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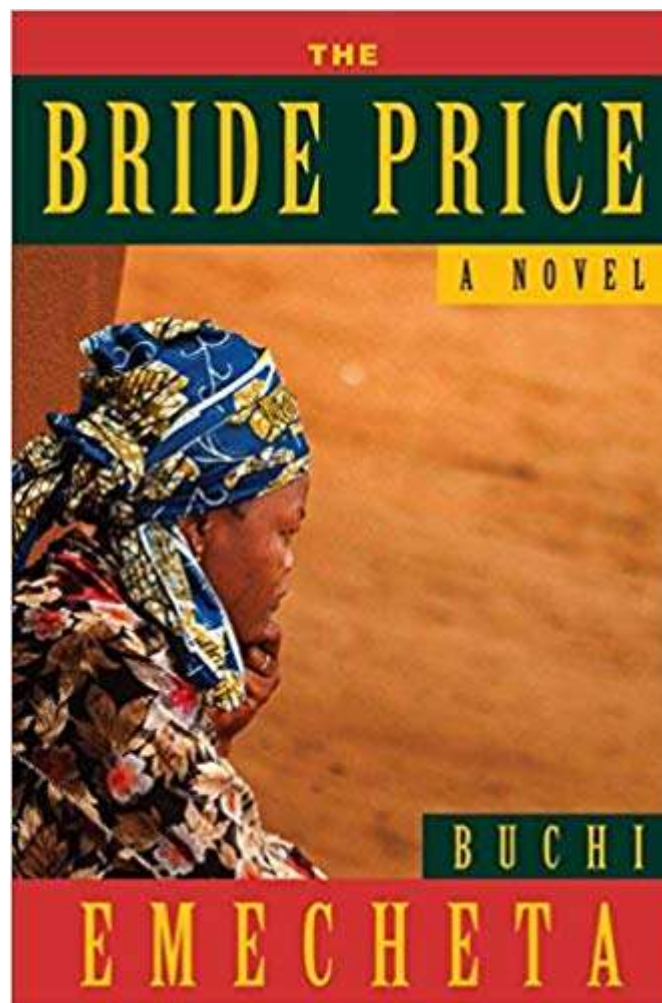
**Unveiling Tradition and Concomitant Gender Disparity in
*The Bride Price***

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Abstract

Igbo people form one of the largest communities in Nigeria who have deep reverence for their culture and traditions. The same culture which is favourable to men is inimical to women's interests. Buchi Emecheta (1944-2017) in her novel *The Bride Price* has presented culture from a

female point of view wherein she delineates what it is to be a female in a tradition oriented, sexist, patriarchal society. Embedded deeply in the Igbo community of Nigeria to which the novelist herself belongs, this novel provides a distinct image of African society making a female principal character whose efforts to rise above native customs end up in her tragic demise, making it clear that customs and laws have more value than an individual. The present paper aims at studying African, especially Igbo traditions; appalling and obnoxious practices vis-à-vis Igbo women and its impact on their physical and mental well-being.

Keywords: Buchi Emecheta, *The Bride Price*, tradition, African women, customs, gender, marriage.

Tradition has always been an integral and inextricable part of human life which acts like a bridge between generations thereby making us aware of the times gone by. It is a way of life and the base that guides and shapes every society. The passing on of habits, cultural beliefs and numerous other things from one generation to another is called tradition. Edward Shills in his book *Tradition* (1981) defines the term: “Tradition means many things. In its barest, most elementary sense, it means simply a *traditum*; it is anything which is transmitted or handed down from the past to the present” (13).

The term ‘tradition’ has its roots in the Latin word *tradere* which means to ‘transmit’ or to ‘hand over’. Thus, tradition means inheritance, preservation, respect for and continuity with the past. It is heterogeneous and includes everything ranging from dress code to literature to food habits. The working of society and influence of tradition are mutually intertwined since no society exists without a past. For any habit, belief or practice to be called tradition there must be an originator and the receiver too. Along with this, it must have passed from generation to generation and as Edward Shills notes: “It has to last over at least three generations — however long or short these are — to be a tradition” (15). Whether to accept or reject tradition depends totally on the wish or convenience of the recipient. Rejecting any kind of ‘essentialism’ in tradition, Mark Bevir argues “. . . because, people usually want to improve their heritage by making it more coherent, more accurate, and more relevant to contemporary issues, they often do respond selectively to it; they accept some parts of it, modify others, and reject others. Traditions change as they are transmitted from person to person” (39). Therefore, traditions can be accepted, rejected or modified according to the need or demand of situation as they are dynamic in nature.

Good and genuine traditions must always be preserved because they never cause a threat to the progress of society, rather they are beneficial to all. As for example ancient Jewish tradition of planting trees when a child is born is a good way to connect to nature as well as to

prevent biohazard. Orthodox ones should be altered or rejected because they do not only harm society but are regressive in nature too. Like the dreadful custom of *Sati* in India, where a woman was forced to immolate herself on the burning pyre of her deceased husband, claimed the lives of many women and was therefore banned in 1829.

Women constitute one half of the humanity but still they do not enjoy the privileged position like men. If traditions are to be believed, a woman has always been a man's inferior because of gender hierarchies. Gender, a social construct is a "psychological and cultural" term and it differs from sex which is a "biological term" (Oakley 158). Gender inequality too is a practice that has been taught and handed down from one generation to another, through practice, orally or in written form.

African societies are often called as the 'man's world' because Africa is deeply steeped in culture and traditions which do not allow enough space for females. Majority of women in Africa are, according to Catherine Coquery Vidrovitch. ". . . defined by three S's: silence, sacrifice and service" (18).

Buchi Emecheta's novel *The Bride Price* (1975) revolves around a young girl Aku-nna who is torn between new and old unrelenting traditional ways of living. Having more and more children and preference for son is the thought that lies at the core of African society and it is clearly evident from the desires of Aku-nna's parents. Aku-nna's father Ezekiel Odia often jeers at his wife Ma Balckie for her 'childlessness' and shows his dissatisfaction for having "an only son" (*The Bride Price* 9) even after paying a heavy bride price for her. He is close to his daughter Aku-nna but "she was too insignificant to be regarded as a blessing" (*BP* 9) for being born a girl. These desires are based on the belief that a son will carry forward the family traditions, name and legacy along with providing financial support to family. Writing about Nigerian society and women, Obioma Nnaemeka notes: "In Igbo, as common in all patrilineal societies, man assumed a position of superiority over women. This was best expressed in the preference for male children (as primary inheritors of the family estate) over female children. Igbo society is characterized by gender differentiation as one of the dominant markers of social relations" (108). Therefore, a woman is expected to produce sons rather than daughters because ". . . as bearers of male children, she acquires prestige and ensures the stability of her marriage and continuity of kinship and tradition" (Falola 252).

Ezekiel Odia names his daughter 'Aku-nna' which means "father's wealth" (*BP* 10) in anticipation of the wealth she will fetch as her bride price "the only consolation he could count on from her" (*BP* 10). Bride price or bride wealth is a common tradition in many parts of Africa where a prospective bride's family receives goods and money from bride groom and his family. It is a way to ". . . legalize a marriage and for the man's kinship to have legitimate claim to the

children arising from it” (Falola 259). Bride price- the price fixed for a girl reduces her to the level of a commodity or property that is given to another family in exchange of goods and money. In case the marriage does not work, it cannot be dissolved unless the bride price is paid back to the husband, and in most cases it is not ever paid back and the girl is forced to stay in unwanted marriage and labour hard since in Africa it is mandatory for every woman to work. After Ezekiel Odia’s death at Lagos, his children Aku-nna and Nna-nndo feel like they have been orphaned because “father is the shelter” (BP 28), he is the head as well as the provider and mother being a woman is insignificant. Therefore “A fatherless family is a family without a head, a family without shelter” (BP 28).

I. E. Nwosu in his article “Gender Role Perceptions and the Changing Role of Women in Nigeria” writes, “The law and customs in most part of Nigeria, in several instances, have tended to perpetuate gender discriminations in society by denying women such fundamental rights as inheritance of property, equal employment opportunities, equal access to credit facilities, rights to procure bail and even decent treatment as widows” (1242). By depriving a woman of her basic rights like equality, access to education, property, employment etc., the tradition - oriented, patriarchal society ignores a woman’s existence and renders her helpless thereby making her stand on the lower rung of the social hierarchy.

Finding it impossible to live without a breadwinner in Lagos, Odia family goes back to their native place Ibuza whereas per the Igbo customs, Ezekiel Odia’s wife Ma Blackie is soon inherited by his elder brother Okonkwo, who makes her his fourth wife. But before this she mourns for her dead husband for several months in a secluded hut and very harsh conditions. Since a woman is considered to be a husband’s property due to bride price and as property always belongs to the husband’s clan in the Igbo tribe of Nigeria, a man can inherit his dead brother’s wife / wives and her / their children. This is done to ensure that a family’s wealth does not go outside and to give protection to the widow and her children. It is usually believed that a woman cannot manage herself, her children and property in the absence of a man. Ama Ata Aidoo in her article “African Woman Today” writes: “. . . the woman was regarded as a permanent minor, first her father’s ward, then her husband’s. If she outlived her husband, then as a widow she became the ward of some male in either her husband’s home or her own home. Sometimes, a woman became a ward of her own son(s)!” (321). Aku-nna knows that life will not be same now and her dream of getting educated and marrying off well will shatter. Also, she will be married off soon so that her bride price can help in educating her younger brother Nna-nndo.

Surprisingly, Aku-nna is allowed to continue her education at a school run by Church Missionary Society. Okonkwo, despite his family’s apathy for a girl’s education, agrees for Aku-nna’s education because he is highly ambitious and “he wanted to be an Obi, so he needed more money. Aku-nna had to be allowed to stay in school so that she could be married to a rich man”

(BP 75). Deeply hurt by her mother's indifferent attitude and constant insults that she is coward and sickly, Aku-nna feels completely dejected until she finds love in Chike Ofulue, her teacher at Church Missionary Society School. Chike comes from an 'oshu' family, he is a slave descendant. His grandmother was a beautiful princess who was captured as a slave during a raid on her village. He himself is young and handsome and has few local mistresses. Emecheta remarks:

In Ibuza, every young man was entitled to his fun. The blame usually went to the girls. A girl who had had adventure before marriage was never respected in her new home; everyone in the village would know about her past . . . There were men who would go about raping young virgins of thirteen and fourteen, and still expect the women they married to be as chaste as flower buds. (BP 84)

Here Emecheta exposes the double standards of Igbo society which allows all the freedom for males and disgraces those females for the same. "Double standards of sexuality" means that "sexual behaviour deemed inappropriate in a woman, and for which she is shown social approval, may be regarded as appropriate and as praiseworthy in a man" (Jane Pilcher et al 34). Chike too falls deeply in love with his fifteen years old student Aku-nna and resolves to marry her even if it means breaking all the laws and customs of his society. As it is against the laws of Igbo society to get involved with slaves, Aku-nna is constantly warned to stay away from him. Being a slave family, the Ofulues are not considered to be equal to free human beings despite being quite affluent. When she attains puberty, i.e. begins to have menstruation, she is panic stricken and shameful but Chike helps her and asks her not to reveal this to her family as it could result in her early marriage. But she is not able to hide it for a long time and the news spreads in the whole village in no time, making her family feel overjoyed. There is little celebration and Okonkwo seems extremely pleased and amused over his piece of luck. It is on this occasion that he warns Aku-nna to stay away from Chike. Aku-nna had already realized that "For a girl from a good family to marry the descendant of a slave would be an abomination" (BP 110- 111). Along with this "she was trapped in the intricate web of Ibuza tradition. She must either obey or bring shame and destruction on her people" (BP 116). She feels thoroughly helpless and her helplessness is aggravated by her mother's passive attitude who looks quite busy in her own life. Soon she realizes that suitors have come for her and the early marriage seems inevitable. Her heartache for Chike and feeling of entrapment makes her pray to God, "God, please kill me instead . . . rather than let this be happening to me" (BP 118). Unwillingly she receives her suitors which include her classmate Okoboshi, a limp and Chike too. Okoboshi suddenly squeezes her breast because Igbo customs allowed him to do so. Emecheta writes about the custom which is absolutely outrageous and shattering to a girl's modesty. In the name of night games, young boys were allowed to visit a girl in her mother's hut and "play at squeezing a girl's breasts until they hurt" (BP 97) and the girl was expected to remain calm and just try to

ward the boys off. No one objected to it as long as it was done in the presence of an adult. By permitting such abominable customs to exist, the society tends to reduce a girl to a level of a mere thing to play with that the males can use to amuse themselves and can even violate her honour. As Chike is also present, he is not able to tolerate this misbehavior with Aku-nna and he thrashes Okoboshi thoroughly.

Soon Aku-nna is kidnapped by Okoboshi family and forced to marry Okoboshi, the limp. Although her family tries to look out for but they all know that searching is useless as Aku-nna cannot be brought back because the kidnapper could have cut a lock of her hair or could have forced her to sleep with him and “. . . if she refused his people would assist her by holding her down until she was dis-virgined. And when that had been done, no other person would want to take her anymore” (BP 132). Okonkwo receives her bride price, and all is settled between the two families. Aku-nna is firmly resolved for not sleeping with Okoboshi on the mud couch, with a white towel on it, made especially for the occasion. Emecheta here introduces another demeaning custom in which a stainless white towel is placed on the bed of a newly wedded couple and the next day the towel is presented to the bride’s mother as a present. If the towel has no blood stains on it then the bride is called characterless and the whole village or town frowns upon it. It also lowers the bride price of the girl. She knows Okoboshi will trouble her but “A kind of strength came to her, she intended to stand up for herself, to fight for herself, for her honour. This was going to be the deciding moment of her existence” (BP 136). She does not only insult Okoboshi but also makes up a story that she has already been dis-virgined by Chike and she might be carrying his child. Okoboshi, taken aback, beats her resolving to make her a maid to his future wives. The following day when the whole village seems to turn their back on her, Aku-nna manages to escape the evil clutches of her kidnappers with the help of her brother Nna-nndo and Chike. Chike and Aku-nna elope to Ughelli, a town in the mid-west region of Nigeria. The couple soon gets married and consummates their marriage on a newly bought bed that they name ‘joy.’ For some time Aku-nna lives the long cherished life, she becomes a teacher in a school, Nna-nndo too comes to live with them and she enjoys happy married life with Chike. But her happiness is short lived as Okoboshi spreads the news that Aku-nna was not a virgin and moreover he still belongs to him as he had cut a lock of her hair. Here Emecheta introduces a nasty custom which can cause lifelong suffering and pain for a girl:

Some youth who had no money to pay for a bride might sneak out of the bush to cut a curl from a girl’s head so that she would belong to him for life and never be able to return to her parents; because he had given her the everlasting haircut, he would be able to treat her as he liked, and no other man would ever touch her (BP103).

The fear of hair being cut by a man in such a manner compelled many young girls to keep very short hair and the others who had long hair would wear headscarves. The above mentioned

custom is a clear instance of how customs and traditions can denigrate a woman's life subjecting her to utmost distress. It also points to the fact that in a culture fabricated by men, only they have the right to choose their life partners whereas the same is denied to women.

Okonkwo gets extremely ill and furious too on losing his chance of getting bride price for Aku-nna and thus becoming a chief. He twice refuses to accept bride price by Chike's father, and, in his rage, he divorces Ma Blackie by exposing his backside to her in public and she can do nothing about it. Here, Marilyn Friedman's observation becomes valid according to which "Men are supposed to 'stand up like a man' for what they believe or value, including the simple assertion of their self-interests. Women instead are supposed to 'stand by your man.' The maxim 'stand up like a woman' has no serious meaning" (99). Lower status of women in the Igbo community is clearly evidenced by Ma Blackie's case. She is first inherited by Okonkwo without her permission and then divorced, that too without asking for her consent.

Okonkwo resolves to take his revenge. As suggested by the local witch – doctor, he makes a doll in the image of Aku-nna and pierces its heart with a needle in order to kill Aku-nna. She soon gets pregnant but is undernourished and is warned by the physician. She now lives constantly sick and worried for she too believes that if the bride price is not paid, the bride will die at childbirth. By now she knows the Igbo customs very well and also knows she will not survive. And her fear indeed comes true, after struggling for days of constant illness, she gives birth to a premature baby girl whom she names 'joy' and dies peacefully. Her unceasing fear and malnourishment becomes instrumental in her demise whereas her own community sees her death as a punishment for offending the Igbo laws; for not letting the society decide her fate, getting educated, getting in relationship with an outcaste, marrying a man of her own choice and above all for not fetching much awaited bride price. Later, Aku-nna's tragic story serves as a lesson for many young girls in Ibuza so that they do not meet the similar destiny. Emecheta remarks:

So it was that Chike and Aku-nna substantiated the traditional superstition they had unknowingly set out to eradicate. Every girl born in Ibuza after Aku-nna's death was told her story, to reinforce the old taboos of the land. If a girl wished to live long and see her children's children, she must accept the husband chosen for her by her people, and the bride price must be paid. If the bride price was not paid, she would never survive the birth of her first child. It was a psychological hold over every young girl that would continue to exist, even in the face of every modernization, until the present day. (BP 168)

Aku-nna's fight against societal laws takes a toll on her life. Through her, Emecheta challenges the unyielding society that "exile the body" of a woman when "tradition itself is made more important than women" (Kartak156). If women are the guardians and repositories of culture, then they have to be placed at equal pedestal with men otherwise a society can never

claim to be progressive and civilized. Blind orthodoxy and conservatism in the name of reverence for past is a big obstacle in the progress of any society. For achieving equal status for women, eradication and modification of conservative societal norms is mandatory. In the words of Simon J. Bronner, “Variability, rather than fixity, is tradition’s trademark” (2) and “Tradition, rather than being a relic set in stone, could be renewable, malleable resource for the future” (4). Therefore customs that harm anyone should be abandoned or altered for the betterment of the society. Every society should keep abreast of the times and wisely choose or alter or eliminate things to suit the present needs.

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Western Impact on the Tamil Creative and Literary Criticism Works

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Abstract

This paper attempts to lay focus on the western impact on the Tamil literary field, through its thoughts and critical theories. Both English and Tamil Criticism play an important role in their field with Tamil criticism having a long literary tradition rather than English Criticism. The literary theories during the ancient periods articulated by commentators, which help the Tamil literary criticism to bring out the originality of the text. Literary field has creative and critical activities, making the reader understand the western impact on the Tamil literary field.

Keywords: Tamil literary criticism, Western critical theory, literary tradition, critical thinking, moralistic approach.

“Criticism is the branch of study concerned with defining, classifying, expounding and evaluating works of literature” (Abrahams 36). It was the common explanation given by Abrams. But when one looks into the stalwarts’ definitions regarding criticism which met with the explanation of their own notion, one will have a comprehensive of it. For example, Arnold wrote very often in his essays thus:

“I am bound by my own definition of criticism:
a disinterested endeavour to learn and propagate the
best that is known and thought in the world” (P 42)

In the words of F.R. Leavis, “the common pursuit of true judgement that is how the critic should see his business” (The Common Pursuit V). In Europe, the art of criticism began in ancient Greece in 4th century B.C., during the period of this century, there was found to be out and out an intellectual awakening in Athens. All learned critics and men like Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Socrates, Aristophanes took to writing critical works. The first critical

work which came into eminence was *The Frogs* by Aristophanes produced falling in line with the critical thinking and relative merits of Aeschylus and Euripides. As Aristophanes puts it, the creative art and the critical art are one and the same. Later it got divided into two. The 4th century was, no doubt, found to be an age of critical inquiry and analysis. Only in 427 B.C., criticism took its reasonable shape in the hands of Plato, the discipline, did vehemently attack poetry and banned the poets in his ideal world. Then the criticism passed into Plato's disciple Aristotle who went to the extent of calling poets 'imitators'. Then criticism started surviving in the hands of Roman classicists. Horace and Quintilian and then in the hands of Longinus.

Despite the fact that western criticism did significantly emerge from this background, the first English man who used criticism is Sir Philip Sidney who defended poetry by writing *Apology for Poetry* and making it clear that his concept of poetry is to teach and delight, for he followed the model of Aristotle and his criticism was almost like a reply to Gossons who dedicated his *School of Abuse* to Sir Philip Sidney. Then the history of English literary criticism had Ben Jonson better known as a poet and a dramatist than a critic. But he proved himself as well-known critic through his *Discoveries* generally considered as a valuable addition to criticism. Then appeared *An Essay of Dramatic Poetry* by John Dryden, which was regarded as the lonely but important work upholding Aristotle's theory of poetry as a process of imitation and his slogan was that the very object of poetry was to delight and transport instead of teaching. Dryden was called the father of English criticism by Dr. Johnson, for from his alone, English Criticism took a clear root. Then came Alexander Pope who followed the classical tradition and wrote *Essay on Criticism* using his critical opinion about the criticism as "a critic is born to judge, as a poet is born to write". Then criticism started growing in the hands of Dr. Johnson who critical outlook was explicated from his writings like Preface to *The Plays of Shakespeare* and *Lives of the Poets*.

Literary Criticism changed its course and methods in the Romantic Age as a protest against the neoclassicism. William Wordsworth and S.T. Coleridge laid the foundation for the romantic criticism with the chief tenets of this romantic criticism being ignoring rules, being impressionistic and individualistic in approach, laying emphasis on emotion and imagination. *Preface to the Lyrical Ballads* by Wordsworth and *Biographia Literaria* are considered the two best works that bear the critical theories of the romanticists, for their criticism was creative. With the emerging of Victorian compromise, the fight between the neo-classical school and romantic school came to an end. Matthew Arnold, the key figure in his age, did obviously dominate the literary field with his creative works and essentially by his critical works like *Preface to the Poem of 1853* and *The Study of Poetry*. The 20th century saw the birth of New Criticism with T.S. Eliot, I.A. Richards and F.R. Leavis as notable critics who made their critical theories so influential and reasonable. In this evolution of literary criticism down from the Ages, Poetic criticism started approximately in between 427 BC to 348 BC with Plato who banished poets from his ideal world. In English critical tradition, the poetic criticism started right from Sir Philip Sidney and Matthew Arnold set

right the poetic criticism as a separate discipline and Novel criticism started only from the Criticism of F.R. Leavis.

Just like English criticism, Tamil criticism is said to have a long literary tradition. In the early phase, Tolkappiyar was regarded as the originator of Tamil literary criticism through composition of *Tolkappiyam*. He framed his literary principles into two kinds – thematic conception and poetic convention in clear terms. They were mutually related. In Porulathikaram, the third book of *Tolkappiyam*, Tolkappiyar explains the themes of ‘aham’ and ‘puram’ which relate to romantic poetry and heroic poetry respectively. In the beginning of the fourteenth century, Saint Umapati, a Saiva acharya (Spiritual preceptor) contributed a very good guideline for critics by pointing out that the very essential duty of a critic or the commentator is just like removing the dust on the gem and rejoice in the true luster of the gem and to him, literary criticism also implies appreciation. Most of the literary theories in the ancient periods were articulated by commentators and these commentators of ancient Tamil books were considered to be the best critics. This shows the originality of Tamil literary criticism in the early days. Atiyarkkunallar of twelfth century, the learned commentators of *Silappadikaaram*, as a sensitive critic probed deep into the expressions given in the original text about the character and tried to elicit their fullest significance. In the thirteenth century, Parimelazhahar the greatest writer on *Thirukkural* and Perasiriyar and Senavaraiyar, the writers on *Tolkappiyam* exposed the ways to look at the vast areas of literature and grammar and in the 14th century, the critique of Naccinarkkiniyar, “consists of word meanings, special notes, grammatical explanations, paralleled quotations from various sources, connecting of various verbs to the finite verb ending a sentence and several other features” (Ramalingam 1127). Naccinarkkiniyar commented on *Kalithohai*, an ‘aham’ poetry of the Sangam age and the epic *Cintamani* showed his reverence for the author. This attitude did induce so many writers who succeeded him. In the medieval period, the Vaishnava commentators are said to have successfully replanted the experience of the Alvars in the minds of the readers, thereby focusing more light on their philosophical approach. They were endowed with a creative talent holding the inspiration theory. In the 18th century, Sivajnana Swami as a prolific writer and a bold critic always condemned strongly the views of others writing an elaborate commentary on the *Payiram*, which means *Preface* and the first cuttiram, which means sutram of *Tolkappiyam*. He is the first critic who held the view that a true critic should be well versed in more than one language and the 19th century was regarded as the period of Renaissance in India life and literature. The Renaissance in Tamil was ushered in after the Sepoy Mutiny in 1857.

The general awakening resulted in the rapid expansion of prose writing as an important branch of literature. In the words of Ka. Na. Subramaniam,

“Generally, it can be said that Indian literary renaissance is a change that happened in Indian minds due to the reading in English” (Kalai Nutpangal 64)

This kind of change brought Tamil literature in line with the new writings like novel, short story and essay which showed the liberation from the conventional way of writing. Following this direction, the criticism in Tamil came up well by shooting into new standards. M. Ramalingam observes:

“Modern Tamil literary criticism began in the first decade of the 20th century. In that formative stage, Tamil scholars had drawn their inspiration from the study of western literature” (P1128).

C. V. Damodaran Pillai and U.V. Swaminatha Aiyar did the greatest service in rescuing innumerable classics from oblivion and editing them correctly and Swaminatha Aiyar always gave a valuable introduction and copious notes into cross references which were of immense value to the student and the critics. And it was V. Kanakasabhai Pillai who wrote *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, that made the scholars realize the greatness of Tamil tradition thereby paving the way for the opening of a new era for literary criticism. Ramalingam pointed out by making such a statement that the first three or four decades of 20th century might be called the period of the new classical criticism in the history of Tamil criticism. Maraimalai Adikal is said to have given a new direction to contemporary criticism by applying the western principles to evolve a work of art. He defined poetry as an aesthetic creation of beauty and insisted on the sound appreciation of any work of art by improved standards and methods of criticism. T. Selvakesavaraya Mudaliyar and V.V.S. Aiyar were called the pioneers of the modern literary criticism. T. Selvakesavaraya Mudaliyar was a good essayist who wrote ‘poetry’ and ‘prose’ in his *Tamil Viyasankal*. Here in this book,

“He goes deeply into the nature of poetry and elaborately discusses the various elements – form, imagination, poetics and style” (Ramalingam 1129).

Then, V.V.S. Aiyar was considered to be a notable writer-critic who applied the canons of western literary criticism so as to bring out the significant features of the epic in his critical study of *Kamba Ramayanam*. He strongly claimed that Kambar was superior to Homer, Virgil and Milton in certain respects and he is said to have used *racanai*, a term normally equated to the term ‘appreciation’, for criticism in his Tamil version of his study. Following V.V.S. Aiyer, then sprang up the aesthetic criticism headed by T.K. Chidambaranatha Mudaliyar who got exposed to the literary criticism through his aesthetic study of Kambar’s Ramayanam. Then T.P. Meenakshisundaram, a critic known for his profound scholarship in various fields, might well be considered one of the makers of modern Tamil criticism. His two important books namely *Kanalvari* and *Kudimakkal Kappiyam* revealed his critical principles. He approached literary works purely as a literary investigation. The criticism of prose fiction was born along with the emergence of prose fiction. M. Ramalingam writes:

“We find a critical essay on Prema-Kalavatiyam in a very old journal *Viveka Cintamani* in the last decade of the 19th century, written by P.S.Subramaniya Aiyer” (P1129).

After P.S. Subramaniya Aiyar, came Ka. Na. Subramaniam who was primarily an impressionist and introduced the earlier prose fiction to the general reader in his *Mutal Aintu Tamil Navalkal*. (The first five Tamil novels), where he placed himself in the history of Tamil literary criticism. Besides his creative writings, his critical writings earned him the name ‘critic’. His *Vimaricanak Kalai* and *Ilakkiya Vicaram* stand as good example to his view of blending western and eastern concepts of criticism. Then the two books namely *Tamilil Ilakkiya Vimaricanam* (literary criticism in Tamil) and *Tamil Cirukathai Pirakkiratu* (The birth of Tamil short story) helped in making criticism gain new dimension. R. Dandayudham’s *A Study of the Sociological Novels in Tamil* was found to be almost the first systematic study of Tamil novels, nourishing literary principles and judgement to have an elaborate study of Tamil fiction. His *Novel Ilakkiyam* and *Punaikataivalam* (The wealth of fiction) were almost the effective tools to critically assess the literary merits of twelve fiction writers. Following them, a few literary stalwarts like P.Sri A.Srinivasaraghavan and a newer set of critics like C.S. Chellappa, K. Kailasapati, V. Ramakrishnan, C. Raghunathan are some of the comparative critics making some distinction in this new genre.

Thus, for knowing the exact beginning of the literary criticism as a literary activity consciously one should have a clear cut idea about the Tamil criticism especially before and after Ka. Na. Subramaniam. One can easily visualize the degree of western impact on Na. Ka. Su. and his service to Tamil Literature as a creative writer and a critical writer was found to be something remarkable. Next to Vu.Ve. Saminathaiyer who was called “Ilakkiyathattha” (literary grandpa), Ka. Na. Subramaniam was called “Periyavar Ka. Na. Su.” He was influenced by the western thoughts and theories to the extent that all the literary writers irrespective of age criticized him for his too much of being westernized in his thought and theories. But rather undoubtedly, it is Ka. Na. Su. who provided room for the Tamil literary field so as to make it live in the climate of creative hope. He was solely responsible for the incoming of English critical theories and methods to India, especially Tamil literary world, for Ka. Na. Su. was, during the British rule in India, consciously or unconsciously kindled by the culture of the western people. This desire for British culture prevailed in the hearts of all people irrespective of all disparities. Even literary people tried to follow the culture of the west. The educated people of all degrees looked for the accommodation of western culture and writing. Reading western literature became the fashion of those days. It was at this time Rabindranath Tagore won the Noble Prize for Literature for his *Gitanjali*.

One cannot deny the fact that the western impact on writers like Tagore and Na. Ka. Su. was rich enough to release worth thinking and sound critical thinking in order to enrich the Tamil literary creative as well as critical field for without discriminating as eastern and

western literature for the sake of discrimination, they looked at all literatures as one under the purpose of ‘world literature’.

To conclude, it may be said that the western writers falling in line with the thinking of western stalwarts like Arnold, Eliot and Leavis joined hands with them in presenting a moral touch in their creative writings as well as critical pronouncements, with the sole intention of giving more importance to the growth of Tamil literary field both in the creative and critical activities than the moralistic approach to teach in all respects. In a world, the reception of western literature coupled with critical thinking, has, no doubt, exerted a good impact on worthy influence and effect on the eastern critical and creative field in all respects enabling rather richly any reader or writer to understand and evaluate, the worthy impacts exercised by the western writers on the minds of eastern writers/critics.

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Empower Women Through Education and Its Relevance to Humanities: A Womanist Reading on Zaynab Alkali's *The Stillborn*

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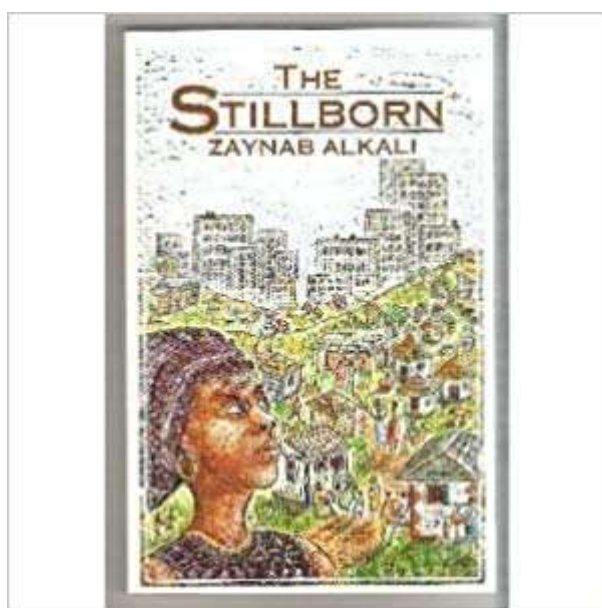
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Courtesy: https://www.amazon.com/Stillborn-Longman-African-Classics/dp/0582026571/ref=sr_1_1?keywords=Zaynab+Alkali+The+Stillborn&qid=1568780828&s=books&sr=1-1

Introduction

Literary work is considered as source of reflection for life and humanity. Within the literary sphere comes a group of women writers that persistently exposes the injustice towards women such as discrimination, domination, subordination and oppression that denigrate women. While injustice towards women cannot be curbed just by writings that highlight these issues, but such literary works and researches are capable of bringing out the voice of women silenced by patriarchal system to global society. The Nigerian female writer, Zaynab Alkali in *The Stillborn* highlights the life of women of Hausa tribe that were in constant fear, anxiety and nervousness due to stifling local social system. Alkali presented stories of Hausa women that rarely highlighted by Nigerian male writers. The multi-faceted status of women as housewives, working professionals, semi-skilled workers and unskilled

labourers are presented in multiple perspectives by Alkali to record the diversity of women's life in Hausa tribe.

Nigeria as a nation consists of more than 250 ethnicities and languages with English language as lingua franca for all Nigerians. In Nigeria, the *Agendas of the Big Three* plays a key role in which Nigeria is broadly divided into three major ethnic groupings namely the Igbo, the Yoruba and the Hausa-Fulani people. These three ethnic groupings practise different societal system with respective culture, traditions and beliefs. Nigerian society tends to emphasise on ethnic and racial ties rather than nationalism or Africanism. Nigeria practises social, cultural and belief system that is vastly different and complex than what is and can be understood by others.

In Nigeria's social system, men are considered the head of family and symbol of absolute power, positive thinking and intelligent while women are considered weak, passive, obedient and emotional. In such relationship, women are considered inferior while men are considered superior. The image and identity of men as extraordinary and masculine has been embedded in the mind of young girls since young. Hausa Fulani are an ethnic grouping in Nigeria in which 89% of its people practises Islam. According to Coles & Mark (1991:4-6), the subordination of women to men arising from the intersection of Islamic practices and Hausa cultural values which were in place prior to colonization. Coles & Mark points out that, Hausa women are among the most strictly secluded Muslim women in Africa. Hausa women assimilate between traditional Hausa societal system and Islam in which Hausa women, regardless of before or after marriage, remain within a patriarchal system that restricts women's involvement in any activity. This reality can be further strengthened by the opinion by Coles & Mark (1991:12);

The patriarchal nature of Hausa society, the pervasive notion that Muslim Hausa women should be and are subject to control by men, and the seclusion of women have given vice to a view of Hausa women as largely powerless relative to men and entirely lacking any authority in the public realm.

Hausa girls commonly got married at the age between 10 to 12 years old. Marriage are conducted based on their families' selection and men are not allowed to get married until they are able to take care of their wives which means the men will usually get married for the first time at the age of 30s with girls (children) aged between 10-12 years old. A woman that failed to give birth to a boy and only have girls are not allowed to object or complaint if her husband brought back another wife. The societal pressure and demand towards married women are to give birth to a boy that will be the inheritor of their tribe's name and family's asset.

According to Amadiume (1987:69), when a daughter experiences physical transformation moving from childhood to adolescence, every movement of hers is observed by her mother and she is restricted from going out of the house and mingles with boys. Mothers played key role in advising and scaring girls with outlandish stories about men in order to prevent relationship between adolescent girls with men. The sight of a penis was said to be enough to make a girl pregnant (Amadiume, 1987:69). Extraordinary tales about men that has been passed down from one generation to another formed the sense of fear and amazement about men in the mind of women since young. They feel that men possess extraordinary powers and must be avoided before moving towards marriage. Such tales that has been fed to girls since young were deeply embedded in their psyche that they lack in self-esteem and always obedient to their father, brothers, husband and sons.

In terms of education, boys are fortunate to receive formal education until the family can afford spending on the boys' education. Education for girls is not given attention because girls belong to their (future) husbands' tribes. Girls are wedded when they are still children in order to help their family's critical financial condition. Occasionally, the girls' wedding payment is used to pay for the boy's education. Every girl in a family will experience discrimination in education opportunity when compared to their male siblings.

Hausa women may nullify their marriage through the system of *Khulaa* and may apply for divorce if there is domestic violence (Coles & Mark, 1991:6). Rights as a wife that Hausa women can acquire are ownership of asset, Islamic education and becoming a soldier during wartimes. Women that complete their Islamic education may choose to become teacher. The involvement of women in teaching has brought drastic change to the situation and status of Hausa women. The women started to think about self-improvement and career achievement (<http://www.jamtan.com/jamtan/fulani>). The background understanding about the culture of Hausa people serves as the basis in understanding the specific culture and lifestyle of Nigerians which cannot be judged solely by views and thoughts outside the Nigerian societal context.

Hausa society is said to be tied with various elements of patriarchal system as a result of religious belief, colonialism, capitalism, political liberation and global economic integration that adversely affected women. The patriarchal marriage institution of Hausa tribe has restricted women to learn only domestic works related to their skills namely cooking, cleaning, sewing, water-carrying, firewood gathering as well as fulfilling all husband's need. The culture of Hausa tribe also allows men to practice polygamy and must marry accordance to Islamic tenet as well as not allowed to keep mistress, preference to male children and regards the wife as inferior to the husband. To achieve a respected social status, an adult woman must achieve status as a wife. Women without a husband (unmarried) and widows are hard to achieve high, respected status in a societal system based on patriarchal system.

Nigeria is the only country in the world that practices Penal Code laws that allows men to physically punish their wives without physically aiming them (Green, 1999: 107). Penal Code of Nigeria states that a husband can beat their wives by using a stick not bigger than the husband's thumb (Philomena, 2008: 294). Domestic violence is often rejected as a complaint by tribal chiefs or police because it is considered as family's own internal problems. Besides that, Nigerian women are often scared to make reports about domestic violence as they fear the collapse of their family structure, women are warned that if they seek litigation against their husband, their action will break up the family (Green, 1999: 106). A wife might be beaten not just by their husband but also the husband's relatives as well. This shows that the social institution that was supposed to be protecting women has oppressed and persecuted women. Laws in Nigeria feature two contradictory roles, in such that the law is the saviour and protector of women and yet simultaneously a tool to oppress and compromise with Nigeria's patriarchal system that clearly dominates and persecutes women.

Theoretical Framework: Womanism

The *Womanism* theory pioneered by Alice Walker has given emphasis to status of women writers in Africa to highlight the true reality of being women in Africa. Walker has said that a new reading method has to be created to discuss the status of black women writers' literary works as western feminist readings often fail to discuss and define the work properly. The adherers of Womanism Theory wish to re-examine and highlight the identity, the spirit and instinct of black women that weren't just side-lined by literary works of white female writers but also by black male writers themselves that failed to portray the experience and history of black women.

Womanism is specially coined for women from Africa to build Africanist identity in African culture and literature in general. Within the work *In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens*, Walker categorised her essays in three parts, namely; Oppression towards women didn't solely manifest physically and mentally but also demands women to *act like a man*. According to Walker, a person who adheres to the thoughts of Womanism is a womanist. Walker defines a Womanist to be similar as feminist but distinct due to colours of skin and ethnicity. Womanist theory is a sort of challenging to traditional articulations of feminist theory. According to Walker, issues related to women are equally important as racial and ethnicity issues. Walker said that black women are more superior to white women due to black women's tradition in valuing philosophy of life highly. The often-repeated phrase by Walker namely *womanist is to feminist as purple to Lavender* (1983: xii) is coined to create as a comparison that black women are womanist and white women are feminist. Within the thoughts of Womanism, relationships between women form a women's culture that upholds the unity and solidarity among women. Women who are womanist love all aspects that shaped them as women and appreciate the culture, emotional life and strength of women. Nonetheless, womanist women still adhere to god given nature of women. Walker glorified

the black woman's experiences during slavery, their own black woman self, their beauty, physical and sexual strength, motherhood, sisterhood and wifehood.

Nigeria that tends to emphasise more on ethnicity diverged from Africanist concept as they emphasised more on individual ethnic identity than nationalism. Womanism is a universal theory that can be adapted by all African women and all African women are considered womanist according to Womanism theory. Alice Walker in *In Search of our Mother's Garden: A Womanist Prose* highlighted the importance of education for women in struggle against gender inequality. According to Walker, the personality and identity a black writer shines in their literary works when they expose the reality of African women that is more often than not obscured in white Caucasian writers' works as well as in black male writers' works. Walker urged the female writer to give back to black women their own black woman self, their beauty, physical and sexual strength, motherhood, sisterhood and wifehood. Meanwhile, Alkali as a female writer from Nigeria highlighted the life of Hausa women in their local culture, identity and uniqueness as black women, symbiotic relationship between mother and daughter, the strength of black women, the spirit of sisterhood (solidarity among women regardless of skin colour) and women's preference from the angle of a Womanist.

Pressures in daily life such as seeking employment opportunities, economical factor and status of women within organisational system/hierarchy force women to think and act like men. Their innate desire as women cannot be expressed due to social, political and economic system that are still under the authority of men. In particular, Womanism looks at the intersections between race, class, and gender. Women in many countries still has to obey the patriarchal culture that dominates them even though they have the same education and economic level as men.

The Stillborn: A Reading in Womanism

In *The Stillborn* (1984), Alkali described the dilemma of women in abiding the cultural norm of a patriarchal system and their internal conflict to free themselves for tyranny of men. The strength and courage of women are presented in this novel as an example that Zaynab Alkali is not writing as a black African writer, a Third World Country writer, a marginalized country writer and such but instead she is writing as representation of women in general. Alkali highlighted the universal idea that education will bring out awareness about identity and nature of women, an awareness needed by all women to counter the injustice inflicted on them. All aspects of women's life in patriarchal system of Hausa tribe are present in this novel such as marriage, polygamy, sexuality, and domestic violence, liberation of women, gender discrimination and importance of education for women.

Zaynab Alkali wrote about women characters in the 1980's when Nigeria underwent transition from being a British colony towards self-government and then experienced Biafra War (6 July 1967-15 January 1970). After recovering from the civil wars, the 1980s is

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considered as the age for reconstruction of Nigeria under democratic administration which also has brought economic, social and political change to Nigeria which impacted women's life. During the transition years, men's psyche is still pre-occupied with the mentality that women must remain under the influence of men and should only be allowed to give birth and take care of children. To overcome such mentality, Alkali see education as one of the way women can liberate themselves from patriarchy. In a nation facing modernisation, women will not be able to adapt to the mainstream changes without education to equip them for the future. Alkali with her sense of responsibility, seriously and boldly proclaimed the importance of education for women in almost all chapters within this novel, '... An educated woman is a great investment to her children, her husband and her parents, but most of all her country' (Alkali, 1997:20). Education is the weapon for women against being manipulated and exploited in patriarchal system.

In the practices and beliefs of Hausa tribe, they regard higher education as a hindrance for girls to find suitable candidates as husband. This is because higher education for women is considered as threat to men in order to reduce the status of women in a household (Fox, 1997:34). However, it is only through education that women are capable for liberating themselves from the practice of patriarchal system that physically and emotionally oppressed women. Education can shape women to become braver, have a source of economy, independent and freedom of speech thus women are beginning to question the injustice done by men in both household as well as societal system.

To represent the universal importance of education for women, Alkali created the character, Li, that is determined to pursue her own way of life in patriarchal system of Hausa tribe by pursuing higher education. Li as a character is progressive, independent and rejects the myth that women are inferior to man. In this novel, Alkali vividly portray that education for girls is not wasteful but instead self-defence weapon in dismantling sexist bias and rigid gender role.

Li as a character is portrayed as a matured woman as she was introduced by Alkali in the early part of the story. Even though she's only 13 years old at that point of the story, Li is already presenting herself as an inquisitive, independent, brave, assertive, determined girl and has the ambition to pursue higher education. Her education qualification has helped Li to achieve economic strength by being a teacher and begin to take on responsibility as the leader of the household "the man of the house" (Alkali, 1988:101), the role which her father and brother failed to accomplish. In the cultural practice of Hausa tribe, only men are allowed to be the leader of household. However, in the face of modernisation in Nigeria which gave higher education opportunities for women, women such as Li that are beginning to bear the responsibility as the leader of household emerge. Such change and adaptation of cultural practices is gradually being accepted among the Hausa tribe when the men failed to take on the responsibility.

Alkali in her writing characterized women characters facing these rapid changes productively and responsibly. Alkali has introduced the character of Awa (elder sister of Li) which continued to carry out her domestic responsibility as usual after being laid off by her school but Awa's husband (Dan Fiama) failed to adapt to such changes, descended into alcoholism and let go of his responsibility to Awa. Men are portrayed as failing to face up to challenges and obstacles caused by transformation from traditional way of life to modernised Nigeria. From here we can clearly observe Alkali's authorship technique that empowers women to take on multiple tasks and juxtapose it with Fiama's position in failing to overcome his depression in losing his position as headmaster. Fiama didn't help out Awa at home and yet still insistent of being the head of household with absolute power even though he is incapable to contribute to the family.

Li, with her academic qualification rises from impoverished and oppressed life in the City to someone who is determined, optimistic and confident of self. Among the early step Li took is, to advance her education in order to liberate herself from the restrictive life shaped by tradition, culture and religion. Alkali liberates women from tyranny of men, of life being constantly under the authority of men. Alkali gave confidence and strength in Li through English-medium education. Western education provided job opportunities as well as opened Li's mind of her right being a wife and mother. When she is 29 years old, Li had just finished her study in teachers training college and became a teacher and capable of living independently. The maturity in Li's age has also been made a measurement of capability to make smart decisions by the author. The women's need for protection by father, husband and son has been dismantled by Alkali by giving confidence to women characters especially Li through education.

In *Womanism* reading, *Womanist Loves Love* in which she always receives and gives undivided love and care. *Womanist* women didn't hate men and appreciate the presence of men in her life. Alkali explores in depth and appreciates the overt and covert characteristics in women characters namely Li, Awa and Faku. The three women were introduced in the story when they are still young maidens until they grow older to become matured middle aged women. The three characters are willing to sacrifice the opportunity for higher education in exchange for family life with the men they loved. The three women were in marriage trauma when the men they loved and married to became strangers in their life. Awa, Faku and Li discovered that the men they loved and married to are two different men in one single physical body. The change of administrative structure of the government of Nigeria as well as economic pressure has affected the career and psychology of the men. Men, originally regarded as capable of providing livelihood with maturity and responsibility has become lazy, irresponsible towards the family and failed in coping with the modernisation happening at that point of time. Li witnessed herself how her husband Habu Adam, once gentlemanly and loving back in the village, has become a drunkard, ill-tempered, beating women and utterly lost in life due to pressing life in the city that is materialistic and artificial.

A *Womanist* woman desires of *being grown up* (Walker, 1983: xi), one not just of age but also in terms of thoughts, appearance and actions. The thought of a *Womanist* woman is always matured and make decisions that will build brighter future and give self-freedom of speech. Li is ready to accept her husband again and revive her marriage. Alkali used narrative technique of dream element to bolster Li's decision. Li dreamt of meeting her grandchild when she became old and alone. Her grandchild asked about the grandfather and why Shuwa the mother lives without the father. This question from Li's "grandchild" shows that a father's love is needed to give the perfect love and care to the children. This dream has made Li think about Habu who beat and left Li when she gave birth to Shuwa. Li's decision can be seen as "anti-feminist" or contrary to western women's conception of right and freedom of living independently and liberate self from men that restrict, oppress and dominate women. The acceptance of Habu back to Li's life is neither shameful nor proves that women can't live without man but as a rational action that brings balance to women's life as mother and wife in the Hausa's society. Li's decision is a *Womanist* woman's decision hence cannot be judged from the feminist perspective.

Being a mother and a wife is an important mechanism among Hausa women. Walker in *Womanism* theory says that in traditional African way of life, a mother will regard her daughter *womanish* if she voiced out frequently, resistant and persistent in getting answers for her questions. African mothers don't like their daughter to be matured, wild and liberated from her age as they're worried that this will ruin her daughter's future family life. The character Li in *The Stillborn* always questions her mother who is deaf and often refused to discuss freely with Li. Li and her mother have never been close. Therefore, if Li has any question, she will not refer to her mother but instead seeks out the answer on her own.

After the collapse of her marriage with Habu, Li realised the hardship and sacrifice of her mother back in the village. Her mother works hard in the farm to make a living when her father became ill and after Fiamma became alcoholic. The author created the character of Li's mother as someone who never expressed bitterness towards hardship but instead shows casual stoicness and never reacted with anger, hate and disappointment towards her children. It is her mother's character that helped Li to become a determined woman while encountering various challenges in the city. Li always remember every words of her mother at any point she felt disenchanted by life in the city. This is what Walker said, that she believes the words from her mother that, ... 'the father should teach the boys and the mother teach the girls the facts, as one says of life' (1983: 326).

