversation between Somvat and the Yaksha brings out enlightening truths that speak about nature's intricacies and diverse possibilities and the limitations of human conception. "My son. Anything is possible in this world. Even Somvat can become Somvati.... Careful of the word unnatural. It reeks of arrogance. You are assuming you know the boundaries of Nature. You don't. There is more to life than your eyes can see. More than you can ever imagine. Nature comes from the mind of God. It is infinite. The finite human mind can never fathom it in totality" (190) These words seem to reiterate the feminist theory of the French psychoanalysts like Simon de Beauvoir, Julia Kristeva, Helene Cixous, and Luce Irigaray to understand the concept of gender. They principally state that individuals only perceive themselves as having constant gender identities. They make a choice that either confirms or violates the gender roles of a particular group. This classification deprives one of one's individuality and negates the in-betweens. Yuvanashva's attachment to his son Mandatta and his mother Shilavati can be equated with the object relations theory. According to this theory infant's relationship with his mother primarily determines the formation of his personality. "Shilavati told her son, "If you want Lakshmi to follow you, be a Vishnu. Do your duty. Don't run after glory." Yuvanashva obeyed." (45) The kingdom Vallabhi prospered without wars and bloodshed and Yuvanashva was never aggressive due to his relationship with his mother.

Shikandi embodies all queer people-from gays to lesbian to Hijras to transgendered people to hermaphrodites to bisexuals. The story of Bhangashvana told by Bhisma is the story of bisexuals. The birth of King Bagiradha was through the union of two queens. AdiNatha was worshipped as both male and female god and goddess respectively at the same time. Tirupathi Lord Venkateswara and Gopeshwarji of Vrindavan are worshipped as Mohini incarnations during specific festivals. The worship of Bahucharji, the patron goddess of the Hijras, reveals the existence of various groups in society from time immemorial. "Homosexuals have always existed in God's world but more often than not manmade society has chosen to ignore, suppress, ridicule, label them aberrant, diseased, to be swept under carpets and gagged by laws such as 377. They have been equated with rapists and molesters, simply because they can only love differently." (quora.com)

Thus, Devdutt Pattanaik through his work *The Pregnant King* aptly points out how thin a line there is between Male and Female powers. He also makes it very clear through the examples from mythology that the issue of sexuality and gender is a very broad area much beyond the scope of the limited mindset of human beings. Devdutt wonderfully draws a leaf from Mahabharata, the story of a King named Yuvanashva, King of Vallabhi, who accidentally gets pregnant as told by sage Lomasa to the Pandavas and loads it with food for thought that would

go a long way in establishing a broad-minded, tolerant society. He also wonderfully brings out the battle between the mind and heart, facts and feelings, duty and desire through the portrayal of the conflict between Yama (duty) and Kama (desire). Devdutt urges the reader to understand the pointless gender politics and attain the purpose of life through the words of Yagnavalkya “We are all trapped in the world of changes, where we feel trapped by destiny and propelled by desire. The point of life is to find that which does not change the freedom from it all. Moksha.” (337)

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## Improving ESL Students' Essay Writing in Malaysia

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### Abstract

The purpose of this research is to study how effectively collaborative writing essay can help to improve ESL students' essay writing skills. The main aim of the study is to ascertain if collaborative writing helped to improve students' essays in aspects like organization, development and structure. This study aims to determine if students who are engaged in collaborative writing show a greater improvement in essay writing compared to students who write using the traditional (syllabus based) writing method. The effects of the collaborative writing method on the attitudes and perception of the learners were also established. The findings of the study showed that the students are able to generate ideas and develop a change in attitude towards writing after going through the collaborative writing treatment. The findings have established that Collaborative writing is a strategic tool to help students write well in ESL classes and in line with the findings of other scholars mentioned in the literature review.

**Keywords:** ESL Students, Malaysia, Collaborative writing, ZPD, essay writing, group task, attitude

### Introduction

According to Arkoudis and Tran (2007), writing as a form of thinking is fundamental for academic success of students. Hyland (2011) maintains that the ability to be able to sustain an argument and synthesize ideas to write in proper English sentence for the purpose of academic success is a tedious chore for students. Richards (2008) notes that being able to write in either first or second language is one of the most challenging tasks for students and not many can fully master it. Furthermore, writing is an ability to integrate every skill and it's a productive and complete learning process (Abdullah 2011). It is a productive learning process whereby ideas and data required are gathered before finalizing a text. Barkley, Cross, and Major (2005, p.256) define that in collaborative writing, students write an essay in pairs or groups. Every member of the group contributes at every stage of the writing process. This means that in pairs or groups, students will produce a better piece than when they work alone. The quality of the end product will be improved by combined efforts and strengths of all the students in the group through the Collaborative writing strategy. According to Noor Hanim Rahmat (2011) an ideal writing classroom should make space for students to be able to brainstorm and generate ideas in class and prepare the first



draft of an essay in class. M. Naser, & M Azmi. (2018) also found statistically significant correlation between writing and speaking proficiencies in their study.

Students should go through the whole writing process and be given an opportunity to contribute ideas for the content. Discussions should be open to generate ideas amongst students. After this, the next step would be to sit down and plan the draft. All this should be done under guidance.

### Literature Review

According to Agustina (2013) feedback from interviews with senior high school students as well as her own teaching experiences show that students still experience difficulties when it comes to writing business correspondence. Collaborative tasking is defined by the social constructivist theory therefore writing is considered a social act (Yang 2014). Man develops through social activities therefore children’s linguistic development is developed through social interaction (Shehadeh,2011). When students complete a task in groups like collaborative writing, interactions take place and scaffolding is provided by teachers and peers. Alwasillah (2008) supports collaborative writing saying that it is a method that helps students to learn from mistakes and weakness, be it their own or others. Rahim et al. (2008) too agrees that writing process should be taught using the collaborative techniques. Kurniawan (2008) carried out a case study on the collaborative technique and has proven how effective it is. Vygotsky argued that “social interaction precedes development; consciousness and cognition are the end product of socialization and social behavior” (Heidar, 2016). The foundation of collaborative writing was built on this Vygotskian notion of having to cooperate with others by contributing ideas in order for quality learning and growth to take place (Heidar, 2016).

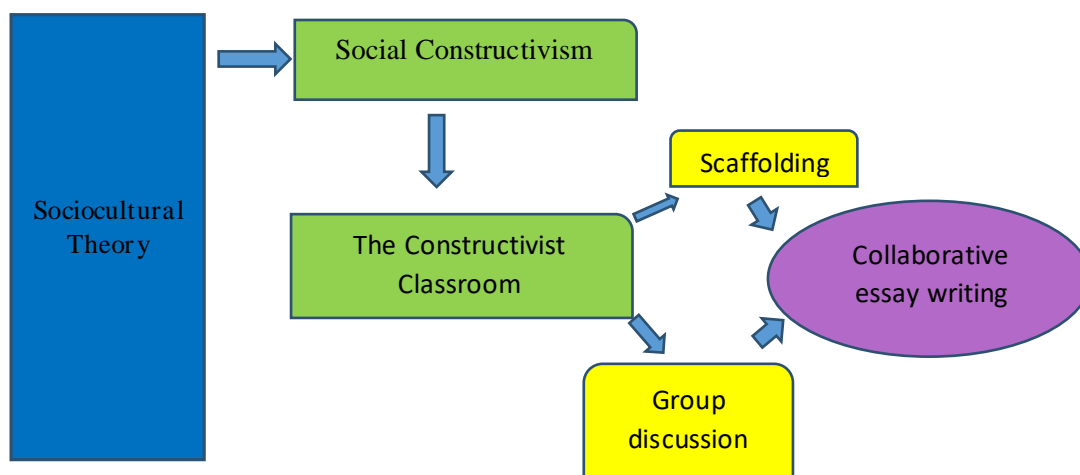
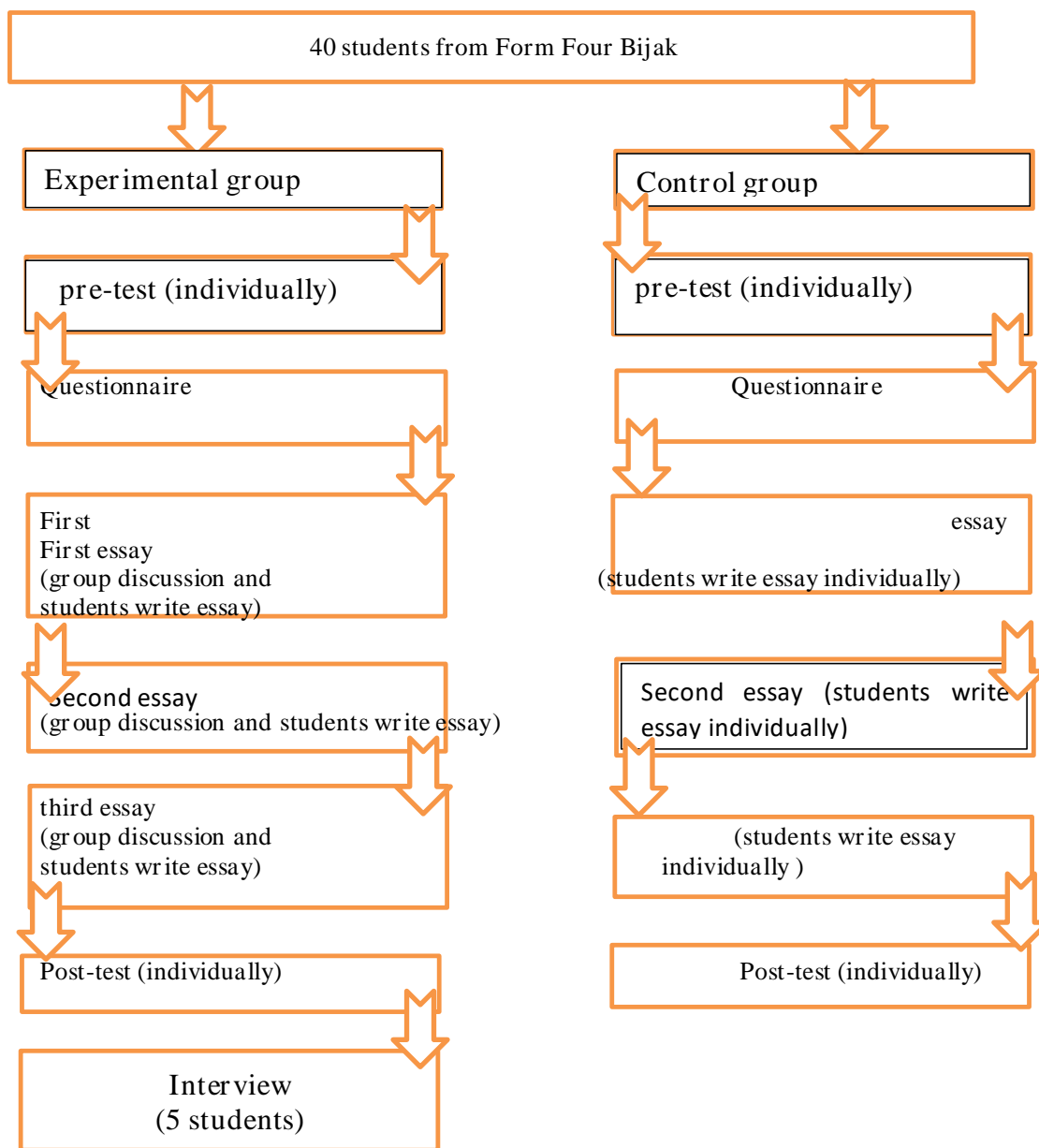


Figure 1 Theoretical framework for Sociocultural Theory

Social interaction is emphasized as the basis for cognitive development in the sociocultural theory that underpins this study. The most basic belief of this theory is that every child's cognitive growth is a result of social interaction. This theory plays an important role in impacting the classroom practices (Bergin & Bergin, 2012). Ajayi (2008) purports "the sociocultural framework provides a dynamic interaction, interrelation, and interconnection of theory and practice in such ways that theories are grounded in specific contexts of practice and, in turn, these practices inform theories" (p. 654). Ultimately, the constructivist classroom, which capitalizes on the nature of social learning and utilizes scaffolding and group discussion, can create an effective learning environment, if conducted correctly by teachers (Bergin & Bergin, 2002). Williams (2012) stated that the findings of these studies revealed that by using collaborative writing activates, learners could benefit from the mechanism necessary for learning through a verity of language processes. He states that collaboration which involved in these tasks is the important factor of improvement in different writing components including accuracy, fluency, and complexity. Williams argued that the need to produce output is more likely to encourage learners to process language more deeply, notice gaps in their inter language, and reflect on language use.

## **Methodology**

This study was carried out among the Form 4 students of a school in Perak, Malaysia. The main purpose of this research is to study how effectively collaborative writing essay can help to improve ESL students' essay writing skills. The research used a quantitative approach in data collection and was supplemented by some amount of qualitative data. The research was carried out using two groups of students in a class; the experimental group which was taught using the collaborative learning method and the control group which was taught using the traditional learning method. Research design is as shown in Figure 2.



**Figure 2**

**Research design**

Based on their previous exam results all forty students were of average proficiency and competency in English. These participants were chosen at random irrespective of their race, gender and social background. These students did not come from an English-speaking background and seldom used the language outside the classroom. Participants were informed that they would be divided into groups of six or work as individuals and collaborative writing will be incorporated into the essay writing lessons.

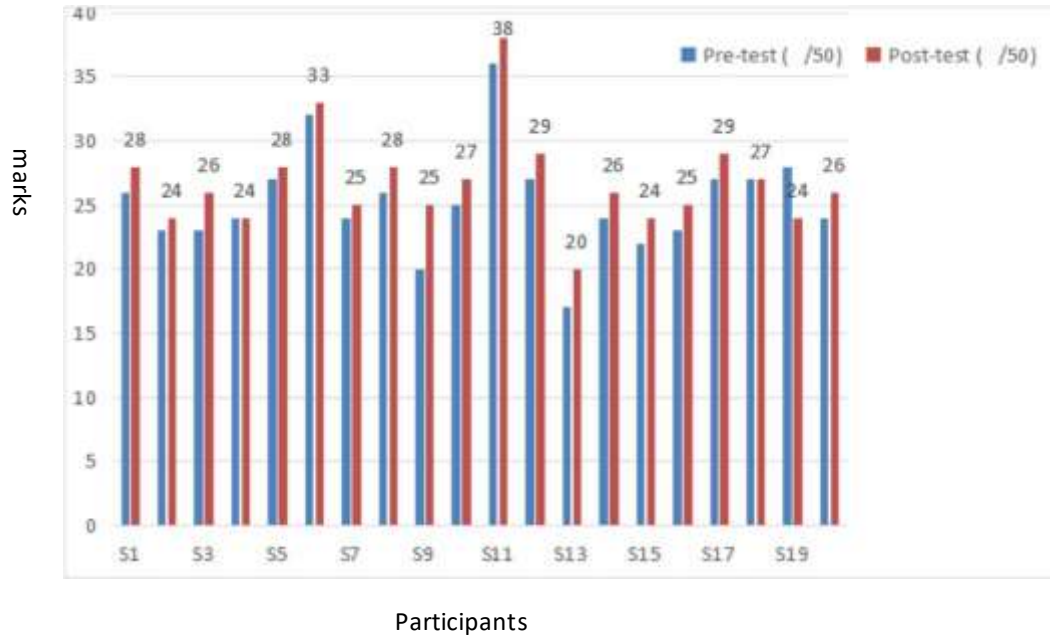
This study was carried out using 5 sets of instruments: the pre-test, post-test, questionnaires, field notes from observations and interview questions. Lesson plans were prepared for both, the controlled and the experimental group. An assortment of data collection methods had been used in previous studies on collaborative writing studies; written texts (Storch, 2002), audiotape recordings (Yong, 2006), interviews (Corden, 2001), questionnaire (Yong, 2006). All these techniques have proven effective and useful for researchers.

The scores for both the pre-test and post-test were calculated to obtain the mean scores. These scores were obtained after an experienced teacher marked the essays using the Sijil Pelajaran Malaysia (SPM) marking scheme. SPM is the Malaysian Certificate of Education which is a national examination taken by all the fifth form secondary school students in Malaysia. The independent t-test was applied to test the difference between the mean in both the groups. These tests were important in determining whether the changes were due to the treatment or some other variables. A paired t-test was also used to compare the means of both groups.

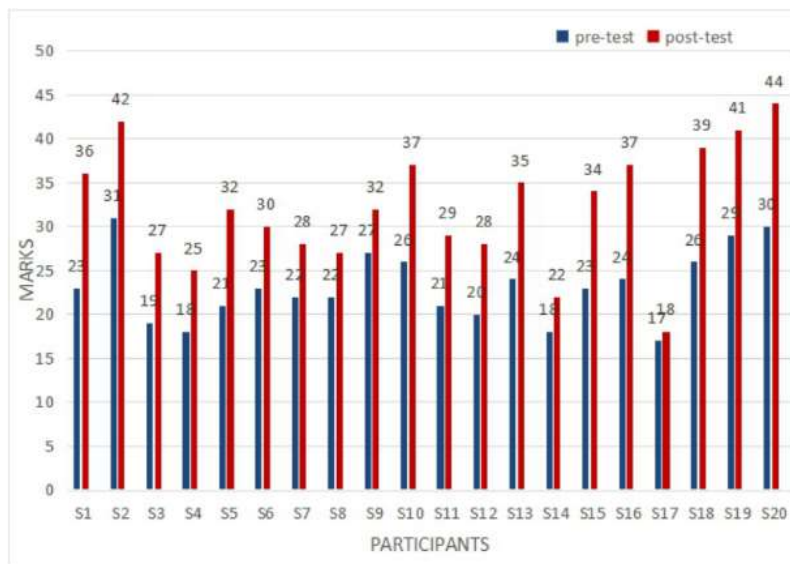
Questionnaires were analyzed to see the student's backgrounds and their feelings about using Collaborative writing style for essay writing. The scores were tabulated according to frequency counts. While the questionnaires had controlled answers, students were free to give their answers during the interviews. Their answers were analyzed using the deductive approach to see how the students felt about using the collaborative method in writing essays.

## **FINDINGS**

Idea development during all three tasks appeared to be similar. Almost every process had a similar pattern. Group members contributed ideas and these ideas were quickly expanded by the others. While expanding on ideas given, members either tried to simplify the ideas or give alternatives. As this occurred, some members were also prompting others to contribute.



**Figure 3 Scores of the pre-test and post-test (control Group)**



**Figure 4 Scores of the pre-test and post-test (Experimental Group)**

According to the research results as shown in figure 3 and 4, students in the experimental group have shown more improvements compared to students in the control group. A paired-samples t-test

was conducted to compare results in a collaborative writing class for the experimental group. There was a significant difference in the scores for experimental group pretest ( $M = 22.15$ ,  $SD = 5.204$ ) and posttest ( $M = 31.15$ ,  $SD = 8.074$ ) conditions;  $t(19) = -10.411$ ,  $p = 0.000$ . These results suggest that collaborative writing improves the essay writing abilities of students in an ESL class. A paired-samples t-test was conducted to compare results of the traditional writing (using the prescribed syllabus) scores of the control group. There was no significant difference in the scores for control group pretest ( $M = 21.70$ ,  $SD = 6.036$ ) and posttest ( $M = 22.3500$ ,  $SD = 5.98485$ ) conditions;  $t(19) = -1.716$ ,  $p = 0.103$ . According to the sig. (2-tailed), there isn't much difference between the two means. This means that there was not much improvement in the students' ability to write essays after the ten weeks.

Meanwhile, in the questionnaire section, most of the students agreed that they found writing tough and a majority of the respondents were in favor of collaborative writing. Based on the questionnaire a good number of students preferred to work as a group while doing essays. They were of the opinion that collaborative writing helped to lessen their anxiety and stress. In the interview too, students in the focal group had expressed their preference to collaborative writing.

Most of the students (ninety percent) agreed that they received a lot of help from friends during group writing process. This was quite evident as the focal group was observed. Each time a member had trouble putting his/her thoughts in words the others immediately expanded on it. When a group member was unable to find an appropriate word, the others gave suggestions. About eighty percent said they were more aware of grammatical errors when they write in groups. This can be observed during the interactions between the members of the focal group where students who made mistakes were notified and corrected by the other members. Even if they were not very sure about the mistakes, they tried to get confirmation from other groups. The majority of participants agreed that generating ideas was easier with so many minds working on a single task. Observations on the experimental group showed, as students contributed simple ideas, others expanded on the ideas and later more was added to it to make it something very complex. Questions asked, clarifications added, and logic questioned; all these helped to expand and rationalize the ideas. In particular, peer feedback can improve the quantity and quality of peer talk and increase student interaction and negotiation in the writing process.

Students also thought that, while discussing and interacting with their group members and with the support and guidance from their teacher, they improved their English vocabulary, gained new ideas and perspectives, and enhanced their learning about text coherence. Furthermore, the feedback they received was at their level. The majority of respondents in the questionnaire agreed that it was easier for them to understand their friend's explanations. They became more aware of the mechanics of writing. Getting feedback is important to learners because it helps to "teach skills needed by learners to improve their writing proficiency" hence producing written texts with lesser errors and more clarity (Williams, 2003). Receiving feedback can enhance learning and help learners to improve their

knowledge in linguistics and understand the skills of writing better. Most students found essay writing very stressful, but ninety percent students who filled in the questionnaire found the entire collaboration writing very much relaxed. Students observed that group writing helped to foster better relationship among students. Group interactions help students to get to know each other better and get a communal feeling. Although each student contributed a small part towards the task, the goal of the entire team was taken into consideration. Everyone was working towards the success of the group.

Data from the questionnaires and interviews showed that the interaction that occurred throughout the collaborative writing enhanced the students' communication skills. Since there was no teacher present during the group discussions, students did not feel embarrassed to attempt speaking in English. This was observed during the expansion of ideas and logical clarifications given when ideas forwarded were challenged, during the collaboration in writing. Group settings are the perfect way to get students thinking. When children are around their classmates working together, they get exposed to the thought processes of their peers. They learn how to understand how other people think and that their way is not the only route to explore. While observing the groups at work, it was evident that collaborative writing encourages information exchange and idea sharing.

The first interview question was an attempt at self-assessment. It was also an exercise to see if collaborative work had helped students to internalize and reassess themselves. It encourages the students to gain useful inputs about the level of their learning and how to improve it. Using self-assessment in group writing also means that students reflect on their role in the group and it is a learning process to provide self-improvement (Hubert, 2010). Students diagnose their own weaknesses and improve their writing performance as well as assess their own writing (Nimehchisalem et al., 2014). When the students in the focal group gave themselves a score and reasoning, it showed that the self-assessment had been a success. All the students were very honest and the fact that the weakest student agreed that he had improved with each task, showed the effectiveness of collaborative writing.

Observations during the experimental group discussions did show certain students assuming the leadership role. They had actually done a good job in explaining the task to the others. This is relevant to the ZPD where a better peer helps the others to recognize their potentials. This is the Vygotskian notion upon which the foundation for collaborative writing is built on (Heidar, 2016). According to Vygotsky, development is preceded by social interaction. When students collaborate and socialize in contributing ideas, the end result will be growth and quality learning. In fact, this study pointed out that being a part of a collaborative writing team motivated students because the end results were beyond their expectations (Dobao & Blum, 2013). They were able to produce better essays compared to the time when they wrote individually.

The students in the experimental group agreed that the feedback they received during the group work helped them to improve their work in individual writing as well. During the group work, researcher was able to observe how students questioned and corrected each other. All the students said that interaction with their peers helped them realize the importance in improving their essays and this is in line with studies conducted by Ong & Maarof (2013). This was especially true during feedback and editing sessions. the students found that the interaction with their friends encouraged a lot of thought-provoking activities. There was a lot of dialoguing, questioning and correcting. According to Latawiec, Anderson, Ma & Nguyen-Jahiel (2016), this is known as the negotiation process. This process promotes reflection and critical thinking among the students.

## Conclusion

As collaborative writing techniques is only one of the many approaches, researchers interested in writing, should consider to carry out other studies to discover more techniques. Future studies should observe and explore how different learning styles influence the quality of students' writing. Apart from writing, research can be carried out on how to use the collaborative learning style to enhance the teaching and learning of ESL.

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## Proficiency in Reading and Writing through ESP for General English Students

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### Abstract

Language plays an important role in the scholarly development of a person. This is, because language learning is a skill and while learning it, the intellect of a person really needs to work seriously. Since the mid-1940s the world has experienced an incredible growth in technological fields and international commerce. English became the language for world communication and the learning of language became an unquestionable necessity for the learners. And the beginning of the new established movement from simply teaching these learners English as a Second/Foreign language (ESL/EFL) to teaching them English for Specific Purposes (ESP) was strongly apparent by the 1960s. While there is some variation in the arrangement and classification of the branches, most commonly these branches are all grouped under the general heading English for Specific Purpose (ESP), with English for General Purposes (EGP as a separate offshoot of ESL/EFL, usually employed only for exam purposes (Nunan 76).

**Keywords:** English language, Language Learning, English as Second Language (ESL), English for Specific Purposes (ESP), Language and Communication

### English for Specific Purpose (ESP)

ESP refers to language quest and instructions given on the specific communicative needs and practices of the peculiar social group. At the tertiary level the skills in English such as writing reports, reading scientific books, and taking part in academic discussion are not sufficiently mastered. (Astika 52) Hutchinson and Waters defined ESP as an approach of language teaching in which all decisions as to content and method are based on the learners' reasons for learning. (Hutchinson and Waters 31) Stevens defined ESP as a special branch within the general category of second/foreign language teaching. The same principles apply no matter which language is being learned and taught. The vast demand of English made ESP more common than the others, but the principles are the same. Furthermore, he stated that a definition of ESP would be needed to distinguish between four absolute and two variable characteristics.