Alkali portrayed the life of girl approaching adulthood in a phallogocentric social system of Nigeria where men dominates women as a statement of masculinity. Li as a character can be classified as a girl run counter to stereotypical depiction of Nigerian women as Li exhibited *outrageous, audacious and willful behavior* (Walker, 1983: xi). Alkali has given special attention to the character Li since inception of her character. Li's sibling dubbed her

“stubborn steak” for being stubborn and firm in her decisions. Even though she grew up in a familial and societal system that restricts women’s freedom of speech, Li as a character is brave to answer back her father and she never felt herself to be a girl that is obedient and fearful of her father. The restriction and control from her father spurred the rebellious character within Li. She wished to dismantle the wall built by her father and she wished to see the free, great outside world hidden behind that wall of restriction.

Baba (Li’s father) said cynically, ... ‘A heathen woman (Li’s mother) can only have heathen children...and even I have civilized you, you still behave like heathens’ (Alkali,1988:13). For Li’s father, her daughter is different than his other children as Li always voiced out, opposed and protested her father’s action in controlling the behaviour and life of his wife and children. Everything Li has done proves troublesome to her father who otherwise strictly controlled the life of their children in order to be disciplined and obedient to all of his orders. The author portrays the extraordinary bravery of Li that constantly butted head with her father even at the tender age of 15 years old. No longer as the stereotypical woman that obeys and follows the men’s bidding, Li no longer feared her father and she got married on her own choice. Even after marriage, Li is still empowered by Alkali by allowing her to live alone with the security of her education. When her marriage with Habu failed, Li transformed the failure to succeed in education.

The author also depicted a number of traditions and patriarchal system that were practiced in the village. One of them is placing women within the confines of kitchen. Alkali portrayed the mother of Li, Awa and Faku as having little power to voice out and makes decisions. In her village life that is controlled by men including her father, Li discovered that the practices of polygamy, arranged marriage and gender discrimination have negative effects towards women’s psychology. Within the same household, Li, Sule and Awa lived different lives. Sule has all the privileges and attention as a son while Awa who is a teenager were still beaten by her father just because she’s a daughter. Gender discrimination has caused Li and Awa to be confined to the home while Sule is free to go in and out of the house compound and play with his friends. Li and her father have a complex relationship as Li has always been inquisitive since birth and always acted on her own without being overshadowed and controlled by her father.

Li as a character is created differently by Alkali compared to her mother and sister, Li being visionary, matured and having clear grasp on her life. Even when her husband left her, Li continues to be independent and live a joyful life taking control of her emotion and feeling. Li as a *Womanist* exhibits *emotional flexibility* (Walker, 1983: xi). Li didn’t allow sadness and sorrow to linger in her life but instead lived happily with Shuwa and the education opportunity she received, exchanging tears with happiness.

Conclusion

The transformation that occurred in Nigeria between the years of 1967-1970 due to Civil War has led to economic transformation and emphasis on the importance of education for women. Transformation in the nation's economy and education of women has changed the opinions men have towards women. Educated women began to highlight the uniqueness and demand of black women which leads to solidarity among black women. The black feminist movement that addresses the needs of black women, men and children can strengthen the bonds with one other, deepen the sense of community and further Black Liberation. African women began to have new-found appreciation and understanding of own identity. Therefore, African women empowered themselves and felt the collective responsibility in advancing women's interests. The awareness of women's role in national development are further strengthened in the year 1995 arising from the impact of certain key effective topics about Nigerian women during the 4th World Conference of Women held in Beijing, China.

Based on the above discussion, it can be concluded that the novel *The Stillborn* has described the story of Nigerian women in transition from the world of traditions to the world of modernity. The rapid development of culture, economy, social and politics in Nigeria after attaining self-government has left various impacts to women and men. Zaynab Alkali presented the changes in women in the northern part of Nigeria experienced both externally and internally. Changes such as job opportunities, traditions, life in the city as well as introduction to new technologies have been accepted and adapted in women's daily life. Li as the protagonist symbolises enthusiasm for change in the life of Hausa women similar to Nigeria's spirit to be liberated from the history of being colonised. Changes and developments experienced by Li happened concurrently with the changes and developments in Nigeria. The various questions in Li's mind about the village, the city and the education system are among the various questions highlighted by Alkali to the rulers of Nigeria in the post-colonial era.

Li's success in achieving her dream as a teacher and her desire to return to Habu demonstrates that the life and aspiration of Nigerian women cannot be equated to the women in the West. Li's decision to return to Habu is the desiderate and belief of Hausa women in prioritising their family. The earlier refusal of Li to return to Habu is not because she hated the marriage institution but Li's passion to fulfil her dream and succeed without being reliant to Habu. Even she had succeeded and capable of living independently, Li rediscover the honour and strength of a Hausa woman is to live with family and respect the cultural and traditional conventions being passed down from generation to generation by the mothers. Education has shaped Li into a matured and serious woman but at the same time love and respect culture and tradition.

In order to pass down the traditions and culture of Hausa tribe to her child, Li has to be the perfect daughter, wife and mother. To achieve such aspiration, Li desired to live with Habu and build a generation of family that her child can be proud of. Alkali is unbiased to male characters within the novel by not depicting Habu as a villain but give a space for Habu to reconcile with Li. At the same time, Li didn't choose to continue to live alone and didn't hate Habu Adam but want to return to Habu, a womanist act in which men and women complete each other.

Not all literary works of female authors can be categorised as writings that has liberation and rights of women as central theme or featuring women character that opposed men (Coward, 1980: 63). In this novel, Li is a Hausa woman that seeks to preserve the harmony of family life. The violence and injustice Habu done to her is forgiven because she believes that human must be forgiving. According to Alkali, Li was never created to be a feminist nor as a powerful woman that seeks to right the injustice men has done to her. According to Alkali (as noted in Ismail: 2006), *Li is not a feminist, and that as far as I am concerned, I wasn't creating a feminist character.*

In general, men in Nigeria even after receiving education might still find it too difficult to accept the concept of equality between husband and wife. Nonetheless, higher education opportunities and exposures to modern life have given women the awareness to depart from the structure of patriarchal system that demands women to be mother and wife only. Education opportunities have helped women to break out from the shackles of traditions and to start thinking about the rights and liberation of women. As a result, middle class Nigerian women began to demand for right of further education in order for them to be independent and earn their own living. Women began to break away from the stifling control of the societal system that restricts their progress with education that advances their social status. Education has also opened the eyes of Nigerian women to explore their own identity and status within the family institution, religion and societal system.

Li as a character has dismantled western feminists' preconception that women oppressed and mistreated under patriarchy must live independently to prove women's strength to succeed without the support of men. In this case, Li as character must observed from the concept of Nigerian women and as a *Womanist* and *not a separatist* from Hausa culture that nurtured her. The notion of *Loves the folk* is the pride of Hausa women as well as *Loves herself* that allows them to choose what is best for them. Li's anger to Habu is only on a personal level and not towards the cultural, familial, marriage and traditional norms of Hausa society. Habu is the man she loves, and she eventually returned to Habu which is not a matter that hurts Li. Besides that, Li being 29 years old has become mature and she knows what is good or bad to her from the life experience she had. The love for Habu has made her choose to, ... *I will just hand him the crutches and side by side we will learn to walk* (ibid). Such decision by Li is a decision that celebrates culture and lifestyle of Hausa society that

values married life as husband and wife being a harmonious lifestyle that completes each other.

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Anita Desai -
Psychological Exploration of the Inner Psyche of Her Existential
Characters

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Abstract

This paper depicts a picture of inner psyche of existential characters in Anita Desai fiction. Desai examined the predicament of women in wilderness by placing these characters far removed from civilization, she has consciously examined the difficult situation and psyche of women in isolation. She creates a believable world populated by a marginally smaller milieu, also she takes her turns at being reflective, going deep into the psyche where things get moulded in a different form and characters. This prediction leads her to examine the psyche of her character and draws her gaze towards the aspects of life.

Keywords: Anita Desai, Psychological Exploration, Inner Psyche of Existential Characters, Marginalized, alienation, psyche, isolated, predicament, fantasy, vision, sensitive.

In contemporary Indo-Anglian fiction, Anita Desai is indisputably a serious novelist of a very high degree. In her novels, she skillfully explores the emotional ecology of her protagonists who, while combating the ubiquitous forces of absurd realities, feel terribly oppressed with the burden of living helplessly in contemporary chaotic conditions. Going deeper into the complexities of human existence, she endeavours to evaluate the various formidable factors that make existence uncomfortable and unendurable. Desai's unquestionable existentialist concerns coupled with her commendable craft, have distinguished her from other novelists, both of the older and the younger generations. Earnestly committed to the novel as an art-form, she practices her craft with remarkable sincerity, skill and seriousness. The richness of her multi-splendoured art and her never-dying themes call for a host of critical studies from different angles.

A distinguished writer Anita Desai was born in Mussorie on June 24, 1937 to a Bengali father and a German mother. Diverse influences fertilized her poetic and creative imagination even when she was a child. Her parents, sisters and brother used German for conversation. At the age of seven, she

began to write prose, mainly fiction, and published some small pieces in children's magazines. The family lived in Delhi where she had her education first at Queen Mary's School, and then at Miranda House, Delhi University where she took her undergraduate degree in English Literature in 1957. She is said to have lived in various cities like Calcutta, Bombay, Chandigarh, Delhi and Poona - some of which are well described in her novels.

Creative writers often deny the overbearing impact of their bet theories, as lovers do their passions, though the facts may be to the contrary. It is true that a novelist does not always write a novel according to some abstract ideas or a systematic plan. Believing in the organic concept of a work of art, an artist allows the seed of a germinating ideas to sprout and grow into a plant. No matter how an artist derives any belief in a theory of the novel, it exists in the form of his faith, his aim and his compulsions. The very act of selecting one theme, one character, one incident and rejecting another involves some guiding principle, whether by logic or by taste and the mere exercise of this choice is the beginning of a theory of the novel. Unlike Poe, Hawthorne, Henry James, Eliot and Forster, Mrs. Desai is not both a critic and a creative writer and as such, she has not propounded a systematic theory of her novels which one could keep as a blue-print to measure her literary creations. However, his articles, interviews, replies to questionnaires and letters do give an idea of what she aims at.

There are writers who definitely plan a great deal, make a summary of the plot of a rough sketch of incidents and then write in a planned way. Anita Desai writes "instinctively", carried away by her compulsions, allowing the novel to sprout and grow freely like a tree under the blue sky, and then trimming its ugly branches and uprooting weeds growing around it.

The object that triggers her imagination could be very insignificant – "a leaf dipping under a rain drop, a face seen on the bus, or a scrap news read in the papers" (Ram 100). The idea, like a magnet, drags around it a great mass of subsidiary material an incident which together form 'the novel.'

'Writing' has a two-fold function. On the one hand, it is a safety valve to release the pressure building up within the artist, and on the other, a reflector to project the picture of society.

Unlike R.K. Narayan, Mulk Raj Anand and Bhabani Bhattacharya who confined themselves mostly to the portrayal of outward reality, Anita Desai goes to explore the inner reality, or to use her own words, not "the one-tenth visible section of Iceberg that one sees above the surface of the ocean but "the remaining nine-tenths of its that is below the surface" (Desai in Replies to the Questionnaire 1). She prefers to delve "deeper and deeper in a character or scene, rather than going round about it" (Jain 66).

Anita Desai possesses one of the healthiest and psychologically most balanced minds in the realm of Indo-Anglian fiction and the sanity of her tastes and attitudes, is almost exemplary, a point worth emulation for her fellow-religionists in the field of writing. She has the sharpness and penetration

of vision of extraordinary degree, cutting things clean and entering into the inside of things with perfect ease. She seems to possess to a high degree the intuitive power of seeing into the nature of things. She is likely to become one with a sparrow like Keats and peck about the gravel. The insightful working of her vision is best evidenced in the intuitive origin and organization of symbols and metaphors in work after work with amazing constancy. Her insightful intuitions into life spectacle help in elucidating a plan and system inherent in the scheme of things in life. The harmony of sharpness and insight endow her with a sense of divination so necessary for a subjective writer for unerring revelations at every stage.

Truly speaking, not much is known about her personal life and views on literature. She is hesitant talking about her personal life and biases. In her opinion, the creative art is a secret one. As sufficient material is not available, we can just frame a picture of Anita Desai as a writer on the basis of various literary sources and her writings. Most of her novels are set in India and completely immersed in Indian life. Her famous novels are 1. *Cry, The Peacock* (1963), 2. *Voices in the City* (1965), 3. *Bye-Bye Blackbird* (1971), 4. *Where Shall We Go This Summer* (1975), 5. *Fire on the Mountain* (1977), 6. *Clear Light of Day* (1980), 7. *The Village by the Sea* (1982), 8. *Baumgartner's Bombay* (1989), 9. *Journey to Ithaca* (1995) and 10. *Fasting, Feasting* (2000).

According to Professor Alan Lightman, Desai's novels are distinguished by her focus on the inner life of her characters and her concern with people previously marginalized in Indian fiction, primarily women, children and the elderly. She prefers the private to the public. For her, literature is neither a means of escaping reality, nor a vehicle for parading her political, social, religious and moral ideas, but an exploration and an inquiry.

Her *Cry, The Peacock* is nothing but an externalization of the interior of Maya's Cocoon while *Voices in the City* is the reflection of the rattling reverberations of her sensitive characters under the tyrannizing force of the city of Calcutta. *Where Shall We Go This Summer* and *Fire on the Mountain* are lyrical outbursts of women seeking peace and quiet in life, while *Clear Light of Day* is the story of the slow and reluctant maturing consciousness of a woman wrapped up in the world of fantasies and visions. In none of these novels, Anita Desai imparts a message or preach morals.

A close observation of all Desai's works proves beyond all shades of doubt that she is in possession of a poetic talent of the most sensitive type. Her Mayas, Monishas, Sitas, Bims are all keenest poetesses, although they are not termed as such by Anita Desai. She has imparted a bit of her soul to all of them and partly lives and will live in them. She is gifted with an acutely keen imaginative faculty with prolific power of creation of incidents, situations characters and plot-yarns. This is the first manifestation of her creative imagination.

While being a subjective and psychological writer, she is often forced to peep into the inner recesses of the psyche rather than in the outer spectacle of the world and the creative spirit of

imagination is her unfailing reserve and security. Thus, the conception of Maya and her situation, in spite of being rooted in some experience felt or fancied, must be primarily imaginative – a mystification, increased to high proportion, and such may also be the case of Sita and Bimla Das. Universal sympathy for the suffering souls is the hallmark of Anita Desai's personality. The spectacle of suffering among human beings and non-human beings draws her mind and heart. The very sight of human misery lacerates her heart as deeply as that of a sparrow or any small bird. "She is more preoccupied with the Somber than with the frivolous side of life" (Tripathi 4).

According to Anita Desai, a writer should have certain traits of head and heart which are considered very essential for writing a novel. Besides having a creative genius, a novelist is expected to be sensitive and to have a power of keen observation so that he could be give acute descriptions and "pick up the tiny details that others might not notice" (Jain 63). The selection of characters has to be according to the subject matter.

Since Mulk Raj Anand and Bhabani Bhattacharya were writing for life's sake, they chose their characters from amongst the economic and social victims and victimizers. But Anita Desai is concerned primarily with the portrayal of a psychological reality and as such prefers characters who are peculiar and eccentric rather than general. Delving deep into character and situation, working around the interior landscapes of people, whether Indian or foreign, Mrs. Desai is said to have fashioned out of the dynamics of 'separateness', a metaphor for certain aspects of the human condition. She admits;

"She prefers novels to short stories because the form of the novel gives her a good deal of thought and time (to) get round (the subject), see it from different angle and aspects. Whereas a short story demands something quite different. You have the Whole of it quite clear in your mind and you just put it down at one throw"(Shyam 155)

It is agreed that Desai is the writer who introduced the psychological novel falling in line with the tradition of Virginia Woolf to India. Her novels are certainly reflective of social realities from a psychological perspective. She closely examines the emotional world of womankind. "In dealing with the interior landscape and the psychic odyssey of her characters, Desai has extended and enlarged the thematic horizon of the Indian English novels. Dealing with the thoughts, emotions and sensations at various levels of consciousness, Anita Desai found the technique used by D.H. Lawrence, Virginia Woolf and Henry James, i.e. stream of consciousness technique and flashbacks in her novels" (Tandon 27).

The most important aspect of Anita Desai's art is the delineation of character. She depicts female characters living in separate, closed and sequestered world of existential problems and passions with remarkable ease and adoration. All her female characters – Maya, Monisha and Sita are obsessed with the idea of death. Anita Desai is not interested in portraying every day, average characters but in peculiar and eccentric characters. She writes:

“I am interested in characters who have not retreated or been driven into some extremity of despair so turned against, or made to stand against, the general currents; it makes no demands, it costs no efforts. But those who cannot follow it, whose heart cries out “the great No”, who fight the current and struggle against it, they know what the demands are and what it costs to meet them” (Desai 4).

Mrs. Desai's basic interest lies in exploring the disturbed depths of the female psyche. She portrays her characters as individuals facing single-handed the ferocious attacks of existence. The most significant aspect of her fiction is her manner of individualizing the character. She presents each individual as an unsolved mystery. Almost all her protagonists are oversensitive, solitary and lost in thought. Her heroines are seen withdrawing into a world of isolation and solitude. Even if they enjoy material prosperity, their emotional and intellectual aspirations remain unsatisfied. All heroines are suffering individuals. They suffer because they refuse to conform due to the fact that they all possess “abnormal consciousness.”

Anita Desai is the first to explore the modern Indian sensibility. As her preoccupation is with the inner world of sensibility, she has tried to forge a style supple and suggestive enough to convey the fever and fretfulness of the stream of consciousness of her principal characters. She excels in highlighting the miserable position of highly sensitive and emotional woman, tortured by a humiliating sense of neglect, of loneliness and of desperation. The existential problem of the alienated self finally emerges to be the central theme of her novels. She does represent therefore “a set of new attitude and themes” associated with modern Indian novel in English.

Her first novel *Cry, The Peacock* presents the story of Maya, a young sensitive woman obsessed by a childhood prophecy a disaster, whose extreme sensitivity is rendered in terms of immeasurable loneliness. The very beginning of the novel highlights the husband-wife alienation theme by unfolding the relationship of Maya and Gautama. Maya is self-centred, egocentric, exaggeratedly fanciful and impractical. She is idle, self-indulgent, dreamy, living like an elfin in a grotto. She is trained to regard everything as meant for her. That is the reason for the abnormality of her adjustment with her husband and society and her love of seclusion. Her sensitivity to feeling, emotions and love is more than normal. The tragedy is caused by the self-centred egotistical nature of Maya. The end thus is the consummation of a process issuing from Maya's complex personality. Psychoanalytical techniques are used to represent Maya's disintegration of personality. Gautama sees only the upper surface of her life; he is cold to her

‘inside’ feelings and affections; there is mutual drying up of affections on both sides, increasing bitterness, consummating in Gautama’s death, Maya’s abnormality. Desai’s artistic skill lies in making insanity understandable.

Emotional alienation is the central problem of the novel and Maya. She lacks companion, life-contact, relationship and communion. Maya’s obsession with her childhood prophecy makes her grow insane and later becomes the victim of schizophrenia:

“Yes, I am going insane. I am moving further
and further from all wisdom, all calm and I shall
soon be mad, if I am not that already. Perhaps,
it is my madness that leads me to imagine
that horoscope, that encounter with the albino,
his predictions, my fate?” (Cry, The Peacock, 108)

Anita Desai’s presentation of the plight of the alienated Maya heralds the beginning of a new kind of psychological novel. Thus, this first novel *Cry, The Peacock* incorporates Desai’s vision of the self and goes a long way towards presenting the personal problems of a helplessly sensitive character caught in the crisis of isolation and insanity. The novel does unfold the story of the married life of this couple Maya and Gautama through Maya’s “stream of consciousness”. In *Cry, The Peacock*, Mrs. Desai skillfully explores the turbulent emotional world of her neurotic protagonist, Maya. Neurotic Maya smarts under an acute alienation and insanity. Her neurosis indicates a collective neurosis which ties to shatter the identity of woman in our Indian society as it is dominated by man in which woman longing for love is driven mad or she is left to commit suicide. Her neurosis is heightened by her awareness of her horoscope and the macabre prediction of the albino astrologer. She is obsessed by the morbid sense of death which continues throughout her life. She hurls Gautam down to death and ultimately herself commits suicide. She has always in her mind the astrologer’s prediction:

“.... my child, I would not speak of it if I saw it
on your face alone. But look at the horoscope.
Stars do not lie. And so it is best to warn you,
prepare you... Death to one of you. When you are
married and you shall be married young... Death –
an early one – by unnatural causes” (CTP 33).

Thus, the astrologer’s prediction assumes the existential dimension and an ominous obsession in Maya. Maya’s moods, obsessions and agonizing abnormality are portrayed effectively through different sets of symbols and images. They depict her aberrant mind and fast disintegrating personality adding to the textual density.

In *Voices in the City*, Nirode, Monisha and Amla are tortured by their meaningless and hollow existence. Nirode is a typical Bengali youth who has gone bitter against all those well off. He, in his heart of hearts, nurses a cynical grouse against the world. He is, in fact a rootless drifter without any definite goals in life, obsessed strongly by failure. Like a true existentialist, he keeps on experimenting with failures in search of an abiding meaning in life. This existential search of Nirode shows his intellectual inevitability engendered by an emptiness. His existential dimension can be seen in the lines that follow:

“He was wearied by his own unsureness in which he swept back and forth like a frog weed undulating under water, a weed that could live only in aqueous gloom, would never rise and sprout into clear day light. He was proud to the point of being a fanatic, he was intense enough to be capable of whole-hearted dedication – yet a drifted, a shadowy Cipher, and his life consisted of one rejection following another” (*Voices in the City* 63-64).

Endowed with remarkable talents, Nirode remains a rootless misfit. Nirode’s married sister Monisha has shattered and miserable psychic life. She is also ascribable to an emptiness within and her empty married life to Jiban is marked only by loneliness and in communication. Though she frantically tries to search for a real meaning of her life, she ultimately fails. There is nothing in her life to sustain her. The nothingness in her makes her an existential character:

“.... but I have no faith, no alternative to my confused despair, there is nothing I can give myself to, and so I must stay. The family here and their surrounding, tell me such a life cannot be lived – a life dedicated to nothing – that this husk is a protection from death. Ah, yes, yes, then it a choice between death and mean existence, and that surely a difficult choice” (*Voices in the City* 122)

Monisha’s mental agony keeps her restless. She feels more and more tormented, puzzled and bewildered. In her existential quest, she finally discovers that it is the absence of the element of love that has made both brother and sister “such object rebels, such craven tragedians” (*VIC* 135). She suffers from claustrophobia. Her lack of privacy, her incapacity to give birth to a child, her total in communication with Jiban, and tormenting loneliness within tortures her mentally. She always shrieks in agonized cry. Feeling that there is no escape from it, she finds futility of her own hollow existence and that ultimately drives herself to suicide.

In the novel, *Baumgartner’s Bombay* is seen the loneliness and destitution of Hugo, whose homelessness is stressed through the image of cats. Anita Desai excels in portraying the mind of Baumgartner, his confusion, his maladjustment both in his own country and his adopted country. Deven, the protagonist of the novel *In Custody* presents the stage in psychic balance and wholeness. He stands at a crossroad, not knowing where to turn to. In the end, he finds strength in his inner self and restores to face life as it comes to him. All through the novel, socio-economic factor colours his personality and

moulds his psyche. Sarah in the novel *Bye-Bye Blackbird* is alienated from her parents. Anita Desai treats Sarah with the sensitivity of a woman, always aware of those forces that change her destiny as a female. The glimpses she gives us into Sarah's inner struggle or that of her parents are full of pathos and human sympathy. Even with all her acceptance Sarah remains an outsider in her own chosen world. In *Where Shall We Go This Summer*, Mrs. Desai beautifully presents the predicament of a lonely married woman who aspires to triumph over the chaos and suffering of her rather unusual existence. Sita, a sensitive young wife is torn between the desire to abandon the boredom and hypocrisy of her middle class and ostensibly comfortable existence and the realisation that the bonds that bind her to it cannot easily be broken. The novel is a skillful dramatization of an unusual life situation of an anguished woman who finds herself lonely and alienated from her husband and children. Sita's alienation and loneliness result from marital discord and maladjustments in her marital life. Sita was not at all happy with her married life because it was based not on choice but on compulsions. Sita feels insecure and unprotected. Tired, in one unconscious symbolic action as it were, she follows the trail of foot-prints of Raman that he had laid out for her:

“She lowered her head and searched out
his foot-prints so that she could place
her feet in them, as a kind of game
to make walking back easier and so her
foot-prints mingled with his ... “

(*Where Shall We Go This Summer* 150)

It is understood that Sita is a sensitive, emotional, middle aged woman getting alienated from her husband and children. She undergoes acute mental agonies silently in isolation only because of her sharp existentialist sensibility. She feels utterly lonely at heart wherever she is. In her case, there is an incurable existentialist angst and agony. Like Maya of *Cry, The Peacock* Sita is a highly introvert character. Her character consists of inwardness, introversion and psychic from the world around her forces her to live in a dream-like world of fantasy which is the outcome of a serious psychological confusion. At a deeper psychological level, Sita's quest for her identity is an outcome of the husband-wife conflict. Raman's insensitive nature causes serious libidinous problems to the mental life of Sita. K.R. Srinivasa Iyengar comments:

“Desai achieves the cohesive design of content and form in her psychological novels and bridges a thought-provoking harmony over different streams of feelings and sensibility, found in different settings of human society. On many places, she delves deeper and deeper in the inner world of her characters and brings out many realistic truths of psychological interest. For Desai, the inner climate, the climate of sensibility that lovers or dears or rumbles like thunder on suddenly blazes forth like lightning, is more compelling than the outer weather, the physical geography or the visible action” (P 464).

The novel *Fire on the Mountain* explores the inner emotional world of Nanda Kaul and Raka. Desai draws a picture of the tragedy of Nanda leading a segregated life like a recluse in lonely hill hut. In *Clear Light of Day*, again the heroine prefers to lead a solitary life in a decaying house. It is found that Desai penetrates into the hidden depths of mind of her characters, who are obsessed by nostalgic reminiscences of their past life and events. In this way, Anita Desai may be said to have heralded a new era of psychological exploration of inner world in her novels. Brati Biswas says in *Perspectives on Anita Desai*:

“By writing novels and stories that are psychological and purely subjective, she (Anita Desai) was free to employ, simply the language of the interior. She further states even when two characters meet, they use this particular type of language – the language of their thoughts of their interior selves ...” (P 147).

Thus, Desai’s fiction is symbolic, sensitive and psychological. Her fictional world reflects her concerns with the psyche of her characters.

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How 'Foreign' are Foreign Languages? A Critical Look at India's Current Foreign Language Policy Through the Prism of Multilingualism

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Abstract

Some fleeting moments: The Rabindranath Tagore-Straße in Berlin, the Max Mueller Marg in Delhi – Basmati Rice and Mango Lassi in German supermarkets, Kinder joy eggs and Ritter Sport in Indian departmental stores – Indian restaurants in almost every German city, the Black Forest pastry in every Indian bakery – German cars on Indian roads, Indian craftwork in German malls – German companies in India, Indian students, doctors and IT specialists in Germany, Shah Rukh Khan in Germany, Walter Kaufmann in the All India Radio – Indology in Germany, German studies in India – these and many more are only a few glimpses of spatial interlinkages between an Indian and a so called “foreign” culture today.

It is quite evident today, that the distinction between the Global and the Local is a fuzzy one. The term “foreign” language is therefore a misnomer, as it fails to reflect the interconnectedness of the world's peoples, their languages, and their cultures. It thrives on an adversarial understanding of cultures and leads to their hierarchization. Added to this are the challenges posed by the uncritical use of digital media information that leads learners to depend on untested perceptions. Drawing attention upon a recent controversy over the inclusion of German as a Foreign language in the Indian school curriculum as opposed to the existing Three Language Formula, the present paper discusses the disadvantages of the attitude of *foreignness* towards foreign languages at various levels of Indian Education in the Age of Globalization.

Keywords: German as a foreign language in India, Globalization, multilingualism, foreignness, attitude, language education policy

1. 2014: A Controversy Erupted

I would like to begin my paper with a controversy that arose in the year 2014 when India's Sanskrit Shikshak Sangh (SSS) began a legal action in Delhi's High Court, saying the continued allowance of German in the school curriculum of the Kendriya Vidyalaya went against the national education policy. The group also described the teaching of foreign languages in Indian schools as "a Western conspiracy."ⁱ The Indian Ministry of Human

Resources and Development headed by Smriti Irani refused to renew the MOU signed between the Kendriya Vidyalaya Sangathan and the Goethe Institute in 2011 regarding the teaching of German in the 1000 KV schools and declared it illegal. It was pointed out by the MHRD that this Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) was against the Three Language Formula.ⁱⁱ Hereafter, German and all other foreign Languages have been relegated to an additional subject that will not count to the final grade of the student. This decision affected teachers in the 250 Kendriya Vidyalayas and the 50,000 studentsⁱⁱⁱ all over India who were learning German at that time. Several parents and teachers from all over India signed in petitions to reset German to its earlier status.

This also led the German Chancellor Angela Merkel to discuss the matter with the Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi. The outcome was that India and Germany signed a joint declaration of intent regarding teaching of German as a foreign language in the Kendriya Vidyalayas and the promotion of four Indian languages (Hindi, Sanskrit, Tamil and Malayalam) in Germany. As a long-term measure, the MHRD thought it fit to appoint in December 2014, a seventeen-member expert committee headed by Kapil Kapoor, former pro-Vice Chancellor of Jawaharlal Nehru University, to have a fresh look at the language policy. However, four years down the line, there is still no information available in the public domain as to whether the Committee completed its task. Though according to the Indian Express, four German Teachers from the Goethe Zentrum, Thiruvananthapuram, were sent to Germany in order to teach Hindi and Malayalam^{iv} for three weeks, there is still no confirmation whether the languages are being formally offered in German schools. And the latest news headlines stated that the CBSE was “Likely To Exclude 'Purely Foreign' Languages From Three-Language Formula” (8.10.2017, NDTV).^v

2. What is “foreign”?

What catches one’s attention in the news headline is the term “purely foreign”. In one of his papers, the German Linguist, Konrad Ehlich poses the question – What makes a language foreign? Ehlich points out that *foreign* is a notion whose meaning is relative. In fact the German expression “etwas ist mir fremd” – actually takes this into consideration. Foreignness is a relational concept – something can be foreign with respect to something or someone. In this way, the Other cannot be detached from the Self.^{vi}

Although languages conventionally are labelled as foreign by virtue of the fact that they are taught to non-native speakers in a classroom setup, there are, as Ehlich rightly puts it, different degrees of foreignness. These are, on the one hand, a consequence of formal features such as syntactical, phonological or lexical differences, and on the other hand are determined by the role languages play as markers of national identity. Furthermore, linguistic foreignness is not only used as a means of demarcation between nations, but also for drawing up borders within nations, especially to speakers of immigrant or minority languages. Ehlich argues that this misuse of linguistic foreignness to sustain national identity is in conflict with recent trends of global communication and transnational migration.^{vii} Ehlich refers to the present state of

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education in the European Union, that is traditionally embedded in the monolingual habitus that does not recognize the multilingual repertoire of the migrant students. The Indian Germanist, Anil Bhatti (Professor emeritus, Centre of German Studies, JNU) looks at the problem of cultural homogenisation and heterogenization from an Indian perspective and pleads for an identity that is based on pluri-culturalism.

Pluri-culturalism, according to Bhatti, understands difference and otherness as being basic constituents of culture, and not as being in conflict with the system. The understanding of cultures as being adversarial, on the other hand, is dealing with difference as a disruptive factor, and is relegating otherness. In this way, cultural monads are constructed and hierarchies are fixed. As Jensen, Sandrock and Franklin so aptly put it, in the context of globalization, the term foreign language is a misnomer, and the use of the term *foreign* to describe the field of second- or third-language education fails to reflect the interconnectedness of the world's peoples, their languages, and their cultures. The word *foreign* also denotes exclusion, isolation, and alienation, rather than a sense of acceptance, collaboration, and community. This realization has caused educators in many states of the USA "to shift their thinking and, as a result, to adopt the term *world languages*, renaming the discipline to reflect a world where peoples and cultures are in a constant state of movement and interaction, and where knowledge of *world languages* will enable students to think and communicate globally in their future lives as citizens and workers."^{viii}

3. Foreigners and Foreign Languages in India: How "Indian" are Indian Languages?

In the words of Comparative literature scholar Rebecca Saunders, "primary among the meanings of foreign is not belonging, a meaning that marks the negative, relative, and dependent nature of foreignness and forces us to approach it *à rebours*: to understand foreignness we must back up and investigate belonging"^{ix} Truly, a discussion about "Foreignness" is incomplete without reflections on what is considered to be the "Own". The question that needs to be addressed is then: how "Indian" are Indian Languages? In his book *Foreigners and Foreign Languages in India*, Chaudhary writes "India has always been a multiracial, multi-ethnic, multinational and multilingual country."^x

First among the foreigners came from Europe the Greeks (*yavanas*) as traders and military adventurers and returned soon leaving some of their clans behind. Then came the Persians, the Arabs and the Turks. Later came the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English and the French.

Indians too travelled to China and beyond, up to the remote islands of the Philippines in the East and to Alexandria in the West. They went as merchants, missionaries and mercenaries. They exchanged goods and thoughts. Benares, Champa, Cochin, Kakinada, Masulipatnam and Surat were metropolises comparable with others of the time such as Alexandria and Shanghai. During the Buddhist period, Takshashila and Nalanda became

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known worldwide as seats of learning. They attracted thousands of students and scholars. Rajgir, Vaishali and Sarnath had many foreigners and pilgrims.

During the Muslim rule too, India remained a centre of knowledge. Delhi, Patna, and Jaunpur were known as centres of Islamic learning. During the British Rule, between late eighteenth and mid-twentieth centuries, Calcutta, and then Bombay and Madras, attracted foreigners in a similar manner. These foreigners interacted with the local population as both, friends and invaders. Their contact extended to agriculture, arts and architecture, business, commerce, crafts, culture, engineering, language and literature, law, marriage, medicine, navigation, technology, war and more. And in all of these, words were lent and borrowed, languages at home and those from abroad were used.^{xi}

Barring such exclusivist exceptions (mlechha)^{xii} among the upper class brahmins, India has predominantly been inclusivist in spirit. In fact, Chaudhary claims that there is hardly an Indian Language today, that has no words of foreign origin. Tribal Languages are no exception. Even Maithili, which is spoken predominantly in plains of Bihar and Nepal, has words from many foreign languages (gaarii- Persian, baranda – Portuguese, ekspres – English, sipaahi – Turkish, draaibhar – English.)

It is evident from the aforesaid, that the essence of languages lies in their non-essence and fluidity. One needs to look at all Languages: foreign and not-foreign as a part of one's unitary repertoire from which one can draw upon depending on the situation. Perhaps one could use a musical metaphor to comprehend this phenomenon. "The ability to deal with musical material allows a musician to play freely. The musician can improvise, create variations, change styles and tonalities. Multilingualism is something similar. It allows one to function with a language repertoire in an environment where the purity of essentialized language is not privileged. All attempts to sabotage multilingual situations wish to establish homogenized languages that can negotiate between one's "own" language and "foreign" languages."^{xiii}

4. The Queer Case of Indo-German Cultural Relations

Inda and Rosaldo point out rightly that owing to the "deterritorialization of cultures"^{xiv} in the era of Globalization, the traditional link between place and languages has been severed. Culture is visibly dislodged from its particular locales. This is, however followed by a simultaneous process of reterritorialization. Confirming these processes, are myriads of diasporic communities all over the world today. In Germany alone live about 1,69,000 people of Indian origin (2017 figures) including both German and Indian Passport holders. The Indian diaspora mainly comprises of professionals, technocrats, businessmen/traders and nurses. There has been an increase in the last few years in the number of qualified Indian professionals in the fields of IT, banking, finance, etc. There are a number of Indian organizations and associations active on the business/cultural front, cementing ties between India and Germany at the people-to-people level.^{xv}

However, the cultural interpenetrations between Germany and India go back to the 18th Century. One could recall the *Oriental Renaissance* of the likes of the Schlegel brothers and Herder and their commitment to self-discovery via India. Sanskrit was in fact highly looked upon by the German Indologists. Max Müller, the co-founder of the Department of Indology at Oxford, translated many ancient Indian texts into English. Paul Deussen and Schopenhauer were among the many others who brought India closer to Europe. At the turn of the century, one witnesses an increasing interest among Indian modern Thinkers in engaging with Germany. Sri Aurobindo for instance, during his stay in England learnt Latin, Greek, German, Italian, French, Arithmetic and Geography.^{xvi} Iqbal came to Heidelberg specifically to learn the German language. His tutor was Emma Wegenast. He wanted to speak German well enough to successfully pass the oral examination of his doctoral dissertation at Munich University.^{xvii} Rabindranath Tagore took keen interest in German culture in his teens when he started to learn German and tried to read Goethe's Faust in the original. The bilingual edition of Goethe's Faust bearing Rabindranath's pencilmarks on the German text is still preserved in the Rabindra Sadan at Santiniketan.^{xviii} Early 20th century is also marked by the beginnings of Teaching of German around 1914 in Mumbai and in Pune by the philologist Pandurang. D. Gune. In 1957, the first "Max Mueller Bhavan" was inaugurated in Kolkata. It was then opened in 1959 in Delhi, in 1960 in Madras as well as in Bangalore, in 1962 in Pune and in 1969 in Bombay. With the aim of making German language, literature and culture accessible to Indian students, the Jawaharlal Nehru University in Delhi opened its "Centre of German Studies" in 1971.^{xix}

Migration and mobility have to be accepted as given today. It is these factors that have led to spatial interlinkages all over the world. This, however, does not reduce diversity. In spite of the spatial exchanges, the heterogeneity and the difference surprisingly remain intact, simply because of their distinct and unique meanings in the particular cultures. Bollywood in India and Bollywood in Berlin do not mean the same to Germans and to Indians. Why are Kinder joy eggs in India packaged differently than the German *Überraschungseier*? Where did the idea of the Mango Lassi originate if not in the villages of Punjab? The SchwarzwälderKirschtorte does not taste exactly the same as the Black Forest pastry in Indian bakeries. Why is that so? Why was a street in Berlin named after Rabindranath Tagore? What was the reason behind naming the Max Mueller Marg after Max Müller? It is worth knowing under what conditions Indology in Germany and German Studies in India flourished? The increasing spatial overlapping and entanglements serve as an immediate food for thought for any learner. It is the task of the language teacher to promote what I call the spirit of investigation and self-discovery that ought to be an integral part of any cultural discourse, thereby leading to the development of the situated, context-sensitive, historically-aware multilingual subject. This alone can beat the attitude of foreignness that is based on a restricted monolingual understanding of the Self.

5. The Complex Attitude of Foreignness and its implications in Modern Foreign Language Learning (MFLL)

Robert C. Gardner defines *attitude* as “an evaluative reaction to some referent or attitude object, inferred on the basis of the individual’s beliefs or opinions about the referent.”^{xx} Bartram writes, however, that attitude appears more strongly connected with the environmental variables than individual attributes. According to him, environmental variables comprise of educational and sociocultural influences.^{xxi}

The attitude of foreignness is essentially a socio-cultural attitude that influences learners’ perceptions about a particular language. The attitude of foreignness is based upon the perceptions of language utility and difficulty - these perceptions, in turn exercise control over the educational factors such as teacher-student relationship, curriculum, school ethos and even institutional policies.

As suggested earlier, foreignness is also reflected in the exoticisation of languages. Although there are Indian Universities such the Jawaharlal Nehru University that are inclusivist and self-critical and therefore have a School of Languages where all languages – Indian and non-Indian are taught under one umbrella, many Indian Universities still continue to have names like School of Foreign languages (IGNOU) or English and Foreign languages University (Hyderabad). Clearly, they choose to make out of their foreign language offerings a unique selling point for the consumer who cannot think beyond the purely utilitarian or the purely exotic.

Whereas globalization has its rewards, it also brings along underlying trends of disembodied, objectified approach to language learning and commodification of languages which is facilitated by

- the constant flooding of unfiltered and uncontrolled information (mostly opinionated knowledge)
- the lack of time to process the information and
- the fear of losing one’s so-called own identity.

The overexposure of opinionated knowledge about languages leads to students already having pre-conceived notions about languages, as a result of which, the human agency of a teacher is not even given a chance in some cases. A glance at the question-answer-platform *Quora* can provide information about the prevailing attitudes that exhibit the dominant tendency of segregation and hierarchization:

“Which language has more scope, French, Chinese, Japanese, German or Spanish?”^{xxii}

The perception of utility is almost always marked by a process of selection based on the extrinsic worth of the language – which unfortunately forces teachers to act as marketing agents of the languages that they teach.

Closely linked with the attitude of foreignness is the perception of difficulty. Blog titles such as “Top 7 Easiest Languages to Learn for Beginners”^{xxiii} flood the world wide web today. Even before coming to class, students and parents want to know whether German is a difficult language to learn without realising that difficulty is, as is foreignness, a relational concept. Nothing can be difficult in itself. It is the learner who can possibly ascribe difficulty or ease depending on his/her individual learning experience.

Even colleagues who teach content subjects happen to inadvertently fall prey to the attitude of foreignness towards foreign language teachers, the dominant perception being that language teachers do not teach, they conduct fun classes. The idea of language teachers being perceived as working at the base of the pyramid of educational competence was interestingly also echoed by the Applied Linguist Claire Kramsch^{xxiv} (Professor Emerita of German and Education at the University of California, Berkley) in her talk on *The Challenges of Globalization in Foreign Language Education*. She shares her experience of how a fellow professor asked her to teach the form of the language and leave the critical thinking and meaning to the realm of the content subject teachers.

6. Back to the Controversy: Glocal Challenges

Owing to the media intervention and sensationalization, the controversy of 2014 unnecessarily led to a polarisation between a so-called native language and a so-called foreign language. The media never questioned why the Sanskrit teachers went to the High Court in the first place. Was it really a western conspiracy that they were trying to uproot or was it an existential threat that the Sanskrit teachers were facing due to the modern methods being applied by their German counterparts which started to attract more students towards them? A closer look at the Article 9.18.2 of the National Education Policy of India reveals how open to interpretation the policy actually is. It states:

“Language being a highly emotive issue, no prescription will satisfy all. Maximum flexibility needs to be given to state governments and local authorities in determining the choice of languages to be taught in the schools. With the passage of time, the states have responded to local aspirations and preferences voiced by parents who would like their children to possess language and communication skills that can facilitate intra-state, intraregional as well as global mobility.”^{xxv}

Although the basic objective behind the ‘Three Language Formula’ was, and still is, national unity and easy intra-state, inter-state and international communication,^{xxvi} its implementation suffers at the grass root level. Neither is Tamil or Malayalam being taught in the Hindi speaking states as the Third Language, nor is Hindi being taught properly in many

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regional states. Added to this, is the fact that learning a foreign language as a fourth or fifth language could make studies for school-goers rather burdensome. The Indian education policy makers need to wake up to the challenges that the global and the local seem to now pose even with greater immediacy. The already existing lack of support for the promotion of the Indian languages in India has been aggravated by the increasing presence of foreign languages. The solution to the problem, however, does not lie in forcing a new trend of foreign language learning in schools into the closet, but to look at them as an asset and to allow them to flow freely and contribute to the nation's empowerment. Students need not wait till they enter university to start learning a foreign language. At the same time, it is imperative to empower the regional languages that suffer from a lack of worth in the present market driven economy.

7. Conclusion

The essence of languages lies not in their essentialization but in their fluidity. One needs to look at all languages, foreign or regional, as a part of one's unitary repertoire from which one can draw upon, depending on the situation. Perhaps, one could use a musical metaphor to comprehend this phenomenon. *"The ability to deal with musical material allows a musician to play freely. The musician can improvise, create variations, change styles and tonalities. Multilingualism is something similar."* (Bhatti, 2014: 33) The term "foreign" language is a misnomer, as it fails to reflect the interconnectedness of the world's peoples, their languages, and their cultures. It thrives on an adversarial understanding of cultures and leads to unnecessary segregation and hierarchization. The need to learn and integrate foreign languages or any other language into one's being, should primarily arise from a situated, context-sensitive, historical-awareness. It has to stem from the need of "the fulfilment of the self, that is, the drive of the learner for physical, emotional, and social equilibrium" (Kramsch, 2009: 75). The goal of the foreign language education policy in India should not be reduced to creating monoculturally restricted, information seeking disembodied language consumers. It has to wake up to both- the global and the local challenges and be steered towards building a confident youth strengthening their local roots and at the same time inviting them to come out of their comfort zones of compartmentalized national identities and take a plunge into the unknown, into the 'foreign' and still find themselves.

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ⁱ <https://www.dw.com/en/sanskrit-or-german-a-row-over-foreign-languages-in-indias-schools/a-18069963> (Last accessed on: 2.8.2019)

ⁱⁱ The First language to be studied by a child must be the mother- tongue or the regional language.

The second language –

- (i) in Hindi speaking states should be some other Modern Indian language (MIL) or English, and
- (ii) in non-Hindi speaking states should be Hindi or English.

The Third language –

- (i) in Hindi speaking states will be English or a Modern Indian Language (MIL) not studied as the Second language, and
- (ii) in non-Hindi speaking states will be English or Hindi not studied as the Second language.

ⁱⁱⁱ <https://www.goethe.de/ins/in/en/spr/eng/dts.html> (Last accessed on: 3.08.2019)

^{iv} <http://www.newindianexpress.com/states/kerala/2017/nov/02/german-school-students-to-get-a-taste-of-malayalam-hindi-1689626.html> (Last accessed on: 3.08.2019)

^v <https://www.ndtv.com/education/cbse-likely-to-exclude-purely-foreign-languages-from-three-language-formula-1760109> (Last accessed on: 3.08.2019)

^{vi} It is interesting at this point to delve upon the semantics of the expression ‘foreign’. “For German fremd, English dictionaries offer the translations strange in the sense of unbekannt (‘unknown’), ungewohnt (‘unusual’); foreign in the sense of ausländisch (‘outlandish’), fremdartig (‘different’); exotic as applying to nonnative plants; and, last but not least, outside in the sense of nicht dazugehörig (‘not-belonging’). If consulted in the other direction, they also yield alien in the sense of ‘foreign’, ‘outlandish’. Alien, however, is also listed as a translation for andersartig (‘different’), zuwider (‘repugnant’) and even a nicht naturalisierten Bewohner des Landes (‘non-naturalised inhabitant of a country’, Langenscheidt, 44).” (Knapp, K./Seidlhofer, B./Widdowson, H. (Ed.) (2009): Handbook of Foreign Language Communication and Learning. Vol. 6. Walter de Gruyter: Berlin/New York. p.23f.)

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vii See Ibid. p.4f.

viii Jensen, J/Sandrock, P./Franklin, J. (2007): The Essentials of World Languages, Grades K-12. Effective Curriculum, Instruction and Assessment. Printed in the United States of America. Copyright: ASCD publications. p. 1f.

ix Saunders, R. (Ed.) (2003): The Concept of The Foreign. An Interdisciplinary Dialogue. Lexington Books: Oxford. p. 19.

x Chaudhary, S. (2009): Foreigners and Foreign Languages in India. A Sociolinguistic History. Cambridge University Press India Pvt. Ltd.: New Delhi. p.3. Chaudhary describes the Indian culture as “an admixture” of six types:

- a. The Negrito, immigrants from Africa,
- b. The Proto-Australoids, who came from the West,
- c. The Mongoloids, living in Assam, Chittagong Hills and the Indo-Burmese frontiers,
- d. The Mediterranean people, speaking Dravidian languages,
- e. The Alpine, Dinaric and Armenoid, mainly in Bengal, Orissa and Gujarat of today,
- f. The Nordic group, speaking the Aryan languages, as in the early Vedas.

xi Chaudhary, S. (2009): Foreigners and Foreign Languages in India. A Sociolinguistic History. Cambridge University Press India Pvt. Ltd.: New Delhi. p. 4f.

xii Deriving from classical textual expositions, Wilhelm Halbfass has discussed in his book India and Europe India's aryan xenology, or ways of dealing with foreigners. Probably one of the earliest brahmanical term depicting a foreigner was mlechha (800 B.C), i.e. someone who was not a part of the ritual, religious, social and linguistic community of the Aryans. The Brhadaryanyaka Upanisad enjoined the Aryans from travelling ‘to the ends of the world’. Neither should one learn mlechha language, nor visit their lands. In Somadeva's Kathasaritsagara (eleventh century), mlechha refers to the Muslims. He found it advisable not to have contact with mlechhas. Arthashastra, on the other hand, upholding its pragmatism, left the issue of collaboration with mlechhas to the discretion of the rulers. (Ray, J. K. (Ed.) (2007): Aspects of India's International Relations 1700 to 2000: South Asia and the World. Vol. X Part 6. Pearson Longman: Delhi. p. 544)

xiii Bhatti, A. (2014): Heterogeneities and Homogeneities. On Similarities and Differences. http://blog.wbkolleg.unibe.ch/wp-content/uploads/Bhatti2014_Understanding-Multiculturalism_for-WS-participants-only.pdf (Last accessed on: 4.08.2109), p.33

xiv Inda, J.X./ Rosaldo, R. (Ed.) (2002): The Anthropology of Globalization. A Reader. Blackwell Publishers: Massachusetts/Oxford. p.10f.

xv (https://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/Bilateral_brief_5_January_2018.pdf (Last accessed on: 3.08.2019)

xvi <https://www.indiatoday.in/education-today/gk-current-affairs/story/sri-aurobindo-facts-355680-2016-12-05> (Last accessed: 3.08.2019)

xvii See Mir, M. (2014): Iqbal. I.B. Tauris: London/New York. p. 8.

xviii Silberstein, T: Tagore and Germany. *Indian Literature* Vol. 4, No. 1/2, Tagore Number (Oct. 1960/Sept.1961), pp. 90-92

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xx Bartram, B. (2010): Attitudes to Modern Language Learning. Insights from Comparative Education. Continuum: London/ New York. p. 34.

xxi Ibid. 43ff. According to Bartram, Educational influences on Attitudes are:

- Teacher (Method of teaching/ use of target language/ Lesson activities)
- Textbook and curriculum
- School ethos (School exchanges/Timetabling/availability of resources)

Socio cultural influences on Attitudes are:

- the learner's close social environment; (the role of parents, friends and peers)
- the learner's experiences and perceptions of the target- language speakers and communities;

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How ‘Foreign’ are Foreign Languages? A Critical Look at India's Current Foreign Language Policy Through the Prism of Multilingualism

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- the perceived social status of the languages learned. (media, perceptions of utility, perceptions of difficulty)

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Colonialism in Derek Walcott's Select Poems

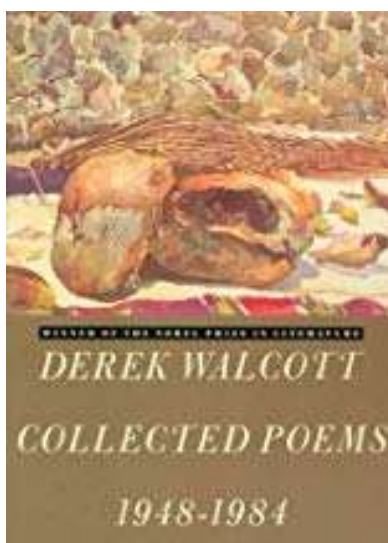
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Courtesy:

https://www.amazon.com/s?k=derek+walcott&i=stripbooks&crd=2PEZO3AZBRFWJ&srefix=Derek+Walcott%2Caps%2C568&ref=nb_sb_ss_c_2_13

Abstract

Derek Walcott, the Noble Laureate of the year 1992, is a Caribbean poet. He explores in his writing the processes of identity making in the colonial and postcolonial Caribbean. The intricate relationships between the colonized and the colonizer and the ways in which the Caribbean self embraces, and is split between different places and loyalties are central themes of Walcott's writing. Colonialism has made a total or partial erosion of the colonized culture, meditation of the identity and subjectivity of the colonized rejection by some elements among the colonized of everything western as a form of reaction and protest against the colonizer. Colonialism has changed everything. The paper is to analyze the plight of the colonialism in Derek Walcott's poem "Names" and "Return to D'Ennery; Rain".

Keywords: Derek Walcott, colonialism, identity, colonizer, postcolonial

Colonialism is the dominance of a strong nation over another weaker one. Colonialism is the acquisition of the colonialist, extra resources of a raw material and manpower from the colonies. The colonialist, while committing atrocities against the natives and territories of the colonies, convinces himself that he stands on high moral grounds.

In defense of their actions the colonizers are of the opinion that the colonized are savages in need of education and rehabilitation. The culture of the colonized is not up to the standard of the colonizer and it's the ethical duty of the colonizer to do something about polishing it. The colonized nation is unable to manage and run itself properly and thus it needs the wisdom and expertise of the colonizer.

Colonialism has made a total or partial erosion of the colonized culture, meditation of the identity and subjectivity of the colonized rejection by some elements among the colonized of everything western as a form of reaction and protest against the colonizer. Colonialism has changed everything. In almost all cases of colonialism, the norms, beliefs and cultural values of the larger power are forced upon all the natives by the colonizers. This is because the colonizer believes that natives are "savages" and they need to be civilized. The natives have no choice but to accept these new ways of life.

The colonizers have dominated the colonized. The colonizer claims privilege at the expense of the suppressed or colonized and feels the need to justify this privilege by creating their views towards the colonized. The colonizer becomes a virtuous, civilized man, whose higher capabilities and industriousness make him worthy of his easily achieved position. The relation between the colonizer and colonized was inherently exploitative, hierarchical and conflictual. Fanon says "White men consider themselves superior to the black men and black men internalize this inferiority and don white mask: My blackness was these, dark and unarguable and it tormented me, pursued me, disturbed me, angered me" (177).



Derek Walcott (1930-2017)

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

The purpose of the paper is to analyze plight of colonialism in Derek Walcott's poems. "Names" and "Return to D'Ennery; Rain". Nobel Prize Laureate Derek Walcott, one of the famous Caribbean writers, is noted for his works that explore the Caribbean cultural experience. He is a poet who has been able to map the fractures within the postcolonial West Indian psyche owing to a history ravaged by colonialism and slavery.

Derek Walcott has represented a victim of colonial legacy and he has represented the conflicts in reference to Caribbean region with depth and self-evaluation through his writings in his writings, explores the dilemmas of identity making in the colonial and post-colonial Caribbean. Saint-Lucia, a Caribbean island has faced several centuries of colonialism under French and British control. The intricate relationships between the colonized and the colonized and the ways in which the Caribbean is gashed between different places and loyalties are the themes focused in his writings.

In the poem "Names" Walcott traces the origin of the black races. Walcott's poem begins as:

My race began as the sea began,
With no nouns, and with no horizon,
With pebbles under my tongue,
With a different fix on the stars,
But now my race is her,

In the said oil of Levantine eyes,
In the flags of the Indian fields. (1-7)

Walcott tells his race began as the sea began with no languages but now, he is thinking of his race because he can see the colonizer's flag in the Indian fields. His memory turned like acid because the names are held in Valencia glows. Due to the colonization "The African acquiesced /repeated and changed them" (61, 62). Walcott tells he has been proud of his race until the European came there. But now he is not proud because everywhere they are suppressed by the colonizer. Albert Memmi a critic aptly points out, "Colonialism denies human rights to human beings whom it has subdued by violence and keeps them they force in a state of misery and ignorance" (121). Later in the poem, the poet says:

A sea-eagle screams from the rock,
And my race began like the osprey
With that cry,
That terrible vowel,
That I! (23-27)

The Caribbean people have begun to cry like the osprey. They have begun to adopt the English language and here started forgetting their own history and their names are just written on the sand, which will be erased soon by the sea.

Behind us all the sky folded,
As history folds over a fish line.
And the foam foreclosed
With nothing in our hands
But this stick
To trace our names on the sand
Which the sea erased again, to our indifference. (28-34)

Thus, the history of the colonized is erased and buried. They do not care so much as the colonizer in recording things and keeping them in the archives. In the European culture naming is an important ceremony. The colonizer forces the Caribbean to follow their system.

In the poem "Return to D'Ennery; Rain" Walcott laments on the post-colonial identity of the Caribbean as;

Imprisoned in these wires of rain,
This village stricken with a single street,

Each weathered shack leans on a wooden crutch
Contended as a cripple with defeat. (1-4)

Colonialism has not only imprisoned the Caribbean but also crippled them. The poet recalls their life before five years. The phrase “five years ago” (5) reminds one of the beginning lines of Wordsworth’s “Tintern Abbey” as “Five years have past, Five summer, with the length of five long winter” (1, 2). Here in the case of Walcott, he recalls the poverty undergone by the people five years ago that “seemed sweet” (8). On the contrary, colonization has changed the situation as “indifferent was this all” (61) with vain human actions. To Walcott that any human action seemed a waste. The place seemed born for being buried there (8, 9). Colonization doesn’t erase the old sorrows of the colonized. Walcott laments:

The rain sweeps slowly to the core of grief.
It couldn’t change its sorrows and be home.
It cannot change, through you become a man.
Who would exchange compassion for a drink?
Now you are brought to where manhood began
It’s separation from “the wounds that make you think”.
And as this rain puddles the sand it sinks.
Old sorrow in the gutter of the mind (21-28).

The rain is a metaphor used to compare colonization as it keeps into the lives of the colonized, but it fails to change the sorrow but buries them deep in the “gutters of the mind”
The colonized are treated as secondary: “You are less than they are for you, truth” (31).

The unpalatable native’s memories of the past have revealed the overwhelming and lasting violence of colonization. The colonizers have plundered the lands of the treated them as animals and brought irreparable loss. Colonialism has created an everlasting wound in their psyche, culture and identity. Walcott has attempted to wrap the memories of the Caribbean past with the napkin of poetic imagination.

The poem chosen for the study clearly show how the colonizers have suppressed the natives. As Walcott has understood best about his people and their personal experience, he is able to portray them lively.

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The Role of Pronunciation in Teaching Spoken English in the Era of Communicative Language Teaching

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Abstract

The role of pronunciation in teaching spoken English has come in for renewed praise from some quarters and criticism in others. While proponents of linguistic human rights such as Philipson (1992,1998), Suresh Canagarajah (1994,1999,2002) , Pennycook (1994) speak in favour of teaching pronunciation which is comprehensible, others, such as Stern (1983), Quirk(1998), Hahn (2004), favour the teaching of native speaker norms to ensure mutual intelligibility among and between native and non-native speaker users of English.

In India, which has been a generous host to English language, there appear traces of support for the native speaker principle when teachers are advised to teach R.P. to students to remove any trace of mother tongue influence (M.T.I).

At a time when Communicative Language Teaching (henceforth CLT) is still holding forth, textbooks recommend the teaching of phonetics where students are put through a battery of tests to check them for proper pronunciation, leading to a situation where students find it rather difficult to cope with the challenges of spoken English. While the syllabus and materials prescribe RP as norm, the onus is on teachers to teach only those aspects of pronunciation that learners have use for.

To determine teacher views on teaching RP, a question was asked that established the prevailing view about the necessity of teaching English with stress, rhythm and accent. This was deemed necessary because any method or ideology is promoted or dispensed with depending on the powers and logic the followers have in them.

The study revealed that we have come a long way since the time native speaker norms were endorsed as the only way to teach or look at pedagogical practices.

Keywords: Role of Pronunciation, Teaching Spoken English, Communicative Language Teaching, ELT, EFL, ESL, M.T.I., CLT, EIL, Nativeness, RP, ICT, ELCS.

Introduction

Vivian Cook (1999) makes very appropriate observations about the prevalent discourse in ELT with regard to teaching language in general and pronunciation in particular:

Language professionals take for granted that the only appropriate models for a language's use are those that come from its native speakers. Linguists look at the intuition of native speakers or collect quantities of their speech; language teachers encourage students to be like native speakers (p.185)

This is seconded by Jenkins (1998) who maintains that:

We no longer regard English as being taught mainly for communication with its native speakers (the goal of EFL), or the target of pronunciation teaching as a native-like accent, with the eradication of all traces of a 'foreign' accent, however unrealistic that target always was. We acknowledge that the EFL-ESL distinction is beginning to blur as the two merge into English as an International Language (EIL). Nowadays English most frequently serves as a worldwide lingua franca for its vast numbers of non-native users, and as Widdowson (1994) so forcefully argues, it is no longer the property of its native speakers. However, faced with a lack of clear-cut alternatives, we have not been able to move on in any practical way... (p.119)

Yet when it comes to classroom practices, ideological or sociological constraints are brushed aside and teachers are either compelled to teach what they know in their heart of hearts is not useful to students or forced to teach what they think is sensible without letting the authorities know that they are violating the rules in the rule book.

It needs emphasising that for the sake of students one needs to adopt best practices and employ common sense where rules fail or are illogical.

Method

20 teachers from four engineering colleges who had been teaching English for more than a decade were asked to state their views on teaching stress, rhythm and accent to students of engineering. This was because first year students have *English Language Communication Skills* lab in addition to theory and one of the modules prescribed is phonetics, where students are taught the rules of stress, rhythm and intonation. They were given a questionnaire and asked to answer a question besides being asked to take part in an informal interview with researcher who was collecting data for the purpose. The questionnaire was adapted from Vishwanathan (2019) and Timmins (2011). The questionnaire had just one question which wanted to know what kind of model they wished to emulate and why.

Questionnaire for teachers

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Teacher questionnaire

I: Which teacher would you prefer to be like?

(Teacher A) : I want to sound like a native speaker to both native speaker and non-native speaker students.

(Teacher B): I can speak English clearly, but I retain a clear accent of my state/country. Please explain the reasons for your answer.

Analysis

Of the ten teachers data was collected from, only 4 teachers believed that students need not be taught the nuances of rules of stress, rhythm and intonation since it was not necessary for students, all of whom were non-native speakers of English.

Some views figure below:

Teacher 1: I would prefer teacher B for teaching pronunciation and motivating them to speak and use English fluently, not emphasising certain standards of sounds, like RP. I strongly believe that in the era of globalization and ICT, there is no such standard variety of English.... And nowadays, English is used as vehicle of communication as proposed by Widdowson. Therefore accent/pronunciation is not homogeneous Students need to be orally proficient and they need to use English which is intelligible.

Sadly, this view of using English for communicative purposes and of RP being an option was somehow not seconded by all teachers. Six of them or 60 % of teachers maintained that to speak English one needed RP and the rules of rules of stress, rhythm and intonation.

According to one teacher, “British accent is the standard for promoting speaking skills of students. Starting from primary classes to PG, it is suggested that teachers should have British accent. Listening oriented learning leads to better skills in speaking.”

But when asked if this teacher spoke English with a British accent, the answer was studied silence, implying that the teacher was merely trying to endorse norms without giving the idea of native speaker norm much thought. She was only trying to sound politically correct by emphasising what the system had put in place.

Teacher Interviews

An informal interview followed the administration of questionnaire. Teachers were also asked whether they actually taught suprasegmental features and surprisingly, only three teachers claimed they did though six teachers spoke of the importance of teaching it.

When asked why they did or did not teach suprasegmental features, some teachers rightly answered that it was a waste of time and that students did not find any use for it after lab hours. Those who taught it claimed they needed to do it because of the demands of syllabus and also because they did not want to be seen as casual in their attitude to teaching. Most students used Telugu or Hindi for speaking with their classmates and those who used English never saw the necessity of speaking it with stress and intonation. Teaching stress, rhythm and intonation was a waste of efforts, which could have been better directed elsewhere, teachers felt.

Teachers also voiced their helplessness in not being able to avoid teaching units prescribed for study since the colleges they worked for were not autonomous and they were not at liberty to determine what could be taught and what omitted.

Conclusions

The following conclusions may be reached based on the small experiment with regard to teaching phonetics to students of engineering as part of ELCS lab.

1. It is very pertinent to record the observations of Levis, J.M (2005) insofar as pronunciation teaching is concerned :

More fundamentally, pronunciation research and pedagogy have long been influenced by two contradictory principles, the nativeness principle and the intelligibility principle. The nativeness principle holds that it is both possible and desirable to achieve native-like pronunciation in a foreign language. The nativeness principle was the dominant paradigm in pronunciation teaching before the 1960s, but its influence was rapidly diminished by research showing that nativeness in pronunciation appeared to be biologically conditioned to occur before adulthood (Lenneberg, 1967; Scovel, 1995), leading to the logical conclusion that aiming for nativeness was an unrealistic burden for both teacher and learner. Despite extensive ongoing research into a critical period for acquiring pronunciation, in practice very few adult learners actually achieve native-like pronunciation in a foreign language. (p.370)

This is what teachers need to know about pronunciation teaching- that “(A)lthough most native speakers of English speak neither General American nor Received Pronunciation (RP), published materials rely on these accents for examples, giving a skewed view of pronunciation that may not serve learners' communicative needs.” (Levis, J.M, 2005, p.371)

2. Students need to be able to use a dictionary to know how words are pronounced and aim for a pronunciation that approximates the recommended model. For example, the word onion is pronounced /ʌnjən/ in RP. Indians tend to say /vnljen/. The difference in pronunciation is not very marked and since everyone gets by with Indian English accent, not much is lost. Teachers need to emphasise that the most important objective of learning and

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teaching pronunciation is clear communication, not native speaker like accent, which is impossible anyway.

This is what teachers need to keep in mind when teaching phonetics: aim for spoken English that is intelligible to the listener. Any brand or model that is both unattainable and unrealistic must be discarded in favour of a model that is achievable and sensible.

3. Students need to be taught speech sounds- vowels and consonants- but not tone, tonicity or tonality since 95 % of the time, Indians use English to communicate with fellow Indians for which RP is neither necessary nor warranted. English has now acquired a status of its own in India and we have Indian English which is English spoken and used by Indians in India for a variety of purposes.

4. Teachers need to also understand that in CLT, *learner-centeredness* is important and the needs of learners have to be respected. As all teachers replied that their students did not see the necessity of learning suprasegmental features, it is enough if basic phonetics that a learner needs to speak well is taught.

5. Last but not least, it would be very instructive to cite a native speaker, Abercrombie (1991) who speaks of teaching English that is both *intelligible* and *comfortable* to the listener, i.e. “pronunciation which can be understood with little or no conscious effort on the part of the listener.” (p. 93)

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Bharathi - A Multi-dimensional Personality Fighting for Freedom and Love

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Subramania Bharathi (1882-1921)

Courtesy: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Subramania-Bharathi>

Abstract

This paper is an attempt to highlight a national poet Bharathi, whose writings are universally recognized, appreciated and considered as national literature, through his writings, he attempts to project his fighting spirit for freedom of the nation and spreading the message of freedom and liberty all over India. Bharathi's radical views were originally restricted, moreover he acquired full power to express his political fervour and humanitarian

ideals. So, he foresees the world, which becomes enlightened and freed from ignorance, sufferings, superstitious beliefs, corruption and fought for breaking up of all barriers.

Keywords: Bharathi, Multi-dimensional Personality, Freedom, Love Patriotism, Humanism, Spirit of Language, Liberty, Equality

Universally recognized as a national poet whose writings are now appreciated, understood and recognized as national literature, Subramania Bharathi (1882-1921) occupies a significant place carving out for himself a niche in the history of Indian literature and stands supreme among poet-patriots. What is generally known and understood is that poets are those who write and sing to please and enlighten people, while patriots serve their country. But only a few are gifted with patriotic fervour and Bharathi is one among the few who sang and wrote poems with patriotic fervour. Even though he lived only thirty nine years, he had left behind a legacy of which the whole nation feels even now proud. In spite of his span of life on this earth being very short, his impact and influence was found to be so great that the twentieth century was labeled as 'the Age of Bharathi'.

To attest to the fact that Bharathi was 'a popular Makkal Kavignar', such various titles as 'Puthumai Kavignar', 'Navayuga Kavignar' 'Poet of the New Age', 'People's poet' 'Marumalarchi Kavignar' and 'Makkal Kavignar' were conferred on him. He is said to have qualified himself in such languages as Sanskrit, Hindi, Urdu and English. He was gifted with the art of translation. He did translations from English into Tamil and in due course, he started writing in English. Those articles got duly published in *New India*, *Common Weal* and *Arya*. His essays, poems, and translations were collected and published in two volumes titled *Agni and other Poems* and *Translations and Essays and other Prose Fragments*. As a journalist, Bharathi felt the dire need of spreading the message of freedom and liberty all over India and so used translation as a media for translating his ideas into English. Moreover, he wanted the cultural heritage of Tamils to be realized and felt all over the world. So, he made an earnest attempt to translate some of the verses of Nammalvar, Andal and Arunagiri. His English poems, though limited in number, did prove his mastery over the language.

Subramania Bharathi started his literary career very early in his boyhood. He is said to have had a native flair for writing verses even at the age of seven and his verse compositions won the admiration of the Raja and renowned scholars of Ettayapuram. The very title 'Bharathi', a name of Goddess of knowledge, was "conferred upon him by Sivajagna Jothi, in appreciation of his ability to compose poems on any subject at any moment" (Sachithanandan 13). Like Kalidasa and Kumaraguruparar, Bharathi was not educated in a scholastic tradition but he wrote verses rather effortlessly. Due to his admiration for Shelley, the English Romantic poet, Bharathi formed an association of admirers of Shelley in the name of Shelleyan Guild and he himself assumed the pseudonym 'Shelley Dasan'. (BVN 124).

It is understood from various sources that Bharathi began his literary career primarily as a translator rather than as a creative writer by translating modern ideas into simple, lucid, non-literary Tamil so as to make the common average Tamils understand rather clearly. His enduring efforts and hard systematic work to give his translations, the quality of original compositions of his made him proficient both in Tamil and English and enabled him to form a unique style of his own in Tamil, thereby leading him to become the editor of the monthly *Chakkravartini* published by Swadesamitran office. The very first poem of Bharathi, which saw the light of publication as 'Thanimai Irakkam', in the form of a sonnet that came out in the journal *Viveka Bhanu* from Madurai in 1904.

Nivedita, the disciple of Vivekananda, was chosen as a preceptor for Bharathi who found Bharathia Devi in her, for he was out and out fascinated towards her rare vigour, force of love and strength of wisdom and that is why he is said to have dedicated his national poems to his guru, Nivedita, who "advised Bharathi to give importance to women's freedom". As a result, Bharathi became interested in the emancipation of women. He praised the lands like Russia where women folk were given due freedom and respectable position. He made a plea "for such a freedom for the women of South Africa and passionately sympathized with the Indian women folk in the plantations of Fiji lands" (VS 57). Luckily, the Mandayam brothers, Thirumalachariar and Srinivasachariar invited Bharathi to be the editor of their Tamil weekly *India*, that was published with the revolutionary motto, 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity'. Bharathi's radical views were originally restricted. But as the editor of *India*, he acquired full power to express his political fervour and humanitarian ideals. He did invariably exercise his imagination in order to make the paper more interesting and instructive to the common man, for he was fully aware of the fact that continued propaganda through the press was more effective than occasional platform speeches.

Besides being the editor of *India*, Bharathi published a daily called *Vijaya*. Along with these two, he engaged himself as an editor of an English monthly titled *Bala Bharathi* or *Young India* founded by Nanjunda Rao. Bharathi's stay at Pondicherry for ten years from 1908 to 1918 might be described as the golden period of his literary career because most of his famous, noteworthy productions were composed, during this period. Bharathi's 'Gnana Ratham', a highly imaginative prose fiction pictured an ideal world, created with all fundamental principles of liberty, equality and fraternity. He was lucky enough to have to his credit the composition of such four major works as 1. *Panchali Sapatham*, 2. *Kuyil Pattu*, 3. *Kannan Pattu* and 4. Translations of *The Bhagavad Gita* into Tamil. He wrote poems, stories, sketches and essays and also recognized Gandhiji as the only dependable guide for the achievement of Independence for India. He tried hard to bring out a collected edition of all his own works so as to reach the hands of ordinary man. Bharathi's composition of *Long Live the Indian Commonwealth* in 1920 called for a new society that would hold all property in common, a golden age for the humanity.

Bharathi's English, like his Tamil, had a native power as well as conversational ease which enabled him to be a successful editor of an English monthly, **Bala Bharathi** founded by Nanjunda Rao. Coming into contact with various political leaders of the time, Bharathi had a firm belief in the emancipation of Indians and so predicted of Kruta-yoga, which would give new life to his motherland. 'Courage Terrible' does resemble his own Tamil poem, 'Achamillai, Achamillai'. In his poem, 'Toil, Toil, Toil', he reveals the necessity for hard labour and prays for doing eternal work.

The article 'The National Congress' was published in 1914 in New India wherein all are of one creed and one religion. Though he appreciated the exquisite beauties of English literature, he still ascertained that no other literature could boast of works like 'Kural' 'Kamba Ramayana' and 'Silappadhikaram'. As a prophetic seer, Bharathi predicted that India would be recognized by the world in course of time through his essay 'India and the world'. The essay 'In Memoriam' was considered to be a glorious tribute paid to Gokhale who worked for Hindu-Muslim unity. Being influenced by sister Nivedita, Bharathi blew his conch to announce the revival and uplift of women's status and as such we have three articles on 'Place of Woman', 'Women's Freedom', and a poem namely 'The Kummi of Women's Freedom'. As a devotee of Shakti-cult, he is said to have written an essay in English on Mother-worship in the form of Matri-Puja. Greatly intoxicated by the songs of Andal and Nammalvar, Bharathi translated some of the most famous songs from Tiruvaymozhi. Even though he belonged to a very orthodox Hindu Brahmin family, various anecdotes from his personal life prove that he was against such religious differences and caste demarcations. Hence his essay titled 'Patriotism and Religious Differences' gave a clear picture of his broad-minded nature in all respects.

Bharathi showed himself as the prophet of the age in his essay 'The Coming Age' in which he anticipated the ideology of Bhoodan Movement. He defined socialism and dreamt of Krita-yuga. Despite his indulgence in aesthetics, he made contributions to the political field also. In the essay titled as 'India and the War', Bharathi elaborately explained the reasons for India loving Europe and for being friendly to the cause of allies. Thus, Bharathi was a versatile genius, who could write on any subject at any moment. In his essay 'Reflections', Bharathi revealed his admiration for Tagore and made an appeal for due recognition of great journalists. Bharathi's association with Aurobindo and Kullachami had made him ponder over self-realization which resulted in the form of a dedication 'To the Being of Universe'. His deep faith and firm belief in **Gita** made him write about 'Fatalism', combining religious element with that of the existing political situation. He went to the extent of considering life, a *rasa* the key-word in which he found a harmonious blend of aestheticism with culture and religion. Bharathi's yearning to make his literary works immortal and his thirst for freedom had made him translate two hymns to Kumara by Arunagiri.

As a journalist, Bharathi became well-versed with the currents and cross currents of national life and political problems, which got well reflected by him in the columns of

Swadesamitran. His political understanding was enriched by his discussions with his friends like Doraiswamy Iyer, Chakkarai Chettiar, Jayaram Naidu and G.S. Ragunatha Rao. Bharathi was immensely inspired by the Russian Revolution of 1905. In Irish struggle for Independence became a living example for Indians. Certainly, Bharathi's vision extended beyond Tamilnadu and he was far ahead of his contemporaries in realizing that the Indian movement for freedom was a part of the world struggle against imperialism. "**Bala Bharathi**, a journal of national resurgence come out in 1907 with its motto as 'Arise' awake and step not till the goal is reached". Being influenced by Swami Vivekananda, Aurobindo and Sister Nivedita, Bharathi edited their speeches in this journal where Bharathi showed himself as a class editor in English. Due to the prevailing conditions in British India, Bharathi was compelled to go to Pondicherry to continue his work as a political thinker and as such, he dedicated himself in working for various papers like *Vijaya*, *Survodayam* and *Karmayogi*. As an editor, Bharathi understood so well that only captions and cartoons could convey patriotic fervour and vigour better than long articles and speeches. During his stay at Pondicherry, the poet came into intimate contact with the French language and literature. For the French, liberty meant freedom from the tyranny and oppression of their rulers. Naturally, Bharathi was attracted towards the slogan, 'Liberty, Equality and Fraternity'. Dr. V. Sachithanandan observes:

“As a dogged fighter for the Independence of India, Bharathi used them as political slogans to rouse his countrymen against the tyranny and injustice of British rule” (109)

Bharathi resumed the use of the journal *India* for the propagation of patriotic ideas. In 1909, he wrote under the caption, 'Love of the Motherland':

“The thirst for freedom has of late become acute in our country... out intense desire is that India should be a free country and no alien nation should dominate over it. The flag of independent India should soon be fluttering on the country's flag mast” (Raju 22)

Bharathi was an ardent admirer of Lokamanya Bala Gangadhar Tilak, the leader of extremists. When the First World War broke out in 1914 Tilak himself pleaded that India should support the Allies against Germany. But his political opponents were clever enough to use this opportunity, to criticise him severely and considered his attitude as a climb down of the new party in their struggle against British imperialism. Tilak provoked Bharathi and he wrote an article in support of Tilak's plea on the ground that Britain would live up to the promise of guaranteeing the freedom of the nations:

“In peace of time, we shall be uncompromising critics of England’s mistakes. But when trouble comes, we shall unhesitatingly stand by her and if necessary, defend her against her enemies” (Agni 108).

Bharathi loved Gokhale too. He praised him as an inspiring example for every Indian and said that Gokhale lived and worked for two ideals – Indian nationhood and Indian Self-Government. He also worked with zeal and earnestness for Hindu-Muslim unity. Bharathi proved himself to be unbiased because he wrote that a man must be respected and remembered for his life work, though one may disagree with his opinions and doctrines. In the letter titled ‘The National Congress’ published in *New India*, Bharathi proved to be a skilful politician. He wrote:

“Party differences are inevitable in all politics” (Agni 90).

But he was also a social reformer and a humanitarian. His versatile personality strongly condemned politicians who brought religious sectarianism into their political life. He firmly believed that in the service of the Motherland, we are all of one creed and one religion:

“If at all, the politicians bring in the caste difference, they commit political suicide”
(Agni 91)

By this article, ‘The National Congress’, Bharathi made his Congress Party realize its duty of giving importance to every citizen, thereby emphasizing the democratic principle to be followed in future. Similar ideas opposing caste and creed differences find a place in another article, ‘Patriotism and Religious Differences’ (88). In India’s struggle for freedom, while politicians were fighting against the foreigner’s law and statute and armed might, the poet fought the harder fight against the languor of the spirit. He gave his brethren the vision without which people perish and the will without which a vision is but an idle dream. Like Gandhiji, Bharathi wanted freedom to be wrought not through bloodshed, but through peaceful means, the democratic means of conscious will and determined action, through force of persuasion and disciplined organization. Bharathi was not unaware of the conditions that had to be established in India if freedom was to come and remain forever. He was outspoken in his condemnation of caste systems. R.A. Padmanabhan writes:

“His concept of Bharathi was a unified symbol;
It is not the geographical entity that he sang about, but India, the mother of us all,
the sustainer, the savior” (Chitra Bharathi 502).

No other compliment would be so effective as Sarojini Naidu's message paid at the time of the opening of the Bharathi memorial Building at Ettayapuram on 13 Oct 1947:

“Poet Bharathi has fulfilled the true mission of a poet. He has created Beauty, not only through the medium of glowing and lovely words but has kindled the souls of men and women by the million to a more passionate love of freedom and

a richer dedication to the service of the country” (qtd in Mahakavi Bharathiyar 21).

Bharathi's humanistic approach deserves really appreciation. He lived upto the definition of humanism as defined by Edwin H. Wilson who wrote thus:

“All humanists, whether they are Marxists, existentialists, liberals or Christians, declare “that they are man, that they wish to actualize human potentialities, enhance human experience and contribute to happiness, social justice, democracy and a peaceful world That they are opposed to authoritarian or totalitarian forces that dehumanise man” (P 6).

On the whole, the humanist views man as full being and man in his universal dimension. The chief concern for man, his growth, fulfillment and creativity. Bharathi takes a step further for he attached more importance to love.

“We live because we love
Love is life” (Agni 87).

Bharathi felt one with Valluvar in the idea that the nucleus of life is love; “those devoid of it are only bones overlaid with skin”. To Bharathi, life is holy, and love is its greatest beauty and strength. Love kindles the sublime in the soul. Love being the aspect of the divine in man becomes the symbol of immortality. In an article titled ‘To the Being of the Universe’, he wrote:

“I may become Love Himself, that I may love all men and creatures as Thyself, love my neighbours and relatives as I ought to ...” (Agni 56).

In Bharathi's vision of man, one can find the total recovery of humanity, its strength, beauty and power by gently tapping the inner springs of love which remain hidden with divinity. It was Bharathi who first raised the call for an equal status to womankind and an end to the exploitation of women through child marriages and cruel discrimination and treatment towards widows. Influenced by Shelley's treatment towards widows. Influenced by Shelley's concept of womanhood, one can find resemblance between Shelley's 'Cythna' and Bharathi's 'Puthumai Penn' for besides being a devotee of Parasakthi, Bharathi was influenced by the greatness of woman. In fact, the weaker section was not the weaker one but the source of strength for man.

As a Sanskrit student of no mean scholarship, Bharathi could go direct to the fountain head of Vedanta, *The Upanishads* and *Gita*. He was a vedantist by conviction, a deeply religious Hindu who devoutly believed in the authority of *The Vedas* by calling himself a vedantist of the Advaita School. Bharathi experienced Lord Krishna's presence as the inner truth in every relationship.

"In the raven's sable hue
Nanda Laala,
The proper tint I view
Nanda Laala;
All nature's lusty green
Nanda Laala
Reflects your divine sheen
Nanda Laala:
Every sound that comes to me
Nanda Laala,
Is a hymn in praise of thee
Nanda Laala" (Nandakumar 38).

Even the Alvars sang the glories of Krishna as a child and lover. But Bharathi's imagination was a new for he sang ecstatically of Krishna as a friend, mother, father, king, servant, teacher, student, child, lover, lady-love and deity. This is a novel approach to God showing that love dares anything, and God is omnipresent and omnipotent. He was able to perceive God through intimate human relationships and to enjoy the bliss of union. Dwelling deep into Vedantic philosophy, Bharathi developed a better understanding that the distinction between 'I' and 'Thou' should be completely eradicated. He accepted the fall of his pride, for the poem 'Peace' concluded with the proverbial saying: "The fear of God is the beginning of wisdom" (46).

As an ardent follower of *Gita*, Bharathi considered all religions of the world as different paths leading to the same ideal, Truth. As a true vedantist, he accepted the divinity of Christ and Allah. In an article entitled ‘The service of God’, he wrote:

“We find that the Aryan and Christian realisations have been polar, denying each other at their ends; while united at the base” (Agni 57).

To conclude, as a reformer, politician, humanitarian, vedantist, patriot, Bharathi fiercely fought for breaking up of all barriers – political, social and religious and in the true vedantistic spirit, he sang of the coming age in which he anticipated a joyous world free from sufferings, a world of enlightenment unmarred by ignorance, a world which rejected superstitions, a world of progress without corruption.

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*Semantic Intention and Semantic Relation in Children with
Intellectual Disability and Hearing Impairment*

DISSERTATION

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Communication is the focused activity of information exchange between two or more participants in order to convey or receive the planned meanings through a shared system of signs and semiotic rules. Communication is a synthesis of three components: message, information and understanding.

Language is the main vehicle for communication. Language is a set of arbitrary symbols used by a group of people for the purpose of communication, understanding of language requires the explanation of terms, symbol and arbitrary. (Owens, 2008)

Semantics, A component of language is a system of rules governing the meaning or content of words and word combination. (Crystal, 1995)

Semantic intention is defined as the present purposes being constituted by an independent attempt as renowned from simple spontaneous behaviour to represent through some cognitively detained material a different object than the material itself.

Semantic relations are meanings intended by the child's verbal expression during two word combination stage.

Researchers have noted that at the first word level, words are conceptualized as semantic intentions and when children combine these semantic intentions at phrase level, they are referred to as semantic relations.

Leonard, Bolder and Miller (1976) examined semantic relation reflected in language usage of normal and language disordered children and comparisons were made for both utterance length and age condition. They found out that the disordered language children used reflected semantic relation consistent with that earlier level of development.

Brackenbury (2005) studied semantic deficits in children with language impairments, issues for clinical assessment and results showed that the semantic deficits of these children may not receive the attention they need.

Bailoor and Rao (2013) studied semantic intention and relation in children with intellectual disabilities of 4 to 7 years of mental age and found no significant difference in performance with normal children and frequency of use.

Haritha and Kumaraswamy (2013) studied semantic relation in 4-5 years old Malayalam speaking children and found significantly in conversation, monologue and story narration in relatively decreasing order respectively. The study concludes that all the parameters of semantic relation are already acquired in 4-5 year old Malayalam speaking children.

Understanding speech intelligibility and relation development in children is important for screening, diagnosis and intervention of language. Description of semantic intention and relation has been attempted in Indian language such as Kannada (Rao, 1995), (Bailoor and Rao, 2013), (Pradyumn and Goswami, 2008), (Chitra and Prema, 2008) Tamil (Krupa and Perumaal, 2009) and Malayalam (Haritha and Kumaraswamy, 2013), (Mohan and Kumaraswamy, 2011) and Konkani (D'souza and Kumaraswamy, 2014). The scientific studies related to semantic intention and relation in children with intellectual disability and children with hearing impairment have not been carried out in Malayalam language. The present study will help SLP's in identifying the semantic relation and intention in children with intellectual disability and hearing impairment and it can also be used for screening, diagnosis and further intervention.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Language is a complex and dynamic system of conventional symbols that is used in various modes for thought and communication. Contemporary views of human language hold that language evolves within specific historical, social and cultural context; language as a rule governed behaviour is described by at least 5 parameters: phonologic, morphologic, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic; language learning and use are determined by the interaction of biological, cognitive, psychological and environmental factors. Effective use of language for communication requires a broad understanding of human interaction including some associated factors as non-verbal cues, motivation and socio cultural role (American Speech and Hearing Association, 1982).

Semantics is the study of meaning. Within modern linguistics the most important area has been lexical (structural) semantics which has concerned itself with structural relationship in the vocabulary, for example, autonomy, hyponymy and truth conditional semantics. This is an approach to sentence meaning which hold that (at least part of) sentence meaning is characterized in terms of conditions (in the real or possible world) under which a sentence can be hold to express a statement that is true.

The development of semantic knowledge in children consists of building up the lexicons until their words match that of an adult. Children start using a word in a restricted setting, eventually use it in a larger semantic network and ultimately learn to detach it from the situation in which they gained the knowledge. Semantic development studies the relationship between language and individual's perception of the world, including the things and actions within it. (Robert, 2008)

American Association of Intellectual Developmental Disabilities (AAIDD) in 2013 defines Intellectual Disability (ID) as characterised by significant limitations in intellectual functioning and adaptive behaviour, which is expressed in conceptual, social and adaptive skills originated before the age of 18.

Diagnostic statistical manual (DSM-V) places less emphasis on the degree of impairment and more on the type of intervention needed. About 85 percent of people with ID fall into the

mild category and may even achieve academic success. People with moderate ID have fair communication skills but cannot typically communicate on complex levels. People with profound ID require round the clock support and care.

International classification of impairment disability and handicap (1980) defined hearing loss as a combination of hearing impairment (the dysfunction measured in laboratory or clinic), hearing disability (the everyday problems experienced by an individual like following a conversation or telling the location of events) and hearing handicap (the non- auditory consequences which flow from disabilities such as high stress level or restriction in social involvement).

Gilbertson and Kamhi (1995) examined new word learning skills in children with mild to severe hearing loss and concluded that poor performance was noted in children with hearing loss. Stelma, Hoover and Lewis (2005) investigated rapid word learning skills in children with hearing impairment, resulting in children with normal hearing having better word learning and retaining the newly studied word learning.

SEMANTIC INTENTIONS:

The meanings intended by children using words or gestures can be called as semantic intentions. The common intentions expressed by children are:

EXISTENCE: The child recognizes the existence of an object or event and expresses this through a look gesture or vocalization. For example: seeing the mother, the child says ‘amma’.

DISAPPEARANCE: The child comments on the disappearance of a person or object by using a look, gesture or a word. For example: says all gone when water is over, or says poi when father goes out.

RECURRENCE: Child expresses that an object existed disappeared and reappeared. Child may also request repetition of an action. For example: when the child wants more juice, he says inim inim (more).

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NON EXISTENCE: The child indicates that an object does not exist where he expects it to be either non- verbally by a look, gesture, vocalisation or by a sign or a word such as no, gone or the name of the object. For example: child opens a box and finds no chocolate, remarks mittayi illa (no chocolate).

LOCATION: The child comments on the position of an object a person or an event or requests that an object be placed in a certain location by look, gesture, vocalisation or a sign or word such as there, on etc. For example: when the child wants his father to take a toy and give him he says ‘athu’ (that) simultaneously pointing and looking at the adult.

POSSESSION: Child comments on relationship between an object or person and themselves. For example: When he and another child are playing he may suddenly pick up a toy car and may say ‘ente’ (mine). When another adult says I will take away your daddy he may say mine.

REJECTION: The child communicates that he does not want an object, adult or event, or that he wants an activity to cease by look, gesture, vocalisation, sign or a word such as no, stop, bye-bye. Child pushes away adults hand with sticky dough.

DENIAL: The child denies a proposition by look, gesture, vocalisation or a word or sign such as no or didn’t, for example, child takes chocolate when adult is not watching. Later when the adult blames the child nods his head with full mouth in disagreement saying no.

AGENT: child tries to communicate about the person or object (agent) doing the action. This may be by look, gesture, a word or even by vocalisations. For example, when she wants to show her mother that brother spilled the milk, she will scream and when mother comes she will point at milk on floor and says brother.

OBJECT: That is the object or person that may be affected by an action. The child can convey this by a look, gesture, word etc. for example, child may touch a glass of hot coffee and may jerk his hand back and say ‘ha’ indicating it is very hot. When a child sees a dirty dog may say chi..chi to communicate that it is dirty and needs a wash.

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SEMANTIC RELATION

Meanings intended by the child's verbal expression during two word combination stage.

Semantic relation in two word level:

Agent + Action	Eg: Amma varu (Mummy come)
Action + Object	Eg: Paalu Kudikku (Drink milk)
Agent + Action	Eg: Amma chappathi (Mummy chapathi)
Agent + Location	Eg: Irikku kaserayil (Sit-chair)
Possessor + Possession	Eg: Ente paava (My teddy)
Entity + Attribute	Eg: Valiya maram (Big tree)
Demonstrative + Entity	Eg: Aa pusthakam (That book)

WESTERN STUDIES

Leonard, Bolders and Miller (1976) examined the semantic relations reflected in the language usage of normal and language disordered children and the results are interpreted as supporting the notion that the disordered language usage reflected semantic relations consistent with an earlier level of development.

Duchan and Erickson (1976) examined the normal and retarded children's understanding of semantic relations in different verbal contexts and found no significant difference between the performance of mentally retarded language disordered and normal children on the verbal comprehension task. Both groups of children performed best on the possessive, next on the agent-object, then actor-action, and poorest on the locative relations. Finally, nonsense telegraphic and expanded contexts did make a difference in the children understandings with expanded being the best, telegraphic next, and nonsense contexts poorest. Theoretical and clinical implications are discussed.

Truman (1979) described relational meaning encoded in the two word utterances of stage 1 Down's syndrome children and suggested that Down's children demonstrate as much diversity in their use of relational meanings as normal at the same linguistic stage. These findings are discussed with respect to what Down's children know about the world as they begin to produce two word combinations.

Lyaton and Baker (1981) reported description of semantic- syntactic relations in an autistic child. This longitudinal study investigated the language acquisition strategies employed by an autistic child learning sign language. The child's core vocabulary and developing semantic syntactic relationships were compared with language acquisition in normal children. There were specific deviations in language development noted, in spite of providing the child with appropriate sign language training.

Fokes and Konefal (1981) indicated a developmental trend in the use of case relations and showed manipulation tasks enhanced the use of case relations by the language disordered group whereas the observations task was more effective for normal groups in a study done to the production of agent + action + object + locative relations by 3; 6 and 5; 6 year old normal children and language disordered children.

Stan and Mosley (1988) examined semantic encoding by mildly retarded and non-retarded persons and concluded that mildly retarded person had poor performance which attributed to the lack of semantic organization in permanent memory and also inefficiency in the use of episodic memory.

Stockman (1992) concluded in his study that differences in the semantic properties of language impaired and normal children utterances may go undetected unless a fine grained analysis is performed on the types of expressions used within a global relational category.

Cardoso- Martins, Mervis and Betrand (1997) did a study and concluded that children with Down syndrome and willies syndrome extend the meaning of words in the similar way like normal children.

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Kittler, Sharon, Krinsky- McHale, Darlyme and Devenny (2004) studied on Semantic and phonological loop effects on Verbal Working Memory in middle age adults with Mental retardation and Down syndrome and reported that recall was poorer for physiologically similar, semantically similar and long words compared to recall of dissimilar short words. Compared to their peers, participants with Down syndrome had poorer recall in all categories except phonologically similar words. Most interestingly, semantic similarity lowered recall scores only in participants with Down syndrome. This selective effect of semantics reflects an influence of long term memory on working memory and points to the need for additional explanations outside phonological loop processes to completely account for the relative impairment of verbal working memory among individuals with Down syndrome.

Brackenbury (2005) studied on Semantic deficits in children with language impairments: issues for clinical assessment and results showed that the semantic deficits of these children may not receive the attention they need. This article explores the word-learning, lexical storage and lexical access skills of children with language impairments and the theories that account for their performance.

Goodrich and Lonigan (2018) examined automatic language processing among Spanish-speaking language minority children and the results indicated that these minority children rely on translation from their less proficient language to their more proficient language to access meaning.

Canizo, Coalla and Cuetos (2019) investigated the role of previous semantic and phonological knowledge on the formation of orthographic representations and the results showed that the formation of orthographic representations, as the length effect was significantly lower than in the other conditions which also improved the children's reading performance.

INDIAN STUDIES

Subba Rao (1995) opined that mentally retarded subjects do not differ significantly from their normal counterparts at semantic intentions at word level and semantic relation at 2 word level constructions. Higher Mental age group performed better than lower Mental age group.

Pradyumn and Goswami (2008) analysed semantic and phonologic priming in children with learning disability and the result obtained for children with learning disability showed no significant difference between semantic and phonological priming tasks provided.

Chitra and Prema (2008) did a study on lexical semantic organization in bilingual children. This study aimed at investigating the lexical semantic organization in Kannada- English bilingual children using a repeated word association paradigm task. The study maintains the theory that in young children as young as 6 years associated words syntagmatically and children of 8 years associated words paradigmatically. The spurt in growth of the organization occurs maximally at the age of 7 years, where the children are transiting from the pre operation stage to concrete stage in Piagets cognitive theory.

Mahesh, Merlin and Subba Rao (2008) evaluated the semantic intentions of severely mentally retarded children in play context and the results support the view that along with the overall delay in language development there are differences among the chronological age matched normal and MR children. In the older group, the semantic intentions were significantly better when compared to younger mentally retarded children.

Mohan and Kumaraswamy (2011) did a study on semantic in 8-13 year old Malayalam speaking children and concluded that 8-13 year old typically developing children displayed a variety of semantic intentions. Children may seek to direct another's intention for different reasons to express interest in an object or simply to provide information. Frequency of usage found more on conversation, may be attributed to the environmental stimulation given. On elicited speech, the intentions were noted to be less.

Bailoor and Rao (2010) studied semantic intentions and relations in children with intellectual disability in the mental age range of 4-7 years and reported that children with intellectual disability show a wide range of speech and language problems.

Krupa and Perumaal (2009) compared the semantic intentions across the age group in normally developing children, chronological age(CA) matched and mental age (MA) matched children with mental retardation and reports the semantic intentions up to 2years of age ; children with mental retardation (MA and CA matched) continued to have similar performance by 3-4 years of age, MA matched children showed the performance than CA matched children due to the super cognitive skills, by 4 years of age MA matched children

with ID showed similar response normally developing children, which was in contrast to the CA matched children with ID. Thus the cognitive development influences language development to the greater extent. However cognitive development and language development do not have linear relationship.