Dudley-Evans and St John modified this definition by putting forth this: ESP is designed to meet specific needs of the learner, ESP makes use of underlying methodology and activities of the discipline it serves, ESP is centered on the language (grammar, lexis, register) skills, discourse and genres appropriate to these activities. (70) As Petra opines, the language of ESP can be narrowed to the point of view of vocabulary, as it forms the essential part of the ESP course. Grammar of the texts in ESP will work according to the rules of General English, however, specific technical words, and semi-technical vocabulary will be necessary for the user in order to name things appropriately, e.g. the components of a car engine for the learners from the field of mechanics and basically preparing for an interview academically, etc. (112) As quoted in Dudley& Evans, “ESP has tended to be a practical affair, the most interest needs in investigating, preparing teaching materials, and devising appropriate teaching methodologies” (115). Teaching English at the tertiary level for the non-English Department is mostly concentrated on the need for the capability of reading relevant textbooks. The teaching of English is focused on the reading and writing skills which will reinforce the mastery of basic vocabulary and grammar. However, this shifts to give rise to other study skills such as note taking, group discussion, presentation and academic writing.

### **Reviews on Reading and Writing**

Reading and writing are important for the learners, but they are not always covered extensively in the classroom, since, it is often believed that students could work on these skills on their own as their homework. However, this study has shown that it is good for students to improve these skills from direct input and guidance from the teacher. This is particularly useful for ESP students whose major academic focus is not on language but to improve the skills of those who might have weak reading and writing abilities. Reading is known to be a complex cognitive activity, and sometimes teaching reading skills present considerable difficulties. The length of words and sentences in written texts is one of the key difficulties: longer sentences and longer words are more difficult to understand. Authenticity of reading materials also presents serious difficulty to students, because no concessions are made to foreign learners who encounter non-simplified content. Reading authentic materials can be extremely motivating the learners and positive expectations of reading are often due to previous successful experiences. (Harmer 78) Writing provides learners with physical evidence of their achievements and they can measure their improvement. It helps to consolidate their grasp of vocabulary and structure and complements the other language skills. It helps to understand the text and write compositions. It can foster the learner’s ability to summarize and to use the language freely. (*englishmate.com*)

### **Description of the Study**

The study provides skills and strategies required by the learners to anticipate English tasks required during their course of study, particularly the reading and writing task. It also gives

study skills involving English such as texts summarizing texts and free, controlled and guided writing.

### **Objectives of the Study**

- To increase learners' ability to read and comprehend.
- To recognize and use various grammatical structures.
- To increase the understanding of vocabulary building.
- To develop basic writing skill.

### **Statement of the Study**

- To examine the reading and writing skill of General English learners and the errors through error analysis by giving tasks and assessing their skill levels.

### **Need for the Study**

There is an awareness among students about the language writing skill. They want to learn English in such a way that they can tackle their current needs to face the outer world. Generally, there is a growing discontent among learners as they feel that General English classes are not equipping them for career related skills and are dissatisfied with the content of the syllabus. As a first step it was decided to study the need of the learners in the field of language acquisition. So, the diagnostic test on reading and writing was administered to the learners to know their skill levels to enhance the writing and reading skills. Based on the needs analysis the tasks were prepared. It was a traditional class helping students with their needs while working on tasks.

### **Aim of the Study**

The aim of this study is to specifically find out the needs of the learners and track their errors in both reading and writing. The crux is to enhance the receptive and productive skill by giving them the tasks based on the lesson plan. The major focus will be to prepare the tertiary study for furthering their future career. This will help the learners use the language appropriately.

### **Location of the Study**

A self-financing college in the northern part of Chennai, Tamil Nadu, is chosen as the location for the study.

### **Sample of the Study**

Students who study non-English subjects at Undergraduate level are taken as the sample group for the study.

### **Hypothesis**

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The work is done based on the assumption that, if students were trained in a few selected areas they would be able to perform better during their job interviews. So, if General English students are given special training in certain areas of English language skills, it could enable them to handle their career needs better.

### **Methodology**

The tasks are administered to the students through Task Based Language Teaching (TBLT) approach. It is an interactive methodology that is used to teach the material designed by the researchers. In TBLT, language lessons are based on learning experiences that have an appropriate outcome, and in which there is a clear connection between the things learners do in class and the activities they will ultimately need to do outside of the classroom. (Nunan7)

### **Data Collection**

A research was conducted in the college by the researcher with General English students with the intention of learning the English Language. Most of the learners wanted to acquire the skill for reading and the skill of writing as they considered English as a prestigious language. Reading and Writing will give them the confidence of mastering a foreign language. This would be helpful in the professional development for their future. The researcher facilitated the learners by giving them some hints on how to do the reading comprehension:

- Read the question to know the background of the passage.
- Read the passage to get its general meaning and then pause for a while to recollect and determine what the writer is trying to say.
- Go through the passage once more and note down the main points.
- You may come across words whose meaning you do not know. Try making a guess, very often the context will help you arrive at the meaning.

One of the indispensable needs of the world of learners is letter writing. The needs analysis showed the learners need these skills and it's the right time for the researcher to teach the concepts involved in letter writing.

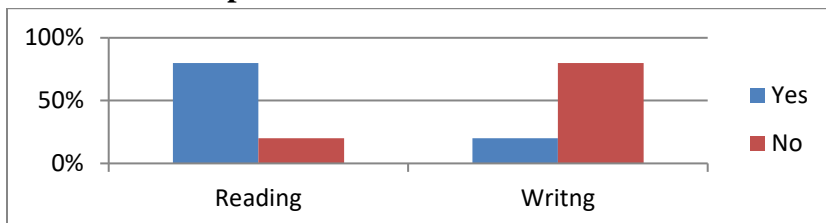
- Formal & Informal letter
- Letter started with the word *I am*.....

### **Data Analysis**

Twenty-five learners are treated as subjects for this study. As only three months of time, was given, an enormous number of subjects could not be used. Also, a sample course was not possible. Tasks were administered for the First Year General English learners and the feedback was collected. Though most of the students admitted they needed specific skills, still confessed

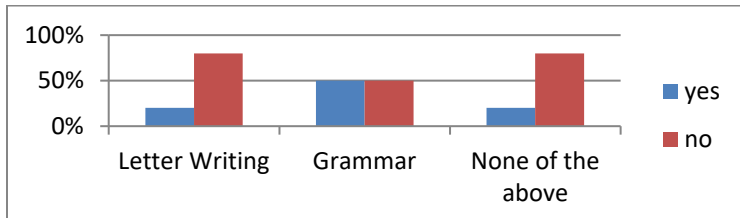
they did enjoy General English classes very much. The course content gave them an opportunity to read English Literature and broaden their minds. At last, when the survey was done with the first and second-year learners the following result was obtained for reading and writing skills. Apart from reading and writing, the learners were more interested in speaking which would be a further study for research.

### Which Skill is More Important?



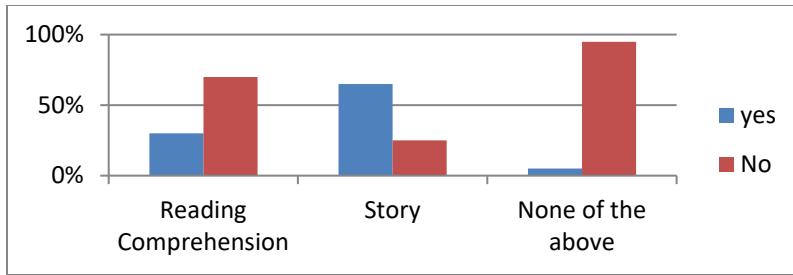
Skill	Yes	No
Reading	80%	20%
Writing	20%	80%

### What Type of Activities Do You Prefer in Writing?



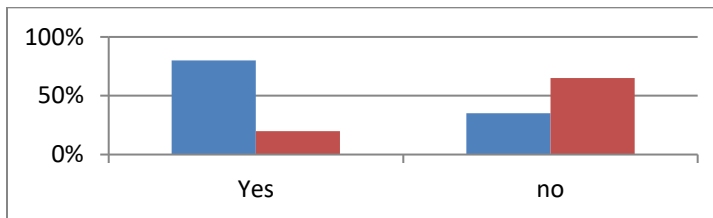
Activities	Yes	No
Letter Writing	20%	80%
Grammar	50%	50%
None of the above	20%	80%

### What Type of Activities Do You Prefer in Reading?



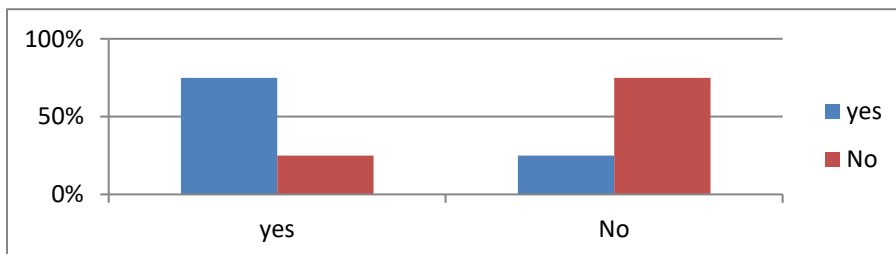
Activities	Yes	No
Reading comprehension	30%	70%
Story	65%	25%
None of the above	5%	95%

### Writing is Easier than Reading



Yes/no	writing	Reading
Yes	40%	60%
No	35%	65%

### Can Reading and Writing Be Done Simultaneously?

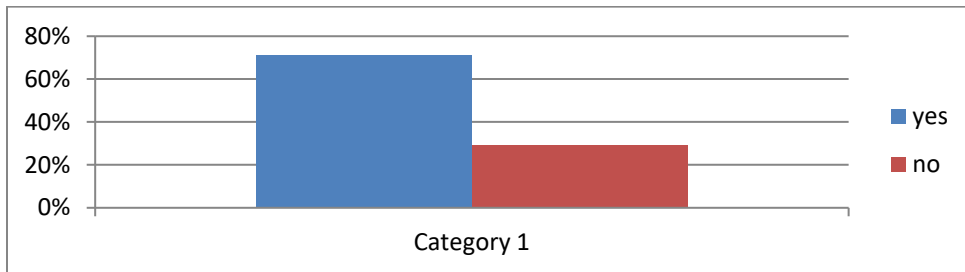


Yes	No
70%	25%
25%	75%



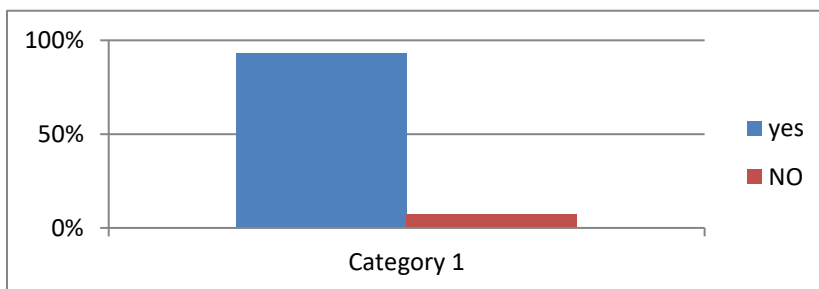
75%	25%
25%	75%

**Is Reading Comprehension an Easy Task?**



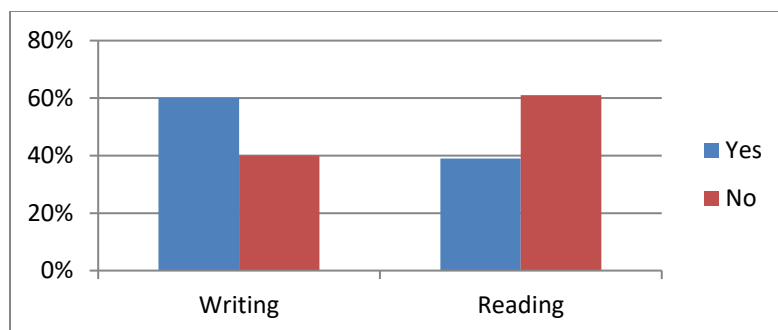
Yes	No
70%	30%

**Do You Accept Grammar as a Part of Writing skill?**



Yes	No
93%	7%

**Between Reading and Writing which Skill Do You Prefer for Communication?**



	Yes	No
Writing	60%	40%
Reading	39%	61%

### Conclusion

These skills along with a General English course can be taught to the learners to enable them cope with their future job demands. Whichever texts students need to read can be used first as model for writing. Focusing on relevant features of a text also benefits student’s development of reading skills.

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## An Inquisition into the Stratagem for Employing Gender Neutral Lexicons in Corporate Communication

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### **Abstract**

Language is an inimitable aspect that needs a careful management. Moreover, using language in formal communication environment is a challenge to any expert. At some instances, even great specialists of language feel using language an onerous task not because of the correct use of syntax or semantics, but because of the need for the sensitive use gender sensitive terms. The careful use of these parameters will help the communicator to win a non-gender bias position while communicating (UNESCO, 2000). This paper details the parameters for achieving success over a better use of gender neutral language in executive communication. It explains how a communicator can use language at workplace that do not dominate or degrade the gender dignity.

**Keywords:** Gender-neutral lexicon, Corporate communication, Gender sensitivity, Gender neutral language, Gender bias, Professional identity, Psychological division.

### **Introduction**

In the current era of technological development, business or corporate communication has become inevitable in all the fields irrespective of government and private sectors. In spite of the developments, changes and updated forms in communication, still there is a scarcity of the exposure and skill set in the use of non-gender bias language in corporate communication. It has been evident that communication in a corporate atmosphere is expected to be standard and civilized (Kaul, Asha., 1998). Hence, a cautious selection of linguistic terms is very important in any given corporate environment. There are sufficient ways by which the communication in a corporate or business environment could become non gender bias (UNESCO, 1999). This paper

details the technical use of words that shall be strategically used in any business environment to make that communication a gender neutral one.

### **Statement of the Problem**

#### ***1. Using the word 'person' for 'man', 'woman', 'lady' etc.***

It is evident that the third person singular word 'man' finds a surplus use in corpus. It is also to be noted that the even proficient communicators whoever speak generally about people assign the word 'man' as a common terminology referring to both men and women. Despite of the sufficient degree of words for replacing the same meaning without gender discrimination (Reutlingen University, 2012), the communicators does not use those gender neutral words as they are trained to use the gender bias terminologies through various stages of their observations.

The paradox is that even if one wants to use the word 'woman' or 'women' he or she cannot ignore the word 'man' or 'men'. Though experts suggest that the word 'human being' can be used in the context to make it free from gender discrimination, one cannot avoid the usage of the word 'man' as in the case of 'woman' and 'women'. However, the word person is neutral and shall not be put into complaint. So, the word 'man' can better be replaced with the word 'person' at workplace communication. Moreover, the word 'persons' can be used for 'men' or 'women'.

- a) ~~Practice makes a **man** perfect~~ (*gender bias usage*)  
Practice makes a **person** perfect (*gender neutral language*)
- b) ~~**Man** is mortal~~ (*gender bias usage*)  
a) A **person** is mortal (*gender neutral language*)

#### ***2. Using the Compound word 'that person' for 'he' or 'she'***

Instead of using the words 'he' or 'she', a communicator can use the compound term 'that person' in a business environment. Such type of tactical usage will result in a non-gender bias communication, besides offering the employees a stimulus for standing united as a single team without gender difference. It is necessary to avoid pronouns in singular form in view of generating gender neutral language (Reutlingen University, 2012). It is evident that, some reports or documents prepared by corporate employ the usage as the following: 's/he' in their writings. However, still there is an indication of two different identities of gender in the writings of such style. So, there is a need for a terminology that do not specify words that make a listener to imagine the mental image in the aspects of gender. Hence, the term 'that person' can be a good choice for the communicators in corporate setting. Though the use of this term is not very common, it will be of great application in putting across information in corporate sectors if followed. Let us observe the following examples.

- a) ~~If any employee needs clarification, **he** or **she** has to approach the team leader.~~ (*gender bias usage*)

If any employee needs clarification, **that person** has to approach the team leader. (*gender neutral language*)

- b) ~~If anybody wants leave tomorrow, **he** or **she** has to approach the manager.~~ (*gender bias usage*)

If anybody wants leave tomorrow, **that person** has to approach the manager. (*gender neutral language*)

### 3. Replacing the words 'he' or 'she' with 'one'

A communicator can also use the word 'one' instead of other gender differential terms. In a point of view, the word 'one' is a better replacement (UNESCO, 2012) for the above mentioned gender differential terms when compared to the compound word 'that person'. The unique feature of this word is that, it can be replaced with any singular noun referring to human beings. Let us observe the following samples.

- a) ~~If **any employee** needs clarification, **he** or **she** has to approach the team leader.~~ (*gender bias usage*)

If one needs clarification, **one** has to approach the team leader. (*gender neutral language*)

- b) ~~If **anybody** wants leave tomorrow, **he** or **she** has to approach the manager.~~ (*gender bias usage*)

If **one** wants leave tomorrow, **one** has to approach the manager. (*gender neutral language*)

### 4. Addressing the employees with their designations

Addressing the employees with their designations is another tactics of making the language gender neutral in working environment (Michigan Technological University). Instead of the terms like 'madam', 'sir', 'he', 'she', 'man', 'woman' etc., a communicator shall address the people at workplace with their official designations. This parameter does not only make the speech act gender neutral, but also annihilates differences among the specific gender identifications. Let us learn from the following examples.

- a) ~~Inform this to the **madam**.~~ (*gender bias usage*)

- b) ~~Inform this to the **sir**.~~ (*gender bias usage*)

Inform this to the **manager**. (*gender neutral language*)

- c) ~~Kindly consult this matter with the **madam**.~~ (*gender bias usage*)

- d) ~~Kindly consult this matter with the **sir**.~~ (*gender bias usage*)

Kindly consult this matter with the **team leader**. (*gender neutral language*)

### 5. *Addressing the employees with their professional identity*

There is no great distinction between addressing the employees with their designations and addressing them with their professional identity. However, technically, there is a thin line of variation between the two. Employees or workers who are formally appointed in a corporate sector are officially given a post or position which is referred to as their designation (Michigan Technological University). Contrary to that, workers who are not officially appointed may not be given positions to be referred to be designations. For example, workers like ‘a person who is in-charge of the internal water needs of a company’, ‘garden guard’, ‘gardener’, ‘driver’ etc., can be addressed on the basis of their professional identity irrespective of the gender.

### 6. *Using the term ‘employees / workers of the company’*

It is very often used in corporate sectors the policy of addressing the whole manpower as ‘all the men and women in the company’. As it has already been mentioned, the use of differential terms like men and women create a line of segregation resulting in the event of leaving the employees of the company into two different teams. It is always good for a company to unite the employees as a single team under the company. Hence, to eradicate the psychological division in to two teams, it is always better to address them as ‘employees of the company’ instead of ‘men and women in the company’.

### **Conclusion**

It is a hazardous task to use the language correctly and appropriately in formal corporate environment. Most of the communicators, though good at the technical use of language, find it very difficult to manage the speech event when it comes to gender specific terms. However, the cautious employment of corpus will fetch success over such struggle. In a corporate sector, the communicator shall make the best use of words like ‘person’, ‘that person’ and ‘one’ to refer to the employees. As it is applicable to the need of the milieu of the communication event, the designations of the employees and professional identities can also be used to perform gender neutral communication.

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## Negation in Lotha

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### **Abstract**

This paper attempts to describe negation in Lotha, spoken in Wokha district, Nagaland. Lotha is a generic name and refers to both the linguistic group and the ethno-cultural entity. Lotha are racially Mongoloid. Linguistically, it has been classified under the Ao group of the Naga sub-branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages (Lewis et.al, 2015). Normally a negative sentence is the negative counterpart of an affirmative sentence, and is used to communicate that, some proposition communicated by the affirmative sentence is false. In Lotha there are three different ways to express negation. The default sentential negation in Lotha is the prefix n-. The other syntactic negator in Lotha is ti- and the third negation is 'mek' referred to as negative indefinite. The negative prefix n- occurs with the non-imperative form of a verb as a kind of statement in the utterance of the speaker. While the negative prefix, ti- occurs with the imperative form of a verb which designates to a grammatical mood expressing a command, a request or an exhortation. In the imperative form, negative commands are expressed by using the verb stem in combination with the negative marker found in declarative sentences.

**Keywords:** Lotha, Nagaland, Tibeto-Burman, Negation

### **Introduction**

The Lothas with an approximate population of 1, 66,343 (Census of India, 2001) inhabit the Wokha district of Nagaland. The speakers of Lotha are scattered all over Nagaland but the majority are concentrated mainly at Wokha district of Nagaland. Lotha has no script of its own and has adopted Roman script introduced by the British and the American Missionaries in the late 19th century. Lotha has a number of varieties but, the variation is mainly at the phonological level, that is, the accent of the speaker, which varies from village to village. However, for the purpose of literary works, the variety spoken in central villages, particularly in and around Wokha town is used. The present study is based on the language spoken in Wokha town, of Wokha district in Nagaland.

## 1. Negatives in Lotha

Normally a negative sentence is the negative counterpart of an affirmative sentence, and is used to communicate that, some proposition communicated by the affirmative sentence is false. In Lotha there are three different ways to express negation. The default sentential negation in Lotha is the prefix /n-/. The other negator in Lotha is /ti-/ and the third negation is /me/ referred to as prohibitive negative. The negative prefix n- occurs with the non-imperative form of a verb as a kind of statement in the utterance of the speaker. While the negative prefix, /ti-/ occurs with the imperative form of a verb which designates to a grammatical mood expressing a command, a request or an exhortation. In the imperative form, negative commands are expressed by using the verb stem in combination with the negative marker found in declarative sentences. In Lotha an affirmative statement is transformed into its opposite denial by the negative markers /n-/, /ti-/, /me/, and /mo/. The occurrences of negation in the language vary with respect to different types of sentence constructions found in the language i.e. declaratives, imperatives, interrogatives and indefinite.

### 1.1. The Negative /n-/

The default sentential negation in Lotha is the prefix /n-/ as seen in (2) and has the widest scope in a clause. However, when the verb takes tense marking such as the future the negative /n-/ loses its scope and the negative /me/ is employed as seen in (3) which occur in the final position of a construction.

1. *ombɔ ja p<sup>h</sup>anti-a la*  
3P.MAS morning wake PRES  
'He wakes up early'

2. *ombɔ ja n-p<sup>h</sup>anti*  
3P.MAS morning NEG-wake  
'He did not wake up early'

2. *ombɔ na ja p<sup>h</sup>anti-v mek*  
3P.MAS NOM morning wake-FUT NEG  
'He will not wake up early'

In a negative interrogative construction, the negative /n-/ occur in both yes/no interrogatives and wh- interrogatives as in (4) and (5). In both yes/no and wh- the interrogatives occur in the final position of a construction and the negation /n-/ as always occur in the medial position of a construction pre verbally.

3. *ni na a sə ci n- həŋ tʃɔ alo*

2P.SG NOM 1P cloth DET NEG see PST QM  
 ‘haven’t you seen my shirt’

4. *otfɔ n-roa la*  
 who NEG-come QM  
 ‘who is not coming’

5. *a na ni ezov -ji ndioli n-ŋa la*  
 1P NOM 2P tell det QM NEG listen QM  
 ‘why don’t you listen to what I told you?’

## 2.2. The Negative /ti-/

The negative /ti-/ occur with the imperative form of a verb which designates to a grammatical mood expressing a request or an exhortation. It is employed in an imperative construction and cannot occur interchangeably with the negative /n-/. Following are some of the instances where the /ti-/ is employed in a construction.

6. *kipəŋ-ci ti-k<sup>h</sup>ana*  
 door- DET NEG-close  
 ‘Don’t close the door’

7. *fəro-ci peləŋ-poni na ti-phia*  
 dog-DET bed-PSTP NOM NEG-feed  
 ‘don’t feed the dog on the bed’

8. *jokɔ-ci osə cilo ti-hana*  
 necklace-DET dress DEM NEG-wear  
 ‘don’t wear the necklace with that dress’

The negative /ti-/ occur always pre verbally in the medial position of a verb; it can also occur in the initial construction of an imperative clause as in (10) and (11).

9. *ti-t<sup>h</sup>oa*  
 NEG -say  
 ‘don’t say it’

10. *ti-ts<sup>h</sup>oa*  
 NEG -do  
 ‘don’t do it’

The negative /ti-/, however cannot be used interchangeably with the negative /n-/ as it cannot occur in an imperative or interrogatives and adding it will make the sentence meaningless and ungrammatical as seen in (12) and (13).

\*12. *kipəŋ-ci*            *n-k<sup>h</sup>ana*  
       door-DET            NEG -close

\*13. *a na*        *ni*        *ezov-ci*        *ndioli ti-ŋa*        *la*  
       1P NOM      2P        tell-DET        QM NEG-listen      QM

### 2.3. The Negative /me/

The negation /me/ performs as the prohibitive marker in a construction. In a prohibitive construction the negative /me/ is always accompanied by the prohibitive particle /ka/ (14) and (15).

14. *otsə*            *tso-ka*  
       rice            eat PROH  
       ‘eat rice’

15. *otsə*            *tso*        *me-ka*  
       rice            eat        NEG PROH  
       ‘don’t eat rice’

16. *jipvə-ka*  
       sleep PROH  
       ‘you sleep’

17. *jipvə*            *me-ka*  
       sleep            NEG PROH  
       ‘don’t sleep’

The negative /me/ can occur in an interrogative construction and can be reduplicated as seen in (18). The negative /me/ however cannot be reduplicated in wh-interrogative constructions (19) and by reduplicating the negation in a wh-interrogative construction will result in ungrammatical sentence (20).

18. *ni-no*        *pəŋnoi*        *me me*

2P NOM teacher NEG NEG  
 ‘Are you a teacher?’

19. *otʃ-co pəŋnoi me*  
 who-NOM teacher NEG  
 ‘Who is not a teacher?’

20.\* *ocho-jo pəŋnoi me me*  
 who- NOM teacher NEG NEG

#### 2.4. Negative Indefinites

The negative indefinites are inherently negatives and are accompanied by the default negation /n-/ in a construction. The inventory of negative indefinites in the language following Penka (2011) is shown in table 1:

Table 1. Inventory of negative indefinites

Negative indefinites	<i>Lotha</i>	Gloss
Person	<i>otfiame</i>	‘nobody’
Thing	<i>Ntiame</i>	‘nothing’
Place	<i>kvəlohame</i>	‘nowhere’
Det	<i>Me</i>	‘no’

Negative indefinites in Lotha are /*otfiame*/ ‘nobody’, /*ntiame*/ ‘nothing’, /*kvəlohame*/ ‘nowhere’ and /*me*/ ‘no’. When the negative indefinites occur as a one word response to an interrogative sentence, the inherent negatives remains the same as seen in the following instances.

21.(a) *co otʃ la* (b) *otfiame*  
 ‘who is that’ ‘nobody’

22. (a) *co ndo la* (b) *ntiame*  
 ‘what is that’ ‘nothing’

23.(a) *co kvəlo la* (b) *kvəlohame*  
 ‘Where is that’ ‘nowhere’

In a clause construction the occurrence of negative indefinites alone may meant ungrammatical therefore it is always accompanied by the negative marker /n-/. The occurrence of

negative indefinites along with the negative marker also results to a double negative construction.

24. *tsəpvə i ntia n cə*  
 pot LOC nothing NEG there  
 ‘there’s nothing in the pot’

25. *ncə co ofia n-tso*  
 yesterday NOM nobody NEG-eat  
 ‘nobody ate yesterday’

26. *a jə kvəloha n-ji*  
 1P NOM nowhere NEG-go  
 ‘I am not going anywhere’

### Conclusion

The process of negation in Lotha is morphologically formed by prefixing the negative marker to its constituents. Negation is expressed by three negative prefixes /*n-*/, /*ti-*/ and /*me-*/. The negative /*n-*/ is the default sentential negator in Lotha and it has the widest scope in a clause construction. However, the scope is limited to tense because when the verb takes future tense the negation /*n-*/ loses its scope and the negator /*me-*/ is employed which occurs in the final position of a sentence construction. The negative /*ti-*/ occurs with the imperative form of a verb which designates to a grammatical mood expressing a request or an exhortation. Although both the negatives /*n-*/ and /*ti-*/ occur in both declarative and interrogative constructions they cannot be used interchangeably. The negation /*me-*/ performs as a prohibitive negator and is always accompanied by the prohibitive particle /*ka-*/. However, in an interrogative clause /*me-*/ is reduplicated for the purpose of emphasis but cannot be reduplicated in *wh-* clause construction. The negative indefinites are inherently negatives and are accompanied by the default negation /*n-*/ in a construction. Negative indefinites in Lotha are /*otfiame-*/ ‘nobody’, /*ntiame-*/ ‘nothing’, /*kvəlohome-*/ ‘nowhere’ and /*me-*/ ‘no’. When the negative indefinites occur as a one word response to an interrogative sentence, the inherent negatives remain the same. The occurrence of negative indefinites along with the negative marker /*n-*/ results to a double negative construction.

### Abbreviations

1p	First Person
2p	Second Person
3p	Third Person
DEM	Demonstratives
DET	Determiners

LOC	Locative
MAS	Masculine
NEG	Negative
NOM	Nominative
PRES	Present Tense
PROH	Prohibitive
PSPT	Postposition
QM	Question Marker
SG	Singular
FUT	Future Tense

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Applying Communication Accommodation Theory to *Mughal-E-Azam*:

An Investigation of the Effects of Convergence, Divergence and Interpersonal Control in Shaping Relationship Dynamics Among the Major Characters in the Movie

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Courtesy: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mughal-e-Azam>

Abstract

Using Communication Accommodation Theory as framework, this research paper sets out to investigate the verbal interactions of major characters such as Akbar, Salim and Anarkali in the movie *Mughal-e-Azam* (1960) in order to understand the extent to which accommodation not only gave rise to attraction or repulsion in relationships but also generated tension. A qualitative methodology was adopted which involved viewing the movie several times and selecting key moments which related to divergence, convergence and interpersonal control. The findings of this study revealed that in terms of divergence, Anarkali, a dancer in the Mughal durbar defies Emperor



Akbar's patriarchal authority as she is in love with Crown Prince, Salim. She does so specifically in the song *Jab Pyaar Kiya Toh Darna Kya* which is considered as an anthem of rebellion (Walia, 2013). In terms of convergence, Salim uses words of reassurance, care and warmth to win Anarkali's love and to decrease the social distance between them. By using such a strategy, Salim shows his appreciation of Anarakali. In the case of interpersonal control, it was found that Akbar is torn between his roles as a father and as a King. Consequently, this affects his relationship with Salim. The findings were discussed in light of Rational Choice Theory to show that language is a social practice (Kramsch, 1994) for social benefits to be earned.

**Keywords:** *Mughal-e-Azam*, Communication Accommodation Theory, Rational Choice Theory.

## 1: Introduction

Linguistic style plays a fundamental role in the writing of dramas – whether for the stage or for the screen. Désoulières (2004) points out that making precise linguistic and stylistic choices is essential to convey the appropriate mood of the drama. Interestingly, when filmmaking was still at its infancy stage in India, sound and speech were not part of films. This era was known as the silent era whereby filmmakers made use of motion pictures as a means of expression to narrate their stories (Kausar and Pandey, 2016). Dadasaheb Phalke's film, *Raja Harishchandr* (1913) is one such example. Gradually, with the advent of technology it became possible to include soundtracks in films and the first Indian talkie to be made was *Alam Ara*, produced by Ardeshir Irani in 1931. The characters in the film not only spoke but it was studded with more than half a dozen songs – all of which conveyed the desired mood of the film. These were found to be very appealing by the audience because the soundtrack, most importantly the dialogue created a sense of proximity with human existence. This was a major factor contributing to the tremendous success of the film (Gokulsing and Dissanayake, 2004).

Drawing from the above, it is noteworthy that though we might think of film as an essentially visual experience, the importance of soundtrack, especially dialogue which comprises one of the essential ingredients in the entire soundtrack of a movie cannot be underestimated or ignored. Cinematic dialogue shapes the viewers' understanding of the director's motives as it manipulates our emotions, revealing character and plot without our immediate knowledge. Therefore, this paper seeks to examine variation in speech through the theoretical lens of Communication Accommodation Theory in the movie *Mughal-e-Azam* (1960). The film displays a rich tapestry of verbal exchanges marked by romance, defiance, authority, puns among others. The impressive dialogue of *Mughal-e-Azam* was written by Urdu writers namely: Amanullah Khan, Ehsan Razvi, Kamal Amrohi and Wajahat Mirza. The objectives of this research is to understand the roles of the three main characters namely that of Akbar as an Emperor and as a father, the role of Salim as the successor to the throne and as a son and the role of Anarkali as a court dancer and as the love interest of Salim through their verbal interactions.

In order to achieve the research objectives, four research questions are formulated:

1. What is the communicative accommodative strategy used by Akbar in his interactions with his son Salim?
2. What is the communicative accommodative strategy used by Salim in his interactions with Anarkali?
3. What is the communicative accommodative strategy used by Anarkali in his interactions with Akbar?
4. What effects do these communicative accommodative strategies have on their respective relationships?

## 1.2 Scope of the Study

With reference to the above, the second chapter will present an overview of the theoretical framework of Communication Accommodation Theory. In the third chapter, the methodological approach adopted for the study will be outlined. The fourth chapter will provide an analysis of the data focusing mainly on three accommodative strategies namely interpretability, convergence and divergence. The chapter will also discuss the findings of the study. Finally, the concluding chapter will sum up the findings of this research paper.

## 2: Literature Review

The ensuing sections in this chapter aim to provide an overview of the theoretical framework of Communication Accommodation Theory as well as discuss the different ways and contexts in which people change or modify their linguistic style so as to be the same as or differ from their conversational partners. Light will also be shed on the different accommodative strategies adopted by interactants in their communicative exchange.

### 2.1 Introduction to Communicative Accommodative Theory

Initially referred to as Speech Accommodation Theory (SAT), Communication Accommodation Theory (henceforth CAT) was first developed by Giles, Taylor and Bourhis in 1973. Their research was based on style-shifting by examining accent variation. In fact, they reinterpreted Labov's influential research on the social stratification of /r/ which is a prestige variant in New York. Labov (1966 cited in Coupland et al, 2007) investigated two factors influencing style-shifting: the level of self-conscious attention that speakers pay to their speech and the formal or informal context in which the latter is called upon to interact. To achieve his objectives, Labov (1966) interviewed salespersons in three departmental stores in New York and discovered that the salespersons spoke the "careful" speech when the context was formal and when the context was informal, they adopted the "casual and relaxed" speech style (1966 cited in Coupland, 2007: 36). In other words, he found that the pronunciation of the prestige variant (r) was highly marked when the "careful" style was adopted while the pronunciation of the (r) was less salient when the speech style was "casual" (Coupland et al, 2007). Moreover, Labov (1966) highlighted that the more attention a speaker pays to his/her speech, the more formal is the speech and the less attention that the speaker pays to his/her speech, the less standard is the speech.

Interestingly, although Labov's study was well founded, Giles et al were able to provide an alternative explanation to his findings (Guzzo, 2014: 26). They point out that adopting a prestigious or non prestigious speech style does not depend either on the formality of the context or the degree of attention that people pay to their speech (Coupland, 2007: 36). In fact, according to Giles and his colleagues (1991), style shifting is the result of speakers' own willingness to modify their speech style towards each other. In other words, SAT focuses more on interpersonal accommodation processes. Consequently, referring to Labov's (1966) New York study, Giles et al (1991) postulate that the "casual" or "careful" speeches produced by the interviewees were possibly because the interviewer himself had changed his speech style from formal to informal when the interview was over or when he dealt with casual subject issues. As a result, the interviewees shifted their speech to that of the interviewer.

Relevant to this study are three essential stages in interpersonal interactions as listed by Bell (1984) that motivate speakers to modify their speech style either to accommodate towards or diverge from target audience. Firstly, speakers assess the personal characteristics of their addressees and consequently adapt their speech style accordingly. Secondly, speakers take into account their own as well as their addressees' linguistic repertoire whether monolingual or multilingual and suit their style according to it. Thirdly, speakers take into account how frequently particular linguistic variable occurs in their addressees' speech and adapt correspondingly. In light of these stages, it is noteworthy that language use in interactions may have a few significant socio-psychological implications. For instance, Hamilton et al (2016) point out that the use of particular linguistic variables can affect a listener's perceptions of a speaker. Similarly, research has shown that speakers are more likely to converge towards linguistic variables that are considered prestigious so as to win social approval.

SAT was revised and renamed Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) in 1987 by Giles. CAT includes paralinguistic elements such pauses, phonological variants as well as non-verbal elements such as smile, gaze or even body posture that all contribute to analysing speech accommodation (Mirzaiyan et al, 2010: 1). Therefore, it can be propounded that linguistic, paralinguistic and non-verbal strategies used in interactions may bring about particular effects, outcomes and consequences. The ensuing subsection will explore the different strategies of accommodation adopted by speakers to accommodate their interlocutors.

## 2.2 Strategies of Accommodation

In its early stage of development, SAT's primary focus was on communicative strategies such as divergence, convergence and maintenance which Coupland et al (1991) have labelled as 'approximation' strategies. Interactants may adopt different communicative strategies for two purposes: to either increase or decrease social distance. According to Byrne's (1971) theory of Similarity-Attraction, people view those who want to be similar to them more favourably.

When applied to communication, Byrne's theory indicates that if one's communicative behaviour matches that of one's interlocutor, this results in one being better appreciated, respected

thereby earning more social rewards. Such a strategy is referred to as convergence which involves speakers and addressees reducing interpersonal differences by adjusting their verbal and nonverbal behaviour in order to be the same as one another. In contrast, when speakers adopt the strategy of divergence, they maintain or increase social distance between them and their conversational partners which results in the speakers being negatively evaluated (Coupland et al, 2007).

In line with the above, Giles, Taylor and Bourhis (1973) analysed speech accommodation in the bilingual setting of Montréal. Their study revealed that the more English-speaking Canadians converged towards French-speaking Canadians by using more French, the more positively they were evaluated. The listeners responded positively to their addressees. Similar findings were obtained when French-speaking Canadians converged towards English-speaking Canadians. Although this study is not directly related to this paper since it examines speech accommodation between two ethno-linguistic groups, it nevertheless provides emphatic support to the fact the more interlocutors' communicative style is similar, the more positively they are evaluated.

As CAT expanded, strategies such as interpretability, interpersonal control and discourse management were included (Gallois et al, 2005). These strategies have been labelled as 'attuning' strategies. Interpretability deals with the way speakers shift their speech behaviour from a complex to a simpler one. In fact, they convey their information in a more understandable way by altering their tone, utterance length or they may even repeat particular words or utterances to increase comprehensibility. Interpersonal control is concerned with the role that speakers perform while interacting. Some may use language to exert power, dominance and control in a conversation. As far as discourse management is concerned, it aims at managing the conversational needs of interlocutors. Discourse management is divided into three categories namely field (selection of topic and its content), tenor (strategies used by interactants to maintain face while communicating) and mode (how conversations are shared and structured in terms of turn-taking).

### **2.3 Communication Accommodation Theory and Mixed Gender Dyads**

In sociolinguistics, gender is a crucial factor when considering speech or discourse production. Fitzpatrick et al (1995) claim that men and women do not belong to the same speech communities as they not only have different reasons for engaging in talk but their interpretation of it also differ. Wardhaugh (1986) provides three models to shape our understanding of language differences between men and women. These are the deficit, dominance and difference models.

According to the deficit model, as compared to men, women are viewed as less confident and even as inferior participants in any interaction as they use more question tags to seek reassurance. Also, they display a tendency of hedging their statements in order to avoid being assertive. Interestingly, Wardhaugh (1986) highlights that in academic settings, no such differences have been observed. On the other hand, the dominance model stresses that women keep the conversation going by making use of techniques such as backchanneling and they even respond through body language in order to send a message of understanding (Wardhaugh, 1986). Finally, according to the difference model, men and women express themselves differently and, on many occasions, their speech may

have different meanings even if they are saying the same things. In addition, as compared to men, the use of rising intonations is a distinct feature of women’s speech (Wardhaugh, 1986).

Based on the above, it can be gathered that both men and women may experience difficulty in communicating to each other. Nevertheless, Stupka (2011: 1) observes that although there are differences in their speech patterns, men and women are able to communicate to each other effectively. This is made possible through accommodative strategies. It is noteworthy that in a study carried out by Fitzpatrick, Mulac and Dindia (1995) whereby they analysed conversations concerning relationship matters between men and women, found out that during mixed dyadic conversations both men and women adapted their linguistic style in favour of their conversational partners. However, it was also found that women converged twice as much as men did. Along the same line, Stupka’s (2011) study on conversational accommodation yielded similar findings – in nine out of the thirteen couples studied, female partners converged towards their male interlocutors.

However, in other studies, different results were obtained. For example, Fitzpatrick et al (1995) noted that when men addressed women - whether they were acquainted with them or not, diverged from their conversational partners. The ideology at play is that men who strongly believe in gender roles are hesitant to switch to the linguistic style of the other gender (female). It should be pointed that the degree of accommodation that both men and women make towards each other is determined by the nature of the relationship that they share rather than the gender of the speaker or the speaker (Fitzpatrick et al, 1995). For instance, Stupka (2011) notes that couples who are in a serious relationship are more likely to converge rather than those who are merely friends.

### 3: Methodology

#### 3.1 Sample

Considered as a ‘saga of epic proportions’ (Walia, 2013) *Mughal-e-Azam* is the most expensive film of its time. Directed by K. Asif and produced by Shahpoorji Pallonji, *Mughal-e-Azam* was released on 5<sup>th</sup> August 1960 and it hit different cinema halls across India. *Mughal-e-Azam* deals with the doomed love story of Salim and Anarkali and the tense relationship between father and son – Emperor Akbar and Prince Salim as a result of the latter’s love for Anarkali.

Table 1 below shows the names of the five most important characters in the movie and the names of the actors who played them. These are the characters that will be mostly referred to in this research paper.

Characters	Played by
Akbar	Prithviraj Kapoor
Salim	Dilip Kumar
Anarkali	Madhubala
Jodhabai	Durga Khote
Bahar	Nigar Sultana

**Table 1: Cast of *Mughal-e-Azam***

*Mughal-e-Azam* was chosen to be analysed under the lens of CAT as it has been labelled as the Kohinoor diamond of Indian Cinema by Nasreen Munni Kabir, the author of the *Immortal Dialogue of K. Asif's Mughal-e-Azam* (Sinha, 2010). Not only this, according to Box Office India (2003), upon its release in India, *Mughal-e-Azam* collected approximately a net revenue of US\$ 11,530,000 thereby making the film a major commercial success. The record of the film was unbeatable for 15 years and it was eventually broken by *Sholay* in 1976. Furthermore, even today *Mughal-e-Azam* (1960) stands as a colossal pillar at the domestic Box Office as it attracted more than 100 million footfalls, higher than *Baahubali* (2017) (Box Office India, 2017).

In addition, the film has been critically acclaimed and has won numerous accolades in 1961, notably one National Film Award and three Filmfare Awards in the categories for Best Film, Best Cinematography and Best Dialogue. It is noteworthy that the film was also nominated for the Filmfare Award for various categories such as Best Actress (Madhubala as Anarkali), Best Director (K. Asif), Best Playback Singer (Mangeshkar) and Best Music (Naushad). Interestingly, the film was re-released in colour version in 2004 and it coincided with three major releases at that time: *Veer Zara*, *Aitraaz*, and *Nach* (Box Office India, 2004). *Mughal-e-Azam* was ranked the 19<sup>th</sup> highest grossing Bollywood film of 2004 behind *Aitraaz* and *Veer Zara*, the latter being the top grosser, but was ahead of *Naach*.

In light of the above, the film offers a rich tapestry worth exploring. Since the film won the award for Best Dialogue at the Filmfare Award, the focus of this research paper will be on the verbal interactions of the main characters mentioned above. For the purpose of this study, the colour version of the film was viewed which is 3 hours 3 minutes and 51 seconds long. Also, only those significant instances were retained during which the major characters interacted and where CAT could be subsequently applied.

### 3.2 Method

In this study, a qualitative research methodology was adopted. Qualitative method aims to answer the *how* and *why* instead of the *what* and *how many* of the phenomenon under study (Mason, 2002). It can be argued that data collected through qualitative methods is textual in nature and can be interpreted by the researcher in his/her own ways to suit his/her purpose.

Several stages were involved in this qualitative research. These are listed as follows:

1. Formulating research questions: How does accommodation or non accommodation affect relationships?
2. Designing the study: Locating significant moments of accommodation strategies.
3. Collecting data: Watch *Mughal-e-Azam* and locate pertinent extracts pertaining to convergence, divergence and interpersonal control.
4. Analysing data: Applying the theoretical framework of CAT to the corpus.

It is noteworthy that the predicament and purpose of the research alongside the sample chosen depends on the theoretical framework adopted. Excerpts of the verbal interactions of the characters were required for the application of CAT in order to answer the research questions as pointed out in section 1.

#### 4: Analysis

##### 4.1 Divergence between Akbar and Anarkali

Divergence is a strategy used by speakers to differentiate themselves from others in the communication acts to create, maintain or increase distance (Coupland, 2007). Generally, divergence is a speech strategy which is consciously applied (Street, 1984). With regard to *Mughal-e-Azam*, at the very outset of the movie, Akbar is very impressed by Nadira's dance and he ends up rewarding her by giving her the title 'Anarkali'. In fact, this is how Anarkali acquired her name. However, as the storyline progresses, the relationship between Akbar and Anarkali becomes sour as the court dancer falls in love with Salim – Akbar's son and the future Emperor of Hindustan.

One of the most remarkable moments in the movie which deals with divergence between Akbar and Anarkali is the inimitable and iconic song 'Pyar kiya to darna kya' (literally translated as 'Why fear when you fell in love'). The song is one of defiance performed by Anarkali in front of the Mughal Emperor Akbar. In fact, upon learning about Anarkali's transgression, Akbar orders her to be thrown in prison and in order not to lose his son and thereby endangering the future of Hindustan, Akbar asks Anarkali to perform a dance in the royal court in which she has to declare that she has only played with the feelings of Salim and her only motive was to become the Empress. Akbar's unbending paralinguistic style becomes clear as he uses a harsh and firm tone while talking to Anarkali. He tells her: 'I am sure the darkness of the dungeons has dashed your splendid dreams?' to which she replies: 'The light that I carry in my heart was enough to dispel the darkness of the dungeon'. Anarkali's statement is a clear indication of how she diverges from her usual reverential and timid linguistic style to one which is bold and dauntless.

Contrary to Akbar's expectations, Anarkali further diverges by openly declaring her love for Salim in the song. As she sings:

When we have loved, why should we fear?  
We have loved, not committed a theft  
Why should we be afraid?  
Nothing is hidden from God  
So, why should we hide from **human beings** (emphasis is mine)?

It is to be noted that everyone in Akbar's durbar equates the latter with God by referring to him as 'Zil-e-Illahi' which means shadow of God. However, Anarkali diverges and does not place Akbar on a pedestal as she considers him as merely a human being. This certainly invites Akbar's wrath and he orders Anarkali to be thrown in prison once again. In fact, according to Akbar, a slave

girl or a court dancer is not fit to become the Empress of Hindustan which is why he does not accept Salim and Anarkali's relationship. For Akbar, his duty as an Emperor and the fate of his Empire cannot be compromised. Following the lyrics of Anarkali's defiance song, it becomes clear that there is heightened tension between Akbar and Anarkali as she blatantly challenges his patriarchal authority and other social stratifications.

#### 4.2 Convergence between Salim and Anarkali

At the outset of the film, when Anarkali learns through her sister Soorayya that the Crown Prince, Salim has fallen head over heels for her, she is very apprehensive of the consequences of this 'forbidden love'. This is because a romantic relationship between a court dancer and a prince implies transgressing social barriers. However, with regard to convergence, when Salim meets Anarkali he finds that she feels uneasy and anxious about their budding relationship. Therefore, he accommodates to Anarkali as a result of her emotional and relational needs. Salim converges towards her by using words of reassurance, care and warmth. For example, when Anarkali tells him: 'I have nothing but the fearful emotions of a slave girl', Salim replies: 'Then forget that you are slave' or even '[You] will sit beside Salim as the Empress of Hindustan'.

In addition, on learning that Akbar is coming to meet Salim, Anarkali tries to run away from there but Salim prevents her from going. Although, Anarkali falls unconscious on seeing Akbar, it sends a strong message to her that Salim is not afraid to swim against the tides. He rebels against not only Akbar but even Jodhabai for the sake of Anarkali. He declares: 'It is not Salim's Anarkali who will die in a despot's dungeon!' Salim's linguistic choice of comparing Akbar to a despot is an indication of how he affiliates himself to Anarkali. If on one hand, Salim views Akbar as a despot, on the other, he sees in Anarkali 'the pride of Mughals' – an indigestible fact for Akbar! It is noteworthy that Salim's linguistic style is that the more he converges towards Anarkali the more he diverges from Akbar. This interplay of convergence and divergence, with Salim standing in the eye of the storm generates tension in the film.

#### 4.3 Interpersonal control between Akbar and Salim

Watson and Gallois (2002) point out that interpersonal control focuses on role relations, and results in the use of interruptions, honorifics, endearing terms and the like, in order to keep the other person in role or to allow freedom to change roles. Throughout the film, Akbar plays the role of a torn father and a just king. Akbar's dream is to see Salim as a valiant warrior and an exemplary king. He feels let down when Salim falls in love with Anarkali. When Akbar asks Salim to stop his affair with Anarkali, Salim powerfully replies:

Taqdeeren badal jaati hai, zamaana badal jaata hai,  
Mulkon ki tareekh badal jaati hain, shahenshaah badal jaate hai  
Magar iss badalti hui duniya mein mohabbat jis insaan ka daaman thaam leti hai  
Woh insaan nahin badalta

Literal translation as follows:

Destinies change, Times change. The history of nations changes.



Emperors change but in this ever-changing world, a person whose hand has been held by love – that person never changes.

Akbar interrupts Salim and uses a resigned tone to tell him: ‘Magar tumhe badalna hoga, Salim. Tumhein badalna hoga’ (Literal translation: ‘But you will have to change, Salim. You will have to change’). This is a clear indication of how powerless he feels as Salim refuses to take heed of his words. In other words, Akbar’s powerlessness reflects how he is incapable of keeping Salim in role that is as a conscientious prince whose primary goal is to live up to the expectations of his subjects.