Haritha and Kumaraswamy (2013) studied semantic relation in 4-5 years old Malayalam speaking children and found significantly in conversation, monologue and story narration in relatively decreasing order respectively. The study concludes that all the parameters of semantic relation are already acquired in 4-5 year old Malayalam speaking church.

Shetty, Hariharan and Rao (2014) reported performance of verbal autistic children relating to semantic intentions and relations. This study supports the view that meaning intentions both at word and phrase level are present in the conversational samples of 4-5 year mental aged verbal autistic children. The challenge for SLP's is to provide aspects of morphology and syntax to use the semantic aspects and also to expand the nature of social communication of pragmatics skills.

D'Souza and Kumaraswamy (2014) studied semantic relations in 3.1 – 5 years old typically developing Konkani speaking children and the results showed that children until age 5 continues to use semantic relations, although the syntactic knowledge has emerged and is inadequately used in different situations.

NEED OF THE STUDY

Understanding speech intelligibility and relation development in children is important for screening, diagnosis and intervention of language. Description of semantic intention and relation has been attempted in Indian language such as Kannada (Rao, 1995), (Bailoor and Rao, 2013), (Pradyumn and Goswami, 2008), (Chitra and Prema, 2008) Tamil (Krupa and Perumaal, 2009) and Malayalam (Haritha and Kumaraswamy, 2013), (Mohan and Kumaraswamy, 2011) and Konkani (D'souza and Kumaraswamy, 2014). The scientific studies related to semantic intention and relation in children with intellectual disability and children with hearing impairment have not been carried out in Malayalam language. The present study will helps SLP's in identifying the semantic relation and intention in children

with intellectual disability and hearing impairment and it can also be used for screening, diagnosis and further intervention.

AIM

The present study aimed to understand the usage of semantic intention and relation in Malayalam speaking children with intellectual disability and hearing impaired children with matched mental age of 4-8 years.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

AIM:

The study aimed to understand the usage of semantic intention and semantic relation in Malayalam speaking children with intellectual disability with mental age of 4-8 years and mental age matched children with hearing impairment.

SUBJECTS:

The study group consisted of 20 Malayalam speaking children; 10 children with intellectual disability with mental age of 4-8 years and mental age matched 10 children with hearing impairment. All the children who participated in the study were attending special schools.

PROCEDURE:

Conversation sample of each subject was recorded in a well illuminated sound proof room with a microphone placed at a distance of 1 feet which was in turn connected to an HP laptop. Before the recording, rapport building was established in-order to make the child comfortable.

ANALYSIS:

The recorded sample were transcribed and checked for semantic intention and semantic relation, each correct intentions and relations were scored '1' and meaningless intentions and relations were scored '0'. Further statistical analysis was carried to compare and find statistical significance and the obtained results are discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

The present study aimed to understand the usage of semantic intention and semantic relation in Malayalam speaking children with intellectual disability and hearing impairment to find the usage of the semantic intention and semantic relation.

The obtained data was statistically analysed and results are discussed below:

SEMANTIC INTENTION:

INTELLECTUAL DISABILITY		
	No: of subjects	%
Existence	10	100.0%
Disappearance	3	30.0%
Recurrence	0	.0%
Non-existence	6	60.0%
Location	6	60.0%
Possession	3	30.0%
Rejection	0	.0%
Denial	2	20.0%
Agent	9	90.0%
Object	8	80.0%
Action	7	70.0%
Attribution	2	20.0%

Table 4.1: Showing the percentage scores for semantic intention in general conversation among children with intellectual disability.

From table 4.1, it can be seen that the semantic intention in general conversation, Existence and Agent yielded high score with more than 90% whereas Non -existence, Location, Object and Action yielded more than 50% scores and Disappearance, Recurrence, Possession,

Rejection, Denial, and Attribution yielded less than 50% scores for semantic intention in children with intellectual disability.

HEARING IMPAIRMENT		
	No: of subjects	%
Existence	10	100.0%
Disappearance	8	80.0%
Recurrence	10	100.0%
Non-existence	10	100.0%
Location	8	80.0%
Possession	9	90.0%
Rejection	9	90.0%
Denial	4	40.0%
Agent	10	100.0%
Object	10	100.0%
Action	6	60.0%
Attribution	10	100.0%

Table 4.2: Showing the percentage scores for semantic intention in general conversation among children with hearing impairment.

From table 4.2, it can be seen that Existence, Disappearance, Recurrence, Non- existence, Location, Possession, Rejection, Agent, Object, Attribution yielded high scores of more than 80% whereas Denial and Action yielded less than 50% scores for children with hearing impairment.

	INTELLUCTUAL DISABILITY		HEARING IMPAIRMENT		testing proportions: Z test	
	Count	%	Count	%	p value	%
SEMANTIC INTENTION						
Existence	10	100.0%	10	100.0%	-	NS
Disappearance	3	30.0%	8	80.0%	.037	sig
Recurrence	0	.0%	10	100.0%	.000	HS
Non-existence	6	60.0%	10	100.0%	.038	sig
Location	6	60.0%	8	80.0%	.342	NS
Possession	3	30.0%	9	90.0%	.013	sig
Rejection	0	.0%	9	90.0%	.001	HS
Denial	2	20.0%	4	40.0%	.342	NS
Agent	9	90.0%	10	100.0%	.318	NS
Object	8	80.0%	10	100.0%	.153	NS
Action	7	70.0%	6	60.0%	.645	NS
Attribution	2	20.0%	10	100.0%	.002	HS

Table 4.3: Showing the percentage and significant scores for semantic intention in general conversation among children with intellectually disability and hearing impairment.

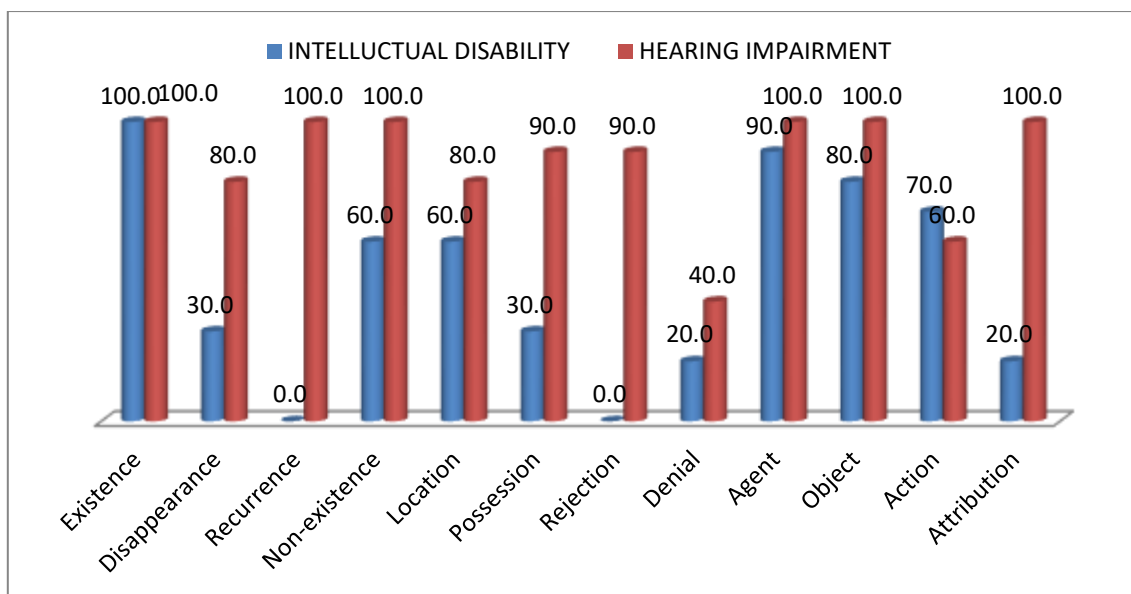


Figure 4.1: Showing the percentage rating for semantic intention in general conversation among children with intellectually disability and hearing impairment.

From the above figure 4.1 and table 4.3, the semantic intention of intellectually disabled children and hearing impaired children were compared and it can be seen that most of the semantic intention was absent for children with intellectual disability and present for children with hearing impairment.

SEMANTIC RELATION:

INTELLUCTUAL DISABILITY		
	No: of students	%
Agent+ action	6	60.0%
Action+ object	10	100.0%
Agent+ object	7	70.0%
Action+ location	4	40.0%
Possessor+ possession	6	60.0%
Entity+ attribute	4	40.0%

Table 4.4: Showing the percentage scores for semantic relation in general

conversation among children with intellectual disability.

From table 4.4, it can be seen that Action+ Object yielded 100% score whereas Agent+ Action, Agent+ Object, Possessor+ Possession, Demonstrative+ Entity yielded less than 50% scores and action+ location, entity+ attribute yielded 40% scores for semantic intention in children with intellectual disability.

HEARING IMPAIRMENT		
	No: of students	%
Agent+ action	6	60.0%
Action+ object	3	30.0%
Agent+ object	3	30.0%
Action+ location	0	.0%
Possessor+ possession	2	20.0%
Entity+ attribute	0	.0%
Demonstrative+ entity	2	20.0%

Table 4.5: Showing the percentage scores for semantic relation in general conversation among children with hearing impairment.

From table 4. 5, it can be seen that, Agent+ Action yielded 60% score, whereas Action+ Object, Agent+ Object yielded 30% scores. Possessor+ Possession, Demonstrative+ Entity yielded 20% scores and Action+ Location, Entity+ Attribute yielded 0% score for semantic relation in children with hearing impairment.

	INTELLUCTUAL DISABILITY		HEARING IMPAIRMENT		testing proportions: Z test	
	Count	%	Count	%	p value	%
SEMANTIC RELATION						
Agent+ action	6	60.0%	6	60.0%	1.000	NS
Action+ object	10	100.0%	3	30.0%	.004	HS
Agent+ object	7	70.0%	3	30.0%	.090	NS
Action+ location	4	40.0%	0	.0%	.038	Sig
Possessor+ possession	6	60.0%	2	20.0%	.085	NS
Entity+ attribute	4	40.0%	0	.0%	.038	Sig
Demonstrative+ entity	5	50.0%	2	20.0%	.177	NS

Table 4.6: Showing the percentage and significant scores for semantic relation in general conversation among children with intellectually disability and hearing impairment.

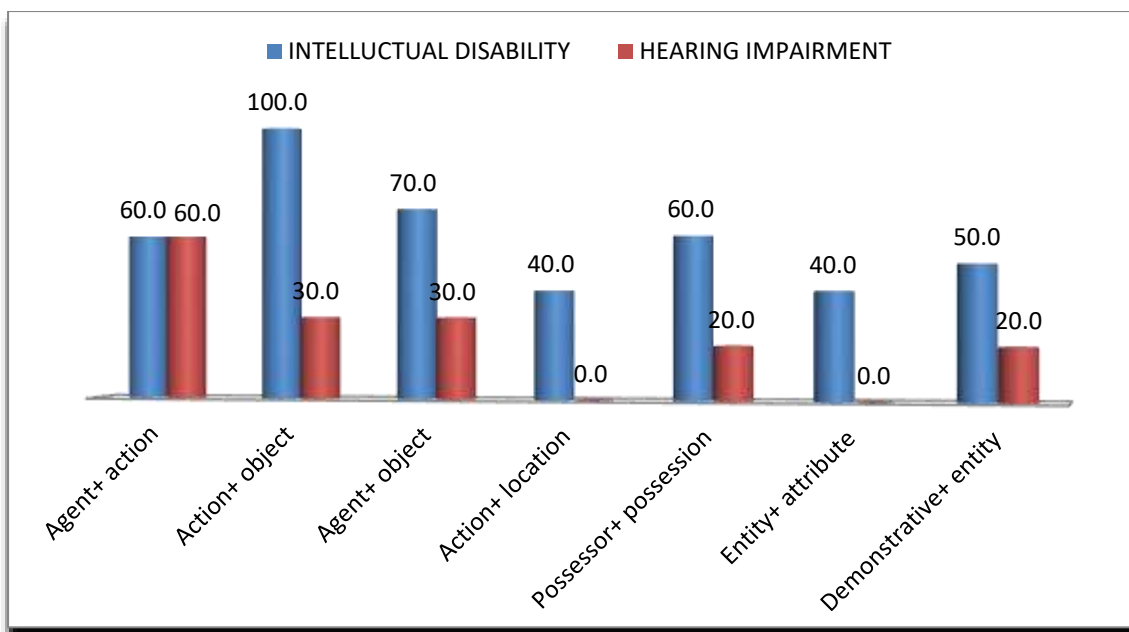


Figure 4. 2: Showing the percentage rating for semantic relation in general conversation among children with intellectually disability and hearing impairment.

From the above figure 4.2 and table 4.6, it can be seen that the semantic intention of intellectually disabled children and hearing impaired children were compared and most of the semantic intention was absent for children with hearing impairment and present for children with intellectual disability.

DISCUSSION

Semantic Intention and Relation is a crucial phenomenon of communicative behaviour. The absence of semantic intention and relation control distinguishes reflexive behaviour from true communication. In the present study, children with intellectual disability and hearing impairment displayed a variety of semantic intention and relation. The results of the present study reveals that, Existence and Agent yielded high score with more than 90% whereas Non-existence, Location, Object and Action yielded more than 50% scores and Disappearance, Recurrence, Possession, Rejection, Denial, and Attribution yielded less than 50% scores for children with intellectual disability in semantic intention and Existence, Disappearance, Recurrence, Non-existence, Location, Possession, Rejection, Agent, Object, Attribution yielded high scores of more than 80% whereas Denial and Action yielded less than 50%

scores for children with hearing impairment for semantic intention. In semantic relation, Action+ Object yielded 100% score whereas Agent+ Action, Agent+ Object, Possessor+ Possession, Demonstrative+ Entity yielded less than 50% scores and action+ location, entity+ attribute yielded 40% scores for semantic relation in children with intellectual disability and Agent+ Action yielded 60% score, whereas Action+ Object, Agent+ Object yielded 30% scores. Possessor+ Possession, Demonstrative+ Entity yielded 20% scores and Action+ Location, Entity+ Attribute yielded 0% score for semantic relation in children with hearing impaired.

A highly significant difference was seen for semantic intentions such as recurrence (0.00), rejection ($p=0.001$) and attribution ($p=0.002$) and significant difference was seen in disappearance ($p=0.37$), non-existence ($p=0.38$) and possession ($p=0.13$) whereas in semantic relations a highly significant difference was seen in action + object ($p=0.004$) and significant difference was seen in action = location ($p=0.38$) and entity and attribute ($p=0.38$).

It was seen in spite of delayed syntactic acquisition, usage of acquired language was effective. Semantic aspects both intentions and relations also point out varied performance in children with intellectual disability; similar trend was seen in children with hearing impairment also.

This study is in correlation with the study done by Subba Rao (1995) which reported that most of the semantic intentions and relations were reduced in intellectual disability children when compared with normal.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Understanding semantic intention and relation development in children is important for screening, diagnosis and intervention of language disordered children and there are no published studies done previously on semantic intention and relation in children with intellectual disability and hearing impairment in Malayalam language. Hence the present study was undertaken with the aim of to understand the usage of semantic intention and relation in Malayalam speaking children with intellectual disability and hearing impairment in the context of general conversation.

Twenty Malayalam speaking children were further divided into 10 children with intellectual disability with mental age of 4-8 years as per the school records and 10 mental age matched children with hearing impairment attending special schools in Kerala.

Conversation sample of each child was recorded in a well illuminated sound proof room with a microphone placed at a distance of 1 foot which was connected to an HP laptop. Before the recording rapport building was established in-order to make the child comfortable.

The recorded sample was transcribed and checked for semantic intention and semantic relation, each correct intentions and relations were scored 1 and meaningless intentions and relations were scored 0.

The results of the present study reveals that in semantic intention, Existence and Agent yielded high score with more than 90% whereas Non -existence, Location, Object and Action yielded more than 50% scores and Disappearance, Recurrence, Possession, Rejection, Denial, and Attribution yielded less than 50% scores for children with intellectual disability and Existence, Disappearance, Recurrence, Non- existence, Location, Possession, Rejection, Agent, Object, Attribution yielded high scores of more than 80% whereas Denial and Action yielded less than 50% scores for children with hearing impairment.

Action+ Object yielded 100% score whereas Agent+ Action, Agent+ Object, Possessor+ Possession, Demonstrative+ Entity yielded less than 50% scores and action+ location, entity+ attribute yielded 40% scores for semantic intention in children with intellectual disability and

Agent+ Action yielded 60% score, whereas Action+ Object, Agent+ Object yielded 30% scores. Possessor+ Possession, Demonstrative+ Entity yielded 20% scores and Action+ Location, Entity+ Attribute yielded 0% score for semantic relation in children with hearing impaired.

A highly significant difference was seen in semantic intentions such as recurrence (0.00), rejection ($p=0.001$) and attribution ($p=0.002$) and significant difference was seen in disappearance ($p=0.37$), non-existence ($p=0.38$) and possession ($p=0.13$) whereas in semantic relations a highly significant difference was seen in action + object ($p=0.004$) and significant difference was seen in action = location ($p=0.38$) and entity and attribute ($p=0.38$).

It was seen in spite of delayed syntactic acquisition, usage of acquired language was effective. Semantic aspects both intentions and relations also point out varied performance in children with intellectual disability; similar trend was seen in children with hearing impairment also.

This study is in correlation with the study done by Subba Rao (1995) which reported that most of the semantic intentions and relations were reduced in intellectual disability children when compared with normal.

LIMITATION OF THE STUDY:

- Sample size was inadequate
- Mental age range was restricted
- Task was limited

FUTURE SUGGESTION:

- To include more number of subjects
- Can compare with chronological age
- Studies can be conducted in other Indian language
- Can be done with respect to picture description or monologue at different word levels.

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Portrayal of Women in Cosmetic Advertisement: A Critical Discourse Study

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Abstract

Cosmetic advertisements have almost always been synonymous with women being objectified. They are portrayed in different forms for audience attention as well as attraction. It is obvious that this portrayal is in accordance to the prevailing socio cultural conditions of the target audience. In India, the society has been rapidly changing; emergence of a growing middle class has brought in a totally new culture hitherto unknown to the Indian masses. So, has the cosmetic advertisements portraying women changed over time. At each point of time, the advertisement is made to appeal the target audience through different modes. In the current study, we seek to analyse how and what strategies are employed by the advertisers to connect with the masses. The approach we use is Critical Discourse Study, within which we use Teun A. van Dijk's Sociocognitive model (van Dijk, 2015). The model is beneficial in analyzing text with respect to the prevailing socio cultural conditions as well as the cognitive models of the target audience and the advertisers. Through the analysis, we seek to study if there is a change in the perceived identity and roles of women in society. An attempt is also made to study what modes other than words are used to portray women in a specific way and thus, appeal to the target audience and who actually form this target audience. We use a comparative study of two advertisements by Lakme, endorsing foundation. The two advertisements relate to two different times.

Keywords: Portrayal of women, advertisements, Critical discourse Analysis, Sociocognitive model.

Introduction

Advertising refers to the communication between the producer and the consumer of products. Typically, the producers are the businesses that need to promote and thus, achieve higher sale of their products. Consumers are the masses that buy and use these products. Between them is the advertising agency that makes advertisements lucrative so that it appeals and attracts, at the same time convincing, the consumers towards the promoted product or service. It is believed that women are used as easy objects for the aforementioned purpose. Nonetheless, along with/apart from women there are a number of modes that are explicitly/implicitly designed to catch the reader attention. At the same time, these modes can be analysed to study what kind of audience is being targeted and how.

In the present paper, we focus on cosmetic advertisement. Cosmetics can be defined as any product that is supposed to improve appearance on its application. The desire to look good and attractive can be presumed to be an innate desire, more so in women (Grogan, 2008). Therefore, there is a range of female beauty products in the market. Interestingly, in order to gain higher buyership, advertisements resort to telling women that they need to improve in terms of looks!

Globalisation and Cultural Needs

Globalization coupled with widespread corporate sector has led to an unprecedented growth of the middle class. It comprises of the working population with a different set of needs and preferences. There is a dearth of time and women now need and prefer products that are handy and lasting. The new office culture promotes a natural and perfect look. Women have received a boost in confidence as they become independent. They know their needs better and are more inclined towards customization than following, rather imitating, the so called standard. Advertisers seem to minutely understand the shift in culture. As a result, the promotional advertisements seem to precisely address the newly found needs and preferences.

Earlier, advertisements were a sort of celebrity endorsement campaigns. Celebrities were portrayed as some standard that people should aim to achieve (Apejoye, 2003). Portrayal can be defined as the process of depicting someone/something in a dramatic fashion through speech, gesture or other modes. Women were supposed to imitate the standard set by these celebrities (Kuldip et al, 2018). They were encouraged to shine like them once in a while. Clearly, the daily need of looking perfect did not exist.

In this paper, we try to analyse and thus proof/disproof the points mentioned above. We take two advertisements promoting Lakme foundation. They belong to two different times. We attempt to analyse what identity and roles of women are assumed and addressed. Also, we aim to evaluate if such portrayals can have a long term impact on the target audience in terms of the identity and roles assigned to them.

What is CDA/CDS?

CDA seeks to “effectively study relevant social problems, such as those of sexism, racism, colonialism and other forms of social inequality” (van Dijk, 1995) as well as the differential power equations existing in the society. It is interesting to note that CDA is no method/methodology. It is rather a perspective or attitude (van Dijk, 2015) that uses a multidisciplinary approach and thus, methods from different areas of humanities and social sciences. In regard to this particular approach, van Dijk uses the term Critical Discourse Study (CDS). In this paper, henceforth we would be using CDS. CDS seeks to explain how language is involved in the process of power creation and maintenance and how hegemonic attitudes are propagated.

Locke (2004) describes the three terms separately. Discourse, according to him, is language in use. Fairclough (2003) states language with a particular viewpoint is discourse. For instance, a mother giving fruits to the boy and not being able to give to the girl can be interpreted as (1) girl being denied equal status—feminist discourse (2) poor economic condition of the family—socio economic discourse. It is believed in CDS research that discourse is not just representative of the society it is produced in. It is also an instance of signification which affects the cognition of people.

Critical means taking nothing as neutral (Hasnain, 2012). A critical approach tends to problematize everything questioning its creation as well as its effect on the society. Likewise, CDA seeks to find out effects a particular discourse has on society. If there is no contestation to the effect a discourse has on cognition, the effect in due course of time becomes ideology. This ideology controls further (re)production of that discourse. This is the process how a given discourse becomes naturalized.

Being Analytical means a detailed systematic examination with an intention to derive at the underlying meanings.

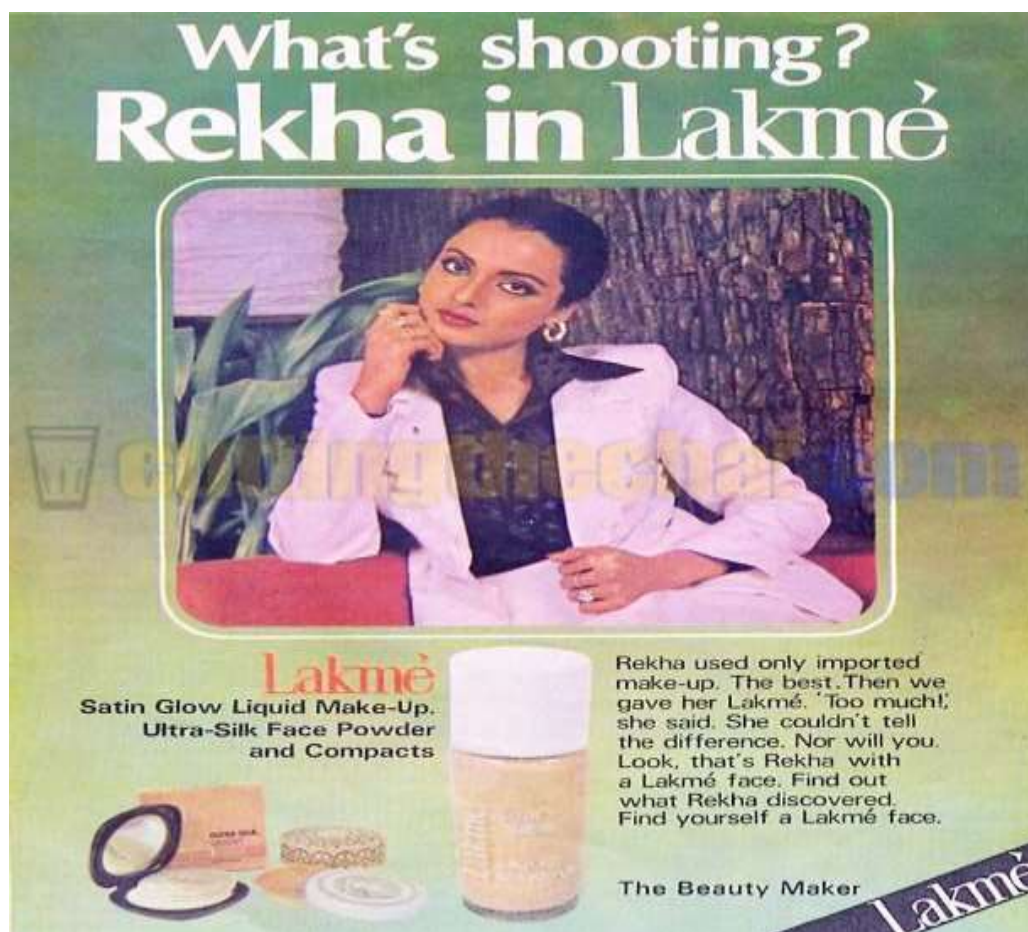
What Is the Sociocognitive Model?

Van Dijk presents a triangle of discourse (text and talk), mind and society. The component of mind (or memory) takes a central position in this model. Memory is divided into Working Memory (WM)/ Short Term Memory (STM). It is the area where the ongoing experiences are continuously processed. The other component is the Long Term Memory (LTM) which in turn is made up of Episodic Memory (EM) and Semantic Memory (SM). EM is the area where knowledge about the personal/autobiographical experiences are stored. SM stores the social cognition, that is, knowledge shared by the social community we live in. It comprises of social attitudes, knowledge and ideology. This component is the most crucial in studying how group attitudes can be manipulated by covertly appealing to the ideology.

Whenever we encounter a new experience, it is processed in light of the knowledge already stored in the EM and SM. The new knowledge gained becomes part of the EM, if it is of personal nature, and becomes part of the SM, if it is of social nature. Once this knowledge is integrated in the system of LTM, it gains power to influence further perception of experiences. The most striking part is that knowledge in the LTM becomes a naturalised discourse, that is, it becomes something naturally occurring or given and is thus, almost never questioned. It requires immense effort and struggle to realise the working of this ideological knowledge and even greater effort and struggle to amend its unethical usage. Thus, it is of utmost importance to study and disseminate information about how minds can be captured, and opinions manufactured so much so that it is hardly ever perceptible. The language of advertising is a powerful example of such capturing of ideology. This is because it uses crisp, pithy and often melodious language. Keiko Tanak appoints out that language in advertisements often use eye catching puns which tend to stay longer in memory.

Knowledge in EM is stored in the form of mental models. These are a hierarchical structure of spatiotemporal nature. These mental models are multimodal, that is, they have information not just in terms of language but also other modes of expression.

The next major component of the model is the social component. It mainly deals with the notion of power. Power is defined as the phenomenon of control, when one mass of population controls the other mass of population. Power can be overt when the actions are controlled. This is the Social Dimension of power. Or, it can be covert when it controls the mind, ideology and mental models. This is the Cognitive Dimension of power. A population can become powerful when it has a privileged access to resources of discourse formation. For instance, producers of advertisements are powerful for they have access to producing a definitive discourse that would ultimately benefit them. What we seek in this paper is to study in what way the power is exerted by this powerful mass on the general population, here the consumers of advertisements.



Discursive Analysis of Advertisement 1

Language

In the given advertisement, the most noticeable aspect is too much text and the relative non fluidity of each mode with the theme. In the very first instance, the producer assumes the reader has time to go through so much text and the detailed experience of Rekha, even her replies verbatim! The very first part is dialogic asking a question. It automatically assigns the reader a subject position where they presumably answer (may be unconsciously accepting) 'Rekha in Lakme'. According to Fairclough, assigning subject position is a way of establishing and stabilizing a particular discourse type. The term 'lakme' is repeated thrice in different fonts, colours and backgrounds, reifying its importance. Words like 'satin glow' and 'ultra silk' clearly indicates the advertisement is for ladies and for special occasions where one needs to shine like satin and silk. In the description of Rekha's experience, imperative constructions are used like "Look that's Rekha with a Lakme face, Find out..., find out yourself". Such constructions are either command or request. In both the cases, the reader is asked to do something that is in favour of the text producer. Therefore, the text producer automatically assumes a powerful position and relegates the reader to a specified subject position. Lastly, the products are called 'THE BEAUTY

MAKER'. Thus, they are assigned power the standard of which is 'Rekha in Lakme'. Reiteration of 'lakme face' reemphasises it is an entity that women out there need to possess for this is 'what is shooting'.

Layout

Various elements of the advertisement seem to have been brought together and dropped in one background. The picture of Rekha occupies, quite meaningfully, the central position of the advertisement. It becomes very clear what the real agenda of the ad is. The products that should have been the theme are relegated to the downside of the whole text. There are two products advertised in one commercial. Indeed, no specialization in the choice of product is assumed except for the coveted celebrity look. The products are not highlighted, like Rekha's portrait, with a white outline. There is text scattered in all corners. The most important and meaningful text comes at the top. It reifies what the central portrait of the celebrity tends to hint. In her portrait, Rekha does not sit in a formal posture, but can be noticed giving an attractive pose. She sits in a formal dress. However, her jeweled image speaks of a special occasion. She looks straight into the camera, which is a mark of confidence, probably because now she has a 'lakme face'.

Colour

The background is green in colour that invites a soothing feeling of peace and calm. The text is mostly in black and white. Rekha too wears black and white. This may be an attempt to create a classic look. Also, black in itself indicates confidence, robustness, strength. White, on the contrary, white is a marker of simplicity, innocence and peace. The combination can be vividly described with the system of Rekha's clothing. She is confident from inside but simple on the outside.

Social and Cognitive Analysis of Advertisement 1

The advertisement looks and reads more like a celebrity endorsement activity. Indeed, Lakme would not endorse a celebrity unless she brings profit to them. Hence, the two are placed in association, eg. 'Rekha in Lakme'. The two most striking components of the ad are the first two sentence dialogue and the portrait of Rekha. Both reemphasise each other. Rekha is given a powerful central position and all texts along with the products sit around her. Use of imperatives gives power to the discourse producer.

Nowhere do the elements speak of a woman's identity and what she wants. She is instead encouraged to discover what the, here powerful, celebrity experienced. Clearly, the advertisement is designed to appeal to women at home who sometimes want to shine in special occasions. This is indicated by the rarely used satin and silk as well as jewelry. The identity of woman is spoken about only till the point she is beautiful like the 'lakme face' for Lakme is the 'beauty maker'.

Too much text indicates it is assumed women have time to invest. Beyond doubt, women are not considered working individuals. Moreover, there is just one shade shown of the foundation as well as the compact. It is implicitly implied beauty cannot be dark.

If these pieces of implicit knowledge are accepted without contestation, they form part of the LTM. Thus, they now have the power to generate mental models which assumes women as non-working, once-in-a-while shining people who have too much time to invest in beauty products and look like a celebrity! At this point, this implicit knowledge becomes dangerous for it will influence future perception of events. Also, it helps stabilize and ideology of celebrity worship. Based on this ideology is the attitude to look someone you are not. Therefore, in the long run, in the socially generalized meaning, someone with a standard complexion, pose and looks only can be beautiful.



Discursive Analysis of Advertisement 2

Language

This advertisement has minimum text. Nonetheless, it is a powerful composition. The term ‘effortless product’ creates a mental model where the person requiring it is in dearth of time. ‘easily blends into your skin’ indicates the product is something that adjusts to you. You do not put in effort as it is customized according to your needs. What are these needs supposed to be? Why are there these needs? It ‘lasts throughout the day’ this same quality is stated with ‘9 to 5’ written on the product. The target audience is either the office going or the college going women.

Lastly, it ‘conceals imperfections’. What are these imperfections? The advertiser telling someone of their imperfections assumes a powerful position where it points finger and the reader is relegated to a subject position of obeying to ‘conceal’ them.

The foundation is ‘weightless’ and comes in a range of different shades. Different shades can be interpreted as giving women a strong image. They know what exactly they want and so the product is customized in different shades.

Layout

This advertisement is a carefully crafted composition. It has minimum text but all elements flow into each other, creating a powerful impact of the theme on the cognition of readers. The background is white, and all elements are placed on it without any extra highlighting (as in the case of Rekha’s portrait in the last advertisement). Nonetheless, the celebrity occupies a major position on the left. English readers tend to focus on the left first and thus, remember it. The celebrity gives a close up with a straight-into-the-eye look. There is, therefore, no focus on her celebrity status but the texture and quality of her skin. She wears a very simple nude makeup. The advertisement definitely does not talk about special occasions (as in the case of jeweled Rekha and her attractive pose). The product is also given a central position. There is just the text highlighting its concrete quality, there is no unnecessary aggrandizement. The product itself speaks of its ‘weightlessness’. Lastly, the text occupies the top position. Although less, it is given an important position. There are higher chances that it would be read as well as remembered.

There are just three elements used. Each of them is given an important position; none suffers at the expense of others. Each of them is directly linked to the theme and concretely yet implicitly effects the cognition.

Colour

Colours used are the major resource of creating the created impact. Every element is in a nude shade. There are two effects of it: 1. It can masterfully ‘conceal imperfections’ 2. It highlights the nude shades available in the product. It should be noticed that all shades of the foundation mentioned create a psychological impact of strength and dependableness.

Social and Cognitive Analysis of Advertisement 2

The advertisement evidently assumes the addressees to be working women. These women lack time and thus, need effortless products. Also, it is assumed that in their tight schedule these women need something that ‘blends’ with their schedule. Working women need something that lasts for the day and so is done by the advertised product. However, it is to be understood that the advertiser takes up the powerful position because the working women are in need of some thing.

Secondly, the text overtly tells women that there are ‘imperfections’ they need to ‘conceal’. Ethically, no one has the right or should have the power to state what counts as imperfections. More unethical is to ask someone to conceal them.

One positive side of the advertisement is that it acknowledges a strong and independent identity of women. They are presumed to be educated people who are aware of the subtleties of their cosmetic needs. They know how to choose what shade according to their skin tone. All shades of colours used emphasise this strong image of women and how the product is in accordance to this image. However, one shortcoming is that all shades are nude. What about the needs of a dark skin?

The advertisement may appeal to the working, strong women as a specially customized product. However, its underlying assumption of power relegates women to the subject position. In case, she accepts the theme being conveyed multimodally, her LTM is affected. In future too, she would produce mental models that tell her that she needs to look flawless for the whole day. She has issues that society categorises as ‘imperfections’ and so she needs to conceal them with the product best suiting her skin tone.

Conclusion

Both advertisements have been quite suggestive and vivid. They addressed women identity and roles according to the times they were produced in. The new advertisement did acknowledge the independence and strength of women. Nonetheless, both advertisements implied that women need to either be like someone or at least conceal their ‘imperfections’. The continuous growth and sale of beauty products indicate that such regressive discourse has found a connect with the audience’s ideology. Van Dijk (2008) says “ideologies are largely (re)produced by text, talk and communication”. Women do feel the need to look flawless and thus, to try on cosmetics that make them naturally perfect!

We, therefore, feel there is a need of a new paradigm of research. It should not only analyse advertiser strategies, but also study if it is possible to attract audience with the same intensity if such a regressive discourse is completely avoided. Moreover, strategies could be suggested that can catch audience attention by only addressing the strength of their identity.

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The Semantics of Garbs in Dramatic Discourse

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Abstract

A critical study of discourse represented in conversational form will reveal many lexical elements which play the role of implicatures and do not convey the exact meaning which the speaker wants to mean directly. It depends on the hearer's/ addressee's capacity to extract the exact semantic value of such elements which the speakers want them to be interpreted. Interpretative failures lead to communication gaps and irrelevant or wrong derivation of meaning. This study will look into the conversational dramatic discourse of William Shakespeare's tragic play *Macbeth*. The aim is to understand and look at how the speakers with their references to clothes and images of clothing in their conversation throughout the play convey messages that are important to the course of the dialogue exchanges that take place. The garbs in the play, apart from their own inherent semantic value of being pieces of clothes meant to cover one's body, have added connotations in tune with the contextual circumstances and speaker's wish to transfer implicated ideas and thoughts to the hearer/ addressee.

Keywords. Dramatic Discourse, Garbs, Elizabethan, *Macbeth*, Conversational Implicature, Semantics, Conversation, Images.

Introduction

The dramatic representation of the Elizabethan society and narration of a social event on stage and in tune with the popular tradition, customs and beliefs of the period is incomplete without the actual use of props and equipment. The tools not only bring a scene closer to real life representation but also add richer and symbolic meaning to the conversations of the participants. A broader semantic dimension is given to the spoken discourse with the aid of such tools without much elaboration of verbal expressions in every context. The tools, therefore, have a language of their own which when deciphered complete the understanding and interpretation of conversation. This study aims to examine the function of such devices so as to facilitate a closer understanding of what is essentially not said but conveyed. In this regard, H.P. Grice's notion of *implicature*

comes into the picture. The part of conversation which is suggestive and not communicated literally must be deciphered by the hearers/addressee for successful communication. The complete meaning which the interlocutor wants to convey is facilitated by the tools and imageries used by the addresser during a conversational discourse in their utterances.

Conversational Implicature

Conversational Implicature addresses two questions that are integral to issues in semantic interpretation of the discourse of communication. First, the way a speaker tries to convey something specific without using strings of lexeme(s) that would have actually represented. Second, how the addressee/hearer decipheres the exact meaning the speaker tries to highlight.

Paul Grice explains in this regard that the speaker/addresser and hearer/addressee are always cooperative with regard to communicative exchanges. The cooperative characteristic is governed by Cooperative Principles based on certain maxims. These maxims of quality, quantity, relevance and manner make any conversation successful and portray the rationality of the interlocutors. The implicatures growing out of conversations are purely pragmatic inferences that are context dependent and in accordance with the communication agreements between the participants. These inferred meanings are majorly predictable and resultant of the understanding of beyond what is 'just said'. According to Grice, any communicative event is ruled by a principle that makes it effective to the maximum capacity and in equation with logic and reason. The principle, as Paul Grice defines, is

'Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged.'

Connecting Dialogues - Norms of Conversation

A conversational exchange is always guided by certain norms of conversational behavior, which otherwise would lead to disconnected and irrelevant trading of thoughts and ideas between the interlocutors. These norms are always adhered to by the participants of conversation and are mutually known. They prevent the exchange of dialogues from being 'a succession of disconnected remarks.' Moreover, the rules organized by Paul Grice facilitates conversational moves strictly in adherence to the formulated categories, thereby, making the exchange successful. The categories are termed as Maxims of Conversation which can be divided into the following four categories:

i) Maxims of Quality

- Prevention of false statements.
- Avoiding statements which do not have adequate evidence to support the claim.

ii) Maxims of Relation

- Consideration of relevant and connected dialogues.

iii) Maxims of Quantity

- Informative contribution should be made as per the direction of talk exchange.
- Informative contribution should be as per requirement and not excess.

iv) Maxims of Manner

- Avoiding of obscure and ambiguous statements.
- Maintenance of order and chronology in the dialogues.
- Briefness and directness should characterise the speech.

Semantic Interpretation of Device from Selected Dialogues

The semantic interpretation analyses the way the speakers make references to clothes and images of clothing in their conversations throughout the play to convey messages that are important to the course of the dialogue exchanges that take place. The garbs, apart from their own inherent semantic value of 'garments', has added connotations in tune with the contextual circumstances and speaker's motivation to convey certain implicated ideas and thoughts.

The dialogues have been methodically selected which convey ideas and messages beyond what is just said. The chosen dialogues have lexemes semantically related to 'clothes' which do not just convey the perception of a piece of fabric meant to cover one's body but also added multiple connotations which make the conversations complete and appropriate in the dramatic conversational discourse of William Shakespeare's *Macbeth*. The following are the selected dialogues from the entire discourse of the play which suit the aforesaid notion. The quotations which are actually in the form of dialogues by participants of conversation are represented here as per their occurrence in the play in the scheme -
(Act)X. (Scene)Y. (Line No) Z: '<dialogue>'.
(Act)X. (Scene)Y. (Line No) Z: '<dialogue>'.

I.III.106: 'The Thane of Cawdor leaves. Why do you dress me in borrow'd robes?'

The images of clothing in the entire course of the play have significant semantic values and not just are lexical items for decorative syntactic presentation. As Ross informs Macbeth about his newly acquired title, he responds back and questions the reason behind attributing the new title to him which is not his. He attaches the symbol of clothing with a specific title of 'Thane of Cawdor' and therefore comments on why Ross is being unreasonable and dressing him in the gown that is not his.

**I.III.143-145: *'New honours come upon him
Like our strange garments, cleave not to their mould,
But with the aid of use.'***

In the very same scene, there is an exchange of dialogues between Macbeth and Banquo. Banquo referred to Macbeth's new title as 'strange garments.' The image depicts Banquo's view that just the way new clothes get fitted to our body with use so will be Macbeth's new responsibility. Though there will be no actual difference in the way Macbeth dresses after acquiring the title but only added responsibility, Banquo predicts a change in Macbeth's outlook towards life and society.

**I.V.63-64: *'To beguile the time,
Look like the time, bear welcome in your eye,'***

Lady Macbeth urges Macbeth to take up the look that suits the purpose and not let others interpret his inner self which is filled with tension and anxiety. By uttering 'look like the time', Lady Macbeth does not indicate the wearing of some dress and presenting oneself in tune with the situation. Rather the imagery is suggestive towards adaptation of a look through facial expression that does not represent the mental state.

**I.VII.34: *'We will proceed no further in this business.
He hath honour'd me of late, and I have bought
Golden opinions from all sorts of people,
Which would be worn now in their newest gloss,
Not cast aside so soon.'***

Macbeth says before Lady Macbeth that he is unwilling to proceed with the plan of killing King Duncan. He declares that he wishes to enjoy his newly acquired honours from Duncan just as one enjoys the feeling of new clothes. Yet again William Shakespeare uses the imagery of garments to convey an idea that is not directly connected to the prescribed notion. Here, he equates honours/ titles as new 'garments' for deriving pleasure of some imperial achievement.

**I.VII.37: *'Was the hope drunk
Wherein you dress'd yourself?'***

Following this, herein Lady Macbeth questions Macbeth's earlier wish to rise to power as a 'hope' that was worn in the moment of drunkenness. Shakespeare skillfully attributes to this

'hope' an image of clothing that Macbeth might probably have put in a state of excitement having heard the evil predictions of the three witches which he now desires to shed off.

**II.II.73: ‘Get on your night-gown, lest occasion call us
And show us to be watchers.’**

Having committed the crime and being in a state of anxiety and despair and moral conscience pricking Macbeth, Lady Macbeth comes to the purpose of setting things normal. He urges Macbeth to quickly associate himself with the needs of the situation. Yet again the image of a particular attire 'nightgown' is brought in. The dress actually will indicate the couple's complete unawareness of the heinous crime that had been committed and will portray an outward appearance of innocence.

**V.II.20: ‘Now does he feel his title
Hang loose about him, like a giant's robe
Upon a dwarfish thief.’**

Angus accuses Macbeth of taking away Duncan's power unfaithfully by murdering him. He attaches the image of the robe that Macbeth is wearing with kingly power. According to him, such majestic robe of power and responsibility is not suiting him at all, rather hanging loosely on him. Critic Cleanth Brooks in this regard comments,

‘The crucial point of the comparison, it seems to me, lies not in the smallness of the man and the largeness of the robes, but rather in the fact that—whether the man be large or small—these are not his garments; in Macbeth's case they are actually stolen garments. Macbeth is uncomfortable in them because he is continually conscious of the fact that they do not belong to him. There is a further point, and it is one of the utmost importance; the oldest symbol for the hypocrite is that of a man who cloaks his true nature under a disguise.’

(Cleanth Brooks (1956). *The Well Wrought Urn: Studies in the structure of poetry*)

Conclusion

The paper presents the semantic interpretations of dramatic devices which contribute much more than just what is said. It is important for the hearer/addressee to understand such connotations in an utterance that go beyond the conventional direct lexical meaning. A successful exchange of dialogues is therefore chiefly guided by the maxims of conversation and hearer's linguistic, communicative and diverse semantic interpretive competence. The conversational discourse in *Macbeth* has such multifaceted meaning variation through the usage of the imagery of 'clothes.' The study brought out such shades of meaning of a particular device which the speakers used in

his/her utterances and thus wished to convey ideas at various points of discourse that were dependent on the context and direction of talk exchange.

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The English Teacher's Competence in Error Analysis and Its Application in the Classroom

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Abstract

Error analysis is one of the least important areas among the teachers of English in India. Errors are still considered an ailment by majority teachers. Errors are considered as a stepping-stone to perfection only by a few EFL/ESL teachers. We still live in a society where errors in second language acquisition as a punishable offense and our teachers do penalize students with their grading system which lands the readers in a big inhibition towards learning English. This may be one of the prime reasons that many students in India struggle to speak and write fluently in English despite learning the language for a decade and a half. This paper is an attempt to review the perceptions of errors and error analysis by linguists around the world. The objective of this article is to disprove the wrong perception among ESL teachers about errors.

Introduction

Gone are the days when a person could remain complacent with the working knowledge of his mother tongue alone. With population explosion, depleting resources and shrinking of the world as a global village, the need to learn a second language or more languages that could facilitate movement across countries in search of employment or to increase trade has become almost a compulsion.

The problem faced by the second language teacher is the frequent errors committed by the learner in his speaking as well as writing. To train the students in using the second language, the need has come for the teacher to acquire mastery in error analysis. Error analysis is concerned with the compilation, study and analysis of errors made by second language learners. It is a branch

of applied linguistics which aims at investigating aspects of second language acquisition. Error analysis is a way for linguists, researchers, and educators to identify errors made by second language learners. Error analysis research pursues the path of devising methods and materials to help teachers and learners to aim at **fluency in speaking and correctness in writing**.

Language Learning

Language as a tool of communication has been practiced and mastered by human beings over millennia and language is one aspect which differentiates human beings and animals. The mankind stands divided on the Origin of Language and has been discussing whether language was God's Gift or the result of human effort in the process of evolution. The Lockean assumption of a "Clean slate" led to the "**Behaviorist Theory**" and this theory dominated language learning in the mid 19th century. Skinner (1957) declared that language is learned through a process of 'habit-formation' and 'verbal behaviour'. The arrival of linguist Chomsky on the scene restored a balance, in that it favoured a pre-programming prior to learning. According to Chomskyan theory children are born with an innate capacity for acquiring language.

Second Language Learning

Carroll J. B. in his book, "*Language Development in Children*" (1960), was one of the first to distinguish "language acquisition" (learning the mother tongue) from foreign or second language learning. He asks whether first language learning is learning at all, or whether it is rather a biological process of growth, or as Chomsky would say, "*genetic maturation*" or "*linguistic competence*".

Error Analysis

S.P. Corder states, in the introduction in his book "*Error Analysis and Interlanguage*" (1982) Oxford University Press, that "*people now believe they had a principled means for accounting for these errors, namely that they were the result of interference in the learning of a second language from the habits of the first language*". Corder points out that the development of generative linguistics and interest in psycholinguistic research had initiated a shift of emphasis in language teaching from its preoccupation with teaching towards the study of learning. The new interest led naturally to a comparison between first language (L1) and second language (L2) learning, and to the question of whether the apparent differences between the two represent two different processes of learning.

Contrastive Analysis Theory

In the 1950s, American linguist Robert Lado began to study errors systematically and developed theories about errors. Contrastive analysis hypothesis claimed that the principal barrier to second language acquisition is the interference of the first language system and that a scientific

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and structural comparison of the two languages in question would enable people to predict and describe the problems.

Contrastive analysis is helpful in locating those problematic areas and finding out solutions to them. On the whole, contrastive analysis has a prognostic value i.e. to predict the errors, difficulties and problems faced by learners, while learning a second language.