Furthermore, throughout the film, Akbar is depicted more as a king than a father. Even at the outset of the film when Salim returns back to his kingdom after emerging victorious in the war, Akbar says: ‘Not my son. I go to greet a great soldier of Hindustan’. However, as the storyline progresses and as Akbar staunchly opposes Salim’s relationship with Anarkali, Salim tells Akbar: ‘Embrace me as a father would to his son, not as the Crown Prince of Hindustan, think of me as your son and tell me, is Anarkali unfit for me?’ Salim’s tone certainly indicates that he wants to appeal to Akbar’s emotions in order to awaken the fatherly love in him. According to Salim, if Akbar thinks from a father’s heart and not from an Emperor’s, it will be easier for him to accept their relationship. In light of the above, it can be noted that Salim allows Akbar the freedom to change his role – from a strict Emperor to a loving father. Unfortunately, Akbar remains adamant and the situation degenerates to such an extent that Salim wages war against his own father for Anarkali’s sake. At this point, Akbar’s dream crumbles.

Before fighting the war, Akbar goes to meet Salim and he attests: ‘This unfortunate father whom the world calls Emperor, has come to talk to his son, to ask for his love’. Not only this, he uses the endearment term ‘Chekhu’ when he addresses Salim. Akbar, for once adopting the role of a father again convinces Salim to drop his obstinacy. Nevertheless, this attempt of his is met with failure as Salim says: ‘You destroy your son’s love, and yet you seek his love? Now the Emperor has changed his guise!’ This strategy of interpersonal control that both Akbar and Salim use is translated into a battle of egos between both of them.

## **5: Discussion**

### **5.1 Rational Choice and Communication Accommodation Theory**

Rational Choice Theory has been defined as a framework to understand all human behaviour (Becker, 1976). Hutchison (2007) claims that Rational Choice Theory deals with the desire to maximise benefits and minimise costs. Put differently, a person is motivated to undertake an action after calculating the costs that he will have to bear and the benefits he will reap after indulging himself in that particular action. Consequently, from the various options available to him, he chooses that which will provide him with more satisfaction. Applied to verbal interactions, Rational Choice Theory is also called Exchange Theory.

It is widely believed that social relationships occur in a social marketplace, where one has to give in order to get (Hutchison, 2007). As far as romantic relationships are concerned, if a person is attracted to someone, he will want to indulge in it or will want to continue the relationship based on the advantages he might receive. This gives rise to the idea of social attraction which simply means that if a person is attracted to someone else, he/she will do his level best to appear attractive to his/her partner. It is noteworthy that in a study conducted by Jones (1964, cited in Rosenberg and Turner, 2004, p.242), it was found that one of the ways to make others appreciate oneself is by conforming to their “opinion, judgement and behaviour”.

Interestingly, in light of *Mughal-e-Azam*, it can be noted that the above finding does not only apply to the romantic relationship between Salim and Anarkali but also to the parent/child relationship between Akbar and Salim. This has empirically been proved in Chapter 4 of this paper. The characters of *Mughal-e-Azam*, namely Salim and Anarkali tried to accommodate to each other based on the benefits their alliance might bring to each other. In line with CAT, some of the possible reasons why they attempted to converge to each other’s conversational needs are for more effective communication which is considered to be the foundation of successful romantic relationships, for establishing a close relationship based on mutual compatibility and to create a more positive image of themselves (Giles et al, 2007).

Blau (2009) puts forth that when a person carries out an action in favour of someone, the latter feels that he is under the obligation to reciprocate towards the person. If they fail to do so, this leads to them no longer receiving the rewards or benefits that the association brings to them. For example, in Akbar’s eyes, Salim is not merely his son but a valiant soldier and the successor to the throne. However, as Akbar disapproves of the romantic relationship between Salim and Anarkali because of the difference in status, he orders the latter to be imprisoned but on seeing the rebellious side of Salim, Akbar is forced to order her to be released – a strategy that Akbar uses so as Salim does not grow away from him and by extension become oblivious of his duties as Crown Prince. This strategy is highly successful as Salim affirms: ‘It’s proof that at heart, the Emperor is humane’. Therefore, it can be observed that by accommodating to Salim’s will, Akbar wins the latter’s admiration as he evaluates him favourably.

## 6: Conclusion

In this paper, the verbal interactions of the major characters such as Akbar, Salim and Anarkali were examined through the lens of CAT. After analysing the data which comprised of selected key moments in the film, it was found that since Akbar is an opponent of Salim and Anarkali’s love, both of them diverge from him as they defy his patriarchal authority. Contrary to the belief that men have an upper hand on women in conversations, this paper has revealed that even women can exert power in interactions. This has been exemplified by Anarkali herself when she rebels against Akbar. This study also demonstrated how because of the problematic role that Akbar plays – that of a torn father and a dutiful Emperor which is reflected through his dialogues, sours his relationship with Salim. As far as the romantic relationship between Salim and Anarkali is concerned, they both converge towards each other so as to decrease the social distance between

them. To understand the goals and motivations underlying accommodative strategies, the findings were discussed through the lens of Rational Choice Theory which stipulates that people measure the costs and rewards before undertaking an action. In light of the above, it can therefore be said that language in the form of verbal encounters is an essential tool in character construction and development.

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## **Ethnopoetic Study of Igbo Oral Funeral Poetry in Elugwu Ezike, Enugu State, Nigeria**

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### **Abstract**

This study is an ethnopoetic analysis of Igbo oral funeral poetry with particular reference to Elugwu Ezike. The principal objective of the study is to analyze oral funeral poetry performance of the Elugwu Ezike people with emphasis on the form and structure of Elugwu Ezike dirges and the impact of Christianity, Islam and western lifestyle on the performance of Elugwu Ezike dirges. An aspect of ethnopoetic theory known as infracultural model in folklore analysis developed by Alembi is used in the analysis of data. Recording and tape-recording are made firsthand during the funeral ceremonies in which these poems occur. Solo and response form is the basic structural features in most Elugwu Ezike dirges, there is constant repetition of words and sentences in the dirges, the funeral artists make use of linguistic and paralinguistic features at their disposal to realize the aims of their performance and various imageries are used in the dirges to showcase emotion, events and objects such as loss, death and hunting, lion, kite, forest and mountain respectively. The findings of the study also reveal that the dirges poetically reiterate the theme of satire, praise for the dead, theme of vulnerability of death and theme of death as a universal phenomenon. Christianity, Islam and western education have negatively and positively affected the performances of dirges in such a way that Christian music is used in funeral ceremonies in recent time.

**Keywords:** Elugwu Ezike, Dirge, Igbo oral funeral poetry, performance, stylistics, rhythm and form

### **1. Introduction**

Man has always expressed his feelings experiences, expectations and dreams through the medium of poetry. Although, there may be no final definition of poetry, all ideas about poetry centre on one thing: man's display of emotions in a unique language that is devoid of everyday usage. Oral poetry is essentially a collective enterprise handed down by word of mouth dependent upon the memories of listeners and story-teller. Traditional poetry is, therefore, the cultural heritage of indigenous people. Poetry may also be described as the song of the heart which touches on and rekindles the very living chords of human experience.

Dirge as a form of oral poetry makes use of language to communicate experience. Funeral dirge or lamentation for the dead is an important genre of folklore. It is as old as man's concern with death. According to Ajuwon (1982) dirge can be viewed as poem of lamentation which may be

improvised by the mourners, according to traditional formula and themes. The invariant context is the performance of rites of passage at the time of death. Death is a fundamental human experience. A look into the attitude of man towards it should give us some insight into human emotions at moments of grave stress.

Oral funeral poetry is the property of non-literate societies. Every African society is very rich in traditional poetry which is the common property of the whole community. The poet or the praise singer uses that to express the communal vision of life. Thus, African traditional poetry is culture-tied and handed down orally from generation to generation. Oral poetry represents our classical tradition, that is, that body of texts which lies behind us as a complete and enduring literature through constantly being renewed and which most profoundly informs us the world views of our people.

Among the cultural practices which have become dominant in Igboland are the burial rites and its associated funeral dirges. Available evidence reveals that burial rites have some mythological and super-natural explanations. The Igbo mythology appreciated the fact that man was composed of body and soul, that these spirits by ways of decent burial receive a kind of worship by ways of undeniable and very necessary rites for the progressive journey of the soul to the spirit world. There are also mythological propositions that without decent burial rites, the spirit of the dead roam about helplessly (Amadi, 1974).

Since nobody wants his dead relative to roam about helplessly, grand burials and funerals are planned first, to protect the living from the unfortunate apparition of familiar ghosts and the societal shame. Secondly to win a place for the dead in the land of the spirits the Igbo perform burial rite for the deceased. In Igbo cosmology, there are many other sacrifices made to the dead during the burial. It is generally assumed in Igboland that when all burial and funeral rites have been performed, the dead assumes greater power to do and undo many things at will. It is the people's duty to offer sacrifices to the dead so that they enjoy their protection and expect their aid towards procreation, fertility, prosperity and progress.

Although burial practices and funeral dirges are generally performed in the entire Igboland, a lot of variations in the pattern, mythology and mode of practices of the burials of the departed vary across communities. Since each community possesses its own pattern of thought and appreciation of the universe, their ideas and practices are bound to vary. Burial rites and oral funeral poetry are aspects of human culture which for obvious reasons have undergone some unhealthy metamorphosis as a result of the western culture.

In recent years, there has been a reawakening interest in African folklore. Research on literature has appeared revisiting and exploring the nature of folklore as expressed verbally and speculating about its role in future. The present study is an attempt to offer an insight into the role of the enduring African oral traditions and its artistic forms. The study is focused on the construction of the Elugwu Ezike Igbo perception of death through oral funeral poetry such as *ogele*, *obini* and *okanga*. The Igbo, like other peoples of Africa with identifiable culture, have a rich poetic heritage. This poetic heritage or traditional poetry of the people can be regarded as a prime form of art because

it depicts their ways of life. Igbo oral poetry treats subjects related to the predominant activities of the people like farming, hunting, cooking, eating, carving, weaving, fighting, celebrations of births and deaths, courtship, marriage and anniversaries of these events.

The cultural and religious beliefs and observances of the people of Elugwu Ezike are also interwoven. These are kept alive by oral transmission from one generation to another and celebrated during great occasions. Most poems within the oral tradition of Igbo poetry are composed to satisfy the needs of those engaged in different human activities. They also express intense emotions and project profound ideas. Although these poems have not been influenced by techniques associated with formal education, they show the great verbal mastery of the composers and reveal great thought. There are poems expressing joy or happiness and sorrow and those that show family ties, as well as those composed to ease tension or serve as aids to relaxation after a hard day's work.

Opoku (1976:133) observes that death is the inevitable end of man, but the attitude towards it is everywhere ambivalent. He further explains that West Africans in general, regard death not as the end of life, but as a transition from the present earthly life to another life in the land of the spirits. Death is thus a journey which man must make in order to reach the life beyond and continue to live as an ancestor. The dead, therefore, do not remain in the grave, but become spirits and proceeds to the spirit world, called *ala mmuo* by the Igbo people.

There is a strong Igbo belief that spirits of one's ancestors keep a constant watch over the living and must be placated through prayer. Ancestors who live well, die in socially approved ways are given correct burial rites, are allowed to continue the afterlife in a world of the dead. The world of the dead that is filled with honoured ancestor mirror the world of the living, and the deceased relatives were periodically reincarnated among the living. Those who die bad deaths and lack correct burial rites cannot return to the world of the living or enter that of the dead. They wander homelessly expressing their grief by causing destruction among the living counterparts.

A funeral ceremony in Igbo society involves sacrifices, singing and dancing. Funerals are characterized by deep feelings that are partly, expressed through poetry. Thus, poetry performances become useful avenues to let out pent emotions that could easily be harmful to the health of the bereaved. To this extent poetry performances are therapeutic. Funerals are also characterized by feelings of joy that are expressed through poetry. Contrary to what Finnegan (1970) records in a general discussion on elegiac poetry in Africa, claiming that wailing and singing are solely characteristics of feminine mourning; all members of an Elugwu Ezike community wail and sing at a funeral. Wailing and singing are the popular ways of "escorting" the dead to *ala mmuo*, the world of spirits. In fact, funeral and burial are seen by Elugwu Ezike Igbo as a process of seeing off the dead to the next abode in the world of spirits. In support of the above view, Egudu and Nwoga (1971:22) postulate that "the end of a man's journey through life is remarkable because it is a stage at which the gods have decided to claim back what they gave the world". To the Igbo, earthly existence is transient. It is not the end of life because life continues in the great beyond after the cessation of immediate life on earth. There is a growing body of knowledge on African oral literature. A number of pioneer studies on African oral literature tended to cover many communities and groups in one study. Among

the pioneer scholars are Finnegan (1970), Okpewho (1979, 1984, 1994), and Uzochukwu (2001) among others. Due to large spatial units, social groups and area coverage, there are disturbing generalizations made by these scholars on the oral poetry of a number of African communities. The contributions of these pioneer scholars in showing the place of African folklore in human knowledge cannot be denied. However, their generalizations and distortions cannot be allowed to escape a severe judgment by the critical analysts. Hence, the need to redress this problem by undertaking an insider informed micro level studies.

Within the Elugwu Ezike community, a lot of funeral dirges and ritual performances have been associated with the traditional burials of the dead, but unfortunately enough, most of these funeral dirges associated with the various traditional ritual performances of the dead have not been preserved in any way. It was further observed that there may be variations from the former practices of the pre-colonial people to the present time.

Although emphasis has been placed on culture and the need to preserve the cultural practices of the people, no serious attention has been given to the documentation of burial rites and funeral dirges associated with the burial rites in most communities of Igboland. The problem of the study, therefore, is that of trying to assess and document the burial rites and the associated funeral dirges of Elugwu Ezike community in Igbo Eze North Local Government Area of Enugu State. Also, to be assessed is the stylistic features of the funeral dirges of Elugwu Ezike Igbo.

## **2. Conceptual Framework**

### **2.1 Oral Poetry**

In the analysis of oral poetry, there is often confusion between poetry and song. These two are not exactly the same. Song is just one way of delivery of poetry. A poem may be sung, declaimed or recited. Miruka (1997:88) defines oral poetry as “the verbal expression of feelings, ideas and thoughts using versified language”. The oral poem is principally composed and rendered using word of mouth. In oral performance, especially of song, the text is often not fixed. It has the call and response structure and most oral poetry is performed to an audience making it a public affair. In oral poetry performance, there is the use of body, face and movement to reinforce the words and voice. Finnegan (1977:16) describes oral poetry thus:

Oral poetry essentially circulates by oral rather than written means, in contrast to written poetry, its distribution, composition or performance are by word of mouth and not through reliance on the written or printed word.

The three ways in which a poem can most readily be called oral are in terms of (1) its composition (2) its mode of transmission, and (3) its performance. Oral poem is an essentially an ephemeral work of art and has no existence or continuity apart from its performance. The skill and personality of the performer, the nature and reaction of the audience, the context, the purpose are essential aspects of the artistry and meaning of an oral poem.



The performance of oral poetry is an interactive enterprise where the poet performs before a participating audience. Babalola (1981:7) suggests that oral poetry is a dynamic art form. By suggesting that oral poetry is a dynamic art form, Babalola may be referring to a number of meanings. Firstly, it is produced in a dynamic context where the artist and the audience freely interact to produce an effective and lively performance. Alembi (1993:2), Finnegan (1970:82), Okpewho (1985:8), Olajubu (1981:93) and Miruka (1994:111) argue that oral poetry is said to be dynamic because it has no fixed length of performance. The length of any verse is determined by a number of factors pertaining to the audience and the physical circumstances surrounding the performance. For instance, if the audience is interested and eager to listen and dance to a particular song, the artist will prolong it by frequent repetition.

## 2.2. Performance

Performance is always important in oral literature. It is an element in all oral art, and some of the controversies about style can only be fully understood by reference to performance. Jacobson (1974) defines performance as a form of expression which uses poetic language of which body is the vehicle that gives form that which one wishes to communicate. Each act of performance is reflexive, creating an experience while reflecting upon this experience at the same time.

Similarly, Bauman (1977:11) describes performance as:

A mode of verbal communication which consists of taking responsibility of a performer with regards 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.

Finnegan (1977:118) observes that "the main means of performance of oral poetry are through intoning and spoken voice. It may sometimes appear that most oral poetry is sung. The singing voice is a very common medium. A recitative type of delivery is also common. Scheubs (1977:89) sees performance as:

An underlying process of balancing, loosening, bending, twisting, reconfiguring and transforming the permeating eruptive and disruptive energy and mood below and to the sides of focused attention.

In the context of this study performance is used to denote a collective activity which involves one or more performers and an audience. One additional mode of poetic performance is delivery through drums and similar instruments.

## 3. Theoretical Framework

This study is premised on an aspect of ethno-poetics known as the infracultural model in folklore analysis. This strand of ethno-poetics is developed by Alemi (2002) for research into oral poetry. The infracultural model of oral poetry analysis combines elements from two strands of ethno-poetics developed by Dell Hymes (1982) and Tedlock (1983). The term infracultural model is used in this thesis to mean interpretation of words and actions within specific cultural contexts. This in essence means that the meanings of the words and actions can only be located within the perceptions of the study community. This model seeks to bring together the researcher and the study community in a reflective process to gather information on funeral poetry and interpret it together as partners. This entry by the researcher into the rhythm of life of the Elugwu Ezike community act as a good basis to learn and experience their beliefs, expectation, fears and perceptions of death. Thus,

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instead of concentrating on Hyme's strand of ethnopoetics which lays emphasis on the written text or Tedlock which emphasises living discourse, the infracultural model gives cognisance to performance, the oral text, and the written text. The key elements of the model are that it demands an insider analysis and interpretation of works of art in a given reality of a community, and interpretation of oral literary pieces in their cultural context. It also examines oral texts beyond mere concern with stylistics in order to elucidate the theme of the study. It equally emphasizes the researcher's deep involvement in dialogue and interaction in order to understand the structural and underlying issues surrounding a phenomenon and a community. It assigns meaning to oral text based on the cultural traditions of the performer and audience and a close observation and participation in live performances of a given genre of oral art (Alembi, 2002).

#### **4. Empirical Review**

Ogede (1995) carries out an investigation on the context, form and poetic expression in Igede funeral dirges. Igede, a minority tribe in Benue state, has a tradition of expression that is as vibrant as that of any of Africa's large language group. As a storehouse of Igede beliefs, practices and wisdom, the dirge leads us into a world of spirits, a dreadful world of ancestors fearfully conjured up as a universe of monstrous, malignant forces before whom man is a vulnerable being, constantly constrained to plead for protection. Ogede in this study demonstrates that there is genuine creativity in Igede dirges which compares favourably with those found among other people the world over. Onuekwusi (2001) in his study of dirge in African context discovers that the main purpose of dirge is to honour the deceased, mourn him, elevate him, and adore him and to cherish his name. According to Onuekwusi, funeral celebration springs from a background that is somewhat religious especially the African concept of the universe and the belief in life after death. It is believed that there is a world of the dead created in the same pattern as the world of the living.

There are therefore beliefs in the home-coming of the dead. Morality, ethics and indeed the total human condition will become part of lamentation. In order to accommodate all these aspects of the dirge, it generally has a flexible structure that allows spontaneous creations by the individual mourner, his reflections and sentiments on the dead. There is, rather, free use of kingship terms, of names, epithets and phrases. The occurrences of these structures suggest a strong social relationship and organization in the society. Alembi (2002) conducts a study on oral funeral poetry in Abanyole in Kenya using ethnopoetic theory in the analysis of data. He finds out that majority of deaths among the Abanyole people is blamed on the people exercising mystical powers. He demonstrates that people who use mystical powers are greatly feared and hated to the extent that the sons and daughters of such people often fail to get suitors from among the Abanyole. They then marry from distant ethnic groups or families within Bunyore or outside of it with the same characteristics.

Okpewho (1992) has an interesting study of dirge performances in Africa. The areas that Okpewho explores include the definition of dirges, the occasion for their performance, and some of the stock words and phrases used in some of the dirges, particularly the Akan funeral dirges in Ghana. The major finding of his study reveals that most African dirges have musical qualities since they are often chanted or sung. The study also reveals that lament may be present or absent in some dirges depending on how the community perceives death. Similarly, Egwuagu (1995) carries out a study on

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the content of funeral dirge in Ezinifite in Aguata Local Government Area of Anambra state. The study reveals that dirge is a creative verbal musical expression which takes place alongside the poetry of songs, drums, horns and pipes. The study also observed that living situations provide the contexts in which dirges are created and re-created. Some Ezinifite funeral dirges take the form of lyrics and the musical element is more pronounced and verbal aspect less developed than dirges without instruments, which are delivered in a spoken or recitative style. The language of Ezinifite dirges has the following stylistic features: dialect words, proverbs, rhythm, figures of speech such as personification, hyperbole, idiom and metaphor.

Furthermore, Ugwuoke (1998) makes an interesting revelation about the funeral of *ozo* title holders in Obimo community in Nsukka. According to him, the burial of *ozo* title holder in Obimo community is very expensive and colourful. Burial rites of an *ozo* title holder in Obimo community include: washing the corpse thoroughly with a local pomade (*elu aki*), supervision of the corpse by the *ozo* titled men to know whether the body is well prepared for the burial, covering the body with black cloth and placing his cap on his head with eagle feather and a red feather (*awo*) and his title staff (*aru*) put in his hand. In Obimo, the dead *ozo* titled man's grave is dug into two chambers, one chamber for his corpse and the other one for his bed. Uzochukwu (2001) in another study conducted on the traditional funeral poetry of the Igbo holds that funeral poetry inculcate in the living the knowledge of what constitute good character and that in some areas in Igboland, funeral artists constitute themselves into a sort of trade union. The findings of this study is similar to the present study because in Elugwu Ezike, *Okanga* group performers constitute themselves into such a trade union and their services are hired for during funeral ceremony to entertain the audience. The study further revealed that the most prevalent stylistic devices employed by the Igbo funeral artist are figures of speech. This gives us ample scope to include the following in our treatment of funeral poetry: simile, metaphor and metonymy, personification, euphemism and hyperbole among others, all of which constitute poetic imagery. Many of these songs are full of praise for the dead.

## 5. Summary of the Related Literature Reviewed

In this chapter, literature related to the study was reviewed in order to identify gaps to be filled by the current study. It was established that most of the literature centred on the concept of death, burial rites and funeral dirge in African communities without an in-depth analysis of the stylistic features of the oral funeral poetry as an integral part of oral funeral poetry and the interpretation of meanings therein.

In addition, from the above literature review it could be seen that both Africans and the Igbo people share the same view on the concept of death and burial rites. All of them believe that death is unavoidable it must come when it wishes, and that death is not the end of man's life. Man has another life to live in the hereafter and that it is the befitting burial rites that make the ancestors or the people in the spirit world to accept the deceased with an open arm.

Furthermore, most of the issues are dealt on a general basis and are not specific to a particular community. The literature reviewed established that in addition to the already accomplished scholarly works concerning the analysis of form and structure of funeral dirge, there is need for further

investigation in regard to function, contexts and stylistic features of oral funeral poetry in Elugwu Ezike.

## **6. Method of Data Collection**

In the collection and documentation of Elugwu Ezike funeral poems, library research and field work were used.

### **6.1. Library Work**

Library work was conducted before the actual – field work. This is necessary because it helps to illuminate the broad perspective of the oral funeral poetry. A critical study of books, dissertations, thesis and articles on funeral dirge investigated provides advance information on the area studied.

### **6.2. Field Work**

At the preliminary stage, the researcher makes sure that he has procured the equipment and materials necessary for field work. They are functional audio cassette recorder and materials such as cassette tapes, batteries, and a good camera. Batteries are essential needs because most of the performances take place in areas lacking electricity supply.

Recording and tape recording are made firsthand during the funeral ceremonies in which these funeral poems occur. Sometimes, the researcher joins the enactment of the funeral songs and dances. He does this to establish a rapport between him and the ever suspicious performers and informants. Thus, in participating in the performances, the researcher is enlisted as a person who identifies with the significant elements in the people's aesthetics rather than someone prying into the secret of the people.

### **6.3. Interview**

The interviews are conducted at the venue of performance to give the whole exercise an aura of freshness and authenticity. In order to obtain good results, interviews were not arranged as a fixed questionnaire, rather, they were arranged in such a way as to allow the informants to have the freedom to elaborate aspects of special interest within the context of funeral oral performance.

### **6.4. Methods of Data Processing**

After assembling funeral poems collected from the field work, the researcher made an effort to critically read and identify messages on death as well as aspects of socio-cultural causes and effects of death as presented in the poems. The data collected from fieldwork were transcribed from the tape and translated into English. The notes taken during the recording sessions (interviews) as well as the observation were analyzed to identify the major themes of the research under study.

### **6.4. Method of Data Analysis**

The analysis and interpretation of the Elugwu Ezike oral funeral poetry involved the people we had observed participating in funerals, the researcher's own analysis of the funeral context and the accompanying poetry and documentary sources available. In analyzing the

## **7. Data Presentation and Analysis**

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## 7.1 Performance of Elugwu Ezike Funeral Dirges

The performance of dirges among the Elugwu Ezike people actually begins during the all night wake that lasts till dawn. When the deceased is laid in state, the tempo of the mourning rises, and the performances of the dirges heightens and enhance the mourning. Because of the influence of Christianity, particularly in the more urban towns, it is now fashionable for the deceased's relatives to invite church choirs (bands) to sing and dance during the wake. Traditional dance groups too, some of them with masquerades (ma) playing assorted paraphernalia of musical instruments such as Orumnyi (big metal gong), Qkanga among others to show up at some wakes, especially the wakes of important persons in the community. In the course of the night wake keep one can hear isolated wailing, otherwise, the wake is characterized by singing and dancing all night.

The performance of these dirges is mostly a women's affair in the form of song and dance groups, although in recent years there has been a proliferation of mixed dance groups made up of both women and men, with the men playing musical instruments and constituting the background chorus of voices. Among these dance groups, there exist skilled and professional performers such as "Ogele" performers for women and "Qkanga" for men only who are formally hired for a fee and, as Okpewho (1992:156) puts it, "invited by the bereaved family to lend a certain grandeur or fullness to the occasion". The other less skilled performers in most cases, are not formally invited but are provided with food and drinks after their performances. Whether the performance is semi-skilled or professional, it usually involves dancing and drumming. In between the group performances, occasional soloists and dual performers come forward, at times sobbing, sometimes weeping as they lament the departure of the deceased or express a variety of themes on the nature of death.

Most of the dirges performed during funerals are well known by the audiences. Moved by the music, singing, and emotion of the performance, it is not unusual that many a member of the audience would leap forward and join the performers in their song and dance.

## 7.2 Form of the Elugwu Ezike Igbo Funeral Dirges

The performance aesthetics of Elugwu Ezike Igbo dirges is most often enhanced by the chant and antiphonal forms. Of equal importance is the structure of the dirges themselves, structure here is referring to the lengths of the dirges and alternating stanzas created by the constant vocal interaction between the lead singer and the chorus. The language employed by the performers of Elugwu Ezike Igbo dirges constitutes the third useful element in the discussion and appreciation of the stylistic features of these funeral dirges. It includes unique phonological and grammatical forms, lyrical repetition, and an elaborate utilization of appropriate imagery, apt metaphors, allusions, and figurative language. The most outstanding and identifiable literary quality of Elugwu Ezike dirges is repetition. Most often, like dirge No:1 demonstrates, the lead singer repeats lines she has previously sang, while the chorus re-echoes the same lines. Here, lead singer will be represented with "L.S." while the chorus will be represented with "ch". (Dirge No 1).

L.S. Nwanne m kachite obuə jiiireonuma – persevere with you sorrow

Kachite obu giə - take heart.

Kachite obu giə jiiire onuma – persevere with your sorrow

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Kachite obu gə - take heart  
 Nẹ o bu kẹ uwa shi adə - that's how the world is.  
 Ch Nẹ o bu kẹ uwa shi adə - that's how the world is.  
 L.S. Nẹ o bu kẹ uwa shi adə - that's how the world is.  
 Ch Nẹ o bu kẹ uwa shi adə - that's how the world is.  
 L.S. Ya bu gə jiire ye – so take heart

Where the stanza is longer, repetition occurs both within the individual lines of the lead singer. As Isidore Okpewho (1992:71) puts it:

Repetition is no doubt one of the most fundamental characteristic features of oral literature. It has both aesthetic and utilitarian value: in other words, it is a device that not only gives a touch of beauty or attractiveness to a piece of oral expression but also serves certain practical purposes in the overall organization of the oral performance.

Indeed, as Nketia (1955:104) also states repetitions in dirges are not monotonous, neither are they due to barrenness of thought: “on the contrary, they may have a musical mode of meaning or they may be a means of emphasizing points that mourners might wish to make”. It is in the same mode of thinking that Okpewho (1992:71) goes on to emphasize that:

It is necessary to grasp first the aesthetic value of repetition in a piece of oral performance. In a fundamental way, the repetition of phrase, a line or a passage does have a certain sing-song quality to it, if the repetition occurs between intervals in, say, a song or a tale, the audience is often delighted to identify with it and to accompany the performer in going over a passage that has now become familiar.

The refrain is another familiar pattern of poetic repetition in Elugwu Ezike dirges. Here, the lead singer sings the first verse of the dirge twice and the chorus takes up the repetition of the central thought of “the king has gone to the grave” over and over in several lines, to emphasize the importance of the dirge.

Dirge No. 2

L.S. Eze ala nẹ obu ẹja – the king has gone to the grave.  
 Ngwere chishima ukwu – the lizard has strengthened its leg.  
 Eze ala nẹ obu ẹja – the king has gone to the grave.  
 Ngwere chishima ukwu – the lizard has strengthened its leg.  
 Chi chi ngwere chishima ukwu – chichi, the lizard stretches its legs.  
 Ch. Ngwere chishima ukwu – the lizard has strengthened its leg.  
 Chi chi ngwere chishima ukwu – chichi, the lizard stretches its legs.  
 L.S. Nẹ Agbedq Qnoja ala nẹ obu ẹja – that Agbedo Qnoja has gone to the grave.

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Ngwere chishima ukwu – the lizard stretches its legs.  
 inuma chichichi - when you hear chi chi chi  
 Ngwere chishima ukwu – the lizard stretches its legs.  
 Nẹ Ugwuanyi Edogba Aanya ala, Ugwuanyi ala nẹ obu ẹja – Edogba Aanya nẹ onu ẹja, has  
 gone to the grave.  
 Nẹ nna muru anyi ala nẹ obu ẹja - that our father has gone to the grave.  
 Ngwere chishima ukwu – the lizard stretches its legs.

The effect of the performance of this kind of dirge is that it cues the audience to sing along, repeating the familiar lines of the refrain with the chorus (Ngwere chishima ukwu – the lizard stretches its legs), thereby intensifying the mournful atmosphere in the funeral. “Eze ala nẹ obu ẹja” (the king has gone to the grave) means that the king has died while “Ngwere chishima ukwu – (the lizard stretches its legs)” demonstrates the posture of the deceased. One line can, in fact, be repeated several times. This trend in which dirge lines are repeated over and over is frequent in most of Elugwu Ezike Igbo dirges. It is a popular technique that the lead singer and chorus employ very regularly in the rendition of the dirges. This is seen in the dirge below: (Dirge No. 3)

L.S. Udele nẹ-erə n’elə oooo – the vulture is hovering on the air.  
 Udele nẹ-erə n’elə oooo – the vulture is hovering on the air.  
 Ch. O roo n’elə si ya roo n’alə - if it hovers in the air let it hover on the ground as well.  
 L.S. Qkanagba atomiirə - the mighty has fallen.  
 Ch. O roo n’elə si ya roo n’alə oo – if it hovers in the air let it hover on the ground too.  
 L.S. Enyimenyi atomiirə - the elephant has fallen  
 Ch. Elelelele wewewelo – Elelelele wewewelo  
 L.S. Ogbodogbo o o o – Ogbodogbo o o o  
 Ch. Elelelele wewewelo – Elelelele wewewelo  
 L.S. Ogbodogbo o o o – Ogbodogbo o o o  
 Ch. Qmadere etegə egwu n’efu – Qmadere does not dance without reason.  
 L.S. Kamobə egwu ida – unless there is a drum music  
 Ch. Ogbodogbo o o – Ogbodogbo o o  
 L.S. Orihoro etegə egwu n’efu – Orihoro does not dance without reason.  
 Ch. Kamobə egwu nryi – unless it is a dance for food.  
 L.S. Ogbodogbo ye bə ememe – Ogbodogbo, movement is sluggish.

The peculiarity about this chant form is that it is performed by a single, individual performer, and, in most cases has a sustained verse form with repetitions. Of equal interest too is the fact that the performer acts as both lead singer and chorus.

The Ogele dirge chant form provides the individual performer with greater flexibility to treat the subject of death in her own manner and express her emotions in the words and melodies she chooses. For example, Enokpa Eze (2010) a professional Ogele dirge chanter has this to say: (Dirge No. 4).

Ugwuanyi atoru ozu – Ugwuanyi now lay dead.



Nẹ utobo gana avo okpa nẹgu – that Utobo (a type of four legged animal) is harvesting ground  
 pea  
 Onye vu ozu anagə agba oso munyi – corpse carrier do not look for shelter.  
 Q gbaarə - If he looks for shelter  
 Ovujeko ye bẹ onye? – on whose house should he go?  
 Ugwuanyi agbaliire ije – Ugwuanyi is now embarking on a journey.  
 Nẹ ẹnya ee nwuru anwu – the desire to see a dead.  
 A nagə eme eme – man is not a welcome phenomenon.  
 Nẹ Oyibo Ogiri atorū ozu – that Oyibo Ogiri is now lying dead.  
 Nẹ nne anyi Oyibo Ogiri – our mother Oyibo Ogiri  
 Ge eyiri ee shi oru lata – resembles someone who has just returned from a  
 journey.  
 Nwa nene Qmada – my sister, daughter of Qmada.  
 Manẹ ozu na-adə emoro ee – so corpse is beautiful.  
 Enokpa Eze, manẹ ozu na-agba mbafuru – Enokpa Eze, so the corpse sweats?  
 Nwa Aame nwa Idoko – Son of Ame nwa Idoko  
 Onye jeko be ogerenyi - one visiting an elder.  
 Meme ufwarā – should make noise.  
 Nẹ ogerenyi nẹ - eyi ekwa ka agwo – Because elders lay eggs like the Snakes.  
 Nwa Aame nwa Idoko – son of Ame nwa Idoko.  
 Asanya kweru ekele ooo – Asanya accept greeting ooo.  
 Utobo, agaligbo ga-alakq – The deceased is going home.  
 Itodo nwa aame muru gə - Itodo nwa Qmẹ is your father.  
 Nẹ egbe anagə ehe n’udele nwa – Because a kite cannot nurse a baby for the vulture.  
 Enokpa Eze sə - Enokpa Eze says  
 O nwere ewu libe ewu – one who has goat should tie it on a tether.  
 Nẹ odanwu də n’okporo – Because death is on the way.  
 Qdanwu bu ogbo o yaarə - Death kills and leaves the deceased.  
 Mẹ agə bu ogbo o vuru – But the lion will kill.  
 laarə n’efwa je eryile – and take the corpse to the bush for meat.  
 Enokpa Eze. Qnwu ma oo – Enokpa Eze, as it pleases death.  
 Enokpa Eze, onwu ma oo – Enokpa Eze as it pleases death.  
 Edo oga ogiri, onwu ma oo – Edooga Ogiri as it pleases death.  
 Edo oga Ogiri onwu ma oo – Edoqga Ogiri as it pleases death  
 Qnwx ma kee o mele – death, do as it pleases you.  
 Qnwx ma oo – As it pleases death oo  
 Osede nene Qmada Eze – Osede, son of Qmada Qmada Eze  
 Osede sə nẹ ya adagə ebo n’elugwu – Osede says that he cannot be two on the mountain.  
 Janyi nene Qmada – my colleague, son of Qmada  
 Sə nẹ ya bu kpakpa – says he is a hawk.  
 Enokpa Eze, agbaliire m ije – Enokpa Eze, I am embarking on a journey.  
 Eeke nene Qmada – mother Qmada.  
 Ekarā neere nə m ẹnya – let termite look after my house.

Edoga nwa Eze deeje oo – Edoga nwa Eze, I salute you.  
Edoga Eze, onwu ma oo – Edoga Eze, as it pleases death.

This dirge form consists of direct statement to the theme of death. This dirge form involves the repetition of key phrases over and over. The chanter begins the dirge by singing a simple verse alone.

Another type of Elugwu Ezike dirge involves antiphonal collaboration between the lead singer and chorus. That is the solo and chorused refrain. The lead singer usually uses the refrain to gain time to think of the next thematic statement to insert in the dirge. In this case, the refrain takes the form of a predominant image from a preceding line: (Dirge No. 5).

L.S. Mənyi ukwu ze – when a heavy rain falls

Mənyi ukwu ze – when a heavy rain falls.

Ch. Mənyi ukwu zegbo q la n’oto – the heavy down pour will be collected in a hole.

L.S. Ugwuany [ezegbo la n’oto – Ugwuany] is dead and buried.

Ch. Məny [ukwu zegbo q la n’oto – After heavy down pour, it will be collected  
in hole.

L.S. Ikoryiko e vute manya ba adobe – Trouble has brought wine.

Ch. Mə anyi ja anəchayile ba ala – And we shall drink it all before we go.

L.S. Gwongwo o gwongwo o – Gwongwo o gwongwo o.

Ch. Gwongwo o gwongwo o – Gwongwo o gwongwo o.

L.S. Mənyi ukwu ze – when a heavy rain falls

Mənyi ukwu ze – when a heavy rain falls.

Ch. Mənyi ukwu zegbo o la n’oto – the heavy down pour will be collected in a hole.

The improvising lead singer utilizes the sensitivity of this device to introduce moods of sorrow through intimate personal asides as she chants the dirge. The heavy down pour is referring to deceased and “ila n’oto” (will be collected in a hole) refers to burying the deceased in the grave. The “ikoryiko” (trouble) to have brought the wine refers to the death that has occurred. The idea of drinking wine here denotes that wine is essential in funeral ceremony to grease the occasion. The use of asides in funeral dirges transform impersonal words into intimate verbal expressions, making them emotionally charged with connotative meaning, and by so doing bringing both performer and audience to reflect on the implicit meaning of the words. It is quite important to underscore the fact that performers of Elugwu Ezike dirges have the flexibility to determine which dirge they would use during their performances. From time to time, the performers alternate between “the solo and chorused refrain” as shown above, and “the statement and response structure’ demonstrated below:

L.S. o nwuu yaarə anyi oo – He dies and forget us.

Ugwuja anwuu oo – Ugwuja is dead oo.

o nwuu oo – He has died.

Ch. o nwuu ma – He has gone to sleep.

L.S. o labaare ma – He has gone to sleep.

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Ch. o labaarə oo – He has gone.

L.S. Nwa Edogba a tomiirə - Edoga has kicked the bucket.

Ch. o labaarə ma – He has gone to sleep.

L.S. Ebe kẹ Ugwuja no ee – where is Ugwuja ee?

The constant repetition of the word “labaarə” and “nwuu” by both the lead singer and chorus reveals the aesthetic features of this particular dirge. The lead singer does not just introduce the song, she is allowed the flexibility for originality during its performance, while deciding how to end the song. It is important to emphasize that this statement/response form involving the lead singer and chorus is characterized by simplicity of words and expressions that are hardly changed during the performance of the entire dirge. From all indications then, it is obvious, as Ruth Finnegan (1979:262) states, that:

...the antiphonal form provides scope for far more flexibility, rich elaboration, and interpretation than is immediately apparent from the bald statement that this is the characteristic structure of African songs. It is also a most suitable form for the purposes to which it is put. It makes possible both the exploitation of an expert and creative leader and popular participation by all those who wish or are expected to join in.

The repetition and lack of demand on the chorus also makes it particularly appropriate for dancing. Finally, the balanced antiphony both gives the poem a clear structure and adds to its musical attractiveness.

It is quite obvious in this discussion that Elugwu Ezike dirges, like other varieties of African poetry, cannot be analyzed following the rules of English verse that are based on the measured effect of stressed and unstressed syllables. The musical accompaniment to the dirge, the rhythm of the dance as the dirges are performed, the energy, emotion, and passion with which the performers give vent to their inner feelings. All these elements provide a unique perspective in the appreciation of the Elugwu Ezike dirges.

### 7.3. Structure

The length of Elugwu Ezike Igbo dirges varies, with the number of performers determining the length of each dirge. Although some dirges performed by single performer are relatively short, the rule, rather than the exception, is that dirges performed by a single performer tend to be longer. Quite remarkable is the fact that the performance of these dirges is usually, though not always, executed by individual artists who sing and perform alone without musicians or a chorus. Such artists are sometimes commissioned to compose tailor-made dirges for particular funerals. These kinds of tailor-made dirges, like the following, are usually long, constituting not more than three stanzas: (Dirges N. 7).

Ugwu Edogb Aanya – Ugwu Edogba Aanya.

N’odori n’odome – In Odori of Odome.

Nwa oke eene – Son of a great man.  
Kola onye ishi ẹwo aako – Tells a tale better than a grey haired man.  
M m onye ije ga-agbaliko – A ma traveler is about to depart.  
Ji enyiire Ugwu – The yam is now climbing the hill.  
Edogba Aanya n’odori – Edogba Aanya of Odori.  
Anyi ga-ano n’abada ekyirijeniye Agaligbo - we are at the bottom  
of the hill watching Agaligbo.

Agaligbo – Agalibo.  
Agaligbo – Agaligbo.  
Ije gə buru ahaga – let your journey be successful.  
Mẹ anyi nweru ahogo – so that we shall earn the praises.  
Ladoore oyi - Go in peace.  
Nẹ onwegə onye nẹ alakogə - For we shall all die one day.  
Nẹ o bu afwa bẹ anyi biacharrə - the world is a market place.  
Nẹ onye byiarə uwa ga-ala – Death is certain for everyone of  
us.  
Aanya nna m oo – Thank you my father oo.  
Edogba Aanya Onogwu – Edogba Aanya of Qnogwu.  
Gə bu ebule ocha azugu orye – You the white ram that will not  
be taken to orie market.

Onu nwa okwo owaa Eje – Onu nwa okwo son of Qwaa Eje.  
Muru Edogba Aanya – The father of Edogba Aanya.  
Ugwu juru Ugwu – Hill among hills.  
Ladoore oyi - Go in peace.

This three-stanza structure makes it possible for the message in the dirge to be delivered by a lone performer who resorts to improvisation in the course of the performance. Nonetheless, some dirges performed by a single performer could also be relatively short, closely mimicking the regular and irregular phrases in the song. The following dirge performed by a lead singer and chorus, for example, is just six lines: (Dirge No. 8).

L.S. Ije nduru – Dove’s movement  
Ch. {uu we ee – just swiftly  
L.S. Qmada ala oo – Qmada is dead  
Ch. {uu we ee – just swiftly  
L.S. Nene ala oo – mother is dead  
Ch. uu we ee – just swiftly.

This short dirge is characterized by lyrical repetition. The /o/ and /ẹ/ sounds in the lines of both lead singer and chorus echo the sense of loss and sadness of the mourner. The lyrical repetition

is not just limited to sounds, it also extends to words in the song. For instance, the following dirge illustrates the above assertion: (Dirge No. 9).

Nene mu oo – my mother oo  
Cho ogoro oo – cho ogoro oo  
Nene ala oo – mother has gone oo  
Cho ogoro oo – cho ogoro oo  
Nwomaja ala oo – Nwomaja is gone  
Cho ogoro oo – Cho ogoro oo  
Nene ala oo – mother is gone oo  
Cho ogoro oo – cho ogoro oo  
Nene ala oo – mother has gone oo  
Cho ogoro oo – cho ogoro oo  
Nene ala oo – mother has gone oo  
Cho ogoro oo – cho ogoro oo

The constant repetition of the words “Nene mu” and “cho ogoro” emphasizes the reality that although the performers wish the dead woman (Nwomaja) farewell, she is, in fact, dead and will never respond. The chanter of the above dirge has limited opportunities for verbal improvisation in contrast to the lead singer who has more flexibility to improvise in the course of performing the dirge.

In like manner, dirges performed by the chorus tend to have a relatively stable structure. Since most choruses of the dirges are short and repetitive, they are easy to memorize and master. The occurrence of parallelism in these dirges enhances their structure. In this regard, Elugwu Ezike Igbo dirges reveal a remarkable sense of balance in the form of semantic parallelism in which various images within a chant are developed independently and the relationship between them is not apparent on the surface” (Okpewho, 1992:81).

#### **7.4. Rhythm**

Elugwu Ezike Igbo dirges, like most African songs have a free rhythm and no rigid metrical scheme. It is in this regard that Ruth Finnegan (1978:265) observes that:

The fundamental importance of rhythm in vocal as in other African music is widely accepted, but there is little agreement as to its exact structure. One helpful distinction is between songs in “free”, and those in relatively “strict” rhythm.

In the former songs, the singing is not coordinated with any bodily rhythmic activity such as dancing. The very common songs to strict time, however, have a beat that is articulated with dancing, rhythmic movement, percussion by instruments, or hand-clapping, all of which contribute to the form and attractiveness of the song. These rhythms are worked out in many different ways in various types of songs, but one commonly recurring musical feature seems to be the simultaneous use of more than one metre at a time, as a way of heightening the rhythmic tension.

The corpus of dirges in this study reveals a free rhythm like the rhythm in Yoruba Ijala which Babalola (1966:344) says has “a poetic language organized so as to create impressions and fulfill functions of poetic rhythm”. In this regard, dirges performed and sung by one lead singer tend to have a free rhythm. For instance, during the “Igba Ogige” (war song) performed in the honour of a married man, the flutist (Qkwa opu) will recite with his flute thus: (Dirge No. 10).  
Onye byarə ije alaarə oo – the visitor has gone.

Elele lele, e lele lele – Elele lele e lele  
Agə anarə ububu nwa ya oo – the lion has snatched an antelope its offspring.  
o chi uta chita uta – He who has a bow, let him come along with it.  
o chi egbe chita egbe – He who has a gun, let him come along with it.  
Nə agə anarə ububu nwa ya oo – the fact that the lion has snatched an antelope  
its offspring.

The dirge demonstrates how the individual performer has the flexibility to treat the themes in her own way, and by so doing, expresses his emotions in the words and melodies he chooses. Dirges performed in collaboration with a chorus, on the other hand, have a beat that is articulated by dance, the accompaniment of drumming, and the playing of a host of assorted musical instruments. All these contribute to the form and beauty of the dirge and bring out its poetic style. This can be illustrated in the following dirge. (Dirge No: 11).

L.S. Onye nẹ-ewotenə anyi ose? – who will bring us pepper?  
L.S. Onye nẹ-ewotenə anyi ose? – who will bring us pepper?  
L.S. Mẹ anyi worə gbayaarə olu – so that we can use it to clear our throat.  
Ch. Itodo nwa Eze wotenə anyi ose – Itodo nwa Eze send us pepper.  
Ch. Mẹ anyi worə gbayaarə olu – so that we shall it use to clear  
our throat.  
L.S. Mẹ anyi worə gbayaarə olu – so that we shall it use to clear our throat.  
L.S. Olu anyi soorə xzq oso – let our voice follow the path he is  
walking.  
Ch. o haarə ẹmu, o ruure ida – may our voice sound high so as to  
reach ida.  
L.S. Onye ne-ewoterə anyi ose? – Who will bring us pepper?  
Karo Onojo wotenə anyi ose – Karo Onojo bring us pepper.  
Ch. Mẹ anyi worə gbayaarə olu – so that we can use it to clear our throat.  
Olu anyi soorə uzo oso – let our voice follow the path she is treading.  
O haarə ẹmu o ruure {da – may our voice sound high so as to reach ida.  
o haarə ẹmu o ruure {da – may our voice sound so high so as to reach {da}.

As the deceased’s women kindred sing the above song, they will be clapping their hands and dancing calling on the deceased’s children to send edible things like kola, wine and food. This song is usually sung when the kindred women (umuada) are feeling hungry. The musical instruments such

as the use of empty milk cup that accompany the singing of the dirge determine the tempo of the rhythm. Hence, Nalova Lyonga's (1979:240) observation that:

...the drum principally dictates the tempo of certain kinds of performance for its rhythm slows down or quickens according to the movements of the dance, or more predominantly, its pattern may indicate change in action.

It is this rhythm which Lyonga refers to as contributing to the aesthetics of the dirges, especially when, as we have seen, they are accompanied by musical instruments which stimulate other mourners in the audience to sing and dance with the performers.

Men also use musical instrument such as Qkanga drum to stimulate other mourners to dance. The Qkanga musical group will sing the following dirges and transform them into Qkanga drum beats: (Dirge No: 12).

onyoko nyoko o rigə {dagba – onyokonyoko cannot eat idagba.  
O gwuru Onu – He who has dug a hole.  
Ba achiyima ẹka – should come and dip his hands.  
Nẹ okwu adəgə ya – And there will be no problem.  
Onye nna ya chiri Eze – one whose father was a chief.  
E chiire ude – is now being crowned a king.  
Onye sə nẹ ajədə ne-egbu eryl – He who says that the hunter kills and eats alone.  
Ba afuma ajədə nẹ-ekparyikpa – should come and watch the hunter in a thick forest  
Onye sə nẹ ajədə ne-egbu eryl – He who says the hunter kills and eats alone.  
Ba afuma ajədə nẹ-ekparyikpa – should come and watch the hunter in a thick forest  
Odo ne-egbu eryl – Odo kills and eats alone.  
Ba afuma ajədə nẹ-ekparyikpa – should come and watch the hunter in a thick forest  
Onye na-achi chiirə anyi - let the ruler rule us.  
Mẹ okwu adalẹ ozo – so that there will be no trouble again.  
Ugwu Eze chiirə anyi - Let Abugu Eze rule us.  
Mẹ okwu adalẹ ozo – that there will no trouble again.

The Qkanga drummers will recite the above songs and translate them into Qkanga music. This Qkanga music will be accompanied with dancing by the deceased children and relations. This okanga music is only played when a cow is provided for the funeral ceremony of the deceased. It is important to note that in Elugwu Ezike Igbo, it is only those who have provided cow during their deceased's father's funeral ceremony that are qualified to dance the music. Thus, the popular adage in Elugwu Ezike Igbo that "okanga adag n'okwu ogbenye", that is okanga music is not played in the compound of the poor.

## 7.5. Summary of Research Findings

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This study found that Elugwu Ezike oral funeral poetry is deeply rooted in myths and the beliefs of the people that form the basic philosophical foundation of the Elugwu Ezike cultural fabric and hence, its context specific. Each dirge is associated with a particular burial rite. Death is a debt which everybody owes. It is the separation of the soul from the body. The Elugwu Ezike Igbo like other African communities conceive death not as the end of life but rather a transition from the physical world to the spirit world.

Textual repetitions serve the purpose of emphasizing the messages embedded in the Elugwu Ezike oral funeral poetry. Burial rite is not just performed for a mere entertainment of the audience. There are various virtues embodied in the form, content and performance of the funeral dirge that accompanies it. Most virtues emphasize the importance of bravery, hard work, respect, collective responsibility and communal ties among others.