Interlingual Studies

Research (Mackey, 1960, Brown, 1973, Krashen, 1982 and Berko, 1958) in the field of language acquisition has proved that there is a universal order of acquisition despite differing socio-cultural backgrounds of the learners. The order of acquiring proficiency in the first language remains constant in children from all strata of society. It is clear from the various studies in first language that children do not only initiate and reproduce but construct their own rules. The interlingual study tries to prove that the process of learning second language is the same as first language. Corder says that at any point in their learning of a Target Language (TL), learners use a system that can be described in linguistic terms and from which the researcher can discover the learners' *"transitional competence"*.

Interlanguage

The term 'Interlanguage' coined by Selinker (1972), was first introduced into the literature in an influential paper published in the International Review of Applied Linguistics in 1972. It is used to denote the *'second' language system that is developed by the learner on the basis of his first language*. This system is what Selinker calls Interlanguage. A number of terms have been coined to describe the perspective which stressed the legitimacy of learners' second language system. Corder (1971) used the term *"idiosyncratic dialect"* or *"learners' language"* (1978) and Nemser (1971) called it *"approximate system"*. Interlanguage refers to the separateness of a second language learners' system that has a structurally intermediate status between the native and target languages.

Understanding Errors

The error shall be considered as inevitable in the development of second language learning. Dulay and Burt (1974) are of the view that *"you cannot learn without goofing"* (Stern, 1987: 354). Errors should not be taken as an ailment that needs to be eradicated. On the whole, it is an important tool to diagnose and assess the progress made by the learner. One important implication of the Interlanguage hypothesis is the fact that errors are accepted as inevitable. The Interlanguage hypothesis sees errors as evidence of L2 learners' strategies of learning, rather than as signs of interference or as the persistence of "bad habits" which should be eradicated as quickly as possible through practice, drill and over-learning of the correct forms.

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Error Analysis in the Classroom

The field of error analysis may be defined as dealing with the differences between the way people learning a language speak, and the way adult native speakers of the language use the language. The primary aims of error analyses are (i) to identify types and patterns of errors and (ii) to establish error taxonomies.

Need for Teacher's Mastery of the Two Languages

S.P. Corder argues, "There have been **two schools of thought in respect of learners' errors**. Firstly, the school which maintains that if we were to achieve a perfect teaching method the errors would never be committed in the first place, and therefore the occurrence of errors is merely a sign of the present **inadequacy of our teaching techniques**".

He juxtaposes the argument of the other school of thought, "The philosophy of the second school is that **we live in an imperfect world and consequently errors will always occur in spite of our best efforts**. Our ingenuity should be concentrated on techniques for dealing with errors after they have occurred". What may be an embarrassment to the teaching community is the charge of inadequacy. But, Corder defends them saying that in a classroom, **for the learner the "input is 'what goes in', not 'what is available for going in', and we may reasonably suppose that it is the learner who controls this input, or more properly his intake.**

Do Students Learn What They are Taught?

Krashen's natural order hypothesis claims that acquisition does not apply to learned structures and is independent in teaching (Jordan, 2004, p.179). Rod Ellis (1993, p. 4) adds: '...what is taught is not necessarily learned since what is learned is controlled by the learner and not the teacher, not the textbooks, not the syllabus.'

Attitudinal Change in the Teacher

The second language teacher should learn to see errors as learning steps. The traditional thinking of errors as a negative which needs punishment needs to be changed. The student should be allowed to experiment with language in speaking and writing in a non-threatening fun way. Successful communication demands correctness, a certain level of accuracy in the use of language. The demands of accuracy should not deter the student from aiming at fluency. The teacher should develop the art of guiding the student progress through fluency to accuracy. Error correction should support learning and should not be a kind of criticism or punishment.

Tasks for the Second Language Teacher

The teacher acquiring mastery in error analysis gets an overall knowledge of his students' errors. As foreign language learning is a process of hypothesis and trial, error occurrence is inevitable. So, the teacher should learn to tolerate errors.

Secondly, errors can tell the teacher how far towards the goal the learner has progressed and consequently, what remains for him or her to learn. So students' errors are valuable feedbacks. The teacher can prepare remedial activities based on their errors. With the feedback, they make new attempts to achieve the more closely approximate desired goals.

Thirdly, errors are indispensable to the learners themselves, as the making of mistakes is a device the learner employs in order to learn.

In the Classroom

The teacher should be able to identify the reason for the errors of linguistic forms whether they are caused

- a) By the influence of the first language
- b) By misunderstanding a rule
- c) By lack of concentration
- d) Or, by a mixture of these and other factors

The teacher should constantly decide

- ❖ Whether to correct
- ❖ When to correct
- ❖ What to correct, and
- ❖ How to correct

The teacher should exercise patience to

- a) Allow students to identify "slips" and do self-correction
- b) Help students when the error could not be self-corrected
- c) Guide the student has no idea on how to structure the form to convey the idea

The Teacher should encourage students to discover their own errors. Peer correction can help if handled judiciously. The teacher may improvise his own method for the particular class. The teacher should also observe the other influences outside the classrooms and try to gently make the students aware of the mistakes without offending other teachers.

Motivation

Normally, one finds unwillingness on the part of the learner in learning the second language due to various reasons. Individuals who are motivated will learn another language faster and to a greater degree. Others end up struggling with errors. And, quite clearly, some degree of motivation is involved in initial decisions to learn another language and to maintain learning. Numerous studies have provided statistical evidence that indicates motivation is a predictor of language-learning success. The Second Language Teacher needs to be a master in his subject and also be a great motivator.

Limitations

Certainly, error analysis is significant, but it also has its limitations. First, there is a danger in too much attention to learners' errors and when in the classroom teacher tends to become so preoccupied with noticing errors that the correct utterance in the second language will go unnoticed.

While the diminishing of errors is an important criterion for increasing language proficiency, the ultimate goal of second language learning is the attainment of communicative fluency in a language.

Conclusion

Teachers used to believe that errors were the result of faulty learning, thereby throwing the entire blame on the learner. The current attitude to errors being one of tolerance and expectation, the teacher should expect errors in his learners' use of the second or foreign language; prepare his lessons and adopt classroom techniques so as to help his students to overcome the problem of errors. A tolerant attitude of teachers towards errors helps learners to communicate with confidence.

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The Impact of Task Repetition on Reading with Reference to Government College Students

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Abstract

Task-based language teaching (TBLT) is one of the significant methods in the second language learning context. This paper makes use of TBLT, particularly with regard to Task Repetition. Task Repetition is nothing but using the similar piece of learning input time and again as may be required. The biggest advantage is the mindset of the learner is tuned in such a way that he/she not only comprehends the item to be learned but is able to reproduce it (this is the result of his/her retention capacity). Hence, in this context, a study with a small group of ESL learners from one of the government colleges of Tamil Nadu was undertaken to prove the hypothesis. So, this study makes use of YouTube based Tasks (Interesting YouTube videos) with repetition as a central concept, to see the effect on the ESL learners reading comprehension. The scores of the learners on their reading comprehension prove that there is a significant difference between the two groups of students selected for the study.

Keywords: Reading, Task-based language teaching, Task Repetition, college students

1. Introduction

Task-based language teaching gives importance to employment of different types of tasks and their learning input. This paper makes use of task repetition as a central concept. Task repetition is considered to be a major phenomenon that improves learning in L2 (Larsen-Freeman, 2012). Task- repetition has drawn much attention as an important aspect of TBLT since it is considered primarily useful in making learners alter their language production (Bygate,1996).

During the second performance of the task in task repetition “part of the work conceptualization, formulation, and articulation carried out the first occasion is kept in

learner's memory store" and "can be reused on the second occasion" (Bygate,2001; P.29) that is, they can integrate their previous knowledge into what they are doing. Another important point to be noted on task repetition is "the integrative planning for task repetition" (Rod Ellis 2005)

There are several empirical research papers which highlight the impact of task-repetition in second language reading. Yet there is not enough evidence to show the relationship between task repetition and language proficiency in reading. It is assumed that the task repetition fastens the rate of students' involvement, which in turn results in the improvement of students' performance. It is also assumed that the students gain opportunities to concentrate on meaning and form in two or more times as the case may be.

Hence, the present study makes use of task repetition as a central concept to examine the effectiveness of reading comprehension through YouTube video input.

2. Significance of the Study

Though there are a number of studies on Task Repetition in the global context, very few studies were done in the south Indian context, particularly in the District of Thanjavur and not a single study in Task Repetition among the Government Colleges has been done previously. Therefore, this study concentrates on Government College students and it attempts to improve their reading comprehension in L2.

3. Students' Profile

A group of twelve students were selected for this experimental study. Those twelve ESL students majoring in Chemistry were chosen from Rajah Serfoji Government College, Thanjavur. They were from proper rural background and they did not have sufficient exposure to use English. The comprehension level with regard to reading in L2 is somewhat mediocre.

4. The Research Question

How does task repetition influence the reading skills of L2 learners, who study in the government college of Thanjavur?

Methodology

At the outset, 2nd year Chemistry students from Rajah Serfoji Government college were met and were introduced to the study. Volunteers who wanted to participate in the study were selected. They were given student profile cards to get basic information about the individual participant. (Roll numbers, branch, Name of the college, age, etc.) Once it was filled in, they were told about the contact hours, scheduled for them. In the next scheduled hour, they were given a baseline test. It included a cloze passage and reading comprehension of a passage. After this, their performance was evaluated. According to their calibre they were put in two groups. In the next contact hour, they were given YouTube videos(with the

help of a Laptop) which deal with a variety of interesting topics. (Each ran roughly about 3 to 5 minutes.)

Once they finished watching, the same video was played/repeated twice, they were given worksheets containing passages and comprehension questions corresponding to the video they had watched. This was followed by comprehension test that consisted of ten questions per passage and their work sheets were received for evaluation.

The control group of students were not given the YouTube video input. Like a normal reading comprehension test, worksheets containing passages and comprehension questions were given to them. Besides they were given assistance in terms of glossary and helpful phrases and idioms. They were given sufficient time to complete the worksheets. The worksheets were received for evaluation.

The testing time, conditions, criteria for assessment were similar for both the groups.

6. Criteria For Evaluation

To analyze the ESL students' performance of L2 study reading comprehension, specific criteria were developed to analyse the students' reading comprehension (i.e., Knowledge of Phrases, Idioms and Words, Reading speed, Analytical/Critical Insight & Overall Comprehension).

This study made use of descriptive statistics to evaluate the results obtained.

Results

Table 1: Control Group

S.No	Roll No	Knowledge of Phrases, Idioms& Words	Reading Speed (Max:5 marks)	Analytical/ Critical Insight (Max:5)	Overall Comprehension (Max:10 marks)	Total (Max:25 marks)
1	18CT 1433	3	2	3	5	13
2	18 CT 1438	4	1	2	4	11
3	18 CT 1446	3	2	3	4	12
4	18 CT 1414	3	2	3	5	13
5	18 CT 1409	4	3	2	3	12
6	18 CT 1403	3	2	2	3	10

Table 2: Experimental Group

S.No	Roll No	Knowledge of Phrases, Idioms & Words (Max:5 marks)	Reading Speed (Max:5 marks)	Analytical/ Critical Insight (Max:5 marks)	Overall Comprehension (Max:10 marks)	Total (Max:25 marks)
1	18CT 1440	4	5	4	9	22
2	18CT 1443	3	4	4	8	19
3	18CT 1423	4	5	4	9	22
4	18CT 1444	3	4	3	7	17
5	18CT 1421	4	5	4	9	22
6	18CT 1418	4	4	4	8	20

Discussion

There is a significant difference between control and experimental group of students. Overall, the performance of the experimental group of students was better than the control group students. Interestingly, the students who watched YouTube videos have performed well. Invariably all their answers were accurate and to the point. This is an obvious fact that a video input has helped them a great deal to comprehend the corresponding passage. Their reading speed was also good, (i.e., an indication of their comprehension) whereas the scores of the control group of students were not up to the mark. This shows that their answers to the comprehension questions highlighted their weakness in terms of reading comprehension. An important point to be noted in this context is that both the groups were homogenous with regard to their proficiency in reading comprehension (i.e., their scores in the baseline test were almost similar).

The students of the experimental group were able to correlate the reading comprehension passage with the video input. This was possible as they were able to watch YouTube items twice. They performed the task in two different worksheets. The second worksheet showed improvement. Their answers were accurate in comparison to the first worksheet.

In contrast, the worksheets of the control group were not so accurate because they neither repeated the task nor worked on the video input. Besides, the reading speed was also very low (an indication that their comprehension was poor).

9. Limitations

It was limited to a single task and it was limited to a few samples. It cannot be generalized as of now. It was also done with a homogenous group. It was also limited to a government college in the district of Thanjavur.

10. Conclusion

Thus, the results of the study prove the fact that repeating task using interesting YouTube videos among the Government college students do have a significant impact on their reading comprehension. Further, the study gives the following recommendations: the same task with a different type of modifications or combinations could be used to improve upon the other skills like speaking (i.e., Speaking task based on video input, writing assignment based on a video input) and listening task based on Video input (listening to YouTube video and answering comprehension questions).

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Acquisition of Morphophonemic Structures in Malayalam Speaking Children with Intellectual Disability

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Language is a complex and dynamic system of conventional symbols that is used in various modes for thought and communication. ASHA (1982). The children with Intellectual Disability (ID) have deficits in syntax along with other components of language in varying degrees throughout their lives. Research on language acquisition in India has been carried out mostly through dissertation (Subba Rao (1995), Sucharitha, Sujatha, Karanth, 1993). Large scale data in any one language for different age range is unavailable. Hence it is difficult to visualize and describe language acquisition in many Indian languages. Literature review in different Indian languages shows that even though several syntax structures are assessed in both typical children and children with Intellectual Disability, few or limited studies were done on morphophonemic aspects in Malayalam language. The present study emphasizes on studying acquisition of Morphophonemic structures in children with Intellectually Disability and Malayalam speaking children, mental age from 4-6 years, which enable speech language pathologist for a focused assessment, better intervention and monitoring progress in therapy. 20 typical Malayalam speaking children in the age range of 4-5 and 5-6 years (10 members in each group) and 60 children with intellectual disability mental age 4-5 and 5-6 years (30 members in each group) participated in present study. Morpho-phonemic structures were selected with suitable examples. The responses were collected from each individual by presenting picture stimuli and transcribed for analysis. Results reveal that Svara sandhi (vowel + vowel) are the Morpho-phonemic structures that are primarily acquired in both typically developing children and children with Intellectual Disability. Morpho-phonemic structures, Svara vyanjana sandhi (vowel + consonant), vyanjana svara sandhi (consonant + vowel) and vyanjana sandhi (consonant + consonant) were the least developed structures in the age range of 4-6 years and are likely to develop above 6 years. Typical children performed better when compare to children with Intellectual Disability. And also, 5-6 years old group showed better performance than 4-6 years old group (in both normal and ID). The results of the present study is in accordance with the study done by Subba Rao (1995) where he says that acquisition of Morphophonemic structures increase with age.

Introduction

Human beings express their thoughts and ideas by using a code which can be named as language. Language is a complex system of arbitrary symbols which is used for human communication. (American Speech and Hearing Association, ASHA, 1982)

There are mainly five components of language:

Phonology: the system of the sound segment that humans used to build up words

Morphology: the system which can be described as the smallest segment of speech that carries meaning.

Syntax: the system of rules by which words and phrases arranged to a meaning full segment.

Semantics: the system of meanings that expressed by words or phrases.

Pragmatics: the system of patterns that determine how humans can use language in particular social setting for particular conversational purpose.

The interface between phonology and morphology lies in the area covered by the terms morpho-phonemics, morpho- phonology or lexical rules. (Kiparsky, 2000)

Morpho-phonology (Morphophonemic) is known as ‘Sandhi’ in Malayalam language. Morphology is a branch of morpheme which studies the phonological structure of morpheme.

In Indian languages, Sandhi (joining) is a cover term for a wide variety of phonological processes that occur at morpheme or word boundaries well called as Morpho-phonology. And it denotes the changes that occur in sounds when two words or separate morphemes come together to form a new word, or when they are adjacent in a sentence. Examples include the fusion of sounds across word boundaries and the alteration of the sounds due to neighboring sounds or due to grammatical function or adjacent words. Morphophonemic variation is characterized by two signposts, it tends to occur at morpheme boundaries, and it involves sounds that are associated with separate phoneme.

Subba Rao (1995) revealsthat there is a delay and deviance in development of several language structures including Morpho-phonemic structures in individuals with intellectual disability. Theresult shows that children with Intellectual Disability with higher mental age (5-6 years)performed significantly better than Intellectual Disability with lower mental age(4-5years) on certain morphophonemic structures.

Lahey, Liabergott, Chesnick, Menyuk, & Adam (1992) (cited by D’Souza, 2001) have shown that there is a good deal of variability in normally English speaking children during the early stages of morpheme acquisition.

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Monteiro & Kumaraswamy (2013) revealed that syntax acquisitions as well as acquisition of morphophonemic structures were incomplete even by 8 years of age.

Research on language acquisition in India has been carried out mostly through thesis and dissertation (Suba Rao, (1995), Sucharitha, Sujatha & Karanth, 1993). Large scale data in any one language for different age ranges is unavailable. Hence it is difficult to visualize and describe language acquisition in many Indian languages. Literature review in different Indian languages shows that even though several syntax structures are assessed in both typical children and children with Intellectual Disability, few or limited studies were done on morphophonemic aspects in Malayalam language. The present study emphasizes on studying acquisition of Morphophonemic structures in children with Intellectually Disability and Malayalam speaking children, mental age from 4-6 years, which enable speech language pathologist for a focused assessment, better intervention and monitoring progress in therapy.

Review of Literature

Language is a complex and dynamic system of conventional symbols that is used in various modes for thought and communication. Contemporary views of human language hold that Language is a rule based behavior which evolves within specific historical, social, and cultural context and is described by at least five parameters –phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics. Language learning and use are determined by the interaction of biological, cognitive, psychological and environmental factors. Effective use of language for communication requires a broad understanding of human interaction including such associated factors as nonverbal cues, motivations, and sociocultural rules (ASHA, 1982).

In normal speech and language development, soon after the acquisition of first words, approximately 18 months of age toddlers begin to combine words into two word phrases. By the age of 2 years, the young children begin to produce three word utterances. Between 2 to 5 years of age, children will develop the ability to use grammatical morpheme, produce basic grammatical sentence types, and combine those into even more advanced grammatical constructions. As children produce longer sentences, they begin to build sentences according to the syntactic rules.

The American Association on Intellectual and Developmental Disabilities (AAIDD) in 2009 defines Intellectual Disability (ID) as a disability characterized by significant limitations in both intellectual functioning and in adaptive behavior, which covers many everyday social and practical skills. This disability originates before the age of 18.

American Speech-Language and Hearing Association (ASHA) in 2012 supported the change from “Mental Retardation” to “Intellectual Disability.” ASHA recommended the elimination of classification by Intellectual Quotient (IQ) and severity level and recommended to use of the AAIDD

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definition of Intellectual Disability. ASHA strongly urges the use of the term Intellectual Disability in the DSM-V, which would be consistent with the AAIDD definition.

Children with Intellectual Disability have deficits in syntax along with other components of language in varying degrees throughout their lives. Within the field of speech language pathology several attempts at studying the language disorders are seen in the past 2 decades. Studies have shown that, more than 80% of children with Intellectual Disability show Language delays and requires professional intervention (Subba Rao and Srinivas 1989; Bharat Raj 1987; Prabhu 1968) and others (as cited in Selvi,1999).

Malayalam is a language of the Dravidian family and is one of the four major languages of this family. Since Malayalam can be written continuously within a phrase without a pause or any space, it may undergo Sandhi modification. Sandhi is defined as the intimate conjugation of letters. When letters join according to grammatical rules new changes occur. The sandhi rules in Malayalam are not regularly applicable to all forms, even though they may have similar phonological characteristics.

Sandhi is divided into 4 with reference to the vowels and consonants involved in it.

1) Svvara sandhi (vowel+vowel)

Example: caaya (tea) + illa (no) > caayilla ('there is no tea', y appears in the middle)

2) Svvara vyanjana sandhi (vowel+consonant)

Example: taamara+kulam > tamarakkulam ('the lotus pond'.k doubles)

3) Vyanjan svvara sandhi (consonant+vowel)

Example: kan+illa > kannilla ('there is no eye', n doubles)

4) Vyanjana sandhi (consonant+ consonant)

Example: nel + mani > nenmani ('grain of paddy', l > n)

<http://shodhganga.in.flibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/35036/7/07>

Western Studies

Brown & Bellugi (1964) and Brown (1973) (cited by Fernandes 2009) reported that the early word utterances are telegraphic because the utterances contain only the content words such as nouns, verbs, and adjectives but miss out inflection and grammatical function words.

Lahey, Liabergott, Chesnick, Menyuk & Adam (1992) cited by D'Souza (2001) have shown that there is a good deal of variability in normally English speaking children during the early stages of morpheme acquisition. It was found that when children reach two word stage, they start adding

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function words. They gradually acquire articles, prepositions, auxiliary verb and also begin to acquire syntactic markers for plurals.

Jia & Fuse (2007) investigated the acquisition of 6 English grammatical morphemes (i.e., regular and irregular past tense, 3rd person singular, progressive aspect-ing, copula BE, and auxiliary DO) by 10 native Mandarin-Speaking children and adolescents in the United States (arrived in the United States between 5 and 16 years of age). Morphological proficiency was measured by the accuracy of these morphemes in obligatory contexts during spontaneous speech. The results indicate that the acquisition of some grammatical morpheme by school-aged immigrants take several years to complete and as L2 learners they exhibit some error types similar to mono-lingual children with Specific Language Impairment.

Tomas, Demuth, Smith-Lock & Petocz (2015) investigated on Phonological and Morpho-phonological effects on grammatical development in children with Specific Language Impairment(5-6 years).The predictors included: (1) utterance position of the target word, (2) phonological complexity of its coda, (3) voicing of the final stem consonant, (4) syllabicity (allomorph type) and (5) participant accounting for the individual differences in the responses. The results showed a robust effect of syllabicity on the correct morpheme production, specifically syllabic allomorphs (e.g., She dresses) were significantly more challenging than the segmental ones (e.g., He runs) for all three morphemes. The effects of other factors were observed only for a single morpheme: coda complexity and voicing helped to explain variability in past tense production and utterance position significantly affected children's performance with the possessive. The participant factor also had a significant effect, indicating high within-group variability in Specific Language Impairment population.

Indian Studies

Indian studies on language acquisition are very limited. Most of the studies mainly include master's dissertation with few doctoral studies.

Rao (1995) investigated on use of regular plural forms, unmarked and marked nouns during natural conversation in children with intellectual disability and typically developing Kannada speaking children in the age range of 4-6 years. The results reveal that children with intellectual disability (same mental age) performed poorly when compared with typically developing children. Overall, the delay in development of syntax was seen.

George (1998) conducted a study on Mean length of utterance (MLU) and syntactic complexity in children with Intellectual Disability. He mainly focused on morpheme, grammatical categories and their arrangement in their utterances. The results reveal that speech language deficits are present in children with Intellectual Disability. Though all the grammatical categories are acquired, it is not used to their maximum extend. Children with Intellectual Disability are able to convey their ideas, but their verbal construction lacks the complexity of typically developing children.

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Rajalakshmi and Rao (2003) did a study to analyze the syntactic abilities in children with Down syndrome by administering Linguistic Profile Test (Malayalam) and Malayalam Language Test (Rukmini1994). The results indicated that children with Down syndrome have greater deficits on syntax when compared with mental age matched normal subjects, they have more deficits on syntactic expression than syntactic reception and they also follow the usual pattern of language development.

Ranjan and Rao (2005) did a study on syntactic skills in Hindi speaking children with Intellectual Disability of 3-7 years of mental age. He found that children with Intellectual Disability (3-5 years) used regular plurals more than other plural forms.

Radhika and Kumaraswamy (2010) did a comparative study of development of plural markers in Malayalam speaking typically developing children and children with Intellectual Disability. The results suggested both the groups used all the 4 plural markers given to them. The frequency of occurrence of all plural markers was less in children with Intellectual Disability when compared to typically developing children.

Nitha and Rao (2010) performed a comparative study of development of present tense markers in Malayalam speaking typically developing children and children with Intellectual Disability. The results revealed that in children with intellectual disability, the usage of present tense marker is poor when compared to typically developing children.

Shasthry and Rao (2011) reported a study on acquisition of tense markers in 5-8 year old Kundapura Kannada speaking typically developing children. The result shows that the frequency of occurrence of present tense markers was more when compared to other tense markers. There were dialectal variations which were frequently observed in present tense forms which were simplifications of CVs was significant followed by vowel shortening, syntactic deviations and semantic deviations. She concluded that the result of the study is in agreement with Subbarao (1995) who reported that the usage of present tense markers was maximum in 4-6 year old developing children.

Monteiro & Kumaraswamy (2012) investigated on development of morphophonemic structures in typically developing Konkani speaking children. The result reveals that syntax acquisitions as well as acquisition of morphophonemic structures were incomplete even by 8 years of age. Hence children with delayed language who require intervention in Konkani language need to be scrutinized for strengths and weakness in Morpho- phonemic acquisition based on the present data.

Nandu & Kumaraswamy(2015) investigated on acquisition of case markers in Malayalam speaking Down syndrome children of mental age range of 3-8 years and the results showed that there

is a general increase in the acquisition as well as frequency of usage of some type of case markers with increase in the mental age of the children.

Renji, Shetty and Gupta (2016) performed a comparative study on participle construction in Malayalam speaking children with Intellectual Disability (mental age 4-6years) and age matched typically developing children. The results show that there is general increase in the usage of participle construction with the increase in the mental age of the children.

Need of the Study

Research on language acquisition in India has been carried out mostly through dissertation (Subba Rao,1995, Sucharitha, Sujatha, and Karanth, 1993). Large scale data in any one language for different age range is unavailable. Hence it is difficult to visualize and describe language acquisition in many Indian languages. Literature review in different Indian languages shows that even though several syntax structures are assessed in both typical children and children with Intellectual Disability, few or limited studies were done on morphophonemic aspects in Malayalam language. The present study emphasizes on studying acquisition of Morphophonemic structures in children with Intellectually Disability and Malayalam speaking children, mental age from 4-6 years, which enable speech language pathologist for a focused assessment, better intervention and monitoring progress in therapy.

Aim of the Study

The aim of the present study was to study the acquisition pattern of Morpho-phonemic structures in children with Intellectual Disability mental age (4-6 years) and Malayalam speaking mental age matched children.

Methodology

The aim of the present study was to study the acquisition pattern of Morpho-phonemic structures in children with Intellectual Disability mental age (4-6 years) and Malayalam speaking mental age matched children.

Subject Selection

20 typical Malayalam speaking children in the age range of 4-6years who were further classified into 4-5years (10 members) and 5-6 years (10 members).

60 Malayalam speaking children with Intellectual Disability mental age 4-6 years were further classified into 4-5 years (30 members) and 5-6 years (30 members).

The mental age details were obtained from their school records. Children who were diagnosed with mild to moderate Intellectual Disability, as per school records participated in the present study.

Inclusion Criteria

- 1) Malayalam as a native language.
- 2) Children who were attending special school for at least 3-4 years and with a mental age 4-6 years.
- 3) Children with intellectual disability with mild to moderate severity.

Exclusion Criteria

- 1) Children with severe Intellectual Disability.
- 2) Children with any physical or sensory handicap.
- 3) No history of any Speech, Language, cognition and neuropathology in normal population.

Stimuli Used

Morpho-phonemic structures used for the present study.

Svarasandhi (Vowel + vowel)	Examples
a + a & a + aa a + i a + e a + u i + a & i + aa i + i i + e	Vahzayalla (/v a: z eɪ aɪ ə l ə /) anayiragi (/ æ n eɪ ɪ r æ dʒ ɪ /) Valayedukunnu (/v æ l eɪ d j k u: n j j /) Thathayunde(/θ æ θ eɪ ʌ n d /) Kiliyalla (/ k ɪ l aɪ j ə l ə /) Eliyilla (/ e l aɪ j ɪ l ə /) Kudayedukunnu (/k u: t eɪ d j k u: n j j /)
Svara vyanjana sandhi	
Vowel + consonant	Thalakette (/θ ə: l eɪ k ɪ t /) Veelikabe (/ v i: e l aɪ k ə b /) Padikettea (/ p ə d aɪ k ɪ t /)
Vyanjan svara sandhi	
(consonant + vowel)	Kannilla (/k æ n aɪ l ə /) kalalla(/k ə l l ə /)
Vyanjana sandhi	

Consonant + consonant	Kalpade (/k ə l p æ d /) palpada (/ p α: l p æ d ə /)
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Test Environment

Samples were collected in a quiet room in the school with one to one interaction between the examiner and the client. The entire session was audio recorded using microphone attached to Acer laptop.

Procedure

Initially examiner interacted for few minutes to build a rapport with the children. Detailed instruction was given in a simplified form. The data was collected from each individual by presenting picture stimuli via power point presentation through laptop and were instructed to answer the questions. The responses were recorded using microphone attached to laptop. Response with appropriate Morpho-phoneme was considered as correct response. Inappropriate Morpho-phonemes were considered as incorrect response.

Analysis

The audio recorded samples were analyzed by focusing on the target Morpho-phonemes. The presence correct Morpho-phonemes was noted and marked as '1' and absence of Morpho -phonemes was noted and marked as '0'. The total number of Morpho-phonemes was tabulated and further statistically analyzed for significant difference.

Results and Discussion

The aim of the present study was to study the acquisition pattern of Morpho-phonemic structures in children with Intellectual Disability mental age (4-6 years) and Malayalam speaking mental age matched children. The obtained data was analyzed for the presence of Morpho-phonemes and results are discussed below.

Parameter	Age group	Group	Present		Testing proportions		
			freq	%	Z value	p value	
a+a and a+aa	4 - 5yrs	Normal	9	90.0%	1.91	.028	sig
			17	56.7%			
	5 - 6yrs	Normal	10	100.0%	1.97	.025	sig
			21	70.0%			
a+e	4 - 5yrs	Normal	10	100.0%	2.39	.008	HS
			18	60.0%			
	5 - 6yrs	Normal	10	100.0%	1.04	.149	
			27	90.0%			
a+i	4 - 5yrs	Normal	8	80.0%	1.49	.068	
			16	53.3%			
	5 - 6yrs	Normal	10	100.0%	2.39	.008	HS
			18	60.0%			
a+u	4 - 5yrs	Normal	10	100.0%	1.83	.034	sig
			22	73.3%			
	5 - 6yrs	Normal	10	100.0%	1.04	.149	
			27	90.0%			
consonant+consonant	4 - 5yrs	Normal	2	20.0%	2.51	.006	HS
			0	.0%			
	5 - 6yrs	Normal	4	40.0%	3.65	.000	HS
			0	.0%			
i+a and i+aa	4 - 5yrs	Normal	10	100.0%	2.98	.001	HS
			14	46.7%			
	5 - 6yrs	Normal	10	100.0%	1.97	.025	sig
			21	70.0%			
i+e	4 - 5yrs	Normal	10	100.0%	1.68	.046	sig
			23	76.7%			
	5 - 6yrs	Normal	10	100.0%	1.04	.149	
			27	90.0%			
i+i	4 - 5yrs	Normal	9	90.0%	1.26	.103	
			21	70.0%			
	5 - 6yrs	Normal	10	100.0%	1.04	.149	
			27	90.0%			
vowel +consonant	4 - 5yrs	Normal	1	10.0%	1.75	.040	sig
			0	.0%			
	5 - 6yrs	Normal	4	40.0%	3.65	.000	HS
			0	.0%			

Table4.1:Showing the percentile of acquisition of Morpho-phonemes in Intellectual Disability and age matched typical children (4-5&5-6 years).

4-5 YEARS: Highly significant difference was seen for a+e(p=.008),i+a&i+aa(p=.001), and consonant+consonant(p=.006)

Significant difference was noted for a+a&a+aa(p=0.028),a+u(p=.034),i+e(p=.048), and vowel+consonant(p=0.040)

No significant difference was noticed for a+i (p=.068) & i+I (p=.103)

5-6 YEARS: Highly significant difference was noticed for a+i (p=.008), consonant+ consonant& vowel + consonant (p=0.00).

Significant difference was noticed for a+a & i+a (p=0.025).

No significant difference was noticed for a+e, a+u, i+e, & i+i (p>0.05)

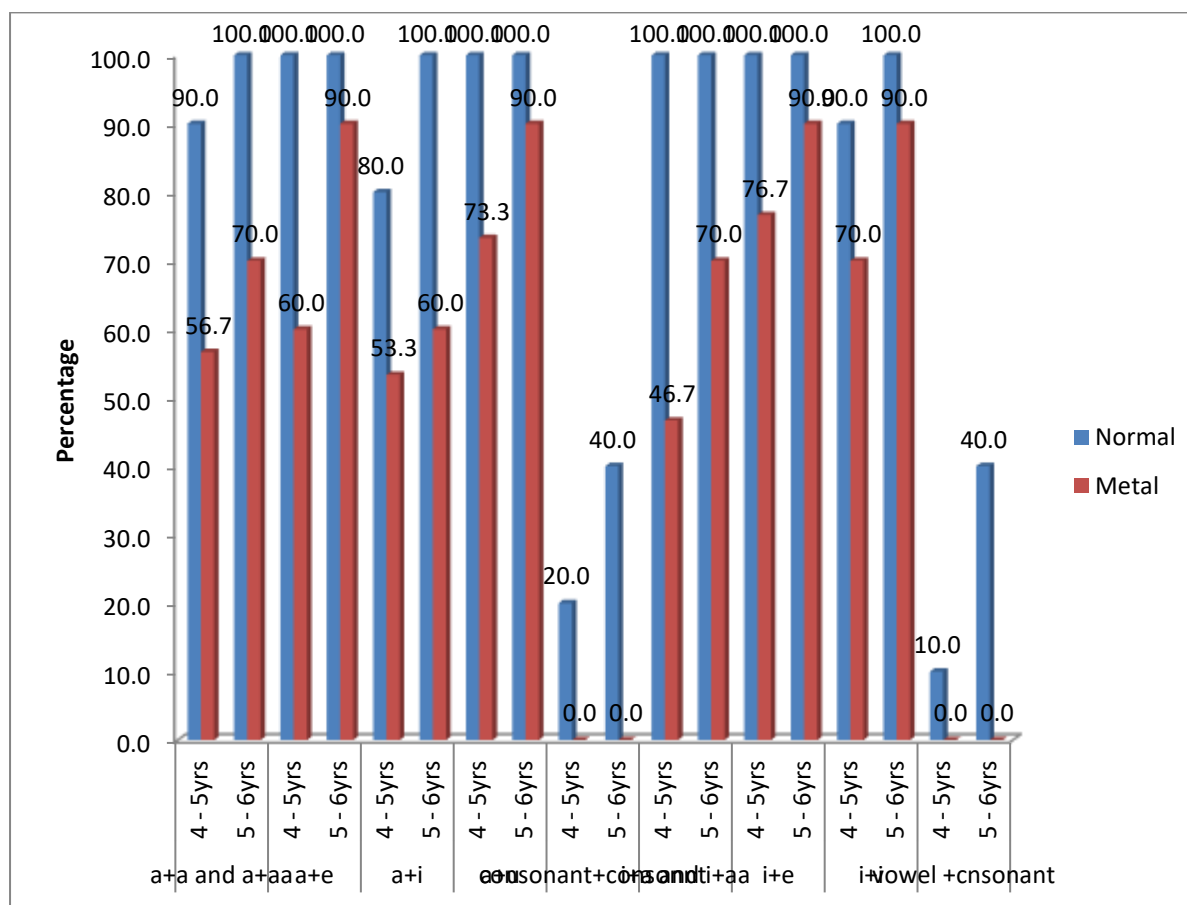


Fig4.1: showing the percentile of acquisition of Morpho-phonemes in Intellectual Disability and age matched typical children (4-5 & 5-6 years).

Table4.2: showing the comparison between Morpho-phonemic structures across Normal and Intellectual Disability.

a+a vs a+e: No significant difference was noticed for 4-5 & 5-6 normal and 4-5 years mental age (p>0.05)

Significant difference was seen for mental age 5-6 years ($p=0.026$).

a+a vs a+i: No significant difference was noticed across group ($p>0.05$)

a+a vs a+u: No significant difference was noticed for 4-5 & 5-6 normal and 4-5 years mental age ($p>0.05$)

Significant difference was seen for mental age 5-6 years ($p=0.026$).

a+a vs consonant + consonant: Highly significant difference was noticed across the age group ($p=0.00$)

a+a vs i+a: No significant difference was noticed across group ($p>0.05$).

a+a vs i+e: No significant difference was noticed for 4-5 & 5-6 normal and 4-5 years mental age ($p>0.05$).

Significant difference was seen for mental age 5-6 years ($p=0.026$).

a+a vs vowel + consonant: Highly significant difference was noticed across the age group ($p=0.00$).

a+e vs a+i: No significant difference was noticed for 4-5 & 5-6 normal and 4-5 years mental age ($p>0.05$).

Highly significant difference was seen for mental age 5-6 years ($p=0.004$).

a+e vs a+u: No significant difference was noticed across group ($p>0.05$).

a+e vs consonant+consonant: Highly significant difference was noticed across the age group ($p=0.00$)

a+e vs i+a: No significant difference was noticed for 4-5 & 5-6 normal and 4-5 years mental age ($p>0.05$).

Significant difference was seen for mental age 5-6 years ($p=0.026$).

a+e vs i+e: No significant difference was noticed across group ($p>0.05$)

a+e vs vowel + consonant: Highly significant difference was seen for mental age 5-6 years ($p=0.004$).

a+i vs a+u: Significant difference was noticed for 4-5 & 5-6 normal and 4-5 years mental age ($p>0.05$).

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Highly significant difference was seen for mental age 5-6 years ($p=0.004$).

a+i vs consonant + consonant: Highly significant difference was noticed across group ($p=0.00$).

a+i vs i+a: No significant difference was noticed across group ($p>0.05$)

a+i vs i+e: No significant difference was noticed for 4-5 & 5-6 normal and 5-6 years mental age ($p>0.05$)

Significant difference was seen for mental age 4-5 years ($p=0.029$)

a+i vs vowel+ consonant: Highly significant difference was noticed across group ($p=0.00$).

a+i vs i+i: No significant difference was noticed across group ($p>0.05$).

a+u vs consonant + consonant: Highly significant difference was noticed across group ($p=0.00$).

a+u vs i+a: Significant difference was seen in 4-5 & 5-6 years mental age ($p=0.018$), ($p=0.026$).

No significant difference was noticed for 4-5 & 5-6 normal ($p>0.05$).

a+u vs i+e: Significant difference was noticed across group ($p>0.05$).

a+u vs i+i: Significant difference was noticed across group ($p>0.05$).

a+u vs vowel+ consonant:

consonant +consonant vs i+a: Highly significant difference was noticed across group ($p=0.00$).

consonant + consonant vs i+e: Highly significant difference was noticed across group ($p=0.00$).

consonant + consonant vs i+i: Highly significant difference was noticed across group ($p=0.00$).

consonant +consonant vs vowel + consonant: No significant difference was noticed across group ($p>0.05$).

i+a vs i+e: Highly significant difference was seen in 4-5 years mental age ($p=0.00$).

Significant difference was seen in 5-6 years mental age ($p=0.026$).

i+a vs i+i: Significant difference were noticed for 4-5 & 5-6 years mental age ($p=0.033$), ($p=0.026$).

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No significant difference was noticed for 4-5 & 5-6 years normal ($p>0.05$)

i+a vs vowel+consonant: Highly significant difference was noticed across group ($p=0.00$).

i+e vs i+i: No significant difference was noticed across group ($p>0.05$)

i+e vs vowel+consonant: Highly significant difference was noticed across group ($p=0.00$).

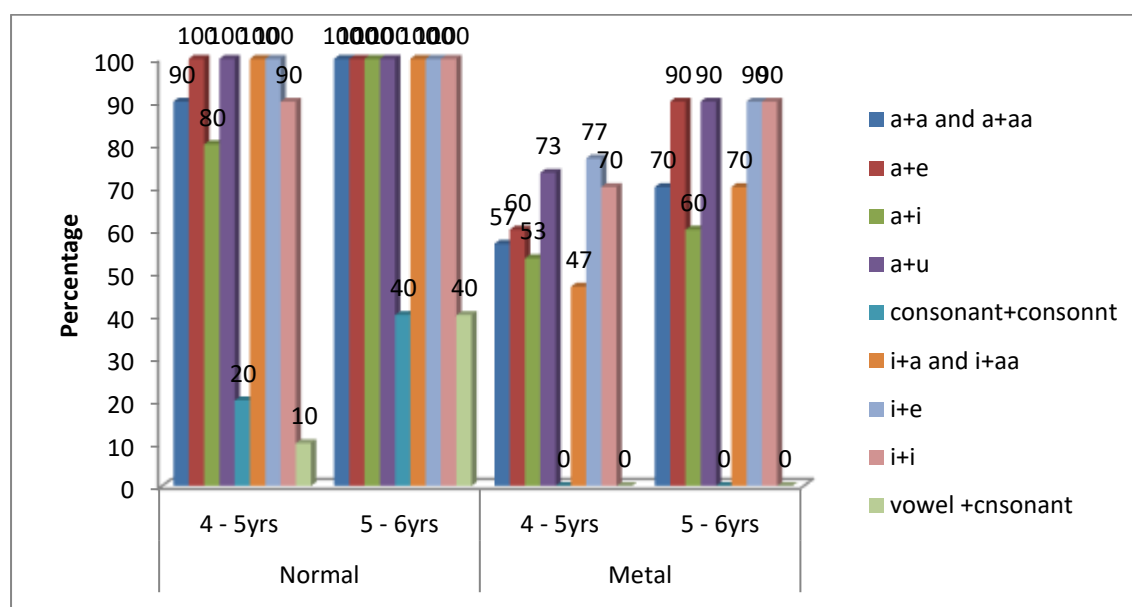


Fig4.2 showing the comparison between Morpho-phonemic structures across Normal and Intellectual Disability.

Discussion

Results reveal that Svara sandhi(vowel + vowel) combination such as (a+i), (i+i), (a+u), (a+e), & (i+e) are the Morpho-phonemic structures that are primarily acquired in both typically developing children and children with Intellectual Disability. Svara vyanjan sandhi (vowel+consonant), vyanjana Svara andhi (consonant +vowel) and vyanjana sandhi (consonant + consonant) were the least developed structures in both group age range of 4-6 years and are likely to develop above 6years. Typically developing children performed significantly better when compare to children with intellectual disability matched on mental age. And also, 5-6 years old group showed better performance than 4-6 years old group (in both normal and ID). The results of the present study is in accordance with the study done by Subba Rao (1995) reveal that as the age increases the performance of the usage of language increases it also reveal a delay and deviance in development of several language structures including Morpho-phoneme.

Summary and Conclusion

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Language is a complex and dynamic system of conventional symbols that is used in various modes for thought and communication. ASHA (1982)

The children with Intellectual Disability (ID) have deficits in syntax along with other components of language in varying degrees throughout their lives. Studies have shown that, more than 80% of children with Intellectual Disability show Language delays and requires professional intervention (Subba Rao and Srinivas, 1989; Bharat Raj, 1987; Prabhu, 1968 and others, (cited by Selvi, 1999). The present study described about acquisition of Morpho-phonemic structures in Malayalam children with Intellectual Disability of mental age 4-5 and 5-6 years and mental age matched typical children.

20 typical Malayalam speaking children in the age range of 4-5 and 5-6 years (10 members in each group) and 60 children with intellectual disability mental age 4-5 and 5-6 years (30 members in each group) participated in present study. Morpho-phonemic structures were selected with suitable examples. The responses were collected from everyone by presenting picture stimuli and transcribed for analysis.

Results reveal that Svvara sandhi (vowel + vowel) are the Morpho-phonemic structures that are primarily acquired in both typically developing children and children with Intellectual Disability. Morpho-phonemic structures, Svvara vyanjana sandhi (vowel + consonant), vyanjana svvara sandhi (consonant + vowel) and vyanjana sandhi (consonant + consonant) were the least developed structures in the age range of 4-6 years and are likely to develop above 6 years. Typical children performed better when compared to children with Intellectual Disability. And also, 5-6 years old group showed better performance than 4-6 years old group (in both normal and ID). The results of the present study is in accordance with the study done by Subba Rao (1995) where he says that acquisition of Morphophonemic structures increase with age.

Clinical Implication

Typically developing children performed better when compared to children with Intellectual Disability matched on mental age. As the age increases the performance of language usage increases. The obtained data is useful for speech language pathologist for a focused assessment, better intervention and monitoring progress in therapy.

Limitations of the Present Study

- Lesser sample size
- Age range of 4-5 and 5-6 only were taken for the study.
- Few Morpho-phonemic structures were selected as stimuli

Future Implications

- Study can be done in different age group.

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- Study can be conducted on other dialects in Malayalam.
- Detailed research work can be conducted in other disordered population.

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Teaching Written English through Interactive Approach: An Intervention for Hearing Impaired Learners

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Abstract

The present study reports on the effectiveness of Interactive Writing (IW) as an intervention in teaching written English language to Hearing Impaired (H/I) learners. Students' writing skills were measured before and after the intervention of ten weeks spread over a semester. The written language was categorized into four areas: Organization, Contextual Language, Conventions and Total Word Count. Each area was further defined by sub-components and the assessment of students' writing skills was done through measuring their performance in each area. The findings of this study reveal that IW had a positive impact on the writing abilities of the H/I students.

Keywords: Hearing Impaired, learning English, interactive writing, literacy

Introduction

According to the data provided by Office of Registrar General and Census Commissioner, India in *2011 Census Data*, approximately twenty-six million people in India are disabled. Of this twenty-six million disabled population five million people are suffering from hearing loss. The total literate population with hearing loss is reported to be around two million only. The statistics on literacy of H/I population in India provides a grim picture of their educational and employability status. The importance of reading and writing for H/I persons is same as listening and speaking in hearing people. While a hearing person is gifted with both listening and reading as receptive skills, and speaking and writing as expressive skills; the H/I persons (who do not have enough access to oral-aural mode of communication) on the other hand have only reading and writing at their disposal. Hence, in order to communicate with the hearing community, the H/I persons should have mastery on their receptive and expressive abilities.

Since the beginning of the Deaf Studies in 16th century, literacy had been an important part of the curriculum. The first few educators of the H/I happened to be monks from Spanish monasteries who had to practice silence during different parts of a day and gestures were commonly used in the moments of silence by these vowed monks. Because hearing impairment (H/I) was seen as a deliberate punishment by God for those who failed to expiate the sins of past lives, the persons with hearing loss were either left unattended or were only allowed to work as cheap slaves. But, the H/I children of royal blood could not be treated as slaves and hence they were sent to the monasteries for training. The medieval educators were found to have invented new techniques for teaching the H/I children the skills of reading, writing and speaking. Velasco brothers are the earliest example of H/I children from Spanish nobility tutored by Pedro Ponce de León, a Benedictine monk and the first educator of deaf. Though there are no records available on the techniques used by the monk for teaching the Velasco brothers but his success at teaching literacy “remains a standard that present-day educators should regard with envy and strive to attain” (Moore 40).

Many educators throughout 17th and 18th centuries experimented and developed new techniques of teaching literacy to H/I learners. Some prominent techniques involved the use of visual gestural medium which consists of gestures, hand-shapes, signing etc. and also the use of oral language. For most part of 19th and 20th century, the debate over the use of signing and oral language continued. The advocates of oral-only method believed that signing or visual mode of communication resulted in isolation of H/I people whereas the supporters of oral-manual method viewed and supported sign language as the “natural language” of H/I. Due to this difference of perception in educators, the real issue-“literacy” remained somewhat ignored. The need of literacy learning was again felt in mid-20th century with the development of technology and industry in Europe and the United States. Literacy was the only key to open the window of opportunity for the H/I adults. This also resulted in growing research on literacy development in H/I children.