The solo-and-response form is the basic structural feature in most Elugwu Ezike oral funeral poetry. However, in actual performance it was observed that there is no strictly fixed framework of funeral dirge as is the case in western music. The structure of Elugwu Ezike funeral dirge is a flexible one incorporating spontaneous creations of the individual mourner, her reflections and statements, about the deceased. These may also include conventional features of allusions to ancestry and accomplishments, kingship terms, epithets and terms of endearment. Its flexible nature allows it to dwell at length on the qualities of the deceased. Thematic development is based on spontaneity, extemporization and creativity. Variations in texts lead to variations in significant themes as dictated by speech rhythms and speech tones.

The infracultural poetic devices used in the study make oral funeral poetry appropriate for funerals. For example, at funerals, people express deep feelings about their loss, hence the use of imagery and symbolism. As mourners coin image after image, they often find it necessary to stress and emphasize the feeling of loss hence the use of repetitions. Because death is a very emotional subject, the mourners even exaggerate the loss, hence the use of hyperbole. Stylistic features and traditional elements of the music render the oral funeral poetry sing able and danceable, making them even more appropriate at funeral. The structure of Elugwu Ezike dirges, their chant and antiphonal form, the figurative language employed such as lyrical repetition, personification, symbolism, imagery, apt metaphors and allusions constitute some of the essential components that are utilized in the realization of this traditional oral funeral poetry. The performers portray their innate creative abilities to enhance their art, thereby giving this particular genre of funeral poetry much of its beauty.

The study also found that when funeral song is rendered, the words, facial expressions of the singers, vocal expressiveness and other paralinguistic strategies all add to the impression it creates. In all forms of performances, the performer exploits linguistic, tonal, musical and visual resources at his/her disposal to realize the aim of performance. The funeral dirge of a man and a woman may have the same theme of loss, helplessness and regret but the words of rendition change as a performer recounts the achievements of the man which in most cases are different from those of the woman.



Lastly, it was noted that emergent political, economic and social changes are gradually influencing the trend of the traditional oral funeral poetry of Elugwu Ezike performance. Changes in traditional burial rites and its accompanying funeral dirges are due to religious and socio-economic developments. Many churches discourage the use of traditional funeral dirges, preferring edifying hymns instead. The reason behind this, the researcher is told, is that dirges reflect a pre-Christian worldview and as such are to be eschewed by Christians. In addition, the coming of electricity to the villages halfway the nineties led to loud music taking the place of the traditional oral funeral poetry during the wake keepings. Culture is a moving target, always reviewing and reshaping itself, yet at the same time we cannot help but lament the imminent loss of such a rich vein of Elugwu Ezike Igbo culture.

## 7.6. Conclusion

The performance of Elugwu Ezike oral funeral poetry reveal an impressive array of descriptive passages in which persons and objects are described in vivid language coloured by the performers' emotions. These vivid pictures are conjured from the performers' imagination, reproducing fine shades of feelings and making the audience perceive familiar images through their imagination as though they were seeing them for the first time. The performers use different symbols in association with variegated images in the dirges to convey different moods that arouse various emotions in the audience. It is in this sense that the performers portray their creative abilities to enhance their art. The survival of Elugwu Ezike traditional funeral poetry is threatened by forces of modernization. The senility of the Igbo funeral artists, coupled with the fact that the Christian mode of funeral celebration prevents the emergence of new practitioners of this form of oral art, makes Igbo traditional funeral poetry vulnerable to extinction.

Changes in political organizations, religious practices, economic life and desire for modernity have led to the changed mode of funeral dirges in Elugwu Ezike which in turn, have led to adjustments in the organization of traditional funeral dirge practices to fit into the new culture. For example, Christianity has led to widespread use of the Christian music that has interfered with the performance format and role of funeral dirges. In some extreme cases, there has been total replacement of the traditional funeral dirges with Christian hymns and gospel music. This has been due to negative attitudes towards African traditional funeral dirges by some early church missionaries and perpetuated by the current Christians.

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## INTERVIEWS

- Enokpa Eze. Aged 72 years at Arji on 16/01/2018.
- Onojo nwa Ugwuanyi aged 68 years at Amaja 10/2/2018.
- Monica nwa Ezeja. Aged 53 years at Amube 20/02/2018.
- Raphael Ezeja. Aged 68 years at Ikpamodo 22/02/2018.
- John Ugwuja. Aged 69 years at Igogoro 26/02/2018.
- Felix Ogonnaya Aged 69 years at Ikpamodo 27/2/2018
- Oyimaja Ogbere Aged 78 years at umuida on 5/03/2018.
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## Tense and Aspect in Izón Negation Marker

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### Abstract

In the most, it is established that natural languages code Tense, Aspect, Agreement (TAM) and other grammatical categories on the inflection (INFL) node with the VP shell representing its complement. Thus, a verb in a natural language may inflect for TAM features overtly or otherwise in varied ways. This paper examines the distinctive features of the Izón INFL node with particular reference to the morpho-syntactic manifestations of tense and aspect in Negative polarity. The elements -mẹ -ii and -minimi are isolated for past, present and future tenses in Izón, while de and -ii instantiates perfective and imperfective aspects respectively. Three distinct negation (NEG) markers are identified namely; -ghá, -kúmo and ẹ́ín. While -ghá distinguishes reference time based on the specified time in an underlying affirmative clause, -kúmo clusters round present time on the time line as such negates only in imperative clauses otherwise translates as an adverbial. ẹ́ín is distinguished as an unexpanded polar response element, while nàá is an auxiliary. The study is cast within the framework-free approach and posits that, the choice to make in negating an underlying proposition with the tense or aspect feature intact is not only triggered by the clause type but by the tense or aspect marking on the core-predicate.

**Keywords:** Izón, inflection, tense, perfective, imperfective, negation.

### 1.0.Preliminaries

The name Izón is synonymous with its people and culture. It is one of a cluster of four closely related languages collectively referred to as Ịzón or Ijo (the latter is the anglicized form of the language). Ijo includes; Eastern Ijo to which Kalabari, Okrika, Ibani and Nkoro belong; Nembe and Akassa; Buseni Okodia and Oruama and Ịzón (Williamson, 1983; Jenewari, 1977 and Kekai, 2016). The last, the object of this study has an estimated population of speakers numbering about two million<sup>1</sup> with multi-dialectal varieties numbering about twenty-eight (Agbegha, 1965) that are mutually intelligible to its speakers. Izón is spoken in six states of Nigeria namely; Delta, Bayelsa,

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<sup>1</sup> "Ijaw People". Ijaw foundation.org. Retrieved March 7<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

Edo, Akwa-Ibom, Ondo and Rivers. The dialect chosen for this study is Kabu. It is spoken in parts of Bayelsa and Delta states and mutually intelligible to other dialect speakers.

This paper examines the distinctive features of the Izón inflection node with particular reference to the morpho-syntactic manifestations of tense and aspect in Negative polarities. Observations reveal that there is paucity of information in the literature as regards tense and aspect and negation (NEG) markers in Izón. The few that are available have not only failed to situate the Izón NEG markers as features that also mark tense, aspect and grammatical features as components of the INFL, but also failed to distinguish the NEG markers and the distinct syntactic structures and types that each can participate in.

Though Blench and Williamson, (2011) and Williamson (1965), identify certain extensions and describe the causative/directional *mọ* and other affixes such as the reciprocal *-yaí* and *-í/ì* as verbal extensions, they fail to neither position them as constituents of the INFL nor examine the negative polarities of these extensions in constructions. Jenewari (1977) also fails to identify the NEG markers and their variants as tense and aspect markers. For Kekai (2016), though a few verbal extensions that contribute to argument selection and distribution can be identified, a clear identification, distinction and evaluation of NEG markers as extensional affixes and tense and aspect markers of the INFL node like other time and temporal specification elements is absent.

Derek and Beaudion-Lietz (2002:11), identify a binary negative contrast between a regular negative *-a* occurring in most syntactic contexts in Izón and translates the element *nàá* as *yet* but fail to situate the latter as NEG auxiliary that inherently indicates aspectual notions. NEG responses to polar questions and other sentence types are also undermined. The purpose of this study, therefore, is to identify the NEG markers in Izón and further separate the tense and aspect features borne by them in a bid to elucidate the inherent features that dictate their co-occurrence in different syntactic frames.

## 2.0.Theoretical Orientation

Haspelmanth (2010) asserts that frameworks represent aprioristic assumptions that would likely lead to a distorted description of a language. In the light of the foregoing and as opined by Haspelmanth, this paper embraces the framework-free approach to the characterization and description of Izón tense and aspect in NEG polarity. Choice of the framework is motivated by the need to avoid been biased or subjective by the influence of other languages on which theoretical frameworks were postulated. It is well known and argued that most of the frameworks employed in the elucidation of natural languages in the twentieth century are English biased just like pre-Modern grammars were based on the Latin grammars which are vehemently condemned (cf. Van Valin (2005) and Haspelmanth (2010). Since grammatical categories and relations are assumed to

be language specific, this study isolates the small sets of innate grammatical categories and relations from which the Izón language tense, aspectual and negation features shall be elucidated.

The aim is to determine the substantive universal on which Izón can be described. Needless to say, that a framework-free grammatical description/analysis is superior to framework-bound analysis because all languages have different categories and languages should be described in their own terms. Based on this, this study adopts the framework-free approach to the analysis of tense and aspect in negative polarity in Izón.

### 3.0. Instantiating Predication in Izón

A verb in Izón is any word category that can be inflected for tense or aspect. A verbal complex can also be derived by affixation, reduplication or compounding. An inflection may be pre- or –post verbal and affect the sub-categorization frames of verbs. Kekai (2012) for instance, accounts for extensions and inflections such as *mé*, *mómo*, *zouzhou*, *bári* etc. that extend the meaning of verbs and dictate the argument selection properties of the verbs they are attached to. Furthermore, she posits that, extensions such as the aforementioned dictate the argument distribution and alters the semantic roles of the arguments they select. To this end, *mómo* for example obligatorily requires comitative arguments and *zouzhou* requires dual subjects with equal capabilities to reciprocate the situations expressed by the core-predicates of their clauses (see Kekai 2012 for a detailed discussion).

Based on available literature at their disposal, Derek and Beaudoin-Lietz, (2002) assert that a verb is a word category to which a suffix can be attached. The duo provides the provisional template in 1 for the Izón verb based on the structure in 2, with hyphens representing morpheme boundaries.

- 1a. OP – root –EXT – Suffix<sub>1</sub> – suffix<sub>2</sub>  
 2b. ɔ            -tɛ    -mí    -eé  
       3p (OP)   -beg   -FAC   -EMPH  
       ‘...begged them’

To them, an Izón verb is a root to which an extension which may be as much as two suffixes may be affixed. Thus, a verbal affix may be post verbal but not pre-verbal as such all tense and aspect markers are extensions or suffixes but extensions such as the reciprocal, augmentative, maleficiary, comitative etc. markers (kekai, 2012) are not extensions as they occur pre-verbally. It is informative to note that what they regard as factitive (FAC) in the data reproduced in 2 above is actually a past tense marker and variant of *mé* in the kolokuma dialect speakers.

While this study agrees with the view put forward by the duo that a verbal base may be succeeded by an extension and suffixes which could number as much as two as the template in *I* indicates, available literature at the disposal of this researcher and interaction with competent Izón speakers reveal that an extension may also be pre-verbal in Izón. To this end, certain NEG markers which occur pre-verbally isolated herein as auxiliaries and grammatical aspect markers are regarded as verbal extensions. Consider the structures below, the extensions are bold-faced.

3. *Tare a **mómo** mu -mẹ*  
 PN 3SG COMM go -PST  
 ‘Tare accompanied her to go’
4. *Á **koro** warị wẹni - **mọ** - **dọ***  
 ARG INC ARG ROOT - DIR - PFV  
 ‘They have begun to move towards the house’
5. *Tare a **mómo** mu -gha*  
 PN 3SG COMM ROOT -PST  
 ‘Tare didn’t accompany her to go’
6. *Á **naa** **koro** warị wẹni - **mọ** - **gha***  
 ARG NEG INC ARG ROOT - DIR - PFV  
 ‘They wouldn’t have begun to move towards the house’

In 3- 6, all bold-faced items to the right of the verbal stems are pre-verbal extensions and satellites of their core-predicates, while the tense and aspect markers namely; the past tense marker *-mẹ*, the perfective marker *-dọ*, the NEG marker *-ghá*, etc. to the left of the predicates are post-verbal. Like the past tense and perfective markers, all extensions true to type extend the semantic imports of the core predicates of their clauses as such; they are extensions and being extensions are components of the INFL. For the purpose of this study therefore, these affixes together with the NEG markers espoused are regarded as verbal extensions. The modified provisional template posited below based on the data in 3-6 above account for the lexico-semantic oppositions found in Izón NEG structures.

7. A provisional template for Izón verbs  
 ARG – ARG -EXT - ROOT – EXT - EXT

### 3.1. Tense in Izón

Tense relates changes in verb forms to discourse time (Comrie, 1985). Izón tenses can be divided into; present, past and future tenses conforming to the timeline proposed in Comrie, with aspect clearly delineated as perfective and imperfective. While *-mẹ* marks past time and indicates a location in time that is prior to the moment of speech, *-ìí* codes the point in time coinciding with the moment of speech. The future tense which locates a situation in time subsequent to the time of

utterance is marked with the suffix *-m̄inimi* and distinguished from the *factative* marker *-nimi*. These distinct tense markers in Izón are exemplified below:

8.	Base		Past		Present		Future
a.	<i>wéni</i>	‘walk’	<i>-m̄é</i>	‘walked’	<i>-ii</i>	‘walking’	<i>wéni--minimi</i> ‘will walk’
b.	<i>baj̄n</i>	‘run’	<i>-m̄é</i>	‘ran’	<i>-ii</i>	‘running’	<i>baj̄n-- minimi</i> ‘will run’
c.	<i>t̄j̄e</i>	‘beg’	<i>-m̄é</i>	‘begged’	<i>-ii</i>	‘begging’	<i>teii-- minimi</i> ‘will play’
d.	<i>f̄on</i>	‘fan’	<i>-m̄é</i>	‘fanned’	<i>-ii</i>	‘fanning’	<i>f̄on-- minimi</i> ‘will fan’
e.	<i>k̄eri</i>	‘build’	<i>-m̄é</i>	‘built’	<i>-ii</i>	‘building’	<i>k̄erii-- minimi</i> ‘will build’
9.	<b>Factative</b>						
a.	<i>wéni</i>	‘walk’	<i>-nimi</i>	‘walked’			
b.	<i>baj̄n</i>	‘run’	<i>-nimi</i>	‘ran’			
c.	<i>t̄i</i>	‘play’	<i>-nimi</i>	‘played’			
d.	<i>f̄on</i>	‘fan’	<i>-nimi</i>	‘fanned’			
e.	<i>k̄eri</i>	‘build’	<i>-nimi</i>	‘built’			

Clearly, Izón morphologises the time of events around the deictic center. Hence, a distinction can be made between the present, as against the past and the future events. A factative marker *-nimi* indicating the state of affairs as realis or present indicative mood at speech time is also overtly interpreted. The morphemes *-m̄é*, *-ii*, and *-minimi* are thus isolated as denoting the past, present and future tenses in Izón, while *-nimi* is isolated and interpreted as a factative marker that realis marker.

### 3.2. Aspect in Izón

The term *aspect* refers to ongoing, completed or yet to be completed situations. It relates to the different ways in viewing the internal temporal constituents of an event (Comrie, 1976). Languages generally conceptualize and have clear morphological distinctions for aspect markings. While in some languages for instance, verb paradigms and aspectual markings are extremely complex and extraneous to isolate, in some others such as English inflectional endings are quite easy to isolate. Binnik (2004) and Frawley and Elbraum (1992) show that aspect is conceptually and morphologically more varied with different ways of viewing events, states, processes and action across different languages. Izón conceptualizes and codes grammatical oppositions in temporal distinctions following the two basic oppositions in addition to the use of time adverbials. They are:

- a. the perfective aspect which views situations in their entirety without consideration to the inner layouts or phases that make them up.
- b. the imperfective aspect that considers the internal progression of situations, from the onset, through the middle to the end of the situation.

While perfective aspects refer to completed or bounded situations, imperfective aspects refer to ongoing, unfolding and unbounded situations. Imperfective aspects are often coded with morphological endings and time adverbials such as *-ii* for the progressive, *bai* ‘tomorrow’, *be mgbai* ‘today’, *bebise* ‘just now’ etc Izón.

For want of space and for the purpose of this study only the NEG markers for the perfective (bounded) and progressive aspects are examined as such, only perfective and progressive aspect markers are elucidated.

Izón codes the perfective aspect by affixing the morpheme *dọ* to a situation verb and employs the morpheme *-ii* for imperfective (ongoing) or what is also interpreted as present progressive tense. Other flow of events and internal distinctions are expressed with distinct morpho-syntactic elements such as the use of time adverbials, grammatical and *letter aspects*<sup>2</sup>. Below are verbs with the perfective and imperfective (progressive) aspect markers attached to them:

10.	Perfective		imperfective	
a.	<i>wéni-dọ</i>	‘walked’	<i>wéni-ii</i>	‘walking’
b.	<i>bajin-dọ</i>	‘ran’	<i>bain-ii</i>	‘running’
c.	<i>tíe-dọ</i>	‘begged’	<i>tíe-ii</i>	‘begging’
d.	<i>fón-dọ</i>	‘fanned’	<i>fón-ii</i>	‘fanning’
f.	<i>pína-dọ</i>	‘got ripe’	<i>pína-ii</i>	‘getting ripe’

The data below comprise clauses with the perfective and progressive aspect markers attached to them. The progressive also doubles as present tense in Izón. Consider the perfective and progressive aspects in syntactic frames below:

- 11a. *a bajin -dọ*  
 3SG run -PFV  
 ‘She has run’
- b. *Tare bira -dọ*  
 PN forget -PFV  
 ‘Tare has forgotten’
- 12a. *a bajin -ii*  
 3SG run -PROG  
 ‘She is running’
- 12b *Tare bira -ii*

<sup>2</sup> Lexical aspect is an inherent property of a verb that is not formally marked.



PN forget -PROG  
'Tare is forgetting'

Just as tense and aspect can be delineated in affirmative forms by the use of distinct markers, so also can their negative forms be isolated in clauses. Thus, an affirmative clause with a specific tense distinction selects the appropriate NEG marker that corresponds with the tense feature for its negative polarity. We proceed to isolate the parameters for linguistic well-formedness for negative polarity in native speakers' intuitive judgment of correct usage.

#### 4.0. Negation in Izón

That natural languages generally encode negative and positive polarity in their utterances is not new. Just as a truth conditions or assertions may be expressed using affirmative forms, negative forms may also be employed to falsify such assertions. Natural languages select one of several parameters to negate unmarked polarities and thus, provide licensing contexts for such markers. Izón exhibits roughly three negative markings with syntactic frames distinguishing the type and context of the NEG marker to be selected. The following morphemes have been identified and isolated as NEG markers:

- 13a. *-ghá*,  
b. *-kúmo* and  
c. *ẹ́in*.

*ẹ́in* in 13c is isolated herein as a marker in response to polar question as shall be examined subsequently in this study. Below are the two NEG markers in 13a and b namely; *kúmo* and *ghá* attached to verbal stems. Their attachment negates the propositions expressed by the verbs to which they are affixed. Thus, each verbal base is interpreted as a negative polarity for the affirmative forms simply because the NEG markers are attached.

- |      |              |         |                  |             |
|------|--------------|---------|------------------|-------------|
| 14a. | <i>wéni</i>  | 'walk'  | <i>-ghá/kúmo</i> | 'walk not'  |
| b.   | <i>baj̄n</i> | 'run'   | <i>-ghá/kúmo</i> | 'run not'   |
| c.   | <i>téi</i>   | 'play'  | <i>-ghá/kúmo</i> | 'play not'  |
| d.   | <i>fón</i>   | 'fan'   | <i>-ghá/kúmo</i> | 'fan not'   |
| e.   | <i>kóri</i>  | 'build' | <i>-ghá/kúmo</i> | 'build not' |

In addition to the three NEG markers listed in 13, an additional NEG element namely; *nàà* is identified as an auxiliary with additional adverbial feature. *nàà* is isolated as an auxiliary because of the grammatical contrasts it displays in syntactic frames and because it surfaces only in negative phrases but not affirmative forms. It co-occurs with *-ghá* and *-kúmo* but does not cancel nor derive affirmative forms by their co-occurrence.

Studies in the literature assert that in languages such as; Portuguese, Japanese and some dialects of English double negatives or what is technically regarded as *negative concord* affirm each other. In which case, where two negative elements co-occur in a syntactic frame such as what is observed in Izón, the proposition expressed in that clause is affirmed. The case of Izón is worth examining. In the data below, the element *náà* co-occurs with the two NEG markers, but does not cancel the NEG meanings of the constructions to derive affirmative forms. Consider the structures;

	<b>náà __ +kúmo</b>		<b>náà __ +ghá</b>
15a.	<i>náà bó -kúmo</i> NEG (1AUX, ADV) COME -NEG 'Do not come yet'		<i>náà bó -gha</i> NEG (1AUX, ADV) COME -NEG 'has not come'
b.	<i>náà fì -kumo</i> NEG (1AUX, ADV) eat -NEG 'Do not eat yet'		<i>náà fì -gha</i> NEG (1AUX, ADV) eat -NEG 'has not eaten'
c.	<i>náà biri -kumo</i> NEG (1AUX, ADV) bathe -NEG 'Do not bathe yet'		<i>náà biri -ghá</i> NEG (1AUX, ADV) COME -NEG 'has not taken a bathe'

As the data above shows, the NEG auxiliary *náà* is inherently adverbial thus glosses as the morpheme *yet*. It occurs pre-verbally, with the NEG markers attached to the verb stem post-verbally. The clauses in *náà \_\_ +kúmo* are interpreted as imperatives or instructions not to perform the verbal situations of their clauses, while those in *náà \_\_ +ghá* are declaratives sentences that are negated. *-ghá* and *-kúmo* therefore converge by both being NEG markers but diverge by the types of syntactic frames in which they occur. In addition, the NEG markers seem to vary in tense distinction, hence the verbal situations in *náà \_\_ +ghá* and *náà \_\_ +kúmo* vary in terms of tense and aspectual distinction. While those in *náà \_\_ +ghá* indicate non-completion of their verbal events, those in *náà \_\_ +kúmo* instantiate the actual situations that are not required at the moment of speech. The NEG markers in the syntactic frames thus exhibit specific peculiarities to which they can be associated namely that, *-kúmo* only surfaces in imperative constructions while *-ghá* occurs in declaratives. An attempt at alternating or selecting the NEG markers without due consideration to the type of syntactic frame will thus lead to ill-formedness or anomalous condition. It is important note that *-ghá* always translates as a NEG marker unlike *-kúmo* which also glosses as an adverbial. It is informative to examine the distinctive features of the two NEG markers *-ghá* and *-kúmo* in finite clauses to further reveal their inherent features. Consider the extension *-ghá* attached to the verb stems below;

	<b>Positive (V-gha)</b>		<b>Negative (V-ghá +TNS)</b>
16a.	<i>Ebí fìyai fì -mẹ</i>		<i>Ebí fìyai fì -gha</i>

- PN food eat -PFV  
‘Ebi ate food’
- b. *Ebí fīyai fī -ii*  
PN food eat -PROG  
‘Ebi is eating’
- c. *Ebí fīyai fī -minimi*  
PN food eat -FUT  
‘Ebi will eat food’

- PN food eat -NEG(1PST)  
‘Ebi did not eat food’
- Ebí fīyai fī -gha*  
PN food eat -NEG(1PRS)  
‘Ebi is not eating’
- Ebí fīyai fī -gha -minimi*  
PN food eat -NEG -FUT  
‘Ebi will not eat food’

In 16a, the past tense marker *-mẹ* is attached to the verb *fī* ‘eat’ indicating that the situation expressed occurred at some time prior to the moment of speech. This past feature of the core predicate in the underlying affirmative clause does not surface in the negative form haven been deleted and replaced with the NEG marker *-ghá*. This is also the situation with sentence 16b where the NEG marker replaces the present markers *-ii*. The implication of these is that, *-ghá* is inherently parsed for both past and present tenses since it translates in both ways. This means that that grammar preselects by default, the appropriate tense feature specified by the contextual exigencies dictated by underlying affirmative clauses.

In the negative structure in 16c, the future marker is not lost. The licensing context for the NEG marker *-ghá* is still post verbal and this is followed by the future marker. The NEG marker *-ghá* is not inherently assessable for future tense as such the suffix *-mínimí* resurfaces to express it. An attempt at selecting *-kúmo* for the clauses in 16 derives anomalous negative polarity as the clauses below indicate.

- |      | <b>Positive</b>  | <b>Negative (*V-kúmo +TNS)</b>  |
|------|--|---|
| 17a. | <i>Ebí fīyai fī -mẹ</i><br>PN food eat -PFV<br>‘Ebi ate food’          | <i>*Ebí fīyai fī -kúmo</i><br>PN food eat -NEG<br>*‘Ebi, do not eat food’                   |
| b.   | <i>Ebí fīyai fī -ii</i><br>PN food eat -PROG<br>‘Ebi is eating’        | <i>*Ebí, fīyai fī -kúmo</i><br>PN food eat -NEG<br>*‘Ebi, do not eat food’                  |
| c.   | <i>Ebí fīyai fī -minimi</i><br>PN food eat -FUT<br>‘Ebi will eat food’ | <i>*Ebí fīyai fī -kúmo -minimi</i><br>PN food eat -NEG -FUT<br>*‘Ebi, do will not eat food’ |

The structures in 17a-c are all adjudged to be ill-formed and anomalous because the NEG marker *-kúmo* participates only in negating imperative clauses. The semantic imports of the situations expressed in the finite clauses in 17 can only be negated with *-ghá*. These structures can be well-formed and meaningful if pauses, as required by imperatives are inserted into the frames.

This implies that they will not be negations derived from finite clauses but negative imperatives derived from positive polarity. Consider the NEG structure with *-kúmo* below.

**Positive imperative clause (V<sub>INF</sub>)**

18a. *Ebí, fiyai fi*  
 PN food eat  
 ‘Ebi, eat food’

**Negative imperative clause (V<sub>INF</sub> + *kúmo*)**

b. *Ebí, fiyai fi -kúmo*  
 PN food eat -NEG  
 ‘Ebi, do not eat food’

In 18b above, the NEG marker *-kúmo* is inserted into a positive imperative clause to negate the underlying imperative proposition in 18a. The data shows that *-kúmo* negates only specific types of constructions of which imperatives are identified.

**4.1. Negating propositions with perfective aspectual markers**

The structures in 16b, c and those in 17a-c might lead one to conclude that negation in Izón is simply by attaching the morphemes *-ghá* to propositions and *-kúmo* to imperatives and non-past events. However, close look at propositions with the perfective aspectual notions reveal that other morpho-syntactic elements participate as grammatical elements to express and negate distinct semantic notions. The morpheme *-dó* in the structures in 19 below show that the verbal events expressed in their clauses are completed and bounded. Examine their negative polarities in the control structures in 20.

19a. *Ebí bo -dó*  
 PN come -PFV  
 ‘Ebi has come’  
 b. *Ebí warẹ ’o bo -dó*  
 PN home LOC MK come -PFV  
 ‘Ebi has come home’

20a. *Ebí náà bo -ghá*  
 PN AUX(2NEG, PFV) come -NEG  
 ‘Ebi has not come home (yet)’  
 b. *Ebí náà warẹ ’o bo -gha*  
 PN AUX(2NEG, PFV) home LOC MK come -NEG  
 ‘Ebi has not come home (yet)’

(2<sub>NEG</sub>= negation, AUX = auxiliary, PFV=perfective)

As is obvious from the negative constructions in 20, the perfective markers of their underlying affirmative clauses in 19 have been deleted and replaced with the NEG marker *-ghá*. To indicate that the events expressed in the affirmative forms have not been completed as their underlying propositions assert, the morpho-syntactic element *náà* is inserted. The semantic import of *náà* thus gravitates towards not perfective, completed and bounded situations.

The final NEG marker espoused in this study is that which is isolated for either polar questions or what is simply referred to as Yes-No questions in English, conducive, tag questions.

In all the scope of the NEG response *ẹ́éin* stretches over the semantic imports of the content combination of question responded to. The next section is dedicated to examining *ẹ́éin*.

#### 4.2. The Polar Response *ẹ́éin* Negation in Izón

The element *ẹ́éin* is here isolated as a negation marker because it orientates towards a distinct response with scope of the response covering the total semantic content of an underlying interrogative proposition. Like the English Yes-No responses, *ẹ́éin* - *iin* happen to function as negative and positive responses respectively. Thus, while *ẹ́éin* is a NEG response to responses to polar questions, tag questions and other types of questions or propositions requiring single straight answers, *iin* is its positive counterpart.

Two types of responses to polar questions can be distinguished; that which consist of an interjection Yes!/No! alone and thus referred to as unexpanded response and that which requires additional components after the interjection word as such provide elaboration on the subject matter (Lee, 2014). For the purpose of this study, *ẹ́éin* is isolated as an unexpanded negative response<sup>3</sup> to polar questions in Izón. To this end, the polar questions below, signaled by the question particle *máà* and the morphological interrogating clitic *a o!*, added to the end of declarative sentences require the negative response, *ẹ́éin*.

Questions	Response
21a. <i>Taré be mgbaj kó bo máà?</i> PN DET day FOC MK come Q 'Was it today that Tare came?'	<i>ẹ́éin</i> NEG 'No!'
b. <i>é yin weni pua -d' á ò?</i> 2SG mother walk out;go out PFV Q 'Has your mother walked/gone out?'	<i>ẹ́éin</i> NEG 'No!'
c. <i>Ebí kì e píri máà?</i> PN FOC MK 2SG give Q 'Was it Ebi that gave you?'	<i>ẹ́éin</i> NEG 'No!'
d. <i>é bó -ìì?</i> 2SG come -PRS 'Are you coming?'	<i>ẹ́éin</i> NEG 'No!'
e. <i>ẹ́yó bó sèrìí!</i> place LOC MK leave 'Leave there!'	<i>ẹ́éin</i> NEG 'No!'

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<sup>3</sup> An unexpanded negative response is a negative response to a question seeking (re-)confirmation about the content of the matter that has been conveyed in an interrogative clause.

As can be seen from the structures in 21a-d above, being polar questions, the responses merely require either an affirmation word or a negation word to re-affirm or negate them. Hence, the NEG element *éin* 'No' is the response for all the structures. sentence *e is* a command to which the unexpanded negative response is also given. *éinis* thus, isolated as the unexpanded NEG element for polar questions with the affirmative form being *iin* 'Yes'.

## Conclusion

This study sought to examine the distinctive features of the *Izón* INFL node with particular reference to the morpho-syntactic manifestations of tense and aspect in Negative polarity. It isolated the morphemes *-mé -ii* and *-minimi* as past, present and future tenses markers in *Izón*, while *dó* and *-ii* were marked as perfective and progressive aspects respectively. In a bid to identify the negative markers and distinguish their tense and aspect features, the three negative elements; *-ghá*, *-kúmo* and *éin* were inserted into positive propositions to derive negative polarities. This helped in identifying the tense and aspect features possessed by each NEG element. *-ghá* was identified to be inherently past and present. Its interpretation depended on the tense import proposed by its affirmative clause. On the other hand, *kúmo* gravitates towards a present marker as it instantiates imperative meaning in the events of its clauses.

On its part *éin* was isolated as an unexpanded negative response element to polar questions and other questions requiring single responses. This led to the proposition made in this study that, negation in *Izón* is marked by three elements namely; *-ghá*, *-kúmo* and *éin*. While *éin* is isolated as an unexpanded negative response to polar questions, the choice to make between *-ghá* and *-kúmo* is prompted by the clause type. Thus, if the sentence to be negated is a command or an imperative so to speak, the NEG marker to select is *-kúmo*. On the other hand, if the sentence is a declarative, *-ghá* is selected. *-ghá* is thus isolated as a generic NEG marker not only because it co-occurs with all word categories in syntactic frames but because it translates only as a NEG marker, unlike *-kúmo* which may co-occur with the NEG auxiliary *-naa* but translates as the adverbial *yet* in such instances. It is believed that this study will prompt this and other researchers to examine other extensional affixes in relation with verbs.

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## Linguistic Ecology of India (1971 to 2011)

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### Introduction

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*’. Linguistic landscape provides a *static* picture, whereas the linguistic ecology presents a *dynamic* picture by looking into the changes taking place in languages in a particular area. From decade to decade linguistic situation is changing in India. This could be deciphered by close study of the language data of decennial census.

Now the language tables of the Census of India 2011 could be analysed for different language related information. We can use it to understand the linguistic landscape and ecology of India by comparing and contrasting the language data of 1971 and 2011. Fifty years is a good amount of post independence period to look into the changes in the linguistic pattern that have taken place in the nation. This is the first article planned in this series *Linguistic Ecology of India*. This paper-1 looks at India as a unit for description.

### Census of British India

One of the formal attempts to understand the linguistic landscape of India could be traced back to the *Memorandum of the Census of British India of 1871-72* published in 1875. In this memorandum there is one page note under the caption *Nationality, language and caste*. This describes linguistic landscape of India as it existed at that time. It states that:

“Although nearly the whole of the inhabitants of British India can be classed under one or other of the two prevailing religions, it will be found that, when arranged according to nationality or language, they present a very much greater variety. Bengal proper, and some of the adjacent districts are inhabited by Bengali...; Bengali speaking people number some 37 millions... Allied to these both in language and descent...are the Ooryas, or people of Orissa,



numbering four millions. The Assamese, of whom there are less than two millions, speak a language very similar to Bengali...The Hindustanis of Behar ...their language is Hindee, and they number...some 20 millions.

“In the North-West Province there is less diversity of language, Hindee being spoken by the great mass of Hindoo cultivators...In the south of the Midnapoor district the aboriginal tribes have a language of their own, ..In Oude, Oordoo is the common language, but in some districts Persian, and in others Hindoo words prevail. The Tharoo tribe, numbering about 6,000 in Oude have a language of their own; they are also found in the Sub-Himalayan districts of Rohilkund, Goruckpoor, and Chumparun...

“In the portion of Punjab east of the Indus Hindee or Punjabee is spoken with varying dialect. A form of Thibetan is used in the Kangra highland of Lahul and Spiti. Beyond the Indus, Pushtoo is spoken in the frontier villages to the north, and Beloochee to the south. Oordoo is used in the large cities, and Persian by the higher classes in Peshawur.

“About one half the inhabitants of the British territory in the Central Provinces speak Hindee modified more or less in Nimar and Chutteesgurh by the mixture of Guzeratee words in the former, and those of the hill tribes in the latter case. Rather less than one-fourth of the people speak Mahrattee, which is used in the Nagpoor division; while the original language of Gonds is spoken by a similar number. Ooriya is used in the Sumbulpoor district, bordering on Orissa, and Telooogo in the district of Upper Godavery.

“In Mysore the prevailing language is Kanarese, but Tamil, Telooogo, Hindustani, and Mahrattee are also spoken. In Coorg, besides the Coorg language, Kanarese, Malayalam, Tamil, Tulu and Hindustani are used.

“The Madras Presidency comprises several distinct linguistic divisions, but about five-sixths of the people use either the Telooogo language which is spoken from Vizagapatam to Nellore and North Arcot, or the Tamil ... which prevails from ...north of Madras to the extreme south... On the western coast Malayalam ...is spoken in Malabar, Tulu in part of south Kanara, and Kanarese in north of that district as well as in portion of either districts bordering on Mysore. In the extreme north, Gunjam, on the confines of Orissa, adopts Ooriya, the language of that province, while the Khond tribes in the hills have dialects of their own.

“The languages used in the Bombay Presidency are very numerous, the chief being Sindhee, Kutchee, and Guzeratee, in the north, Mahrattee, to which that of Koncan is taken, in the chief part of Bombay proper, and Kanarese in the south.”

Though the Memorandum itself agrees with the *Imperfection of the Census* for various reasons, it elucidates the linguistic landscape of the British India and tries to segregate language

as an autonomous unit of enumeration and understanding it differently from nationality and caste.

### Linguistic Survey of India

Next is the *Linguistic Survey of India* by its Superintendent George Abraham Grierson from 1898. His survey reported that India has 179 languages, 544 dialects. He presents a classified list of 872 languages or dialects. The number of speakers indicated in this are from the 1891 census. Most important aspect of this survey is that it presents genealogical classification of languages. This classification is used even today by the census as well as other scholars as a reference point. Of course, researchers point out some drawbacks in the methodology etc., adopted by Grierson in his survey. These do not undervalue this landmark survey in the history of study of Indian languages and the linguistic landscape of India.

### People of India Project

The post independence India had a kind of linguistic survey under the name *People of India project* and the results published in 1993, in the volume *Languages and Scripts: People of India* Volume IX. It is found that out of 730 communities studied in India 350 communities are linguistically homogeneous (Scheduled Tribe-72, Scheduled Caste-52 and Others-226) and 380 communities are linguistically heterogeneous (Scheduled Tribe-37, Scheduled Caste-78 and Others-265). Where linguistic homogeneity is - a community speaks one and the same language in all of their habitats and linguistic heterogeneity is - a community speaks different languages in their different habitats. This study has identified 325 languages and their varieties.

### Language Families in India

The decennial Census of India is one of the regular sources of information on languages of India. Here, language information is a small part of the larger information gathering exercise. Even then we can figure out a lot about languages by mining this language data. Let us begin with macro level comparison of language families and changes that have taken place in them.

Language Families of the Indian languages: 1991-2011

Language families	Number of Languages			Number of Persons			Percentage to total population		
	1991	2001	2011	1991	2001	2011	1991	2001	2011
<b>1. Indo-European</b>	19	21	21	631,273,191	790,627,060	94,50,52,555	75.278	76.87	78.05
<b>(a) Indo-Aryan</b>									
<b>(b) Iranian</b>		2	1		22,774	21,677		00.00	0.00
<b>(c) Germanic</b>	1	1	1	178,598	226,449	2,59,678	0.021	00.02	0.02
<b>2. Dravidian</b>	17	17	17	188,945,126	214,172,874	23,78,40,116	22.531	20.82	19.64
<b>3. Austro-Asiatic</b>	14	14	14	9,490,157	11,442,029	1,34,93,080	1.132	01.11	1.11
<b>4. Tibeto-Burmese</b>	62	66	66	8,092,940	10,305,026	1,22,57,382	0.965	1.00	1.01
<b>5. Semito-Hamitic</b>	1	1	1	21,975	51,728	54,947	0.003	0.01	0.00

<b>Total</b>	114		122	838,001,987	1,026,847,940	1,20,89,79,435	99.930	99.83	99.85
<b>Other languages not counted above</b>				582,001	1,762,388	1,875,542	0.07	0.17	0.15
<b>Ttal population of India</b>				838,583,988	1,028,610,328	1,210,854,977			

The above table indicates that Iranian has reduced number of speakers. It is reduced from 22,774 in 1991 to 21,677 in 2011. In case of all other language families it is evident that there is an increase in the number of speakers. However, when we look at the proportionate parentage of population of speakers of different language families between 1991 and 2011, there is an increase in case of Indo-Aryan (75.278 to 78.05), Tibeto-Burmese (0.965 to 1.01) and there is significant decrease in the case of Dravidian (22.531 to 19.64) family of languages. Even the population speaking a language/mother tongue other than the ones covered under different families is on the increase. It has increased from 0.07 in 1991 to 0.15 in 2011. This trend gets illustrated further when we look into the ecology of languages in detail in the next paragraphs.

### Scheduled and Non-Scheduled Languages

The most cited language status tool is the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution of India. It initially had 14 languages only. In 1971 it had 15 languages due to inclusion of Sindhi in 1969. They are Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Kashmiri, Malayalam, Marathi, Oriya, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. This list of select languages got expanded by the inclusion of Nepali, Konkani and Manipuri in 1992 and Bodo, Dogri, Maithili, Santali in 2002. Languages not listed here are considered as non-scheduled languages. The relation between languages and mother tongues is dynamic one. What is mother tongue today may become a language tomorrow. Maithili was a mother tongue under the Hindi- a composite language umbrella till 2002 and became an independent language since then.

The classification of the Indian languages into scheduled and non-scheduled languages also reflect the increase in the percentage of speakers of the scheduled languages and decrease in the percentage of speakers of non-scheduled languages. The table given below illustrates the point.

	2001	2011
Scheduled languages	96.56	96.72
Non Scheduled languages	3.44	3.27

### Language and Mother Tongue

Now let us come to some basic issues that are bothering us. A monolingual country has a language and its dialects: geographical or social. But one of the challenges that a multilingual country like India throws up is of effectively conceptualising units of description like 'mother tongue' 'dialect' 'language'. The Constitution Bench of the SUPREME COURT OF INDIA recently adjudicated a question on the meaning of the term 'mother tongue' on May 6, 2014.

The question was “What does Mother tongue mean? If it referred to as the language in which the child is comfortable with, then who will decide the same?” The answer it gave was that “Mother tongue in the context of the Constitution would, therefore, mean the language of the linguistic minority in a State and it is the parent or the guardian of the child who will decide what the mother tongue of child is. The Constitution nowhere provides that mother tongue is the language which the child is comfortable with, and while this meaning of ‘mother tongue’ may be a possible meaning of the ‘expression’, this is not the meaning of mother tongue in Article 350A of the Constitution or in any other provision of the Constitution...” This cannot be construed as a generic definition. This conceptualisation is purely in the context of linguistic minorities, their education, their rights and the constitution. Not a linguistically acceptable definition of mother tongue in a multilingual context.

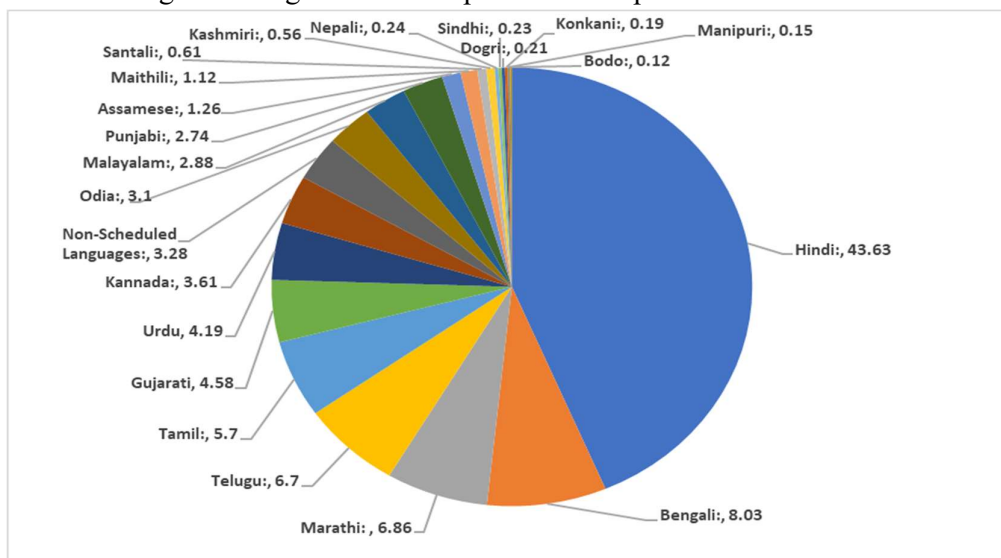
In the context of Indian multilingualism since 1881 census onward, the question on ‘mother-tongue’ was included in the census though it was used by the enumerators differently in different censuses. In the censuses of 1881, 1931, 1941 and 1951, the question was ‘mother-tongue’. The mother-tongue was defined as the language first spoken by the individual from the cradle. In 1891 census, the question was parent tongue’. It was defined as the language spoken by the parent of the individual. In 1901 census ‘Parent tongue’ was replaced by ‘language ordinarily used’. In 1911 the question was ‘language ordinarily spoken in the household’. In 1921 the question was simply ‘language ordinarily used’. The question on mother tongue was repeated from census to census from 1931 to 1971. Though the census has used different definitions of the mother tongue in the earlier enumerations, it is almost consistent in the past 50 years about this definition.

Mother tongue in 1971 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’. Thus, in the context of the Census of India, a ‘mother tongue’ is a concrete entity/unit and ‘language’ is an abstract entity /unit. Hence from the time census enumeration is undertaken in India, it elicits information on ‘mother tongue’ from the people. Once such data is gathered on mother tongue of the individuals’ languages are arrived at applying genetic or functional criteria. So, all Indian languages are mother tongues, but all mother tongues of India are not languages.

The 1961 census had 1652 mother tongue returns. The 1971 census lists mother tongues having 5000 and above speakers. The latest 2011 census had 19,569 mother tongue labels rationalised to 1369 mother tongues whereas 1474 labels are considered as unclassifiable. However, it lists the mother tongues having 10,000 speakers and above only. According to the latest Census 2011, one such a language Hindi has 56+ mother tongues grouped in it and some others like Chang, Deori have only one mother tongue identified as a language. Rest of the languages fall within the range of 59-01 mother tongues. Most of the

Indian languages are ‘composite languages’ having one or more than one mother tongues under an umbrella term of a name of a ‘language’.

The following is the linguistic landscape of India as per 2011 census data.

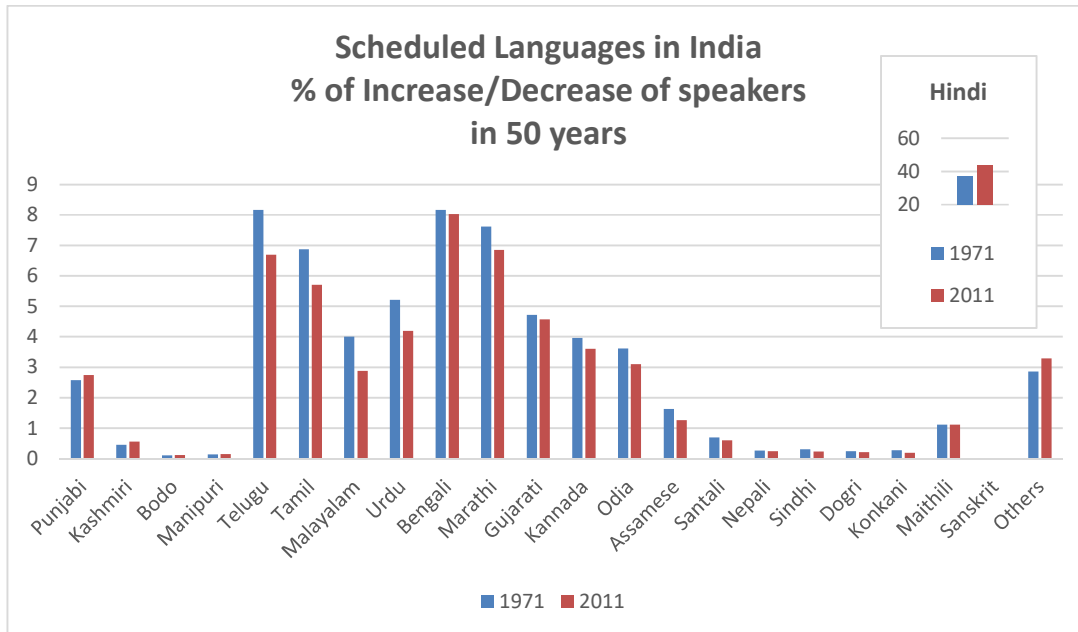


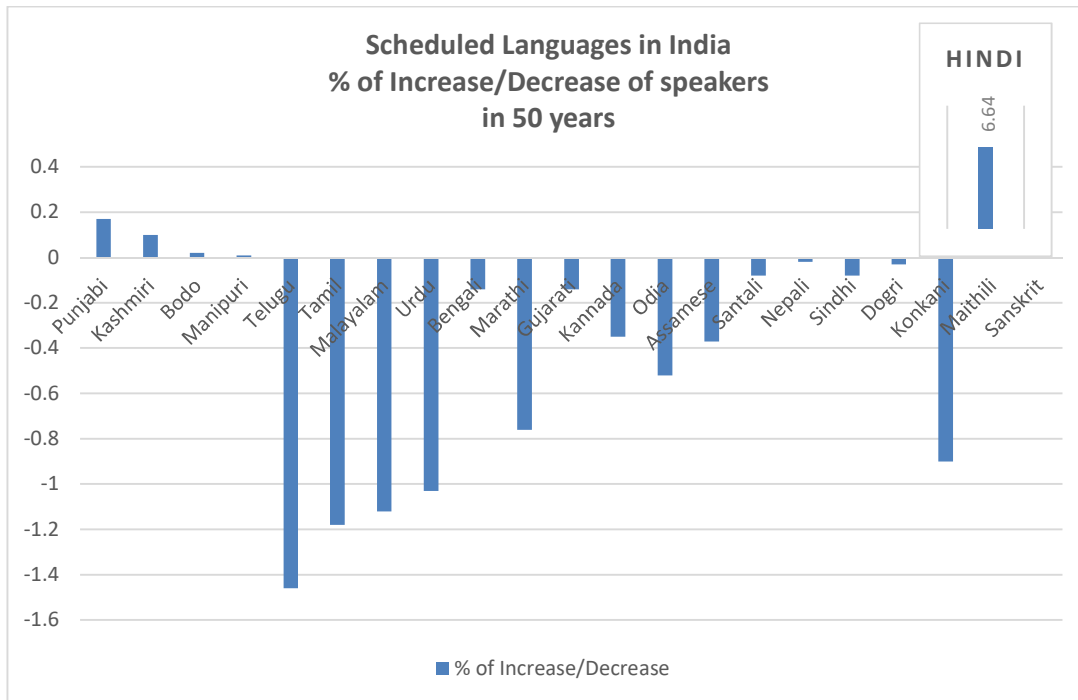
Both the table and charts are given below to help the reader to understand the fact better. Table – 1 and the Graph-1 given below illustrate that in 50 years there is a change in the proportion of languages in the country. There is an increase in some languages - Hindi: 6.64%, Punjabi: 0.17%, Kashmiri: 0.10%, Bodo: 0.02 %, Manipuri: 0.01%), There is no change in Maithili and there is a decrease in rest of the languages. Telugu: -1.46, Tamil: -1.18, Malayalam: -1.12, Urdu: -1.03, Bengali: -0.14, Marathi: -0.76 Gujarati: -0.14, Kannada: -0.35, Odia: -0.52, Assamese: -0.37, Santali: -0.08, Nepali: -0.02, Sindhi: -0.08, Dogri: -0.03 and Konkani: -0.9.