The earliest research involved comparative studies on reading and writing abilities of hearing and H/I students. Without a doubt, research on reading skills of H/I students started earlier because the receptive skills in these students were given more importance than their expression. The result was that the research on writing in H/I children lagged significantly behind research on their reading skills (274). However, the available studies on writing of H/I children indicate that they face more difficulties in mastering the writing skills as compared to the hearing children. The findings of studies conducted by Wells in 1942, Simmons in 1959 and Myklebust in 1964 showed significant differences between the writing samples of hearing and H/I students. The writing of H/I children was found to be shorter, simpler, repetitive and less flexible. They tend to use simple sentences and redundant vocabulary whereas the writing

samples of hearing students of same age had unique vocabulary and lesser lexical and grammatical errors. The cohesion was either missing, or relatively fewer cohesive markers were used by the H/I learners (De Villiers; Maxwell and Falick). By the 1970s, the educators felt the need to focus on writing as a process alongside product. The focus was shifted from writing being a goal to actually using it as an expressive skill and a creative activity.

Earlier, strategies and systems like Fitzgerald key, Apple tree, the Rhode Island Curriculum, TSA Syntax system were used which focused exclusively on lexical, grammatical and syntactical expression of H/I students. Later on, the process-oriented approaches were developed which focused not only on the conventional orthographic elements but the overall expression. Writing of personal and informative narratives was encouraged to generate content and discourse. The discourse was later examined to investigate the effect of process on written expression of the H/I students. Interactive Writing was one such approach which was developed with an aim to help the students in developing their writing skills. Though, this approach had been used in numerous studies with hearing students, the use of IW as an intervention with H/I writers began very late. Strassman and Schirmer in a review of different instructional approaches (for teaching writing to H/I students) referred to three studies (two by Wolbers conducted in 2008 and 2009; and one by Wolbers, Dostal and Bowers in 2012). The studies had IW and Strategic and Interactive Writing Instruction (SIWI) as an intervention for teaching writing skills to students who were H/I and hard of hearing. The reviewers claimed that of all the studies (based on process-oriented approach) reviewed, the studies on the use of SIWI cognitive apprenticeship approach were found most effective (173) and in all three studies, writing ability of H/I students improved significantly. The review was published in 2012 and out of 16 studies selected for the review, only three were based on interactive instruction. Keeping in mind the effectiveness of IW with H/I writers outside India and the dearth of data on literacy levels of H/I learners in India, this study was conducted in special schools for Deaf in Punjab. The study has pre-lingual H/I learners as participants who were taught written English through IW approach.

Literature Review

The term “interactive writing” was first coined by the educators from Ohio State University in 1991. They were inspired by Moira McKenzie’s shared writing and developed a new approach which was slightly modified in the manner that the teacher “shares the pen” with a group of students while constructing a text. Prior to the development of this new approach, the educators already had language experience approach, shared writing and independent writing.

Although language experience and shared writing demands active involvement of children in the writing process, they do not share the pen and the teacher acts as a scribe. In language experience approach, the writing process is demonstrated to the students while the

teacher creates the text. Similarly, in shared writing also, the teacher acts as scribe and the text is constructed for the purpose of reading it later. The teacher collaborates with the students in planning and constructing the text. The sequence of events and ideas are narrated by the students which are expressed in writing by the teacher.

The interactive writing, on the other hand, demands engagement of students in construction of text. The level of involvement of individual student depends on his understanding of specific conventions of writing. It is decided by the teacher as when should a student be involved in the writing and which student should be called upon to write. Unlike interactive writing, independent writing allows the students to construct the text on their own. The role of teacher is minimal in independent writing and the student identifies himself as a writer. Hence, interactive writing strikes a right balance between the roles played by the teacher and her students. It provides a suitable environment for the development of students' creative and communicative skills.

In this intervention, there were some modifications introduced in order to make the writing process more specialized according to the needs of the H/I students. Since 1991, when IW was introduced by the educators of Ohio State University, the approach was first used with H/I learners in 2008 in a study conducted by Wolbers. The study involved 16 deaf and hard of hearing students as participants. The intervention lasted for 21 days. To investigate the effectiveness of IW, the students' writing samples were examined on four parameters: primary traits, contextual language, contextual conventions and total word count. In addition to their writing ability, the reading and editing/revising skills of H/I learners were also assessed.

The findings of this study indicated that except for total word count and contextual conventions, significant gains were reported in all four areas. Similarly, in a study conducted by Giddens in 2009, the IW was used as an intervention for six weeks with three H/I students at kindergarten level. The study reported that there was no regression reported in the writing abilities from pre-to-post intervention stage. Moreover, the students showed significant gains in primary traits and lower-order writing skills.

In 2014, Dostal and Wolbers employed an intervention based on Strategic and Interactive Writing Instruction (SIWI), which involved the use of strategies for teaching written language to H/I learners. The study consisted of 23 H/I students from five classrooms and the intervention lasted for ten weeks. After the analyses of writing samples collected from the H/I students, it was found that the written expression had significantly improved during intervention. Statistically significant gains were reported in total number of words and total number of T-units. There are a few more studies conducted by Williams in 2011 and Karasu in 2018 which reported positive

impact of IW instruction with H/I writers. It was found through these studies that not only students' writing skills but reading skills and expressive language (sign language) were also improved during the intervention.

Methodology

This study follows a pretest/posttest approach to investigate the effectiveness of IW with H/I students of 9th and 10th grade levels. The school-level was selected keeping in mind the lack of research with H/I students beyond middle-grade levels. Also, it was found that with the growing age, the H/I learners show little progress in literacy.

The primary research question that is addressed in this study is: Do H/I students in experimental group make progress in writing when they receive instruction through IW?

The study was conducted in three schools for Deaf in Punjab. The participants include 50 H/I who were divided in experimental and control groups. While the experimental group received IW instruction for written English, the control group was taught writing through conventional method. Three female hearing teachers with at least five years of teaching experience were also a part of this study. The teachers had Diploma in Special Education (Hearing Impairment) as their educational qualifications and they were proficient in ISL and Signed English. All the schools had Total Communication as method of communication with H/I students. The students (mean age=15.3 years and mean hearing loss= 94dB) were not very proficient in English based sign system and speech but used ISL with fluency. The intervention of 10-weeks was spread over a semester and there were around sixty IW sessions of 30 to 45 minutes each. The sessions were planned according to the subject matter decided by the teachers. In the end of every week, the number of sessions for the next week and the content for writing was decided and the lesson plans were developed accordingly. With the exception of a few sessions, the researcher was present in all sessions as an observer.

The specialized modifications in the intervention include:

- 1) The lesson plans were designed according to the topics decided by the teacher for teaching written English. The topics were based either on children's literature or a familiar event or experience. The stories/chapters from book were only included as a part of ongoing study. The story was required to be read aloud in the classroom prior to its inclusion in the intervention. By reading aloud, it means the students should already be familiar with the sequence of events. Similarly, the event or experience based narrative should be relatable so that each student could create ideas and actively participate in the

writing process. The IW sessions involved the construction of a variety of texts such as persuasive, expository, essay-type questions and personal narratives.

- 2) The stages of writing include planning, translating, drafting, writing, editing and revising/rewriting. In the first stage (pre-writing/ planning stage), the teacher along with the students plan the topic. The students brainstorm and develop creative ideas. These ideas are somewhat unorganized at this stage, which are to be presented later in an organized manner in the form of a text.
- 3) The next stage is translation which is an important part of the writing process. In case of H/I students, the ideas cannot be directly put on to paper because the first language of these students (unlike hearing students) is a sign language which is a visual gestural mode of communication. Interestingly, sign languages do not have any written form or script and that is why it is important to translate the sign language based content into English. It was observed during the pilot study that the H/I students expressed their ideas and thoughts freely at the planning stage but when they were asked to express their content in written English, they restrict their ideas and limit the content. The reason behind this was not lack of ideas but the difficulty they face when instead of translating one word or a sentence at a time they go straight to writing in second language. Due to this, they not only miss important information but try deliberately to escape the complex process by limiting the creative content. After observing this trait in H/I children, the researcher and the teachers decided to add translation as a separate stage and the students were repeatedly reminded of this stage so that they can learn to use it while they attempt writing on their own. The translation from Indian Sign Language (ISL) to English was done through ISL glosses, drawings, chart papers and for some abstract items finger-spelling was also used. With the help of these mediums, each linguistic element of ISL could be successfully translated into written English. Here, it should be noted that the Signed System based on English was not allowed during the IW sessions. The reason behind is that most of the students were not proficient in English based signed system whereas the hearing teachers had a strong background in signed systems. In order to avoid confusion between the use of ISL and signed system, it was decided that it should be avoided during the sessions. The translation process simultaneously involved drafting of the text. The blackboard was usually divided in two parts. On one part the visual stimuli was provided. The word to word translation was also written on this side of blackboard. With the help of clues provided by the teacher, and after rereading the translated draft, actual writing happened on the other side of the blackboard. This stage was followed by the editing part wherein changes in grammar, punctuation, spelling etc. were made with explanations and examples. Then the text was ready for publishing and reading. Mostly, after every session, the researcher was asked to give the feedback which provided the writers a sense of audience and motivation to write.

Discussion

For the assessment purpose, a writing measure was given to the students in which they were told to write on different topics. In order to help them in brainstorming, some clues were also provided to them. The clues were explained (in ISL) to the students at the beginning of the text. The first item was a picture prompt.

The students were given two visual sequences in pictures and they were told to write on any one of the sequences. The first sequence was on “family lunch” and the second sequence was on “teaching in classroom”.

The second item was a situation-based writing task. The students were given a situation and they had to explain what they would have done in that situation. The third item was a personal cum informative narrative. The researcher was informed that in every six months, an educational trip is arranged for these students. The students had to explain in detail their experience in one of their trips. They were also allowed to add art-work in their writing and no time-limit was specified for the completion of the task.

In order to detect students’ progress in writing, an analytic rubric was designed after considering various writing measures already used with H/I learners. After consulting her supervisor (who had a strong background in language), the teachers (who had expertise and experience in deaf education) and the levels of proficiency in written language defined by National Institute of Open Schooling (NIOS), the researcher had introduced some modifications in the tool.

The progress was measured by categorizing the components of writing into subcomponents. For example, the first category comprised of the higher order skills. This category defined as Traits of Organization merged the skills of organization and cohesion of ideas. The category was further defined by variables such as sense of sequence, ability to organize ideas, awareness of details and sense of audience.

The other three components were contextual language (which included the number of T-units, use of passive voice, direct/indirect speech, sentence fluency, unique vocabulary etc.), conventions (which included capitalization, spelling and punctuation) and total word count. The sub-components were rated on a scale of 0 to 3 depending on fluency and the correct use of language.

In order to test students’ progress, a series of paired t-tests with designated alpha level of .05 were administered within the experimental group. The traits which showed significant gains

include organization ($t=7.82$, $p<.000$), conventions ($t=5.63$, $p<.000$) and total word count ($t=4.07$, $p<0.001$). The students did not show significant gains in contextual language. Similarly, on comparing the means of two groups, the experimental group was found to have performed better in organization and total word count. On the other hand no significant differences were found between two groups in areas on contextual language and conventions. The H/I students in experimental group were found to be more confident in providing details and important information. Most of the students had followed proper sequence of events. For example, in picture prompts, the students had followed the correct sequence as depicted in the pictures.

Similarly, in situation based writing, the student included introduction and conclusion also. The students had not showed much progress in cohesion and the ideas lacked organization. But the students put their ideas freely onto paper. Their interest in writing was reflected through the art-work they included to make their writing more expressive. Similarly, capitalization of proper nouns was also an improvement in their writing, but unfortunately they did not show much progress in the use of punctuation marks. Except for period, comma and hyphen which were commonly used by the learners, no other punctuation mark was found in their writing. The absence of quotation marks in direct speech and the repeated use of comma became a serious concern for the raters. Passive voice was not attempted by any student from experimental and control groups.

Similarly, only a few students showcased their ability to craft complex and negative sentences. Since students did not add even a single complex sentence in pre-test, it can be said that this improvement was a result of intervention. Another major improvement was the increased number of T-units and total number of interpretable words from pretest to posttest. The increased numbers are indicative of increased content and interest in students for writing.

Conclusion

The findings suggest that the intervention had a positive impact on the writing development of the H/I students. Due to some limitations, the intervention could not be continued for long, but during these ten weeks the students were found to have gained mastery over numerous areas. Most importantly, the high engagement of students in the writing process and their interest in writing is the result of interactive nature of the instruction. The aim was to provide an enriching and creative environment to students where their writing skills can be improved. In this project, the H/I students were taught writing through IW for only ten weeks and significant gains were reported in the writing abilities of the students which indicate that further research on IW with H/I students spread over a longer period can provide even better results.

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Multilingualism in 21st Century India

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Pluralism

Pluralism is defined as ‘a condition or system in which two or more states, groups, principles, sources of authority, etc., coexist.’¹ Pluralism also ‘refers to a society, system of government, or organization that has different groups that keep their identities while existing with other groups or a more dominant group’². It is ‘bahutva’, a widely discussed concept in 21st century India. It speaks of *co-existence* of many religions, cultures, ethnicities, languages etc., in the country. India is a multi-religious, multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and multi-lingual nation. When we talk of multilingual India, it is not mere co-existence of speakers of many languages of different language families. We speak of a country as multilingual by taking into account the number of languages being used there. Mere presence of a greater number of languages will not, I think, make a country multilingual, although this seems to be the most widely accepted belief. What is more important to be a multilingual nation is a greater number of speakers of a language being conversant with other languages used in that country. I think that this is true multilingualism. In India multilingualism means the extent to which different mother tongues have penetrated into the day today life cycle of its citizens. So, multilingualism is not only coexistence of many languages, sharing of different languages, but it is who shares which language in which geographic territory. Understanding the pattern of existence and use of languages in a country helps in understanding the sociolinguistic position of that country better. Indian multilingualism is unique; it has no parallel anywhere in the world.

Languages in India Today

Latest 2011 count of Indian mother tongues/languages informs that Census had raw returns of 19569 mother tongues. After due processing of this raw data, it has arrived at a list of 121 languages. Among them, 22 languages are part of the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. Rest of the 99 languages are non-scheduled languages. The scheduled languages are spoken by 96.71% and the non-scheduled languages are spoken by 3.29% population of India.

Pan-Indian Languages

If we deeply look at the data on distribution of Indian languages in the states and union territories, only speakers of Hindi are found in all the states and Union Territories. Next to Hindi, it is Urdu speakers who are found in all the states except in the states of the North Eastern Region of the country.

Enumerating Indian Multilingualism

In the beginning of the 20th century itself the Census of India started enumerating, recording and disseminating information on bilingualism from 1901. Till the 1921 Census, the information was collected to know about the ‘knowledge of English’ only, since for governance and education, British India wanted to know about the spread of English. In 1931 and 1941 Censuses the information about ‘Other language in common use’ was also collected, the Census tried to know the ‘name of language’ that the person knows in addition to his or her mother tongue. The subsequent Census in 1941 and 1951 the question was restricted to ‘only Indian language’. Simultaneously, the Indian census data attracted the scholars to study it for insights in to the statistical and fictional aspects of bilingualism. Uriel Weinreich (1957) in his study *Functional Aspects of Indian Bilingualism* considers ‘... the coverage of bilingualism by the census of India is an event of major significance for the study of language contact and perhaps for the sociology of communication in general.’ He treats bilingualism as ‘... the communication bridge between MT groups. He also comes to the conclusion on his study of 1951 census data, that ‘bilingualism is quite unevenly distributed in India.’

The first census after the reorganisation of the States on linguistic lines was held in 1961 and it expanded the scope of the question to ‘any language’ and ‘number of such languages’ to two languages. After studying the 1961 census data on bilingualism F.C. Southworth (1978) in his paper *On the Need for qualitative Data to Supplement Census Language Statistics: Some Proposals Based on Indian Census* recommends collecting of ‘... (1) information on any languages known beyond the second, and (2) information on the distribution of bi/multilingual speakers in terms of the socio-economic structure...comparative information on the patterns of bi/multilingualism in different age groups would be of importance in making predictions about the future of various languages. Data of the kind suggested, correlating patterns of bi multilingualism with other social indices such as age, sex, education and socio-economic status could be obtained ...’.

Information on ‘Other languages’ was collected in the 1971 census. A change in information elicitation reflects the linguistic concerns of the nation at that point of time. This is an official recognition of India as a multilingual nation. Hence, in 1981, information on the number and names of languages known to the person other than his/her mother tongue was collected. It is recorded in ‘...the order in which he/she speaks and understands them best and can use with understanding in communicating with others. He/she need not be able to read and write those languages. It is enough if he/she has a working knowledge of those subsidiary

languages to enable him/her to converse in that language with understanding.’ The Census of India uses same parameters but uses different terminologies to identify the similar concepts. During the year 1981 it is reported as ‘Persons speaking a language additional to the mother tongue’, in 1991 as ‘Persons knowing three languages. The table -1 shows that by the time the 1961 census was conducted nearly 10% of speakers of Indian languages were bilingual. And by the end of 20th century more than 25% of the speakers of Indian languages were multilingual. In the beginning of the 21st century their numbers increased to more than 33%. It means out of 100 Indian language speakers; 33 persons were multilingual in the beginning of the 21st century. Romaine, Suzanne (2002) in ‘Multilingualism’ cites Grosjean (1982) that ‘it is estimated that ‘... probably about half the world's population is bilingual and bilingualism is present in practically every country in the world’. India may inch to this level in the 2031 Census.

Table-1
Multilingualism in 20th Century India

Census Year	National Bilingualism	National Trilingualism
1961	09.70	***
1971	13.04	***
1981	13.34	***
1991	19.44	7.26
2001	24.79	8.51

[*** No trilingualism data]

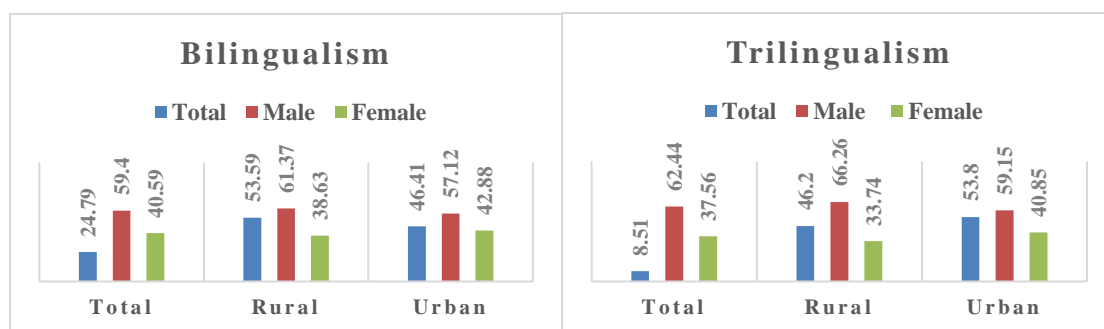
While analysing it is kept in mind that the data collected by the census is on ‘individual multilingualism’ only and it does not fully reflect the multilingualism in the society. From the 21st century in 2001 and 2011 information on the ‘First Subsidiary Language and Second Subsidiary language’ of different mother tongue speakers is collected. These statements ‘first subsidiary language’ and ‘second subsidiary language’ are interpreted as bilingualism and trilingualism for the purposes of analysis in this paper. It may be noted that Indian multilingualism is ‘self-declared’ by the language users and not a result of any evaluation of language competence against any set parameters. The information of population by bilingualism and trilingualism according to the 2001 and 2011 Census are available for researchers to look into the existing pattern of Indian multilingualism. They include all the suggestions of Southworth cited above except data for co-relation of multilingualism to socio-economic status. Additionally, data on rural and urban distribution of multilingualism is also available for researchers. This census information may not be accurate about bilingualism and trilingualism. I think that the present estimate is an underestimation of ground reality. In India, a greater number of people are bilingual and multilingual than reflected by the census.

The Table 2 presents the details of bilingualism and trilingualism from the multilingualism data of Census of 2001, the first Census of the 21st century. The bilingualism (24.79%) is widely spread. More men (59.40%) are bilingual than the women (40.59%). It has to be noted that more rural (53.59%) population is bilingual than the urban (46.41%)

population. So, more rural men (61.37%) are bilingual than urban (57.12%) men. However, more urban women (42.88%) are bilingual than the rural women (38.63%).

Table - 2
Bilingualism and Trilingualism in India: 2001

	Bilingualism			Trilingualism		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Total	24.79	59.40	40.59	8.51	62.44	37.56
Rural	53.59	61.37	38.63	46.20	66.26	33.74
Urban	46.41	57.12	42.88	53.80	59.15	40.85



In 2001, India had 8.51% trilingual population. They had the knowledge of two more languages in addition to their mother tongue. In this case also like bilingualism, more men (62.44%) were trilingual than the women (37.56%). When it comes to distribution of the trilingualism in rural and urban areas, it is just opposite of the bilingualism. More urban population (53.80%) is trilingual than the rural population (46.20%). However, more rural men (66.26%) are trilingual than the urban men (59.15%). The case is reverse when it comes to trilingualism among women. More urban women (40.85%) are trilingual than the rural women (33.74%).

This paper is an attempt to harvest the 2011 census data on Indian multilingualism from various angles to capture some outstanding aspects of Indian multilingualism.

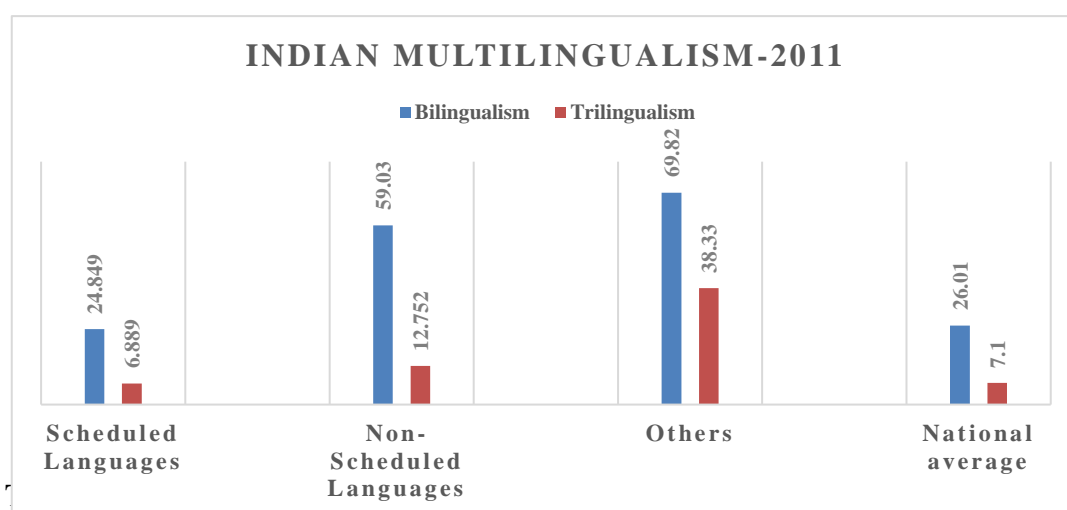
The public, politicians, researchers, scholars and others working on language data of the Census of India are familiar with the widely used terms 'scheduled languages' (96.71%) and non-scheduled languages (3.13%). But this paper unearths the very few known data of another category of languages 'others' (0.16%) from the census data of 2011. Indian multilingualism in 2011 at a glance for all the three categories of languages is provided in the table-3 in a nutshell form.

Table - 3
Indian Multilingualism in Percentages: 2011

Population of India	Details	Bilingualism	Trilingualism
Percentage	National Average	26.01	7.10
		26.90	7.35

96.71	Scheduled Languages	24.849	6.889
3.13	Non-Scheduled Languages	59.03	12.752
0.16	Others	69.82	38.330

There are two national averages each in the table about bilingualism and trilingualism. The first one is an all India average to the total population of the country. The second one is an all India average from the education level, age, gender bilingualism/trilingualism tables. The second table includes the population from the age of 5 years.



Bilingual per centage of the Speakers of the scheduled languages (96.71%) is 24.849% and 7.10% which is below the national average of 26.01% and 7.10% respectively. Whereas among the speakers of the non-scheduled languages who constitute 3.13% of the population, 59.03% are bilingual and 12.752% are trilingual. This is much above the national average. The same is the case of others who are 0.16% of the population. Among them 69% are bilingual and 38.330% trilingual. This is also much above the national average. This reflects the communicative need of the speakers of these three language groups.

Table – 4 gives the details of bilingualism and trilingualism in 2011. Here more rural (51.63%) population are bilingual than the urban (48.36%) population in India. However, more urban female (45.05%) population is bilingual than the rural female (42.82%) population.

Table-4
Bilingualism and Trilingualism in India: 2011

	Bilingualism			Trilingualism		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female

Total	26.01	56.09	43.90	7.10	58.75	41.24
Rural	51.63	57.17	42.82	44.19	61.52	38.47
Urban	48.36	54.94	45.05	63.22	56.82	43.17



When it comes to trilingual, urban (63.22%) population has more trilingual than the rural (44.19%) population. The rural male (61.52%) population outnumbers urban male (58.68%) population in trilingualism. So is the case with female population. More urban women (43.7%) are trilingual than the rural women (38.47%). This is exactly the replication of multilingualism frame of 2001.

Patterns of Multilingualism

Multilingualism acts as a bridge between speakers of different languages. The choice of one or more languages as the first subsidiary language, second subsidiary language reflects the social, economic, educational and sometimes political need/will of a language community. Table – 5 gives a panoramic view of growth of bilingualism among the speakers of the scheduled languages from the 1961 census to 2011 census. The percentages are to the total population speaking a particular language. For the sake of easy understanding, the languages are listed in the descending order of percentage in the year 2011. On the basis of intensity of bilingualism, 21 scheduled language speakers are grouped into four: (1) languages with high intensity of bilingualism [60% and above] (2) languages with moderate intensity of bilingualism [40% to 60%] (3) languages with average intensity of bilingualism [30% to 20%] and (4) languages with low intensity of bilingualism [20% and below].

In 50 years, the number of bilingual speakers of scheduled languages (except in case of Bodo) in India has more than doubled. Konkani (82.414%) has more percentage of bilinguals and Hindi (11.540%) speakers are least bilingual. Not only is this, but progress of bilingualism among Hindi speakers is very marginal: 1991-11.01%, 2001-11.25% and 2011-11.54%. Sociolinguistic situation of both these languages is reflected in the nature of bilingualism they practice. Hindi speakers do not find much need in knowing another language.

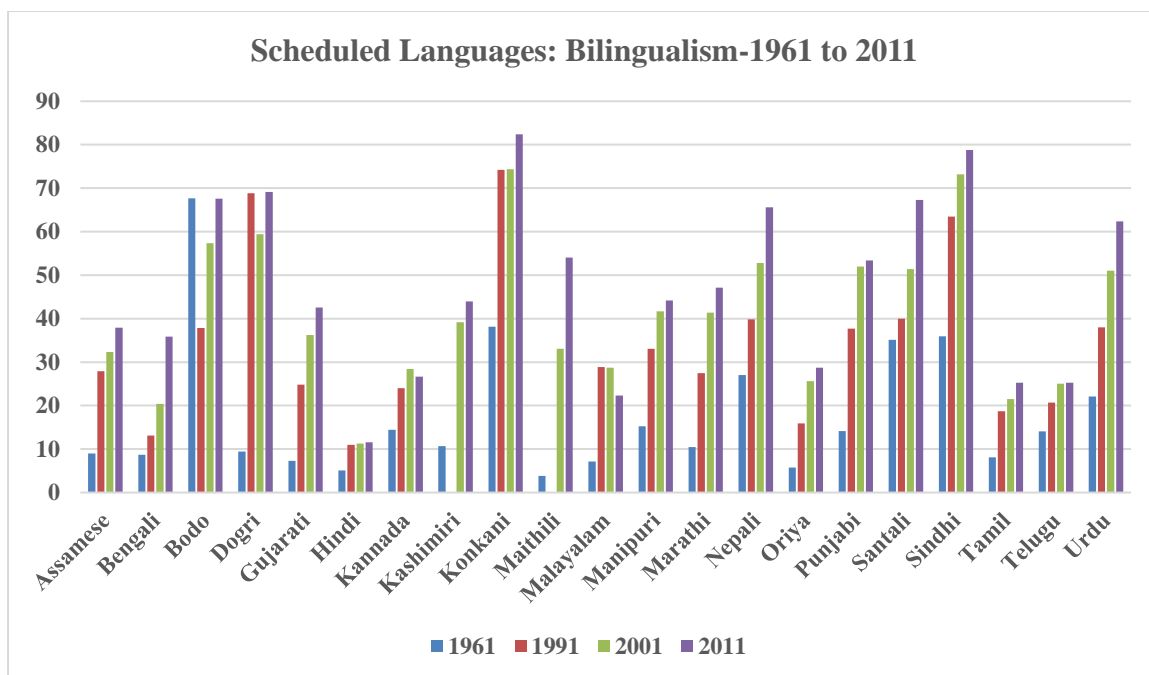
High intensity bilingual languages too share similar sociolinguistic characteristics. It may not be coincidence that Dogri, Bodo, Konkani, Santali, Nepali and Maithili are latest entrants into the elite club of languages called – scheduled languages. Konkani speakers are concentrated in Goa and spread over Kerala, Karnataka, and Maharashtra, etc. Sindhi and

Urdu were known as stateless languages after the reorganisation of states on linguistic lines. Since, Sindhi speakers are spread over many states, they have no alternative other than knowing one or more additional language/s. Speakers of Urdu are spread all over the country, it helps them to know other language/s. Nepali speakers though in less numbers are spread over different states; this induces them to become bilingual. Bodo and Santali are mother tongues of Tribal population; the geographic, social and cultural context necessitates knowledge of another language/s for them.

Table – 5
Scheduled languages: Bilingualism -1961 to 2011

	Language	1961*	1991	2001	2011
I	High				
1	Konkani	38.177	74.20	74.38	82.414
2	Sindhi	35.932	63.45	73.19	78.792
3	Dogri	9.450	68.83	59.44	69.143
4	Bodo	67.70	37.87	57.38	67.610
5	Santali	35.152	40.02	51.43	67.323
6	Nepali	27.048	39.83	52.81	65.639
7	Urdu	22.090	38.00	51.03	62.351
II	Moderate				
8	Maithili	3.810	**	33.03	54.036
9	Punjabi	14.163	37.69	52.01	53.354
10	Marathi	10.471	27.47	41.37	47.161
11	Manipuri	15.265	33.08	41.67	44.203
12	Kashmir	10.695	*	39.21	43.961
13	Gujarati	7.315	24.85	36.25	42.526
14	Assamese	8.969	27.91	32.35	37.952
15	Bengali	8.658	13.09	20.40	35.825
III	Average				
16	Oriya	5.752	15.94	25.63	28.753
17	Kannada	14.436	24.04	28.44	26.622
18	Telugu	14.039	20.68	25.02	25.273
19	Tamil	8.110	18.74	21.51	25.267
20	Malayalam	7.115	28.85	28.75	22.288
IV	Poor				
21	Hindi	5.105	11.01	11.25	11.540

[In 1961, it is the percentage of persons speaking a language in addition to their mother tongue.]



Though there is an increase in percentage of bilingual speakers among Kannada and Malayalam speakers from 1961-2011, there is a negative development between 2001 and 2011; Kannada [28.44 % < 26.622%], Malayalam [28.75 % < 22.288%]. In case of Malayalam attrition of bilingualism seems to have started from 1991 itself [28.83 % < 28.75%]. The progress of bilingualism among Telugu speakers between 2001 and 2011 is highly marginal [25.02% > 25.273%].

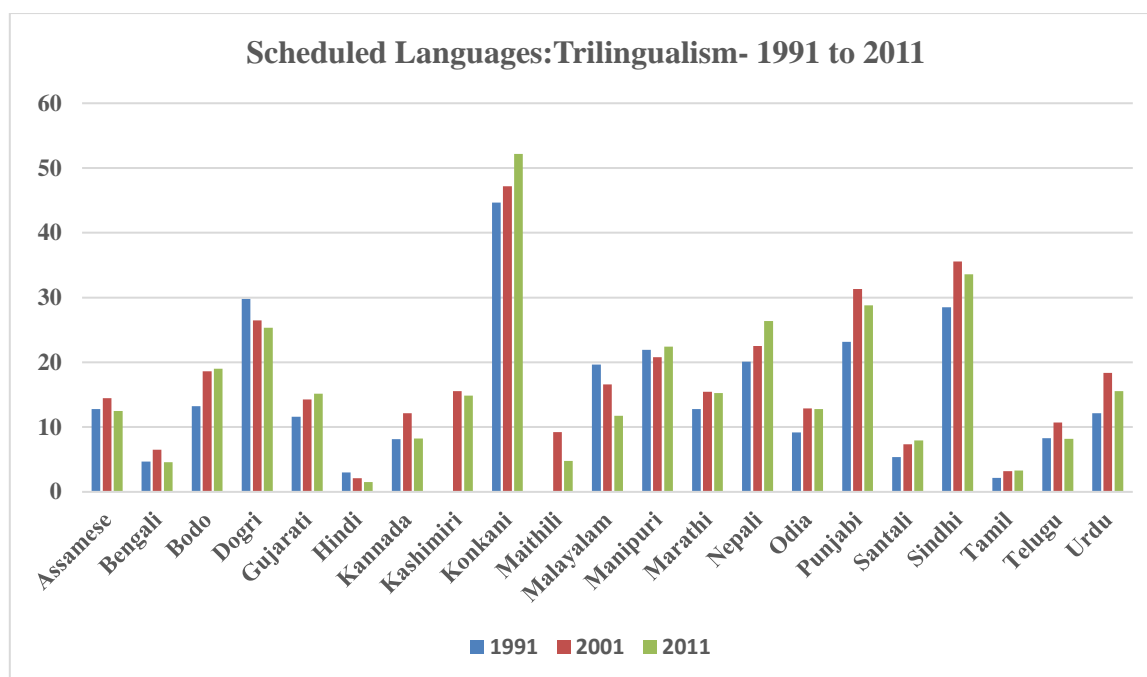
One of the important observations on Indian bilingualism is that the speakers of Dravidian scheduled languages are not bilingual to the extent other scheduled language speakers are. This seems to be the significant feature. Indian bilingualism in case of most of the scheduled languages has almost got stabilised and poised for growth in the coming decades. However, progression or regression of bilingualism of Kannada and Malayalam speakers needs to be studied when the next 2021 census data on multilingualism is available for analysis.

The table-6 illustrates the trilingualism among the speakers of the scheduled languages from 1991 - 2011. When we compare the percentage of trilingual in 1991 and 2011, there is a negative growth among the speakers of Dogri [29.77% > 25.356%], Assamese [12.78% > 12.300%], Malayalam [19.04% > 11.765%], Telugu [8.30% > 8.200%], Bengali [4.69% > 4.564%], and Hindi [2.98% > 1.495%]. If we compare the same between 2001 and 2011, there is a negative growth in speakers of Sindhi [35.58% > 33.581%], Punjabi [31.30% > 28.812%], Urdu [18.37% > 15.557%], Marathi [15.45% > 15.265%], Kashmiri [15.55% > 14.854%], Odia [12.88% > 12.775%], Kannada [12.15% > 8.252%] and Maithili [9.25% > 4.770%].

Table – 6
Scheduled Languages: Trilingualism-1991to2011

	Language	1991	2001	2011
I	High			
1	Konkani	44.68	47.18	52.157
2	Sindhi	28.51	35.58	33.581
3	Punjabi	23.15	31.30	28.812
4	Nepali	20.11	22.54	26.356
5	Dogri	29.77	26.49	25.356
6	Manipuri	21.92	20.81	22.429
II	Moderate			
7	Bodo	13.24	18.64	18.99
8	Urdu	12.14	18.37	15.557
9	Marathi	12.76	15.45	15.265
10	Gujarati	11.59	14.25	15.167
11	Kashmiri	*	15.55	14.854
12	Odia	9.19	12.88	12.775
13	Assamese	12.78	14.47	12.500
14	Malayalam	19.64	16.60	11.765
III	Average			
15	Kannada	8.12	12.15	8.258
16	Telugu	8.30	10.69	8.200
17	Santali	5.36	7.35	7.962
18	Maithili	**	9.25	4.770
19	Bengali	4.69	6.52	4.564
20	Tamil	2.16	3.19	3.287
IV	Poor			
21	Hindi	2.98	2.13	1.495

*Census was not held. ** Was not a scheduled language at that point of time.



We can hypothesize that some of the speakers of these languages who reported a language as a second subsidiary language in 2001 might have shifted in 2011 to state that language is now their first subsidiary language. This could be realised by comparing 2001 and 2011 bilingualism statistics of Sindhi [73.19%>78.792%], Punjabi [52.01%>53.354%], Nepali [52.81%>63.639%], Dogri [59.44%>69.143%], Urdu [51.03%>62.351%], Marathi [41.37%>47.161%], Kashmiri [39.21%>43.961%], Odia [25.63%>28.753%] and Assamese [32.35%>37.952%]. In case of Malayalam and Kannada there is a reduction in the in percentage of population reporting first and second subsidiary languages. The reasons for the same are to be investigated further.

This analysis of trilingualism among the speakers of the scheduled languages suggests that it is not a stable/a sustainable development like bilingualism among most of them.

Language Choice and Bilingualism

When we analyse bilingualism, it is essential to look into the way scheduled language speakers look at knowing Hindi, the Official Language of the Union of India and English the Associate Official language. Hindi is also one of the languages of the education system in most of the states except Tamil Nadu and Pondicherry. English is the contribution of British rule to schooling in India as a subject and also as a medium of instruction at different stages of education. In the Indian context, English is learnt as second or third language due to schooling whereas Hindi is mainly learnt and partially acquired contextually since it is widely used in the media, as part of entertainment. Most of the other languages are learnt due to their coexistence.

The Table -7 and the chart illustrate the choice of the scheduled language Speaker's between Hindi and English as first subsidiary language [FSL] in 2001 and 2011. When we

analyse the information, 5 patterns emerge. In the first group of languages majority of the population prefer Hindi as FSL. Among them in 2001 and 2011 there does an increase in the number of people know Hindi as the FSL and decrease in the number of persons knowing English as the FSL. The languages of this group are: Dogri, Gujarati, Marathi, Maithili, Punjabi, Santali, Sindhi and Urdu. Nepali is also included in this group though there is a slight increase in English as FSL. The second group has 7 languages. The majority of speakers of these languages have English as FSL in 2011, there is a reduction in English choice and an increase in their choice of Hindi. The languages of this group are: Malayalam, Manipuri, Telugu, Odia, Bodo, Kashmiri and Bengali. The third group has two languages Tamil and Konkani. Majority speakers among them declare English as FSL. In case of them in 2011 there is an increase in their choice of both Hindi and English. The fourth group is unique. It has only Kannada though the speaker's choice is English, in 2011 both Hindi and English percentage has decreased. Percentage of Hindi speaker's choice of English as their FSL has decreased in 2011.

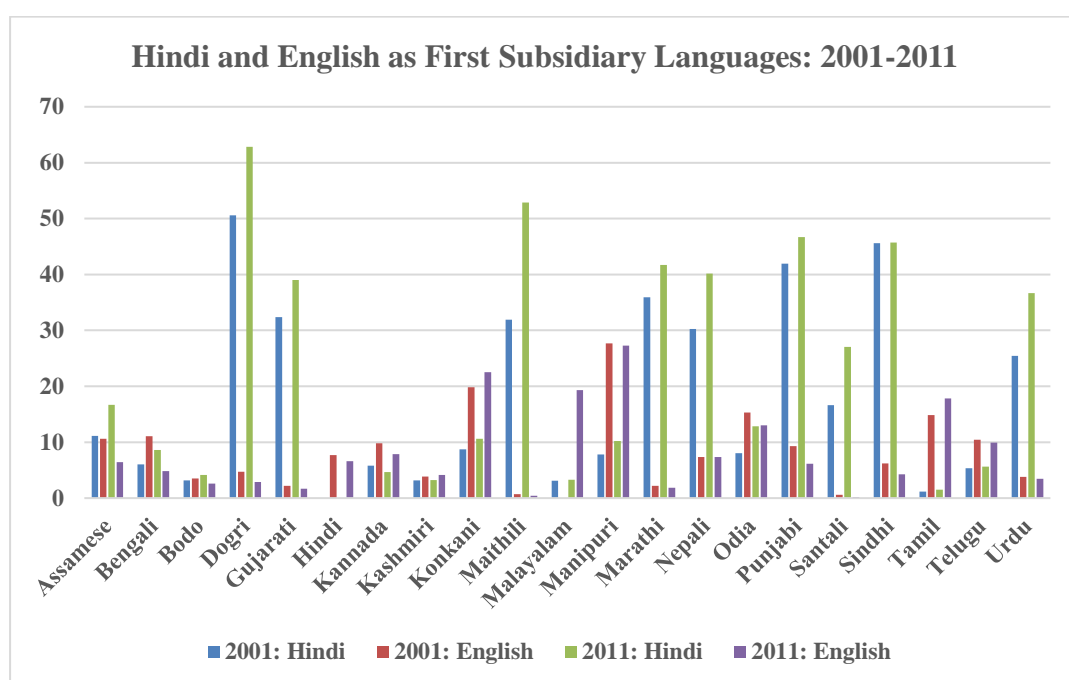
Table- 7
Scheduled Language Speaker's Choice of Hindi and English
as First Subsidiary Language- 2001:2011

		Language	2001	2001	2011	2011
	I	Hindi majority				
Family *			Hindi	English	Hindi	English
I-Aryan	1	Assamese	11.13	10.6	16.704	6.433
I-Aryan	2	Dogri	50.61	4.74	62.824	2.903
I-Aryan	3	Gujarati	32.40	2.22	39.005	1.690
I-Aryan	4	Maithili	31.92	0.70	52.889	0.424
I-Aryan	5	Marathi	35.93	2.22	41.733	1.860
I-Aryan	6	Punjabi	41.94	9.31	46.663	6.147
A-Asiatic	7	Santali	16.64	0.60	27.041	0.208
I-Aryan	8	Sindhi	45.58	6.22	45.742	4.244
I-Aryan	9	Urdu	25.45	3.79	36.674	3.459
I-Aryan	10	Nepali	30.27	7.34	40.183	7.379
	II	English majority				
Dravidian	11	Malayalam	3.12	21.24	3.264	19.311
T-Burmese	12	Manipuri	7.81	27.67	10.234	27.302
Dravidian	13	Telugu	5.37	10.47	5.655	9.953
I-Aryan	14	Odia	8.05	15.32	12.850	13.005
T-Burmese	15	Bodo	3.15	3.54	4.167	2.57
I-Aryan	16	Kashmiri	3.17	3.86	3.217	4.159
I-Aryan	17	Bengali	6.03	11.08	8.615	4.844

Dravidian	III-18	Tamil	1.14	14.88	1.495	17.856
I-Aryan	19	Konkani	8.75	19.85	10.598	22.544
Dravidian	IV-20	Kannada	5.81	9.82	4.672	7.894
I-Aryan	V-21	Hindi	X	7.68	X	6.606

*I-Aryan= Indo-Aryan, A-Asiatic=Astro-Asiatic, T-Burmese=Tibeto-Burmese

Out of 10 languages in the first category of languages with majority Hindi bilingualism, it is evident that 9 languages belong to the Indo-Aryan family. Only Santal belongs to Astro-Asiatic family. In the English majority bilingualism category, 4 belong to Dravidian another 4 belong to Indo-Aryan and 2 languages belong to Tibeto-Burman family. Hindi is yet to gain entry in a big way into the second group of languages as first subsidiary languages.



Non-Scheduled Languages and Multilingualism

This category of languages in India is not created by the Constitution of India or through any government declaration. It has got created by the convention that if a language is not listed in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution it is a non-scheduled language. As we already saw, the 2011 prepared a list of 121 languages after processing the raw returns of the mother tongues. Among them, 22 languages are part of the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. Rest of the 99 languages are called non-scheduled languages. These non-scheduled languages are spoken by 3.13% of the population of India. So far this group of languages has performed one major task. That is, as and when there was a demand it has contributed languages to the Eighth Schedule.

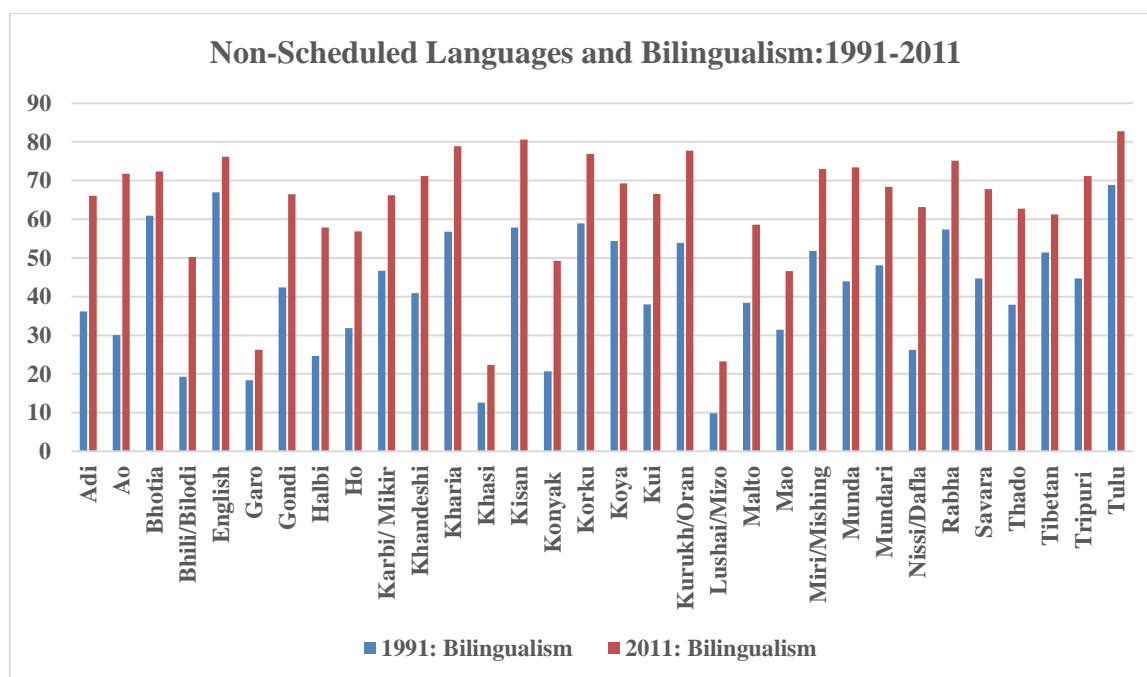
Bilingualism

In order to have a glimpse of multilingualism among these 99 languages, 32 languages from this group were chosen. The table -8 lists thus selected 32 non-scheduled languages in a user-friendly way in the descending order of percentage of speakers in 2011.

Table - 8
Non-Scheduled Languages: Bilingualism % 1991: 2011

	Language	1991	2011		Language	1991	2011
1	Tulu	68.89	82.805	17	Kui	37.96	66.549
2	Kisan	57.83	80.628	18	Gondi	42.34	66.463
3	Kharia	56.77	78.877	19	Karbi/ Mikir	46.68	66.211
4	Kurukh/Oran	53.85	77.708	20	Adi	36.17	66.079
5	Korku	58.94	76.876	21	Nissi/Dafla	26.22	63.150
6	English	66.99	76.177	22	Thado	37.89	62.725
7	Rabha	57.34	75.156	23	Tibetan	51.40	61.289
8	Munda	43.93	73.432	24	Malto	38.43	58.620
9	Miri/Mishing	51.81	72.997	25	Halbi	24.68	57.864
10	Bhotia	60.94	72.3705	26	Ho	31.83	56.877
11	Tripuri	44.73	71.214	27	Bhili/Bilodi	19.31	50.265
12	Ao	30.02	71.758	28	Konyak	20.72	49.276
13	Khandeshi	40.88	71.174	29	Mao	31.45	46.600
14	Koya	54.36	69.245	30	Garro	18.35	26.251
15	Mundari	48.12	68.384	31	Lushai/Mizo	9.88	23.287
16	Savara	44.71	67.776	32	Khasi	12.60	22.312

All these are spoken by not less than 200,000 of population in the 2011 census and conventional listing of languages in the alphabetical order is dispensed with. The national average of bilingualism among the non-scheduled languages is 59.03%. This is the double the national average of 24.849% of bilingualism of speakers of the scheduled languages.



More percentage of speakers of these languages are bilingual than those of speakers of the scheduled languages. It can be seen in the chart that the bilingualism is on the rise in all these languages. One cannot find regression in any language. The 23 non-scheduled languages out of 32 listed above have bilinguals above the national average of bilingualism of this category of languages. It is amazing to note 13 languages record bilingualism percentage above 70%.