Table -1  
Scheduled Languages in India Percentage of Increase/ Decrease of speakers in 50 years at the national level

	Language	1971	2011	% of Increase/ Decrease
1	Hindi	36.99	43.63	+6.64
2	Punjabi	2.57	2.74	+0.17
3	Kashmiri	0.46	0.56	+0.10
4	Bodo	0.10	0.12	+0.02
5	Manipuri	0.14	0.15	+0.01
6	Telugu	8.16	6.70	-1.46
7	Tamil	6.88	5.70	-1.18
8	Malayalam	4.00	2.88	-1.12

9	Urdu	5.22	4.19	-1.03
10	Bengali	8.17	8.03	-0.14
11	Marathi	7.62	6.86	-0.76
12	Gujarati	4.72	4.58	-0.14
13	Kannada	3.96	3.61	-0.35
14	Odia	3.62	3.10	-0.52
15	Assamese	1.63	1.26	-0.37
16	Santali	0.69	0.61	-0.08
17	Nepali	0.26	0.24	-0.02
18	Sindhi	0.31	0.23	-0.08
19	Dogri	0.24	0.21	-0.03
20	Konkani	0.28	0.19	-0.9
21	Maitihili	1.12	1.12	No change
22	Sanskrit	N	N	N
	Total	97.14	96.71	0.43
	Others	2.86	3.29	0.43





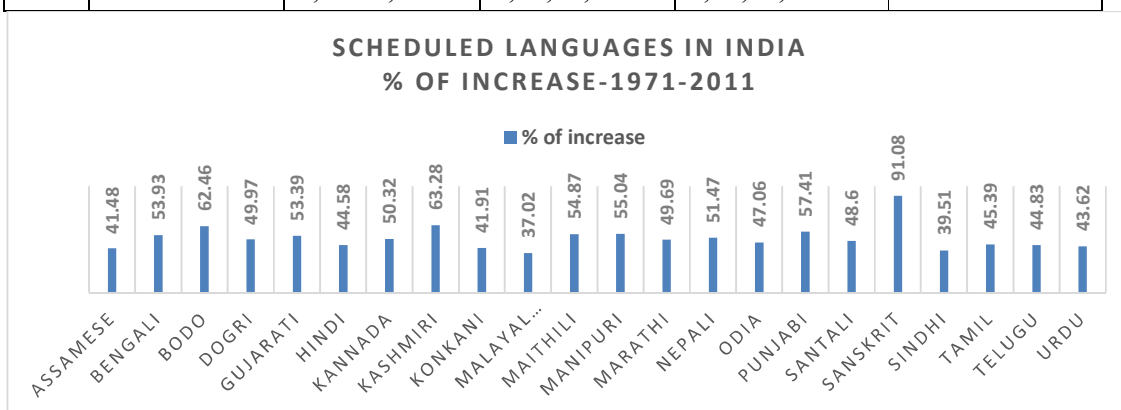
### Languages and Mother tongues

In the Indian context we already saw one comes across (abstract) ‘languages’ and (concrete) ‘mother tongues’ created for the convenience of enumeration by the census. We can have a look at the changes that have taken place among the scheduled languages and the corresponding mother tongue of the scheduled language. The table and the charts given below provide the details of percentage of increase in 50 years period. Some changes are due to inclusion of some mother tongues and exclusion of some other mother tongues etc., into the languages.

Table -2  
Scheduled Languages in India  
Increase of number of speakers in 50 years at the national level

	Language	1971	2011	Increase in 50 years	% of increase
1	Assamese	89,59,558	1,53,11,351	63,51,793	41.48
2	Bengali	4,47,92,312	9,72,37,669	5,24,45,357	53.93
3	Bodo	5,56,576	14,82,929	9,26,353	62.46
4	Dogri	1,29,9,143	2,59,6,767	1,29,7,624	49.97
5	Gujarati	2,58,65,012	5,54,92,554	2,96,2,7542	53.39
6	Hindi	29,27,67,971	52,83,47,193	23,55,79,222	44.58
7	Kannada	2,17,10,649	4,37,06,512	2,19,95,863	50.32
8	Kashmiri	24,95,487	67,97,587	43,02,100	63.28

9	Konkani	1,50,8,432	2,59,6,767	1,08,8,335	41.91
10	Malayalam	2,19,38,760	3,48,38,819	1,29,0,0059	37.02
11	Maithili	61,30,026	1,35,83,464	74,53,435	54.87
12	Manipuri	79,1,714	1,76,1,079	96,9,365	55.04
13	Marathi	4,17,65,190	8,30,26,680	4,12,61,490	49.69
14	Nepali	14,19,835	29,26,168	15,06,333	51.47
15	Odia	1,98,63,198	3,75,21,324	1,76,58,126	47.06
16	Punjabi	1,41,08,443	3,31,24,726	1,90,16,283	57.41
17	Santali	37,86,899	73,68,192	35,81,293	48.60
18	Sanskrit	2,212	24,821	22,609	91.08
19	Sindhi	1,67,6,875	2,77,2,264	1,09,5,389	39.51
20	Tamil	3,76.90,106	6,90,26,881	3,13,36,775	45.39
21	Telugu	4,47,56,923	8,11,27,740	3,63,70,817	44.83
22	Urdu	2,86.20,895	5,07,72,631	2,21,51,736	43.62



Though English is not a Scheduled language but Associate Official Language of India the numerical strength of the same cannot be ignored either as language or as part of bilingualism or trilingualism.

		1971	2011	Increase	Percentage
1	English	1,91,595	2,59,678	68,083	26.22

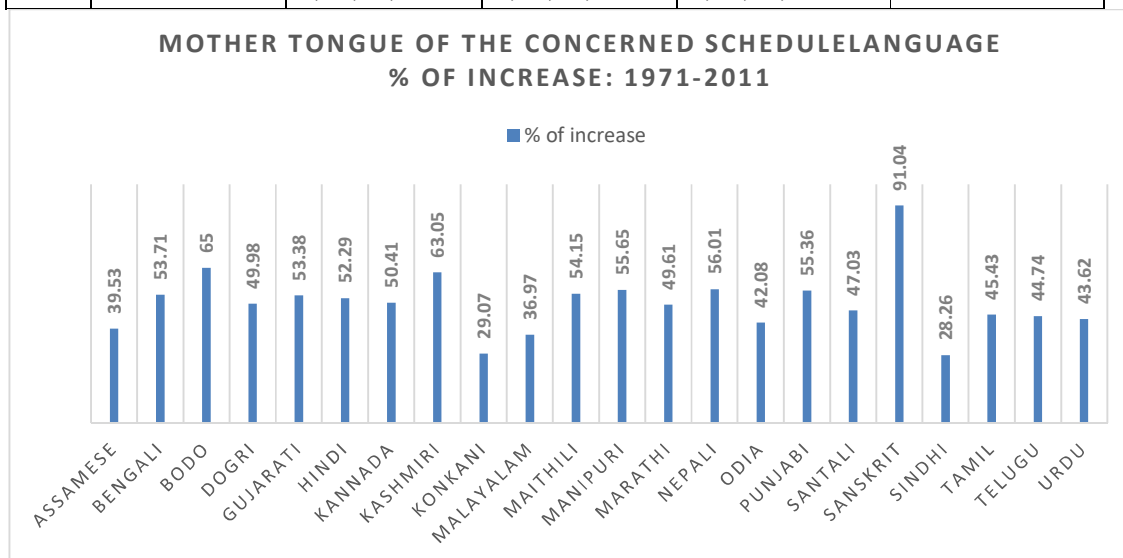
The following table-3 and the chart below provide the details of the changes in the number of speakers of mother tongue of the respective scheduled language.

Table -3  
Mother tongue of the respective Scheduled Language in India  
Increase of speakers in 50 years at the national level

	<b>Mother tongue</b>	<b>1971</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>Increase in 50years</b>	<b>% of increase</b>
1	Assamese	89,58,977	1,48,16,414	58,57,437	39.53
2	Bengali	4,45,21,533	9,61,77,835	5,16,56,307	53.71
3	Bodo	5,09,006	14,54,547	94,5,541	65.00



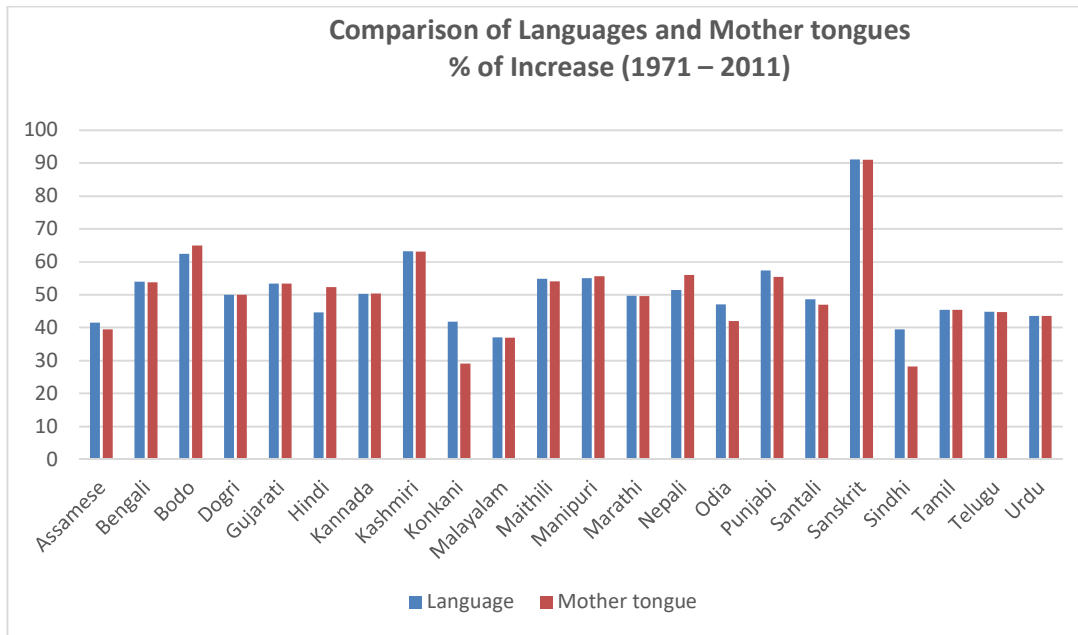
4	Dogri	12,98,855	25,96,763	12,97,908	49.98
5	Gujarati	2,56,56,274	5,50,36,204	2,93,79,930	53.38
6	Hindi	15,37,29,062	32,22,30,097	16,85,01,035	52.29
7	Kannada	2,15,75,019	4,35,06,272	2,19,31,253	50.41
8	Kashmiri	24,21,760	65,54,369	41,32,609	63.05
9	Konkani	15,22,684	21,46,906	6,24,222	29.07
10	Malayalam	2,19,17,430	3,47,76,533	1,28,59,103	36.97
11	Maithili	61,21,922	1,33,53,347	72,31,425	54.15
12	Manipuri	7,80,871	17,60,913	9,80,042	55.65
13	Marathi	4,17,23,893	8,28,01,140	4,10,77,247	49.61
14	Nepali	12,86,824	29,25,796	16,38,972	56.01
15	Odia	1,97,26,745	3,40,59,266	1,43,32,521	42.08
16	Punjabi	1,39,00,202	3,11,44,095	1,72,43,893	55.36
17	Santali	36,93,558	69,73,345	32,79,787	47.03
18	Sanskrit	2,212	24,709	22,497	91.04
19	Sindhi	12,04,678	16,79,246	4,74,568	28.26
20	Tamil	3,75,92,794	6,88,88,839	3,12,96,045	45.43
21	Telugu	4,47,07,697	8,09,12,459	3,62,04,762	44.74
22	Urdu	2,86,00,428	5,07,25,762	2,21,25,334	43.62



The table-4 and the chart given below provide the details of comparison of percentage of increase between a scheduled language and the corresponding mother tongue during the 50 years. It is interesting to note that there is no uniform or comparable increase in the population of speakers of different mother tongues. One should not expect that also.

Table 4  
Comparison of Languages and Mother tongues: % of Increase/decrease (1971 – 2011)

		<b>Language</b>	<b>Mother tongue</b>
1	Assamese	41.48	39.53
2	Bengali	53.93	53.71
3	Bodo	62.46	65.00
4	Dogri	49.97	49.98
5	Gujarati	53.39	53.38
6	Hindi	44.58	52.29
7	Kannada	50.32	50.41
8	Kashmiri	63.28	63.05
9	Konkani	41.91	29.07
10	Malayalam	37.02	36.97
11	Maithili	54.87	54.15
12	Manipuri	55.04	55.65
13	Marathi	49.69	49.61
14	Nepali	51.47	56.01
15	Odia	47.06	42.08
16	Punjabi	57.41	55.36
17	Santali	48.60	47.03
18	Sanskrit	91.08	91.04
19	Sindhi	39.51	28.26
20	Tamil	45.39	45.43
21	Telugu	44.83	44.74
22	Urdu	43.62	43.62



The Sanskrit stands out as an exception among all others with 91.04% of increase. This is because of love of language by the claimants rather than having it really as mother tongue. Here Sindhi (28.56%) and Konkani (29.03%) form one category with a minimum increase. The next category is in the range of 30%+ with Assamese (39.53%) and Malayalam (36.97%). The third group is of 40%+. It has Dogri (49.98%), Marathi (49.61%), Odiya (42.08%), Santali (47.03%), Tamil (45.43%), Telugu (44.74%), and Urdu (43.62%).

The next category has mother tongues in the range of increase of 50%+. They are Bengali (53.71%), Gujarati (53.38%), Hindi (52.29%), Kannada (50.41%), Maithili (54.15%), Nepali (56.01%), and Punjabi (55.36%).

The last category is of mother tongues with an increase in the range of 60+. They are Bodo (65%) and Kashmiri (63.05%).

My interest was to look into changes that have taken place in 50 years. I have done it. Such a vast difference in increase in percentage of speakers of these mother tongues needs to be investigated further from various research angles. Also, reasons for such a difference need to be looked into.

I have covered data on major languages only. There is much more data on Indian languages to be looked into by the interested scholars.

## From Acquiescence to Assertion: Journeying of a Woman's Body from Other to Self in Anita Nair's *Ladies Coupé*

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### Abstract

Gender roles are constructed through social discourses and cultural practices. These societal and cultural traditions generally expect a woman to be accommodating, courteous and nurturing and a man ambitious, aggressive and insensitive. Such activities and attributes often turn a woman passive and repressive and a man imposing and dominant. Time and again, individuals have become victims of such gender stereotyping. However, Anita Nair's women rebel against such irrational traditional views by claiming their bodies not only physically, but socially too, and in the process, liberating themselves from the chains and control of patriarchal discourses. They un-write the writing of the patriarchal discourses on their bodies and self -write their bodies. Nair, in allowing her women to do so, creates an alternate reality that reinvents a new concept of woman and gender in her work *Ladies Coupé*.

**Keywords:** Anita Nair, *Ladies Coupé*, discourse, body, sex, writing, un-writing, re-writing, male domination, reclaim freedom, reinvent one's identity

### Introduction

Indian literature in the recent times grappled with issues of globalization, social change, and gender roles. Some of the noticeable features in the modern literature are rejection of what constitutes appropriate behavior for men and women, denunciation of traditional forms of Indian adult woman's subjectivity in marriage, refusal in subsuming individual desires to the social processes etc. Modern literature began to stress more on individualistic approaches to life and relationships. As centuries of social inequalities practiced against women in the country became a part of the collective consciousness, women writers such as Bharati Mukherjee, Anita Desai, Kiran Desai, Arundathi Roy, Jhumpa Lahiri, Anita Nair, Anita Rao Badami, Suniti Namjoshi dealt with

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women's body and sexuality without any inhibitions shattering all the socially constructed sensitivities associated with a woman's body.

### **The Scope of the Paper**

In this context, the researchers confine themselves to the study of Anita Nair's "Ladies Coupé". They seek to elucidate the manner in which the patriarchal discourses imposed their power on a woman's body leading to a continuous strife within her body. As a result, a woman's body produced power in order to counter these external discourses showing the way to a new writing of the body on which a woman acquires complete control.

### **History of Masculine Discourses in India**

It has always been an absorbing experience, understanding the masculine discourses in India in thoughtful ways. Ancient philosopher, Vatsayana disapproved unrestrained freedom for women and Manu(200 BCE -100 CE) held a view that in childhood, a woman must be subject to her father, in youth to her husband and when her lord is dead, to her sons. He was of the view that a woman must not be allowed to do anything independently even in her own home. (Buhler 5; 147-149; 154-156). The Mahabharatha declares, "A woman must do whatever her husband asks her to do, whether that be in accordance with dharma or opposed to it." ( Deslongchamps Book ii, Sloka 155). Thus a man could assert himself by delimiting a woman's personal freedom and dignity.

Later, the British with their radically different cultural tradition showed the country a new way of organizing relations. By the last decade of the nineteenth century, recognizable reformist ideologies particularly about women brought about a new age. Therefore, women novelists took up new subjects and novel themes dealing with women's self-awareness. For many Indian woman novelists, the favorite theme has become the quest for identity in the imposing patriarchal system.

### **Journeying of a Woman's Body from Other to Self**

The protagonist of the novel, *Ladies Coupé* is Akhila, an income-tax clerk, a Brahmin who is forty-five yet single not by choice but by compulsion. Akhila's desire to connect with others, her hunger for life and experiences drive her to explore the world beyond hers. By journeying in an all-women sleeping car to the seaside town of Kanyakumari, she seeks an answer to the question that tormented her as to whether a woman could live alone. (Nair 21). For Nair, Akhila's interactions with the outside world allowed her to dismantle the biased traditions unfavourable to women, further these interactions also helped Akhila to rise above her conservative brahminical world and have a more comprehensive view about complex social issues such as prostitution. Akhila's physical journey of exploration, all alone symbolically represents the journey of a soul from suppression to freedom. As Kate Millett states in *Sexual Politics*, "masculine gender-norms" in a family reinforce "women's subordination" and as a result "women learn to be passive, ignorant, docile, emotional helpmeets for men" (Millett 26). It is the traditional family that doesn't

allow a woman to grow and as a result, Akhila moves out the system that imprisoned her to attain liberation and freedom. It is hoped that the knowledge gained experimenting with the outside world plays a key role in disturbing the status quo of the women in the society.

A woman's body has always been a subject of many discourses, these discourses articulated by men have often relegated women to private and men to public spheres of life, creating a widening gap between the sexes. In these dichotomous views, is inherent the notion that women lack mental capacities and intellectual powers and so are inferior beings when compared to men and therefore have to be reduced to mere bodies. These discursive accounts that are pronounced by men have always tried to disempower a woman's body. The control exercised by Akhila's family on her and the exploitation of the body of Marikolanthu by the Chettiar family is to be understood from this point of view. The same discourse enunciated by men, which expects a woman's body to be passive and docile in the private and in the public spheres also expects it to be useful, productive and powerful (Sawicki 67) while discharging its functional responsibilities. And this act of being useful and productive while at the same time being docile comes as a challenge for women.

Thus the act of empowering Akhila's body by her family by allowing her to go into the public sphere has in fact disempowered her because it resulted in the demand for more effectiveness on her part. Her words, "Dare I breathe again? Dare I dream again? Now that the boys are men, can I start feeling like a woman?" echo this (Nair 77). Further, one sees the acts of writing and un-writing of a woman's body is done as per the convenience of the external discourses that operate upon her. Accordingly, although Akhila is, in a way empowered she is disempowered as she has to seek the permission of her younger brother to go on an official trip.

As Butler says, a female body is "the site where "doing" and "being done to" become equivocal". As a woman struggles to realize her body and own it, she comes to understand that her body has an "invariably public dimension" to it. Therefore, in struggling for autonomy of her own body, a woman also has to struggle with the conception of herself in the eyes of the community by "impressing them as well" which is a double edged sword for a woman (Butler 21). While for Akhila, the realization that she is a woman whose body needs sexual fulfillment becomes the springboard in the construction of her own self, for Marikolanthu, an illiterate woman, class and gender existing in the country shape her self. Marikolanthu's life potentially mitigates or even reverses the long held notion that education is the pathway towards gender equality. It deepens our understanding of the complex interplay between caste, power on one hand and gender on the other hand. She turns around socially mandated roles with such careless abandon that it shocks the reader. Her words "Women can do everything as well as man. Women can do much more. But a woman has to seek that vein of strength in herself. It does not show itself naturally" is in a way, realizing the superior position of her body over a man's body that helps her to shape her own body (Nair 209-210). She turns lesbian to satisfy Sujatha akka of the Chettiar family and

simultaneously allows her husband too into her body like a “naïve girl and a “brazen whore” just to preserve Sujata akka’s happiness and position in the household (261). Her ability to support her life and her son’s and also one more that is kicking in her womb from the second man who entered her body by overcoming and rebuking the male dominated structures stands as a testimony to Marikolanthu’s journeying from other to self .

Likewise, Akhila does not give into the stress of preserving the virginity and purity of her body, as enunciated by male discourses, but on the other hand, un-writes the writing of public body of a woman that views it as the site for controlling sexual desires. According to these patriarchal discourses, a woman’s sexual desires have to be controlled as she alone is under obligation to protect the survival of the society and its institutions (Foucault 146–7). The patriarchal discourse, further expects a woman to be asexual for her own self, but sexual for the gratification of a husband’s sexual desires which is again a concept that causes a strife in a woman. Further, according to these discourses, a woman cannot have any pleasure with her own body while a man can derive sexual pleasure through a woman’s body with his own body. A woman possessing sexual desires and gratifying sexual desires outside her private sphere (understood as husband), is a woman who is doing her gender wrong (McNay 31). This act of silencing the body of a woman by exposing her to the social constructions of gender is a way through which only men move up. But Akhila’s casual sex with Vinod whom she chances upon near the beach of Kanyakumari with doors and windows flung open to the night and her sexual relationship with Hari whom she invites, avoids and invites gain is a complete reclamation of her body against the imposed discourses discussed above. Her acts only open up the strong currents of repressed lust inside a woman embanked for fear of unacceptability.

As Akhila and Marikolanthu both unconsciously identify with the image of their bodies constructed by the external discourses initially, however, they tend to move away from that image as soon as they realize how a woman’s body is exploited by these discourses and this helps them in writing their own bodies where their “needs come first”. (Nair 201). For Akhila and Marikolanthu, their bodies become their own prime assets and not the assets for their families. Their act of reclamation, strips their bodies of every cultural, social, religious writing and in their bodies, one cannot find the scripts of others, but their own. Akhila and Marikolanthu find themselves when they look into their bodies and not the others. And this consciousness of exploitation plays a major role in empowerment and societal transformation.

Janaki, Prabhadevi and Margaret bodies become victims of marriage and other social discourses being written by the men in the families. Quoting Arabella Dennehy, Sheila Jeffreys says in *The Spinster and Her Enemy* that marriage is “a mere piece of social mechanism for subjugating women” (Jeffreys 43). It becomes an instrument through which the women are controlled. Margaret’s frustration for a man who treats his house like a hotel with “Food on the

table. Laundered and ironed clothes for him to wear. Beds made, shelves dusted, towels changed, bathrooms cleaned, errands run, all by invisible hands” (Nair 115) is much akin to Christine Delphy’s view about marriage as “the furnishing of unpaid labor within the framework of a total and personal relationship ... precisely a relationship of slavery” (Delphy 35). For Janaki, Prabhadevi and Margaret, who would no longer let their bodies be docile, their assertion over their bodies comes in the form of resistance. If male discourses impose power on their bodies, their own bodies try to produce power leading to a strife. Here it has to be understood that resistance is the natural corollary of controlling a woman’s body. Therefore, these women resist the powers which are immediately available, i.e. their husbands.(Focoult 780).

Also, these women who detach themselves from their own bodies after the marriage, find their reattachment with the image of their bodies in their own way. Janaki’s life validates Betty Friedan’s view in *The Feminine Mystique* (1963) that women do not find happiness and fulfillment in the domestic sphere and a woman aspires for a career outside her home. According to her, a woman’s body controlled by the external forces within the family experienced a “problem that has no name”(Horowitz 3). Janaki’s outbursts against Prabhakar, her husband, “you want to control everybody. You want everyone to do your bidding” (Nair 30) can be viewed in this light. Janaki finds reattachment with the image of her body by taking upon herself a superior position in the institution that makes her feel helpless and dependent. Janaki’s confidence that she too is equally competent keeps her afloat.

Prabha Devi represents those girls who, when grown into womanhood, comply more with the feminine roles demanded of them. They are subtly conditioned to feel that over-achievement is an unfeminine trait. She reconnects by recovering the image of her body by “swinging hair” and by practicing a “confident stride” (177)and by delaying her pregnancy. Anita Nair’s portrayal of Prabha Devi as a blend of chirpiness and stoicism with her own insecurities about her identity makes her an endearing and relatable character. Her act of learning how to swim and staying afloat the water without a ring is symbolic of learning to lead her life without that support called husband. This act of assertion like a chain reaction also explodes sensuality within her. That night she shows her husband the “nakedness” of her sexual “hunger” and they “melted together.... I am afloat, I am afloat. My body no longer matters. I have this. I have conquered fear” (194- 195).

Margaret is an example of how social roles are seen to play the part of the tools of repression for women. It is a travesty of how the ideas of femininity can even stifle a financially independent woman’s urges and her creative side. She asks herself, “Don’t I have a right to have any expectations of him? Don’t I work as hard as he does and more because and I run the house as well?” (112) This represents the agony of a woman. To a family system that tramples on a woman’s sensitivities, she recuperates her body by flattering her husband, Ebenezer Paulraj to high-fat foods until folds appeared on the neck and his belly jiggled. She ceases not until she turns him into a man she could live with once again thus freeing herself and regenerating her life living within the



system without escaping from it. In Margaret's case, one sees, the rise in the power of women is directly proportional to the decline in the power of men.

## Conclusion

Nair's women are the new generation women who resist the patriarchal script that demands a woman to be female and a man to be male. These women transcend every male discourse that views her as a mere body. These bodies on which patriarchy has written its text, become the bodies in which the same text is un-written and re-written as well as self-written. This act of un-writing itself constitutes a new writing of a woman's body by the woman herself. There is hope one day all the sufferings, ignominy, deprivation and hurdles faced by women due to various social, cultural constraints will give way to an equitable society. To that extent, literature plays its role effectively in the social transformation.

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