Trilingualism

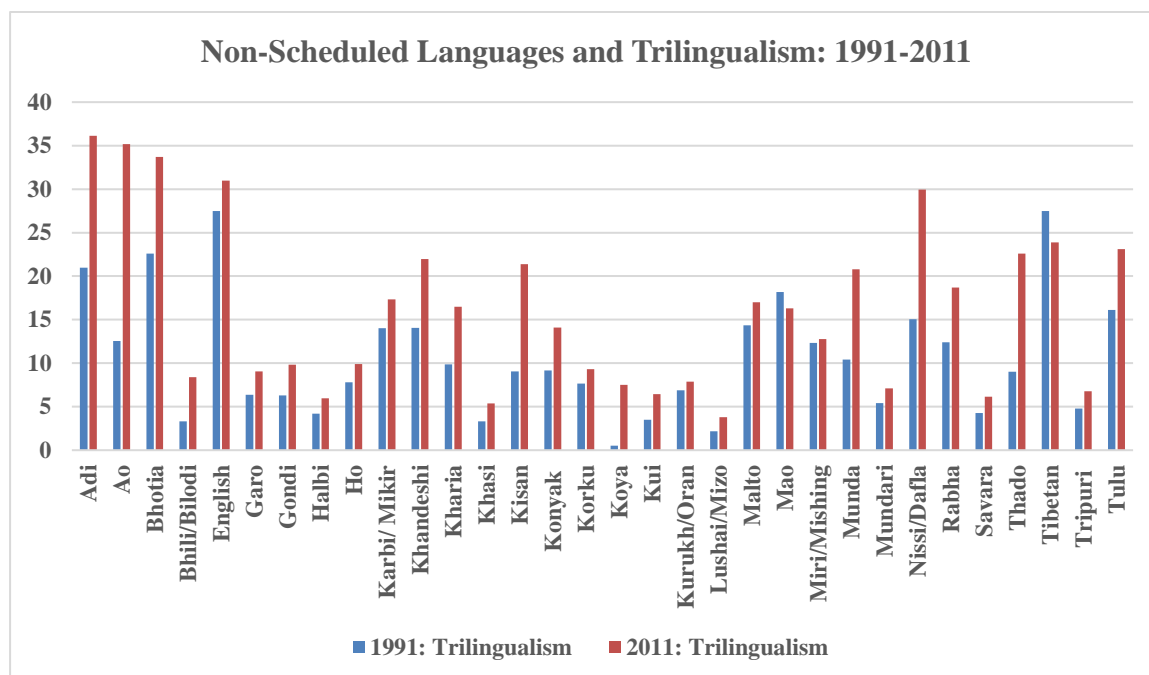
The table -9 lists the same 32 non-scheduled languages in the hierarchy of number of second subsidiary language speakers from maximum to minimum at the end of the list.

Table - 9
Non-Scheduled Languages and Trilingualism-1991: 2011

	Language	1991	2011		Language	1991	2011
1	Adi	20.99	36.140	17	Konyak	9.17	14.094
2	Ao	12.54	35.171	18	Miri/Mishing	12.33	12.771
3	Bhotia	22.60	33.693	19	Ho	7.80	9.911
4	English	27.50	30.964	20	Gondi	6.31	9.812
5	Nissi/Dafla	15.05	29.960	21	Korku	7.66	9.310
6	Tibetan	27.5	23.886	22	Garo	6.35	9.048
7	Tulu	16.1	23.120	23	Bhili/Bilodi	3.32	8.402
8	Thado	9.0	22.586	24	Kurukh/Oran	6.87	7.891
9	Khandeshi	14.04	21.969	25	Koya	0.52	7.496
10	Kisan	9.05	21.381	26	Mundari	5.40	7.102
11	Munda	10.40	20.784	27	Tripuri	4.8	6.788
12	Rabha	12.41	18.696	28	Kui	3.51	6.429

13	Karbi/ Mikir	14.01	17.337	29	Savara	4.26	6.139
14	Malto	14.35	16.987	30	Halbi	4.20	5.977
15	Kharia	9.88	16.471	31	Khasi	3.30	5.378
16	Mao	18.19	16.293	32	Lushai/Mizo	2.19	3.794

The average trilingualism among the speakers of non-scheduled languages is 12.752%. This is also double the national average 6.889% of trilingualism among the speakers of the scheduled languages. Here also 18 languages are having trilingual population above the national average of 12.752% for non-scheduled languages.



It is evident from the table as well as chart that trilingualism is progressing at different rates in different languages. There is no regression in any language.

Hindi Bilingualism

The table -10 lists the 32 non-scheduled languages in the hierarchy of number of speakers enumerated as they know Hindi as the first subsidiary language. Languages with a maximum number of such speakers are listed first and minimum speakers are listed at the end. Information about the language family of each language is also given. In a way this table is self-explanatory. Among the 32 languages, speakers of 14 language fall in the category where more than 20% claim that Hindi is their first subsidiary language.

Table - 10
Non-scheduled Languages and Hindi Bilingualism: 2011

Family*		Language	%		Language	%	Family
A-Asiatic	1	Korku	72.743	17	Kisan	4.844	Dravidian
Dravidian	2	Kurukh/Oran	67.639	18	Tulu	4.549	Dravidian
A-Asiatic	3	Mundari	53.923	19	Ao	4.424	T-Burmese

T-Burmese	4	Nissi/Dafla	49.887	20	Khandeshi	3.893	I-Aryan
Germanic	5	English	48.919	21	Khasi	3.774	A-Asiatic
T-Burmese	6	Adi	48.574	22	Lushai/Mizo	3.251	T-Burmese
I-Aryan	7	Halbi	48.363	23	Karbi/ Mikir	2.969	T-Burmese
A-Asiatic	8	Kharia	46.811	24	Mao	2.512	T-Burmese
Dravidian	9	Gondi	44.754	25	Thado	2.444	T-Burmese
A-Asiatic	10	Ho	34.532	26	Konyak	2.154	T-Burmese
Dravidian	11	Malto	33.506	27	Rabha	1.900	T-Burmese
I-Aryan	12	Bhili/Bilodi	32.941	28	Miri/Mishing	1.583	T-Burmese
T-Burmese	13	Bhotia	31.957	29	Tripuri	0.915	T-Burmese
T-Burmese	14	Tibetan	22.42	31	Savara	0.912	A-Asiatic
A-Asiatic	15	Munda	17.876	31	Koya	0.356	Dravidian
T-Burmese	16	Garó	5.332	32	Kui	0.214	Dravidian

*I-Aryan = Indo-Aryan, A-Asiatic =Astro-Asiatic, T-Burmese=Tibeto-Burmese

It is observed in this table – 10 that out of 32 non-scheduled languages 17 languages have less than 6% Hindi bilinguals, 10 belong to the Tibeto-Burman, 4 to the Dravidian, another 2 to the Astro-Asiatic and one to the Indo-Aryan families.

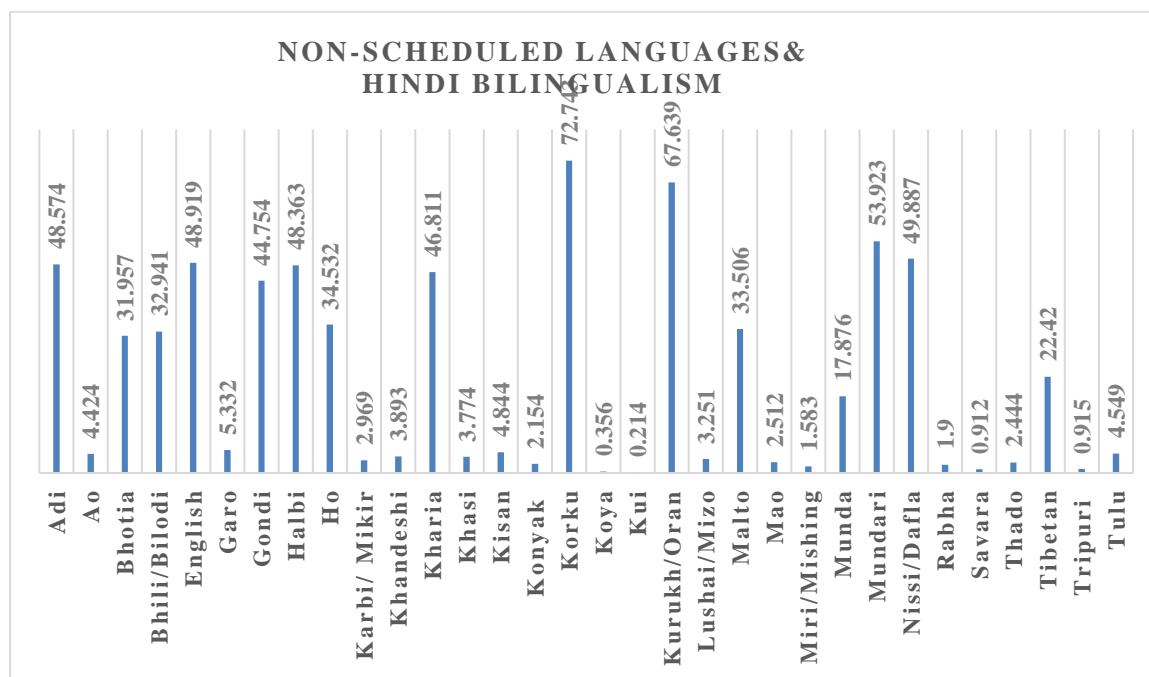


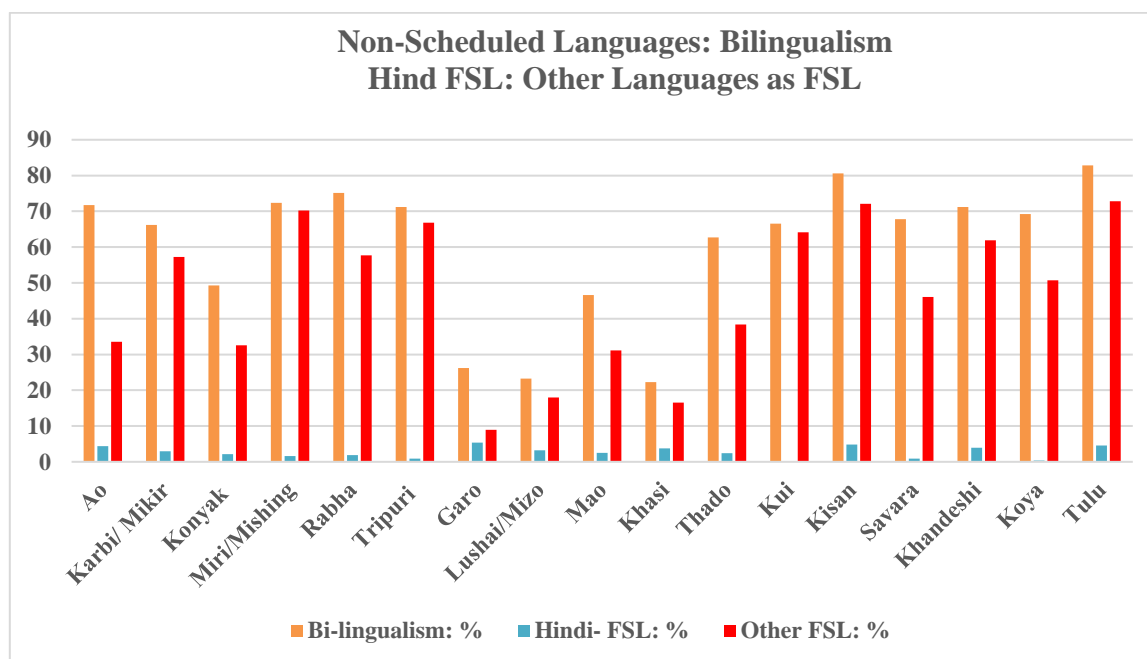
Table-11
Non-scheduled Languages
Bilingualism-Hindi: FSL* and Other Languages as FSL- 2011

	Non-Scheduled Languages	Bi-lingualism %	Hindi-FSL: %	Other FSL	%
1	Ao	71.758	4.424	Assamese	33.553

2	Karbi/ Mikir	66.211	2.969	Assamese	57.219
3	Konyak	49.276	2.154	Assamese	32.556
4	Miri/Mishing	72.370	1.583	Assamese	70.229
5	Rabha	75.156	1.900	Assamese	57.726
6	Tripuri	71.214	0.915	Bengali	66.781
7	Garo	26.251	5.332	English	8.985
8	Lushai/Mizo	23.287	3.251	English	17.942
9	Mao	46.600	2.512	English	31.136
10	Khasi	22.312	3.774	English	16.569
11	Thado	62.723	2.444	Manipuri	38.366
12	Kui	66.549	0.214	Odia	64.126
13	Kisan	80.628	4.844	Odia	72.111
14	Savara	67.776	0.912	Odia	46.053
15	Khandeshi	71.174	3.893	Marathi	61.867
16	Koya	69.245	0.356	Telugu	50.703
17	Tulu	82.805	4.549	Kannada	72.854

*First Subsidiary Language: FSL

In order to understand depth and direction of bilingualism among the non-scheduled languages, 17 languages with less than 6% of bilingualism in Hindi were chosen. It was found that most of the speakers had declared their neighbourhood language as their first subsidiary language. The people are not less bilingual, but less bilingual in Hindi, and highly bilingual in the neighbourhood language. The chart below clearly demonstrates this.



Bilingualism: Age and Gender

The Census of India is using the term 'sex' instead; in this paper I am using the term 'gender'. Now we are discussing about 26.90 % of bilinguals in India and their distribution

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Prof. B. Mallikarjun

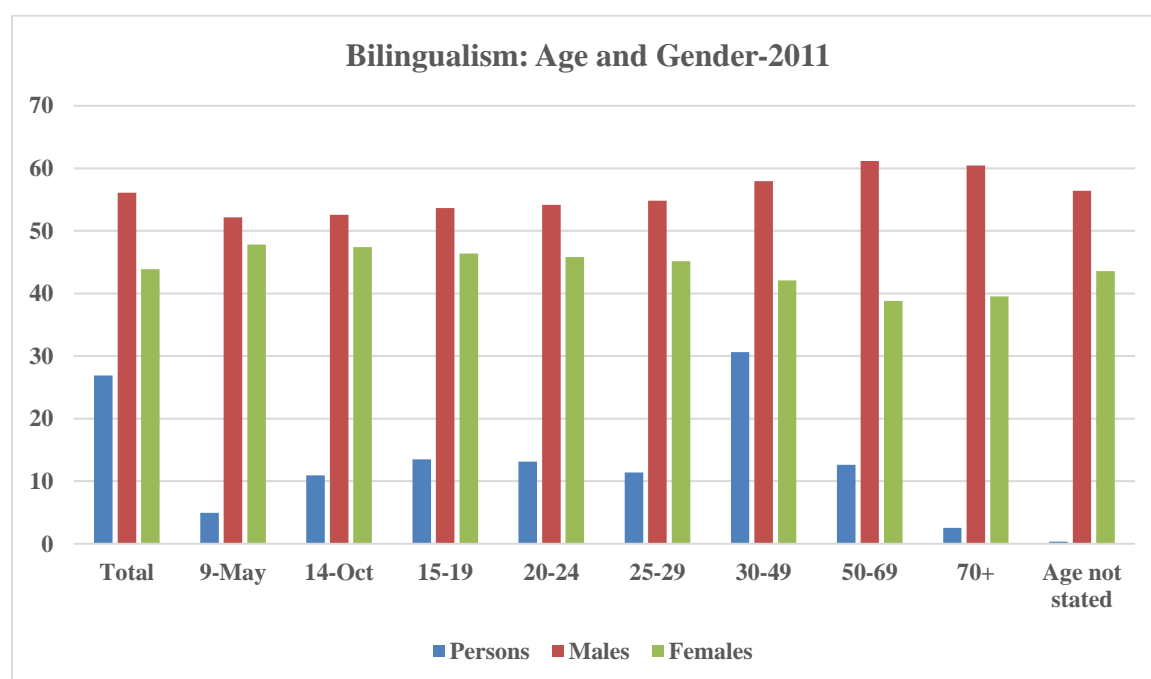
Multilingualism in 21st Century India

across categories of age and gender. Distribution of the differences across these categories is illustrated in the table – 12. Maximum persons are bilinguals in the age group of 30-49 [30.62%]. This group has people born after 1947, the year in which India attained freedom. They are product of the new education system. In this group more males [57.93%] are bilingual than females [42.07%].

Table - 12
Bilingualism Age and Gender: 2011

Age group	Persons	Males	Females
Total	26.90	56.10	43.90
5-9	4.97	52.19	47.81
10-14	10.95	52.58	47.42
15-19	13.47	53.63	46.37
20-24	13.13	54.15	45.85
25-29	11.40	54.82	45.18
30-49	30.62	57.93	42.07
50-69	12.61	61.18	38.82
70+	2.53	60.46	39.54
Age not stated	0.32	56.43	43.57

The second age group is of 50-69 years. Some of them may belong to pre independence era and more of them are of post-independence period, 12.61% of them are bilinguals. All of them may not be products of new education. It is important to note that this group has very less females [38.82%] as bilinguals and more males [61.18%] than any other groups. The next groups are of 15-19 [13.47%] and 20-24[13.13%] age groups. This seems to reflect exposure to education and wider involvement in socialisation.



Other age groups in the descending order are: 25-29[11.40%], 10-14 [10.95%], 5-9[4.97%],70+ [2.55%] and age not stated [0.32%].

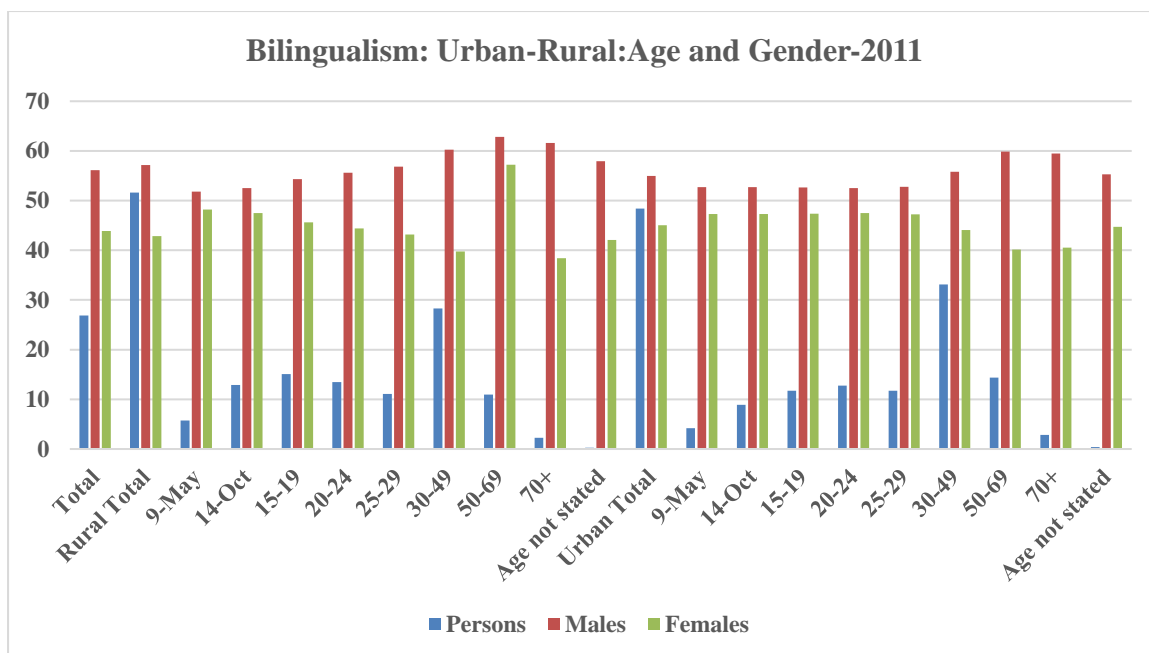
Bilingualism: Urban- Rural: Age and Gender

Table – 13 provides the details of bilingualism among the urban – rural population and their correlation with age and gender. More rural [51.63%] population are bilingual than the urban [48.37%] population. Also, more rural men [57.17%] are bilingual than the urban men [48.17%]. When we compare this with the 2001 statistics, one can find the significant difference in both the categories. Percentage of male bilinguals has decreased [57.12% to 54.95%] and that of female bilinguals has increased [38.62% to 42.83%].

A clear-cut division is visible in rural and urban bilingualism and age groups. In the age groups from 5-9 to 20-24, more rural population are bilingual and from the age groups 25-29 to the rest, more urban population are bilingual. In both the categories and in all the age groups more male population are bilingual than the corresponding female population.

Table - 13
Bilingualism: Urban- Rural: Age and Gender

Age-group	Rural			Urban		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
Total	51.63	57.17	42.83	48.37	54.95	45.05
5-9	5.71	51.82	48.18	4.17	52.72	47.28
10-14	12.88	52.51	47.49	8.88	52.69	47.31
15-19	15.09	54.35	45.65	11.73	52.63	47.37
20-24	13.47	55.60	44.40	12.76	52.51	47.49
25-29	11.10	56.84	43.16	11.73	52.79	47.21
30-49	28.27	60.22	39.78	33.13	55.83	44.10
50-69	10.96	62.81	37.19	14.38	59.85	40.15
70+	2.24	61.62	38.38	2.84	59.48	40.52
Age not stated	0.28	57.94	42.06	0.38	55.26	44.74



When we attempt to rank the age groups in the rural and urban categories from maximum bilinguals to the minimum bilinguals, a differing picture emerges and they do not correspond with each other. In rural it is (1) 30-49 (2) 15-19 (3) 20-24 (4) 10-14 (5) 25-29 (6) 50-69 (7) 5-9 (8) 70+ and (9) Age not stated. In urban it is (1) 30-49 (2) 50-69 (3) 20-24 (4) 15-19 and 25-29 (5) 10-14 (6) 5-9 (7) 70+ (8) Age not stated. This may reveal that the reasons for being bilingual in rural and urban areas could be different for different age groups.

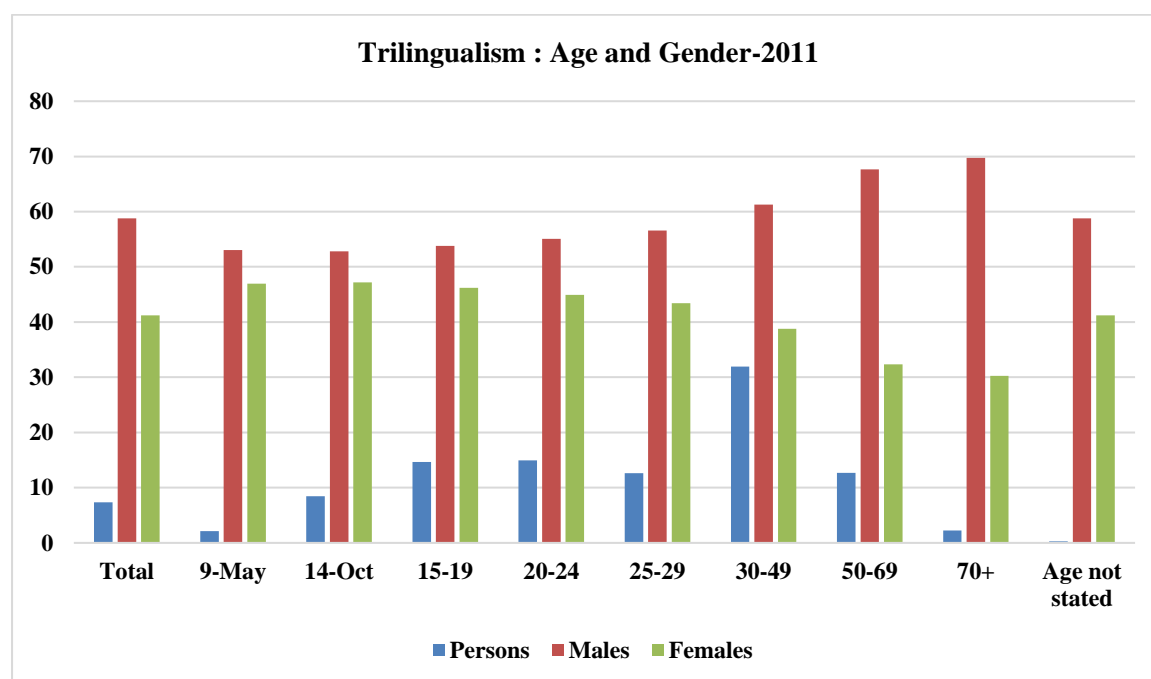
Trilingualism: Age and Gender

Number of persons reporting that they know a second subsidiary language (trilingualism) stands at 7.35% in 2011. The table -14 illustrates their distribution across categories of age and gender. In all categories of age like bilingualism, less female population are trilingual than the male population.

Table - 14
Trilingualism: Age and Gender

Age group	Persons	Males	Females
Total	7.35	58.76	41.24
5-9	2.14	53.04	46.96
10-14	8.44	52.81	47.19
15-19	14.68	53.80	46.20
20-24	14.92	55.07	44.93
25-29	12.62	56.59	43.41
30-49	31.93	61.25	38.75
50-69	12.69	67.66	32.34
70+	2.27	69.72	30.28
Age not stated	0.30	58.79	41.21

Maximum persons are trilingual in the age group of 30-49 [30.93%]. This is similar to bilingualism. This group is of post-independence era and product of the new education system. Unlike bilingualism, here the second group is that of 20-24 age group [14.92%] followed by the 15-19 age group [14.68%], exposed to third language early in their life. A glance at the bilingualism [4.97%] and trilingualism [2.14%] of the age group 5-9 indicates the late exposure of this age group to the second subsidiary language. The same could be said about the age group 10-14 whose bilingualism is 10.95% and trilingualism is 8.44%.



Trilingualism: Urban- Rural: Age and Gender

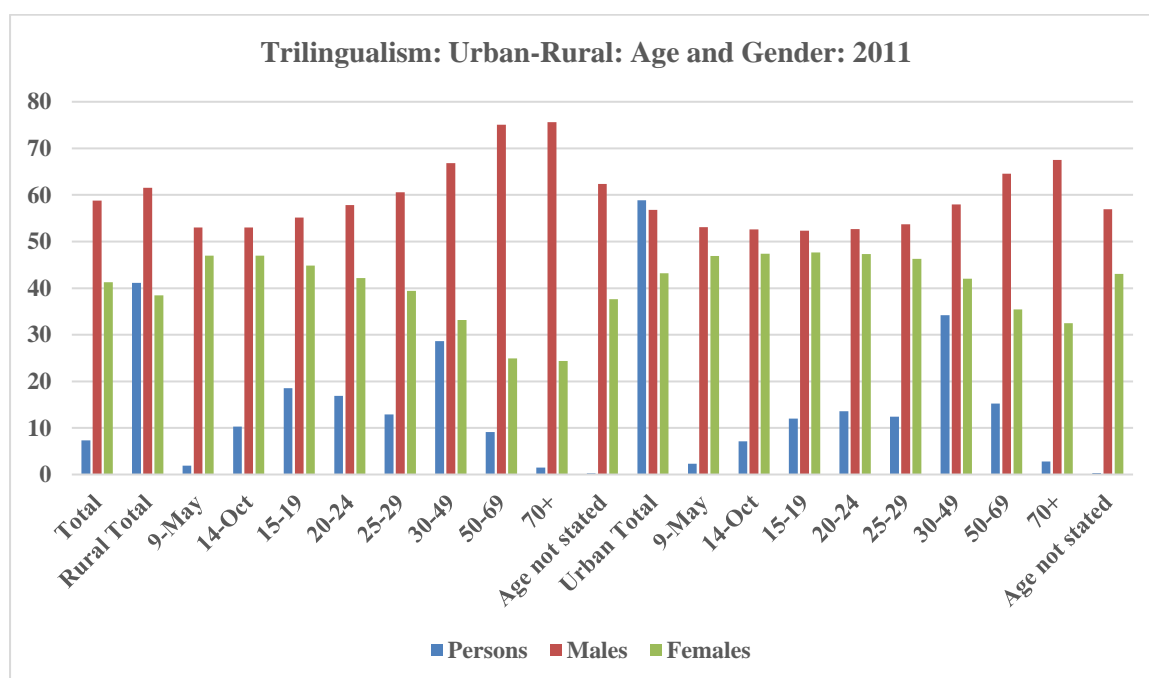
Table-15 demonstrates that in India trilingualism is an urban phenomenon unlike bilingualism which is a rural phenomenon. In urban areas 58.86% persons and in rural areas 41.14% persons are trilingual. In all age categories a smaller number of females are trilingual than the males. Maximum percentage of persons in the age group of 30-40 is trilingual in both rural [28.66%] and urban [34.23%] sectors. The second place among the rural persons is of the age group 15-19 [18.54%] and in the urban group is that of 50-69 [15.21%] age group. This reflects the exposure of the respective age groups in both the categories to the second subsidiary language.

Table -15
Trilingualism: Urban- Rural: Age and Gender

Age Group	Rural			Urban		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
Total	41.14	61.53	38.47	58.86	56.83	43.17
5-9	1.90	52.99	47.01	2.31	53.07	46.93
10-14	10.28	53.03	46.97	7.14	52.60	47.40
15-19	18.54	55.13	44.87	11.99	52.36	47.64

20-24	16.86	57.83	42.17	13.57	52.67	47.33
25-29	12.91	60.59	39.41	12.42	53.68	46.32
30-49	28.66	66.85	33.15	34.23	57.98	42.02
50-69	9.09	75.05	24.95	15.21	64.57	35.43
70+	1.51	75.60	24.40	2.80	67.51	32.49
Age not stated	0.25	62.35	37.65	0.33	56.91	43.09

When we compare the trilingualism statistics with the corresponding statistics of 2001- the following important observations could be made. Male trilingual population has decreased from 62.43% to 58.76% and female trilingual population has increased from 37.56% to 41.24%. At the same time urban male trilingual population has decreased from 59.15% to 56.83% and the urban female population has increased from 40.84% to 43.17%. Similarly, in the rural sector male trilingual population has decreased from 66.25% to 61.53% and female trilingual population has increased from 33.74% to 38.47%. This indicates that in both urban and rural areas percentage of trilingual males is decreasing and females is increasing.



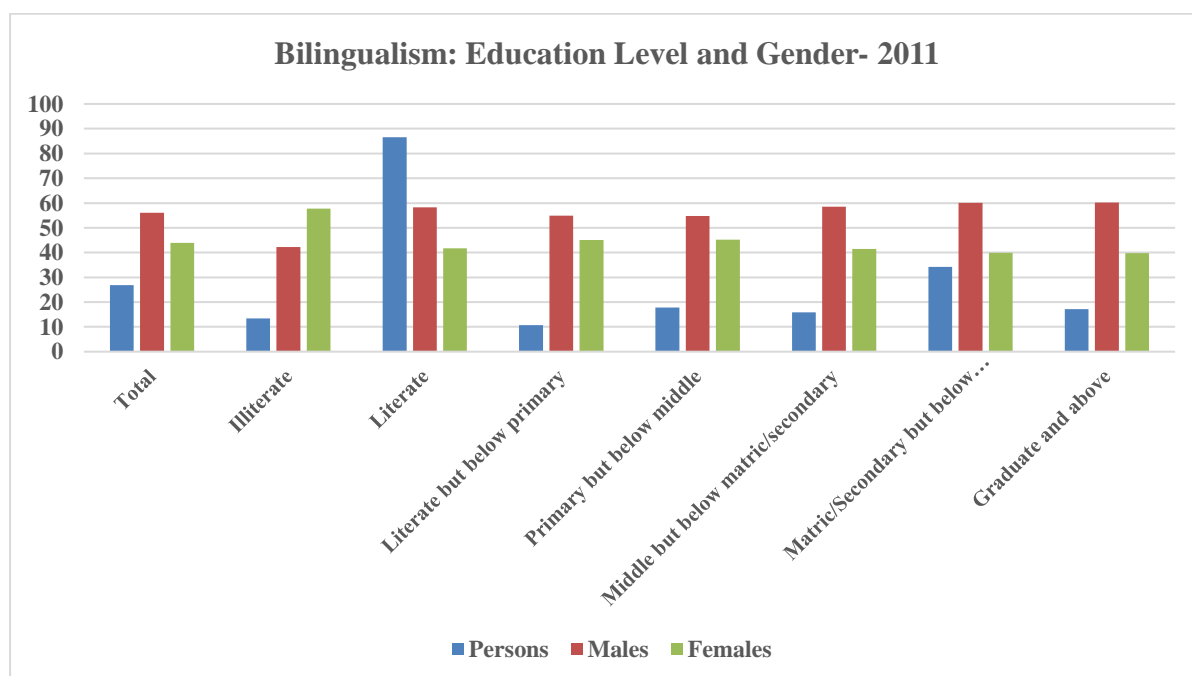
The ranking of the age groups in the rural and urban categories from maximum trilingual to minimum trilingual indicates that the age groups do not correspond to each other in all age categories. In rural it is (1) 30-49 (2) 15-19 (3) 20-24 (4) 25-29 (5) 10-14 (6) 50-69 (7) 3-9 (8) 70+ (9) Age not specified. In urban it is (1) 30-49 (2) 50-69 (3) 20-24 (4) 25-29 (5) 15-19 (6) 10-14 (7) 70+ (8) 5-9 and (9) Age not stated. This may divulge that the reasons for being trilingual in rural and urban areas could be different for different age groups.

Bilingualism: Education Level and Gender

Multilingualism and literacy are not mutually dependent. Bilingualism is not the fort only of literates [86.58%]. Substantial number of illiterates [13.32%] has also reported that they know a second subsidiary language. Among illiterates more females [57.76%] are bilinguals than males [42.24%]. In all other categories less, female population are trilingual than males. Table – 16 illustrates the distribution of bilingualism and its correlation with education level and gender.

Table -16
Bilingualism: Education Level and Gender

	Persons	Males	Females
Total	26.89	56.09	43.90
Illiterate	13.42	42.24	57.76
Literate	86.58	58.24	41.76
Literate but below primary	10.76	54.95	45.04
Primary but below middle	17.81	54.74	45.26
Middle but below matric/secondary	15.81	58.48	41.52
Matric/Secondary but below graduate	34.17	60.11	39.89
Graduate and above	17.22	60.24	39.76



Among the literate persons more bilinguals are in the group of education level metric/secondary but below graduate level [34.17%]. Next is the category of primary but

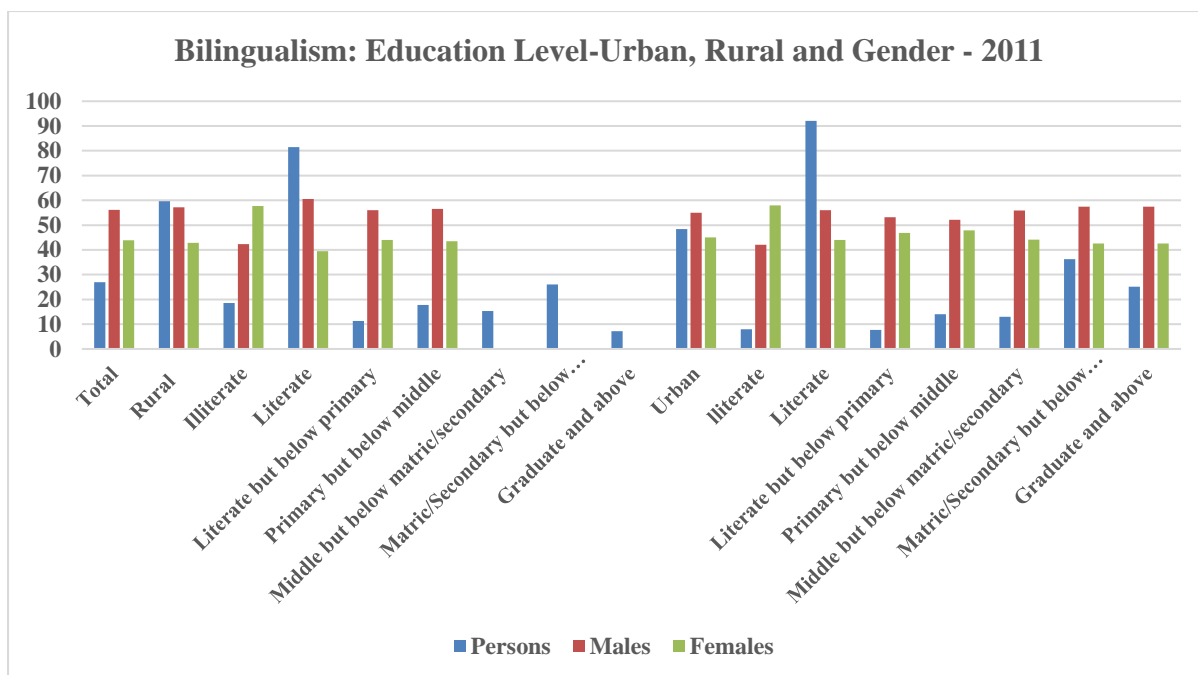
below middle level [17.81%] persons. In all, more than 50% of the bilinguals belong to the category of matric and above categories. This proves that really education is spreading multilingualism.

Bilingualism: Education Level-Urban, Rural and Gender

Sociology of knowing a second subsidiary language by males and females is reflected in the statistics of education level, rural/urban divide and gender. Table–17, illustrates the distribution of bilingualism in different education levels and its correlation with urban, rural and gender groups. It may be seen that more illiterate females are bilingual in both rural [57.91%] and urban [57.71%] areas.

Table - 17
Bilingualism: Education Level-Urban, Rural and Gender

Education level	Rural			Urban		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
Total	59.63	57.17	42.83	48.36	54.95	45.05
Illiterate	18.57	42.29	57.71	7.92	42.09	57.91
Literate	81.43	60.57	39.43	92.08	56.05	43.95
Literate but below primary	11.37	56.00	44.00	7.74	53.18	46.82
Primary but below middle	17.78	56.51	43.49	14.00	52.14	47.86
Middle but below matric/secondary	15.35			12.95	55.88	44.12
Matric/Secondary but below graduate	26.01			36.29	57.41	42.59
Graduate and above	7.23			25.09	57.46	42.54



More literate bilingual males are in urban [92.08%] areas than in rural [81.43%] areas. Education in the urban areas has spread bilingualism among the educated persons beyond matric [36.29% +25.09%]. The picture is reversed in the spread of bilingualism among literate but below matric/secondary, more rural persons [11.37%+17.78%+15.35%] are bilingual.

Trilingualism: Education Level and Gender

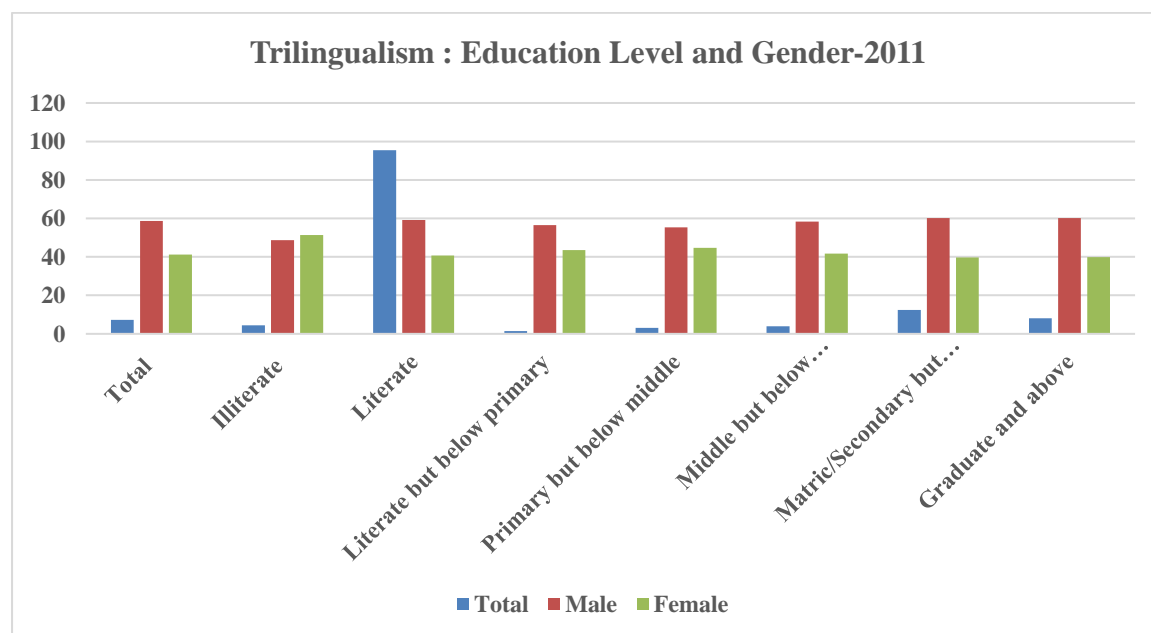
Education has a real impact on people knowing the first and second subsidiary language. Among illiterates 13.42% of persons are bilingual but among illiterates only 4.51% are trilingual. In case of bilingualism and education-literate only 86.58% of persons were bilingual however in case of trilingualism and education – literate 95.4% of persons are trilingual.

Table - 18
Education Level, Gender and Trilingualism: 2011

	Total	Male	Female
Total	7.34	58.75	41.24
Illiterate	4.51	48.72	51.28
Literate	95.4	59.23	40.77
Literate but below primary	1.37	56.46	43.54
Primary but below middle	3.17	55.37	44.63
Middle but below matric/secondary	3.94	58.33	41.67
Matric/Secondary	12.43	60.21	39.79

but below graduate			
Graduate and above	8.12	60.13	39.87

It is important for the scholars studying multilingualism that in the table-18 that in all categories less females are trilingual than males except in case of the category of illiterates [51.28%]. We saw the same trend among this group in bilingualism [57.76%] too. Like in bilingualism majority of trilingual population belong to the category of educated from matric and above [12.43%+8.12%].



Though among educated up to matric and above category more males [60.21% and 60.13%] are trilingual, compared to all the categories very less females [39.79% and 39.87%] are trilingual

Trilingualism: Education Level-Urban, Rural and Gender

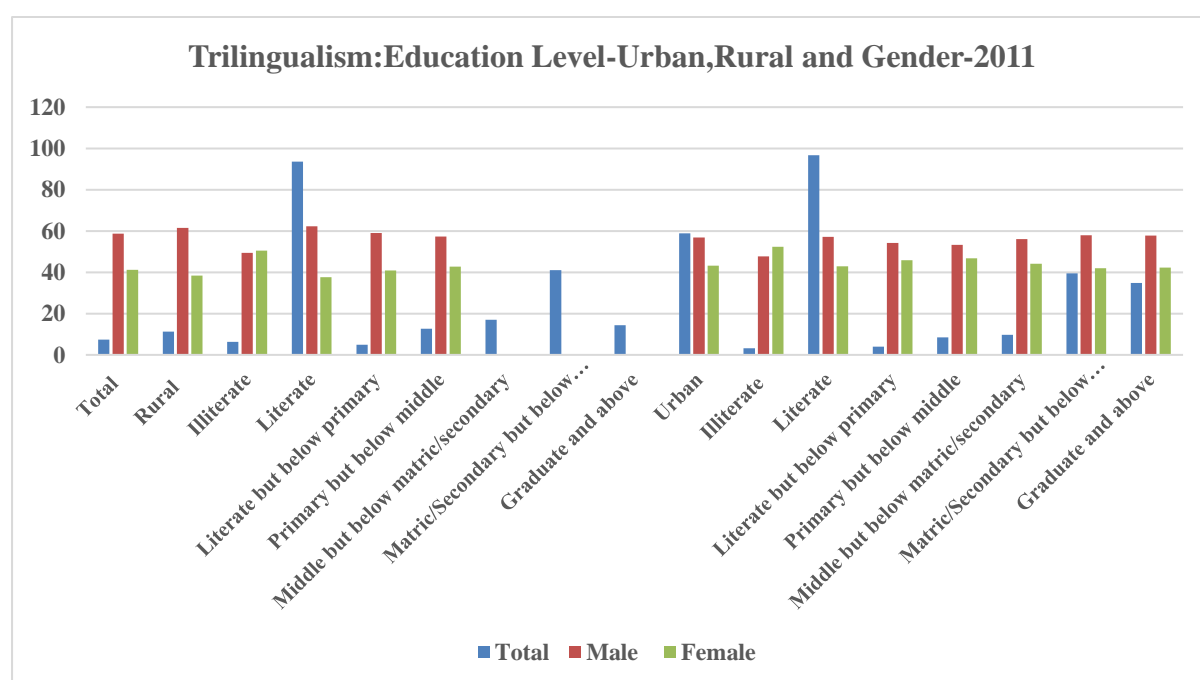
If bilingualism is rural phenomenon trilingualism is an urban phenomenon is reflected in the parameter of education level too. Similarly, more illiterate females are trilingual in both rural [50.51%] and urban [52.32%] areas. Table -19 illustrates the same.

Table -19
Trilingualism: Education Level-Urban, Rural and Gender

	Rural			Urban		
Education Level	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Rural	11.23	61.53	38.47	58.86	56.82	43.18
Illiterate	6.31	49.49	50.51	3.25	47.68	52.32
Literate	93.69	62.34	37.66	96.74	57.13	42.87
Literate but below	4.95	59.05	40.95	4.05	54.17	45.83

primary						
Primary but below middle	12.72	57.31	42.69	8.44	53.27	46.73
Middle but below matric/secondary	16.99			9.66	56.16	44.12
Matric/ Secondary but below graduate	41.12			39.51	58.01	41.99
Graduate and above	14.39			34.82	57.73	42.27

In this it is to be noted that in all categories though trilingualism is an urban phenomenon, in the category of matric /secondary but below graduate educated persons in the rural areas 41.12% are trilingual but in the same category in urban areas 39.31% of persons are trilingual, less than urban population. This breaks the tradition.



In the graduate and above educated category urban [34.82%] persons outnumber the rural [14.39%] persons. Knowing of the second subsidiary language seems to be more in the persons of rural [12.72%, 16.99%] areas than in the people of urban [8.44%, 9.66%] areas among the primary and secondary education category.

‘Others’ and Multilingualism

The neglected category of languages in the discussion on Indian languages is of *others*. They are part and parcel of the language tables of the Census of India. In 2001 they were 0.17% of the population and in 2011, they are 0.16%. The speakers of these languages in 2011 are reporting as 69.82% and 38.33% of them know the first and second subsidiary languages. This is much more than the bilingual and trilingual percentage of speakers of scheduled and non-scheduled languages and also of the national average.

This analysis of 2011 Census data on multilingualism in 21st century India shows that it is growing from decade to decade. Here I have discussed the penetration of mother tongues into the communication territory of speakers of different languages. Bilingualism has almost got stabilized and developing in most of the languages. Trilingualism is fluctuating and it is yet to get stabilized. Multilingualism is not evenly distributed in the country. Hindi, the most powerful and statistically dominant language is yet to pick up threads of bilingualism and trilingualism in other languages. Bilingualism is rurally dominated and trilingualism is dominant in urban areas. People of the age group of 30-49 years dominate in both bilingual and trilingual scenario. Education is playing significant role in spreading multilingualism. It is noteworthy to note that illiterate females outnumber males in both being bilingual and trilingual. Multilingualism of the society is responsible for it.

The speakers of the non-scheduled languages though comparatively less in numbers are far ahead of the speakers of the scheduled languages in becoming multilingual. The speakers of Indian languages 'others', the nameless for researchers are fast becoming multilingual. Since they are numerically less, in due course of time may shift from their mother tongue to the neighbourhood and/or numerically strong languages. They are most endangered than any other languages in India. The Census of India has to release their names, statistical information of speakers and places where they are spoken so that appropriate steps to save them and preserve the intangible heritage they embody could be initiated.

Linguistic pluralism is not merely coexistence of multiple languages in a nation, but also it is sharing more languages by the people for communications. Here who shares which language in which geographic territory is also important. Hence, linguistic pluralism has to be viewed from a different angle from other kinds of pluralisms of ethnicity, religion, culture etc.

To conclude we may cite Peter Auer and Li Wei that '...most of the human language users in the world speak more than one language, i.e., they are at least bilingual. In quantitative terms, then, monolingualism may be the exception and multilingualism the norm.' India too may not be an exception,

The second part of this paper will discuss the '*Multilingualism in 21st Century Indian States and Union Territories*'.

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Terms of Address and Reference of Kannur and Calicut Muslims in Kerala

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Introduction

Malayalam (ISO: mal) is one of the major Dravidian languages spoken in South India. It is the official language of Kerala. This Dravidian language is also spoken in other places like Lakshadweep islands, Fiji, Canada, Malaysia, UAE, Israel, etc. According to the Census of India in 2001, there are almost 33,000,000 speakers of this particular language.

The paper looks into one of the major dialects of Malayalam known as Moplah (Mappila) Malayalam. This dialect is majorly spoken by the Muslim communities of the Malabar region. One of the special features of their dialect is that, there is a huge influence of Arabic terms and sounds in their language. Certain sounds that are absent in Malayalam is present in their Malayalam. Because of this influence of Arabic in their dialect, the Malayalam spoken by the Muslims in Malabar is called as ‘Arabi-Malayalam’.

Kannur and Calicut (Kozhikode) districts are two districts situated on the south-west coast of India. The Malayalam spoken over these areas shows a similar influence of Arabic terms of reference and addresses in their daily usage. Kannur district earlier known as ‘Cannanore’ has a population of 2,523,003 of which male and female were 1,181,446 and 1,341,557. According to 2011 census, 65.04% of population lives in urban regions of the district and 34.96% of population lives in rural areas of villages. Calicut district has a population of 3,086,293 of which male and female were 1,470,942 and 1,615,351. In Calicut 67.15% of population lives in urban area and 38.85% are in rural area. Both these districts are dominated by Muslim majority.

Methodology

This paper is on “Terms of Address and Reference of Kannur and Calicut Muslims in Kerala. Methodology adopted for the collection of data was primarily direct data elicitation. People from an age group between 18yrs to 24 yrs. were consulted for collecting the primary

data. The consultants of this research include both male and female members of the Muslim community. And some people from Hindu community were also consulted during the data collection. This was done to check both comparative and contrastive analysis of the data. The data was collected from the consultants through questionnaire (interview) and group discussions, The informants were asked to narrate certain incidents and stories. Some of the data was also collected during their natural conversation with friends. Most of the consultants' interview lasted from 45-60 minutes while some interviews, mainly group discussions, extended up to one and half to two hours. All these data were recorded using a recorder with the consent of the consultants during their interviews. These audio files were sliced into parts for analysing the data. Some of the data was transcribed during the interview itself.

Terms of Address and Reference

Terms of address and reference are used by all of us in our conversation on a day today basis. The addresses and references of a community vary from generation to generation. The terms of address used by older people may not be the same as the terms used by younger ones. So, age, sex, religion, social ranks, etc. impact the choice of terms that people use. Furthermore, these include different types of address and reference terminologies that are used in a community. Mostly these terms depend upon the context in which the particular term is used. Similarly, the location changes the usage of words and terms and the meaning.

In Kerala one can see a huge difference in the terms used by people belonging to different communities. To draw an example, the terms used by Nambooridiri (Upper caste Hindu/Brahmins), Christian, and Muslim dialects are different from each other. The usage of terms of addresses and reference varies from one's kinship terms. Caste-based terms are in use in Kerala.

Kerala is a state where one can see a lot of divisions within the same religion, based on castes. Castes are further divided into sub-castes. The caste and the addresses and references given on the basis of people's caste and occupations are even used in a public context.

This article focuses on the terms of addresses and references of both Kannur and Calicut Muslim communities which were collected under the categories of occupational terms, caste based terms, and terms used by intimacy/ couples and religious terms.

Terms of Address and Reference by Muslims of Kannur and Calicut in Kerala

1. Use of caste based address and reference

i) Kannur Muslim Community

In the Kannur Muslim community, the caste-based references are mostly used rather

than caste-based addresses. The Muslims settled in this part of Kerala are referred as *ma:pi/a*. But they hardly use the term to address them. Similarly, in some parts of Kannur the Hindus are referred as *tiyar*, so-called lower caste (Other Backward Communities) in Kerala. But the Muslims of Kannur, especially older people, use the term as a generic term *tiyar* for Hindus.

The caste-based addresses are not used in normal conversations but in a situation like abuses or fight. In personal conversations within the community, they are addressed on the basis of their caste along with their names like *Gopala tiyaa* (Gopal is the name of that person). In some parts of Kannur, people address as well as refer the members of Nair caste (considered to be upper caste Hindus) with their caste name. Like, *nayarkuttiyei* (*nayar* is the caste and *kutti* means child, i.e. child of a nayar). They are addressed as:

a) *nayarkuttiyei* *evide* *pokunni?*
 Nair child where go-PRES.PROG
 Nair child where are you going?

And they are referred as:

b) *ɔ:lə* *oru* *nayarkuttiya.*
 she-3rdP.SG a Nair child
 She is a Nair child.

Another caste-based reference is given to a sub-caste of Muslims who speak the Afghan dialect Pashto. They are referred as *paḍḍaṇi*.

namma/lə *ennə* *oru* *paḍḍaṇiya* *kaṇḍinə*
 We today a pattan see-PST
 We saw a Pathan today.

ii) Calicut Muslim Community

The terms of address and reference used by this Muslim community are comparatively more prestigious/respectful than the terms used by Kannur Muslim community. The Muslims are referred as *ma:pi/ara* and they are addressed as *ma:pi/arei*.

Reference- *ɔ:n* *oru* *ma:pi/ara*
 he-3rdP.SG a muslim man
 He is a Muslim.

Address- *ma:pi/arei* *evide* *pokuva?*
 Muslim man where go-PRES.PROG
 Where are you going Muslim man?

For fishermen the reference term they use is *pusəla:nma:r*.

Reference- *eṇṇə oru pusəla:num illa*
Today single fisherman-EMP no-NEG
Today there is not even a single fisherman.

Address- *pusəla:ne eṇṇə mi:na eṇṇu?*
Fisherman what fish today
Fisherman, what fish do you have today?

If the fisherman is a familiar person, then he is addressed with *ikka* (brother) behind his caste name while addressing: *pusəla:nikka*.

The Calicut Muslims use the term *paṇikkyar* (astrologer caste). They are referred as *paṇikkyar* and they are addressed as *paṇikkyarei*.

Ex: One of the famous astrologers in the district/ area of research is referred as *unnikrishnapaṇikkar* (Unnikrishan is his name and *paṇikkar* is his caste) and, when he is addressed, he is either addressed as *paṇikkarsaarei* (Panicker sir) or as *unnikrishnapaṇikkarei*.

The other caste-based terms include *pərayan* (a scheduled caste) and *ṭiyar* (backward class).

A *pərayan* is always referred as *pərayan* and is addressed as *pəraya*. Similarly, a *ṭiyar* caste person is referred as *ṭiyan* and is addressed as *ṭiyaa*. Elder people mostly address them as *eḍo,ṭiyaa!* (hey, ṭiyaa!).

In this community one can also see a caste-based reference given by wife about their husband. For example, a Muslim woman would refer her husband to another person as *eṇṭe maṭiḷaor eṇṭemaṭiḷa:ra* (*eṇṭe* means my and *maṭiḷa* means husband) in this context. But, actually *maṭiḷa* is the name of the caste. Same way a Hindu woman's husband would be referred as *ninṭe ṭiyan* (*ninṭe* means your, and *ṭiyan* is a so-called lower caste Hindu). Women over here also address their husband with their caste like *eṇṭe maṭiḷe oṇṇu varumo?* (Will you please come my husband?).

iii. Address and Reference to Servants

There always exists a difference in the relationship between the speaker and the recipient when it comes to address and reference to servants. Probably, this can be marked as an asymmetrical relation between the speaker and the recipient where either has a lower status (Abbi 2001:226).

In this category, both these communities have similar terms of address and reference to servants. The servants are mostly referred by the owners of the house by using the servant's name.

Ex: The servant's name with *Abdul*, during references will be referred with his name. Children or others who are younger than the age of the servant will always refer the servant with the addition of the term *ikka* (brother) after that person's name. Like, *Abduikka*.

The address given to the servant is almost similar to the reference. The servant will be called by the name by the residents in the house except the younger ones. One can see a respectful term given to the servant by the people/owners (all the people who are younger than the servant's age) in the house even if there exists an asymmetrical relation. They also address the servants using the pronoun *ḡiḡaḡ/iḡaḡ*(you).

Address- *ḡiḡaḡ/iḡaḡ entə paḡi eḡukunillaei?*

You-2ndP.SG why work do-NEG

Why don't you work?

They are also addressed with *ikka* (brother) or *ittatə/ittə* (sister) along with their names. If the servant working in a Muslim house is a Hindu then, he will be referred and addressed as *ettan* with their names like *ramanettan*. *Raman* is the name and *čettan* means brother). For a female Hindu household worker, she would be addressed as *tfeṭfi* (sister) along with their names.

Example: *sitetfi* or *sitatfeṭfi*. (Sita is the name of the servant)

If they have a servant who is young, they are addressed with pronoun *ḡi* (you).

Example *ḡi paḡi eḡukunilla*

You -2ndP.SG work do-PROG.NEG

You are not working.

Both in Kannur and Calicut, they just have one respectable term *ḡiḡaḡ*. This same term is used to address to every other person in the family. *ḡiḡaḡ/iḡaḡ* term is also used to address the priest in the Muslim community. But, just to draw a comparative analysis, the most respectable term *ḡiḡaḡ* of these districts cannot be used in other districts like in central and southern Kerala because this same term over there is regarded as an unrespectable term that a person can use to their elders. This is just to show that the terms and their meanings change depending upon the location/community.

iv. Religious Terms

Both Kannur and Calicut districts are predominantly Muslim areas. The terms used to refer to religious people are same in both the districts. Most of the terms they use to refer are people who are related to the mosque.

In Kannur, the person who teaches in Madrassa is addressed as *moula:ikkaor moila:rikka*. In Calicut they use both *mouliya:r* and *musliya:r*. They hardly use another term for referring to them. The people over these area either call the name along with *mouliya:r* or they use the term in isolation.

Example: *Ahamedmouliya:r*.

Similarly, a person who had gone for Haj in Mecca will be referred as *haji/hajiyar* and the address term used for him will be *hajiyarei*.

Address -*enṭə hajiyarei* *pattijaṭu?*
 what haji happen-PST
What happened Haji?

Reference- *ja:n* *ennə* *hajiye kandu*
 I today haji see-PST
I saw Haji today.

Both in Kannur and Calicut, the terms that are used in religious addresses come from Arabic. These terms are mixed with Malayalam resulting in slight changes in the sounds.

The term used for a person who calls for prayer at mosque is called as *xælfa*. A representative person from the mosque who solves problem and registers marriage is referred as *xæli* and he will be addressed as *xæliya:r*. Another Arabic term is given to the person who calls for prayer on Friday. He is addressed as *xætib*. The person who teaches in Madrassa is addressed as *uṣṭa:d* which comes from the Arabic term *ostad* meaning Professor. The address given to the *uṣṭa:d*'s assistant is *mukkiri* and if the *mukkiri* teaches in Madrassa then he too will be addressed as *uṣṭa:d*.

A religious Muslim man almost like a head is known as *taṇaḷ*. These people are often referred to as *taṇama:r*. He will be addressed as *taṇaḷei* or his name will be put in front of this term.

Today this term of address and reference has almost become like a title that has been attached to most of them and they use it in their name and in family.

4. Occupational Terms

Occupational terms of address and reference are seen in both the Muslim communities. Their address and the reference terms do not vary too much when it comes to occupation. The influence of English terms being nativized, usage of Sanskrit words, Arabic terms all come together in this. A carpenter is referred by the people as *afari* during conversations. But they do not use the word *afari* while addressing the carpenter. They either address them with the name, or the name along with the profession is used.

Reference: *eṇale* *afari* *vaṇṇilla*
 yesterday carpenter come-PST.NEG
 The carpenter didn't come yesterday.

Address: *mohafari* *iṇale* *ṇiṇa[unḍakije katti]nallatā*
 mohancarpenter yesterday you make-PST bed good
 Mohan carpenter, the bed you made yesterday was nice.

Similarly, the occupation term used to address the person is goldsmith. He is both referred to and addressed by using the term *tatta:n*. People address these people as *tatta:nei* with or without his name attached. The children of the occupational caste people are also referred to with reference to the profession of their father. The reference given to the goldsmith's children will be:

Reference: *eṭṭa* *a:* *tatta:ntei* *kuttiḱaḷa*
 these that goldsmith-GEN child-PL
 These are the children of that goldsmith.

But the children or any other family members of any other profession are not addressed by the name of the occupation.

There are many English words that are used to refer to certain professions. And most of these words are Indianised today. Doctor is referred to as *dokkṭar* and is addressed as *dokkṭare!*; an Engineer is referred to as *innginijar* and addressed as *innginijarsaare!*; teachers are usually distinguished with their names as *ṣiṭatiṭṭar*, etc. In government schools and in some colleges of Calicut district, children address both female and male teachers using the same term *saare* (sir). Ex. a female teacher named Sita will be addressed as *sitasaare* and a male teacher named Ram will also be called as *ramansaare*. They also use *ṭiṭṭar* to refer the female teacher and *maṭṭar* for male teachers. So, in certain contexts the people don't distinguish between male and female teachers on the basis of gender and they use the same term to address and refer to both the gender. Gender in such places can be just distinguished with the name of the person. But Arabic teacher will be always addressed as *munṭi* meaning scholar. This may be because the Arabic classes in schools are taken by a religious person. The people over here also abbreviate some English terms to address people on the basis of occupation like the man who stands near the door of the bus is both called and addressed as

ki//i probably derived from the word *ki//inar* (cleaner). The conductor is referred to as *čekkar* and addressed as *čekkarei* or *čekkarikka!* (Checker brother). An Ayurvedic doctor is addressed as *vaaidjarei* and referred as *vaaidjan* and if this doctor comes to one's home and checks the patient they will be then addressed as *kampounḍar*. This term is mostly used by the aged people like grandmother and grandfather. The meaning of the word has also changed. Now the word *kampounḍar* means a person who stands or gives medicine in the Ayurvedic shop or hospital.

In Kannur and Calicut, the woodcutters are called as *aṇṇačči*. It's a Tamil word which is used to address and refer to the woodcutters. These woodcutters are sometimes addressed also as *aṇṇa* meaning brother in Tamil. Similarly North Indian people who works over there are always referred as *hindika:r* meaning people who speak Hindi. They are often addressed as *bhaiya* meaning brother in Hindi. For the migrant workers they never use the name along with their occupation for addressing and referring. But they still maintain their native names for addressing them.

5. Terms of Intimacy

Terms of intimacy are one of the most informal ways of using language. The address terms used by a husband to wife or by a boyfriend to a girlfriend and vice-versa give less importance to the asymmetrical or symmetrical relationship. In address forms, the male partner addresses the female partner mostly using abbreviations: if the wife's name is *Sunnabhi* the husband would call her as *Sunna*. Similarly name *Ayesha* is abbreviated to *ai*, *Nafeesa* as *Nafi*, *Begum* etc. And wives usually call their husbands using an abbreviated form of their name followed by *ikka* (brother). Example: a husband named *Mustaffa* would be called as *Mustikka* by his wife, *Jabbar* will be addressed as *jappu* or *jappikka* by his wife.

The women in both Kannur and Calicut use indirect forms of address like:

athe (listen)

oṇṇuvuru (please come)

iṇa/e (you)

Pet names are mostly used by young married couples and lovers. The husband addresses his wife like *k^halbe* (my heart), *ṭangamei* (my gold), *mutṭei* (pearl), *ṭenei* (honey), *moḷuor* *vava* (baby) etc.

Nicknames are also used to address the partner. Some of the nicknames that the person uses to call his/her partner are by referring to their body features. Like, a female with big eyes will be called as *undakaṇṇi*, female who has a sharp nose as parrot, *ki//iṇḍanma:naḷame*, a woman whose face has a similar shape to a variety of mango (*ki//ṇḍan*) found in Kerala.

Males also use to address the females using the terms like *qi*. They call them as *eqiyei* (Hey woman!). Similar to this one is that when a husband is in a good mood he addresses (indirect) his wife as *ei* (Hey) and when there is some kind of quarrel the husband would call his wife as *eqi* (Hey you woman!) with a high tone. In Malayalam, the term used to address a female is *qi* and a male is addressed as *qa*. When it comes to intimacy terms, the term used for addressing the female will also turn to *qa*.

The reference terms used by both Kannur and Calicut Muslim Communities are not very different. The Muslim woman always refers to their husband either by husband's name with *ikkaor* as *ante kutti qa deuppa* 'my children's father' or with the name of the child as *Nafiudeuppa* (Nafi is the name of the child and *uppa* means father). They also use the term *ivarə* (this person/man, i.e. husband) for reference. Females are referred to by the husbands as *iva qa* (this woman i.e. wife).

Conclusion

The paper has attempted to overview the *Terms of address and reference* by Mappila Muslims of Kannur and Calicut in Kerala. Some of the notable features which can be seen from the study include the distinctive features of the use of Malayalam in this region, their use of the personal pronoun *niqa* /*iqa* (you) used by the people to address everybody. Malayalam has three different terms for honorific, ordinary and intimacy. People over here use a single term for addressing people from servant to a person in a religious position. Similarly, one can see the least amount of formal usage of address and reference terms in terms of intimacy. There are certain terms that are supposed to be followed or used by the husband and wife to address their partner. Most people actually follow this rule or convention. In intimacy terms of address, one can see the use of names in abbreviated forms, addressing the partner with reference to their features, etc.

The religious terms used by the people over here are mostly Arabic loan words. They have nativised all these words and the people in the religious positions are addressed and referred to by their job position than by their name.

In occupational terms, the use of the person's name is more restricted. The person is always referred to by his or her profession. The whole family of that particular person will be referred to with the name of the occupation followed by the person. But the people limit the usage of the occupational terms when it comes to addressing especially the females and children. We can see that people of certain migrant communities are addressed with the terms of their language for addressing them.

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White Beauty Standard in Toni Morrison's *The Bluest Eye*

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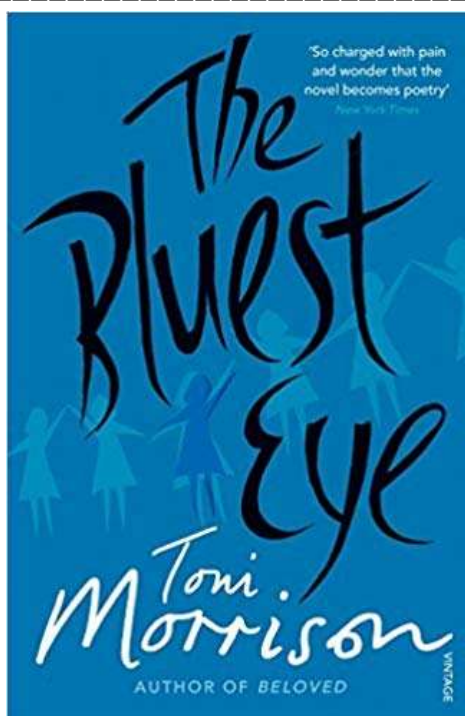
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Abstract

The Bluest Eye is Toni Morrison's first novel in which the author challenges Western standards of beauty and demonstrates that the concept of beauty is socially constructed. Morrison also argues that if whiteness is used as a standard of beauty or anything else, then the value of blackness is decreased and this novel works to demolish that tendency. Although the slave system was got rid of later, yet the black people could not stay away from the racial discrimination. Morrison reveals the aggression of the white culture and that the black culture is the victim of the white cultural hegemony. With the powerful influence of white mass media, school education and the community culture, the black of every level in the American society have long held the standard of value that white color and blue eyes are beautiful, the color of black is ugly. In it, the Nobel Prize winner tells the story of a young girl convinced

that her blackness makes her ugly and worthless. If only she had blue eyes, she thinks, her life would be different. The reasons of Pecola and her fellows' tragedy are mostly lying in two aspects: the white cultural aggression and the assimilation of white aesthetic standards by the by the black themselves. Such kind of cultural erosion and aesthetic alienation has brought the black into a world of endless misery. Toni Morrison as a black writer is crying for the awakening for the whole black nation. She wants her fellows to rectify their misunderstanding. All people are created to be equal. The white have their strength and merits, so do the black because all are making great contribution to the world. Social construction like beauty standard is no more thought to be happened automatically rather than they are guided carefully to create social meaning to social significance. Social scientist Giddens theorizes the formation process of social construction. He thinks intentional and authoritative continuous follow of signification, domination and legitimization can lead to a formation of a new social order. Michel Foucault opines that continuous discursive practice results in discursive formation of a social construction. Social construction is not structured meaninglessly. American white people are manifestly benefited from 'white beauty standard' in the past and today from the profit made by the hundreds of years of free labour and now from multi-billion dollar fashion industry. For all races and for all individuals, it is essential to fully understand how mass culture touches, influences and shapes our values and beliefs - only after fully understanding that, people can strive to fight and grow to their fullest potential.

Keywords: Toni Morrison, *The Bluest Eye*, White Beauty Standards, Racial Oppression, Capitalism

In *The Bluest Eye*, Morrison challenges Western standards of beauty and demonstrates that the concept of beauty is socially constructed. Morrison also argues that if whiteness is used as a standard of beauty or anything else, then the value of blackness is decreased and this novel works to demolish that tendency. In demonstrating pride in being black, this writer does not simply portray positive images of blackness. Instead, she focuses on the damage that the black women characters suffer through the construction of white beauty standard in a racialised society. As Gurleen Grewal also argues that "merely reversing perceived 'ugliness' to beautiful blackness "is not enough, for such counter-rhetoric does not touch the heart of the matter: the race-based class structure upheld by dominant norms and stereotypes" (21). In the process of structuration, whiteness is first signified, then it dominates over black people and finally gets legitimized over discursive practices.

Toni Morrison depicts the tragic effect of imposing white ideals of beauty in the developing female identity of a young African-American girl during the early 1940s. Morrison portrays the psychological devastation of Pecola Breedlove who searches for love and acceptance in a world that denies and does not value people of her race (blacks). The whites established European standard of beauty: white skin, blond hair, and blue eyes. This Eurocentric standard of beauty which the black girl lacked was used in judging and

qualifying beauty, thus causing blacks to develop disdain for their own black skin as it counters the dominant ideals.

Set in Toni Morrison's hometown of Lorain, Ohio, Morrison's first novel, *The Bluest Eye* was published in 1970. The novel tells the story of Pecola Breedlove, a young black girl convinced of her own ugliness who desires nothing more than to have blue eyes. Through Pecola Breedlove, Morrison vividly unfolds African Americans' responses and reactions to the overpowering standards of beauty in Western culture: rejection, alienation, self-hatred, and inevitable destruction. The nine-year-old narrator in this novel, Claudia, points out in the beginning of the novel that fear of poverty and homelessness is a more prevalent day-to-day worry in her community than fear of discrimination, which she declaims "probably because it (discrimination) was abstract. But the concreteness of homelessness and poverty was another matter" (Morrison 11). However, the adult Claudia many years later comes to realize that "it is the land of the entire country that was hostile to marigolds that year" (Morrison 164); it is also the land, not mere poverty and homelessness that dominate the fate of Pecola. Racism affects people's lives in subtle yet profound ways by distorting common beauty and standards of happiness in *The Bluest Eye*. Morrison tries to show how cultural ideals based on skin color and physical features function as tools of racial oppression.

The novel starts with the description of an ideal white family but in the near-parodic style of a school reading primer in order to signify whiteness, where Dick and Jane and their lovely parents living in a nice and comfortable house with a lovely dog and a cat. The Dick and Jane text functions as "the hegemonizing force of an ideology ([focused by] the supremacy of 'the bluest eye') by which a dominant culture reproduces [its] hierarchical power structure[s]" (Grewal 24). As Donald B. Gibson also argues,

[t]he Dick and Jane text implies one of the primary and most insidious ways that the dominant culture exercises its hegemony, through the educational system. It reveals the role of education in both oppressing the victim – and more to the point – teaching the victim how to oppress her own black self by internalising the values that dictate standards of beauty (20).

Morrison's allusion to the story of Dick and Jane in a sort of preface to the book, Morrison has written three versions of "Dick and Jane", which was at that time nationally recognized as a children's primary-reader story.

Here is the house. It is green and white. It has a red door. It is very pretty. Here is the family. Mother, Father, Dick, and Jane live in the green-and-white house. They are very happy. Here is the house it is green and white it has a red door it is very pretty here is the family mother father dick and jane live in the green-and-white house they are very happy Hereisthehouseitisgreenandwhiteithasareddooritisveryprettyhereisthe

family mother father Dick and Jane live in the green and white house they are very happy.
(Morrison 2).

Morrison uses this to “juxtapose the fiction of the white educational process with the realities of life for many black children” (Klotman 123). The first version is clear, straight, rendered in standard English — correct and white. It represents the seemingly ideal, rich, white family, which impinges upon the lives of the black children and their families while at the same time excluding them. The second version, while it repeats the message exactly, is less clear, yet still comprehensible although written without proper capitals or punctuation. The third, in which the letters completely run together, seems to signify nothing, yet it represents the home of Pecola, where her mother and her father curse and fight, her brother runs away and this black girl herself wishes with all her soul for blue eyes. Just as the Dick-and-Jane primer teaches children how to read, it also guides the children’s interpretation of the world. Pecola learns to recognize “what is beauty” and “I am ugly and miserable, or at least my family is” (Morrison 5) through the reading of the story of Dick and Jane, because home for her is not the green and white picture-perfect house of white myth. It is worth noticing that through this public education, the local culture is being oppressed and a seemingly innocent national ideal is being given the highest status.

Knowledge of American history is an important factor in understanding *The Bluest Eye*. The novel was written during the 60s and 70s, but is set during the 40s. Despite the setting, her novel reflects the happenings of the late 60s and early 70s in which African American culture was becoming well defined and recognized as a part of the once dominantly white American culture. However, racism was and still is quite common in American society and in fact, racism was taking new forms in 1940s America. In *The Bluest Eye*, Morrison took a different approach to the traditional white-versus-black racism. She acknowledged that most people are unaware of the racism that exists within a culture and often the racism that exists within themselves.

A fertile tradition of research in sociology and related fields has studied the relationship between status and beauty. These studies have demonstrated that attractive people are more successful both socially and economically. This is generally attributed to a “halo effect”: attractiveness produces positive expectations, and this becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy. This paradigm makes a strong case for the social importance of attractiveness. However, it does not account for variations in beauty standards, and it assumes an overly simple unilinear causal relation between beauty and status. The relation between beauty and status may also work the other way: signs of status often come to be regarded as attractive. Such effects are also visible in beauty standards. The process by which status characteristics are imbued with aesthetic value leads to downward diffusion of standards. This “trickle down” mechanism is central to historical analyses of beauty ideals.

The public education has imposed a certain kind of image of a happy life on the children of a local culture. The novel then switches to the influence of popular culture on the African-

American community, and an icon of the good, of the true, and of the beautiful— Shirley Temple— jumps out.

In gender studies and feminist theory, beauty standards are also interpreted as socially constructed rather than given. In this perspective, such standards are a form of control. The “beauty myth” reproduces gender inequalities by propagating unrealistic beauty ideals for women (Wolf 95). Gender scholars – like popular discourse – generally point to the media as the main culprit in the dissemination of beauty standards. This has produced a wealth of studies analyzing gender representations in various media outlets.

This perspective enables us to re-conceptualise and refine the relation between beauty and social inequality, by pointing at the ways in which inequalities are connected with the human body. It predicts that gender is the main factor in the shaping of taste variations, and that beauty standards are highly morally charged – more so than other aesthetic standards.

Race also is an important factor in the relation between beauty, the body, and social inequality. Racial hierarchies influence beauty standards, both globally and within nations (Hunter 2002; Jones 2008). However, ethnic groups typically develop beauty standards particular to their own ethnic group.

In *The Bluest Eye*, Toni Morrison demonstrates the connection between capitalism and the construction of desire in the community when she points out the basic components of the society and media like commercials, literary works, kid's toys etc. Capitalism in a postmodern society typically hinges on manufacturing new utilities and desires to function within a racist domain. In this domain, the racist idealization of whiteness has intense sexual and economic associations.

If we closely review the adoration of whiteness in the society portrayed in *The Bluest Eye*, we notice the bond between capitalism and racism. *The Bluest Eye* reveals just how the patterns of internalized racism utilize the authority of postmodern capitalism, its power and methods of representation like kids gadgets, advertisements etc. to create unconscious desires and fears; and illustrates this interconnection between beauty, racism, and capitalism in numerous incidents narrated in the novel.(Khan)

A good example is Claudia's splitting up the Raggedy Ann doll. She actually attempts to dissect the core of the framework of racism through ripping it apart: “I had only one desire: to dismember it. To see of what it was made, to discover the dearness, to find the beauty, the desirability that had escaped only me” (Morrison 20). Claudia defies the adoration of white beauty that has been put into practice by commercials, a tool of postmodern capitalism, to produce desire for it. But she fails to understand the politics of socially engineered idealization, and wrongly locates it inside the material object, that is, the doll.

Beauty standard is always built upon socially fabricated values. Claudia's perplexity concerning the representation of beauty refers to that politics. This also is associated with Freud's idea of the unconscious treatment of words as real things (Freud 147). This is why Claudia tries to transform symbolic representation of the doll's beauty into the real and cannot accept it as a form of external representation. When it comes to cinema, according to Jean Louis Baudry, we see a similar transformation of the symbolic codes into real properties. Such representations are often incorrectly recognized as perceptions in the postmodern consumer community (315). In *The Bluest Eye*, television and movie both play a crucial role in modifying the framework of internalized racism using such make-believe representations as genuine impressions. Pauline is governed by the idea of beauty and ideal love when she finds them as perceptions from movies. Morrison here shows how the notion of 'beauty' can be manipulated by popular media and film to produce racist self-hatred by compelling females feel insecure and awful about their figure and color. The ideology of all the characters in *The Bluest Eye* is influenced pretty much by such idealization of whiteness as beauty in a consumer community. In Pauline's case, "she was never able, after her education in the movies, to look at a face and not assign it some category in the scale of absolute beauty" (Morrison 122). In another context, the female-to-female relationship turns out to be further complicated when the heterosexual desire is mediated by it. Inside this politics of 'beauty industry', women are entirely commoditized and considered as mere objects of desire. Blackness ends up being a form of economic incapacity. In *The Bluest Eye*, Morrison repeatedly demonstrates, and draws our attention to the prevailing idea that the poverty and blackness of the Breedlove family is related to their economic incapacity, and Pecola is the fundamental embodiment of ugliness related to this economic incapacity.

A girl child is described as a female child between infancy and early adulthood. During this period of the development of the girl child, she is under the custody and supervision of adults who may be her parents or guardians and siblings who are older and more mature than she is. The girl child is easily influenced by her experiences as she develops. She models her behaviour during this development process through observations and imitations of those she depends on, and her physical, mental and emotional development start and reach their peak within this stage.

In attempting to establish the relationship between the society and the girl child, it is important to know how she child is received and related with in her contemporary society. What are the struggles, challenges and oppression faced by the girl child? What are the factors that foist on the girl child such challenges and oppression? From the family circle to the public sphere, the girl child has suffered much hardship and has been greatly dehumanized. This is due to the fact that she is regarded as inferior to her brother. She is devalued and as Buchi Emecheta portrays her, she is a second class citizen in a society ruled by male chauvinism. In especially most African societies, the girl child has been consigned to an inferior status for which she constantly wears a daunted image. This inferiority is as a

result of the patriarchal ideology in the society which bestows undue self-importance on the male child. The result of this is that, men do everything to undermine the women in order to arbitrarily institute value and ideologies in the society. The African society and the diaspora is a society with a tradition that bestows importance to the male folk, neglecting the female folks. This patriarchal ideology has influenced the way the girl characters are projected by male writers in their literary texts. In most literary works, female characters always wear one of these images: prostitute, girlfriend, courtesans, and workers. They construct the girl character as a passive and inconsequential object. The male writers communicated a picture of the girl child as one whose destiny is subject to the whims of her male folk.

Klotman comments that “whether one learns acceptability from the formal educational experience or from cultural symbols, the effect is the same: self-hatred” (124). Very early in the novel, Pecola shows excessive enthusiasm for Shirley Temple, which can be seen from her fascination with Frieda’s blue-and-white Shirley Temple mug and unstoppable milk-drinking from that mug — three quarts of milk a day. This can be interpreted as a part of her desire to internalize the values of white culture, a symbolic moment that foreshadows her desire to possess blue eyes. In yearning to be Shirley Temple, Pecola denies her own identity, “A little black girl yearns for the blue eyes of a little white girl, and the horror at the heart of her yearning is exceeded only by the evil of fulfillment” (Morrison 34). Pecola connects beauty with being loved and believes that if she possesses blue eyes, the cruelty in her life will be replaced by affection and respect. Surely, Pecola suffers most from white beauty standards and this hopeless desire leads ultimately to her madness.

“As these black people do not possess a place in the domain of white beauty, they derive a complicated impression of beauty from humiliating people of their own community” (Khan 2).

In this way Pecola and her family turn out to be the focal point of the whole community's self-hatred. Moreover, by indicating that Pecola’s ugliness help everyone else feel beautiful, and her weakness make others feel potent, Morrison tries to reveal how such idealization predominantly depends on the degradation of an ‘Other’. Throughout *The Bluest Eye*, Pecola Breedlove becomes a revalorized entity not just for the whites but also for the blacks. She turns out to be the embodiment of failure both racially and economically when she tries to buy a candy from a white American male. He looks at her:

Somewhere between retina and object, vision and view, his eyes draw back, hesitate, and hover. At some fixed point in time and space he senses the need not to waste the effort of a glance. He does not see her, because for him there is nothing to see (Morrison 48).

Thus, her ego lacks any sort of validation in the eye of the ‘Other’ as her existence is totally unrecognized; she is crushed into an instance of self-defiance, a vacuum signifying

nothing, a total absence of acknowledgment as a human being. Pecola knows very well how this failure of her ego is related to her blackness: “All things in her are in flux and anticipation. But her blackness is static and dread. And it is the blackness that accounts for, that creates, the vacuum edged with distaste in white eyes”. (Morrison 49).

Not only she is despised for being black, but her blackness also results in being the fixed object of a perpetual gaze of the white men which forces her presence into the position of an object of cultural desire detrimentally. Under this constant gaze the ego of the black girl is completely shattered, and she is forced to feel awful for her color, her body, even for her whole existence. She knows that the whole community has its eye on her even when she is alone. She creates a new, imaginary concept of ‘self’ which she finds in the eyes of the other people, and she begins to believe that image, as in a mirror, to be her true self. When she becomes pregnant, this image gets associated with a sense of perverse sexism and guilt. This guilt is directly related to the blackness of Pecola and her family. In fact, she turns out to be a symbol of ‘guilt’ and ‘ugliness’ in the eye of the community. In a complex way, “the community needs this image of hers to feel better in comparison to her debased position. Pecola’s blackness and pregnancy both serve this purpose” (Khan 3).

This further validates the idea of white beauty through self-defiance. This concentration on the gaze of the white man shows how subjects are maneuvered not only on an imaginary level but also on a visual level. Pecola desires to have a pair of blue eyes, because she has a delusional belief that if she obtains blue eyes, she will be beautiful and can reverse the relationship that reduced her to a hollow image in the eyes of the white ‘Other’. This obsessive desire ends up in a psychotic attempt to a total denial of her existence: “Please God,” she whispered into the palm of her hand. “Please make me disappear”. She squeezed her eye shut. Little parts of her body faded away” (Morrison 45). This suggests an almost psychotic withdrawal from the domain of representations through the denial of subjectivity and body.

As mentioned by Freud in his book *The Unconscious*, the subject’s psychological world is shattered and later re-created in an imaginary, unreal fantasy in the first phase of psychosis (147). In Pecola’s instance, we notice the very same thing as she first makes an effort to destroy her identity as a black subject, and then pose an obsessive attempt to obtain blue eyes. This blackness and psychotic desire to obtain blue eyes have a relationship with the socioeconomic incapacity of Pecola’s family, as their homelessness brings them down as nonhuman objects. According to Lacan, “The-name of- the-father’ links the real order with the symbolic order. But in psychosis, the subject can no longer deal with ‘the name-of-the-father’” (70). Once this relationship is torn apart, the subject is then manipulated by the discourse of the ‘Other’. In Pecola’s case, her family’s economic condition together with her blackness both eliminates her from the central symbolic order of white consumer culture.

In the framework of racism, the middle class African-Americans accept the represented associations between blackness and excessive sexuality. According to Davis Charles, one of the primary manifestations of developing ‘obsessive neurosis’ is the desire to repress the irrepressible sexuality through sophistication and differentiation (*Slave’s Narrative* 1985). Such a form of ‘obsessive neurosis’ is exposed by Toni Morrison in the character of Geraldine. This stems forward from an obsessive effort to stay in line with the predominant social ‘Other’. Thus, Morrison gives a psychoanalytic layout of the internalized racism of Geraldine’s class. The racist mindset of Geraldine’s class, the accepted interconnection between blackness and over sexuality, and a strong urge to stay separated from any sense of sullied blackness is associated with an obsessive fear which turns them into ‘obsessive stereotypes’ whose only thought is to renounce blackness by any means. But when this obsessive desire falters, it does not destroy the racist mindset; rather further tones up into a dejection resulting in deeper obsessive delusions. We find it in Geraldine’s obsessive attempt to turn the skin of her son white:

In the winter his mother put Jergens Lotion on his face to keep the skin from becoming ashen. Even though he was light-skinned, it was possible to ash. The line between color and nigger was not always clear; subtle and telltale signs threatened to erode it, and the watch had to be constant. (Morrison 87)

In the long run, this obsessive fear of any indication of blackness isolates Geraldine from her own community. Thus, the psychological hierarchy of the middle class blacks is fed by racist behavior producing from their obsessive fear of discovering themselves in the realm of the terrifying real. This obsessive fear compels them to surrender to the racist discourse established by the ‘Other’. Now black people are dominated by the whiteness.

In her article “Foucault, Femininity, and the Modernisation of Patriarchal Power”, Sandra Lee Bartky examines the construction of Western femininity by applying Michel Foucault’s theories about the production of subjectivity in modern societies. Foucault argues that “discipline produces subjected and practiced bodies, docile bodies” (Bartky 62). However, Bartky recognises that Foucault does not consider gender differences and “is blind to [the] disciplines that produce a modality of embodiment that is peculiarly feminine” (63-64). She further argues that analysing disciplinary practices that produce feminine bodies reveals sexism operating in Western patriarchal society (64). However, in doing so, Bartky does not consider racial differences. She argues that –

the larger disciplines that construct a ‘feminine’ body out of a female one are by no means race- or class-specific. There is little evidence that women of color or working class women are in general less committed to the incarnation of an ideal femininity than their more privileged sisters. (Bartky 72)

It may be true that beauty is a central focus of many women, and according to Naomi Wolf, this is a very powerful myth (49). Yet, since the ideal of beauty is and has been largely depicted as a woman with light skin and blue eyes, it is even less possible for women of colour than for white women to achieve this ideal. As Paul C. Taylor argues, “a white dominated culture has racialised beauty, in that it has defined beauty per se in terms of white beauty, in terms of the physical features that the people we consider white people are more likely to have” (17). Therefore, in the process of trying to achieve beauty, as Taylor further argues, “the experience of a black woman ... differs from the experiences of ... Jewish and Irish women” (20). This can clearly be seen in the ways that the black women characters in Morrison’s novel suffer in trying to conform to Western standards of beauty.

The Bluest Eye concentrates on the black African-Americans’ desire to leave their own value system and start adopting Eurocentric values materialism, capitalist success and beauty and how those all desires remain ‘unrealistic’, ‘destructive’ and ‘un-necessary’ (Kohler 40). The black community in the novel is continually devalued by the Eurocentric values, the popular culture presents. The Blacks remain to have the wrong color for success in life, uneducated, poor, and void of emotions; therefore, when they try to adopt the Eurocentric values, it means they do nothing because they are never the same (Kohler 42). By following the white concept of beauty, Pecola thinks that her parents, schoolmates, and also the teachers will treat her better. As it is stated in the novel, “Why, look at pretty-eyed Pecola. We must not do bad things in front of those pretty eyes” (Morrison 29). However, regardless these stuffs, Pecola still is unaware that though (in case) her eyes were changed into blue she would still be regarded as a black, poor, and ugly. Nothing would change, obviously. “No one else will see her blue eyes. But she will. And she will live happily ever after” (Morrison 155). It means that she still considered as ugly and black, the blue eyes she already has do not change her identity that she is black and ugly. Again, Pecola still becomes the object of the mockery by the White society, of course because of her all tragic life; including, the sexual abuse done by her own father, her poverty, her blackness, and some other aspects. Morrison presents Pecola with her weaknesses. She accepts her position as a victim in the community around her. She does not defend herself against her abusive schoolmates. She stays quite when Junior lies to his mother that Pecola has injured Geraldine’s precious cat. She remains so weak in the novel (Kohler 40).

The racial stratification is also presented clearly throughout the novel. Pecola’s and some other black characters’ humanity are rejected by the society. It is in accordance with Yancy (2005) who states that the society is divided along two racial lines or two societies, one Black and one white. Black children cannot escape the pervasive presence of the dominant society’s cultural icons of female beauty, for instance Shirley Temple. The inculcation of blackness as a “negative signifier” in the minds of the black community causes the destruction and madness of Pecola (Tally 14). More importantly, Pecola is positioned in the space between the black and white humiliating communities which whom she is unaccepted and alienated from both. Sincerely, the Whites beauty standard plays a significant

role to make Pecola and Claudia, perceive that a black is ugly; and this beauty perception undeniably cannot be separated from the colonialism effects. In perceiving the idea of beauty, Pecola and Claudia have different perceptions. Pecola is the young black character who concerns more about her physical beauty, especially her eyes; while Claudia is not too concern on.

As long as Pecola looked the way she did, as long as she was ugly, she would have to stay with these people. Somehow, she belonged to them. Long hours she sat looking in the mirror, trying to discover the secret of the ugliness, the ugliness that made her ignored or despised at school, by teachers and classmates alike. She was the only member of her class who sat alone at a double desk. (Morrison 38)

Therefore, Pecola believes that if she successfully has the blue eyes, their classmates and teachers will treat her better. However, she believes that “to have something as wonderful as that happen would take a long, long time... only a miracle could relieve her, she would never know her beauty. She would see only what there was to see: the eyes of other people” (Morrison 39).

The novel is divided into three sections: Spring, winter and summer, detailing the development of the girl child through experiences during these periods. It begins in the fall of 1941 after the depression in Lorain Ohio. In the autumn, the Mactees take in a boarder Mr. Henry Washington. Also, they take in Pecola Breedlove; a teenage girl who experiences hardship and her parents (Cholly and Pauline Breedlove) fight each other consistently. As a result of her father’s drunken state, he burns their house, this putting his family outdoors -

Breedlove had burned up his house, gone upside down his wife’s head, and everybody, as a result, was outdoors. Mrs. Breedlove was staying with the woman she worked for; the boy, Sammy was with other family; and Pecola was to stay with us. Cholly was in Jail. (Morrison 17)

The main black characters are depicted as various and very different characters located in three hierarchical families: “first Geraldine’s (a counterfeit of the idealised white family), ... then the MacTeers and at the bottom [of the social order], the Breedloves” (Ogunyemi 113). The novel shows how these black characters respond to the dominant culture differently and this refutes easy binary social distinctions.

The narrator lets us know that Pecola’s life at home is difficult. The narrator describes the Breedloves as poor, black and ugly. Her parents engaged themselves in constant fight disregarding their children’s presence. Sammy, Pecola’s brother reacts to this by running away from home. It is stated that Sammy “was known, by the time he was fourteen, to have run away from home no less than twenty seven times.” (43) Pecola, unlike Sammy, stays at

home. She is unable to run of her lacking consciousness. She reacts by attempting to disappear, but she can't. She later begins to think that if she had blue eyes, her parents would be nice to her, would respect her presence and not fight each other.

It had occurred to Pecola some time ago that if her eyes, those eyes that held the pictures, and knew the rights-if those eyes would be different... if she looked different, beautiful, maybe Cholly would be different, and Mrs. Breedlove too maybe they'd say "why, look at pretty eyed Pecola. We mustn't do bad things in front of those pretty eyes". (Morrison 47)

She constantly prayed for blue eyes. Pecola is constantly reminded about her ugliness. "She is ignored or despised at school by teachers and classmates alike" (45). Also, at Mr. Yacobowski's store, when she goes to get Mary Jane's candy, Mr. Yacobowski acts as if she wasn't there. She is taunted by boys at school. They taunt her saying "Black emo. Black emo. Yadadd-sleepsnekked. Black emo black emoyadadd sleeps nekked. Black emo. Black e mo" (65).

While Pecola, Claudia and Frieda, and Maureen Peal were heading home after the encounter with the boys, Maureen Peal begins to make fun of Pecola, and this vexes Claudia and she attempts punching Maureen but misses and hit Pecola. Maureen Peal, a light skinned girl says "I am cute! And you ugly! Black and ugly emos. I am cute!" (66). Also, Junior, Geraldine's son, lures Pecola into his home and attacks her with a cat. When he kills the cat, he blames it on Pecola causing his mother to yell at her, "Get out, she said, her voice quiet. You nasty little black bitch. Get out of my home" (92).

Through flashback, the narrator reveals that even Pecola's parents had a life full of hardship and tormenting experiences. Pauline, Pecola's mother felt like an outcast as a result of her deformed foot. This is evident when she states that "Her general feeling of separateness and unworthiness she blamed on her foot." (111). In order not to feel the rejection, she begins to emulate white celebrities such as Jean Harlow. Cholly was abandoned at infant by his mother. He was saved and catered for by his aunt, Aunty Jimmy till her death. During Aunty Jimmy's funeral, he engages himself in sex, with a local girl Darlene. They are caught by two white men who force them to continue while they watch. He later goes in search of his father who does not want to have anything to do with him. He meets Pauline and they get married.

The narrator returns to the present. While Pecola was busy washing dishes in the kitchen, Cholly comes home drunk and rapes her on the kitchen floor not sure of what he felt. Pauline returns home and finds Pecola on the floor. She does not believe Pecola's story that Cholly raped her. Cholly rapes her for the second time and flees, leaving her pregnant. She visits Soaphead church; a quack psychic and healer, and requests for blue eyes. He deceives her by making her believe that her desire will be granted. Pecola's baby dies, contrary to

Claudia and Frieda's wish. Pauline and Pecola move to the edge of the town and she is seen picking and talking to herself.

Morrison provides a vivid insight into the psychological process in response to direct racial discrimination, by depicting the character of the smaller girl child Claudia. Not influenced by the white culture yet, little Claudia has not arrived at the turning point in the development of her psyche, which would allow her to love these "blue-eyed, yellow-haired, pink-skinned dolls" (Morrison 5). What Claudia feels at that time is "unconscious hatred, which ranges from white dolls to all the white girls" (Cheng 195). The black children start with a healthy, direct hatred of white superiority. However, when they get hurt as a result of that hatred (e.g. Claudia gets scolded after taking apart the doll) and receive the reinforcement of the message that whiteness is beautiful and blackness is ugly (e. g. the light-skin black girl Maureen's popularity at school), they begin to look for refuge. "The best hiding place was love. Thus, the conversion from pristine sadism to fabricated hatred, to fraudulent love" (Morrison 16). The adult Claudia confesses that, "I learn much later to worship Shirley Temple, just as I learn to delight in cleanliness, knowing, even as I learn, that the change is adjustment, without improvement. (16)

The adult Claudia diagnoses the black community's worship of white images (as well as cleanliness and denial of the body's desire) as a complicated kind of self-hatred, but they transform hatred into a false love to compensate. Popular culture can sometimes quicken this silent transformation, because the atmosphere it creates, and racist messages are so prevalent that they are difficult to ignore. The standard of beauty that her peers subscribe to is represented by the white child actress, Shirley Temple, who has the desired blue eyes. Claudia revolts against the tyranny of Shirley Temple and white beauty -

I hated Shirley. Not because she was cute, but because she danced with Bojangles, who was my friend, my uncle, my daddy, and who ought to have been soft-shoeing it and chuckling with me. Instead he was enjoying, sharing, giving a lovely dance thing with one of those little white girls whose socks never slid down under their heels. (Morrison 35)

Therefore, African- Americans are especially vulnerable to the messages conveyed by popular culture that white beauty will inevitably dominate people's life. Things never turn out that simple. If these cultural ideals, which function as tools of racial oppression, are only forced upon the African-Americans, Pecola would never turn to tragedy. It is not to say that external forces, such as racism and sexism, are unimportant, but "the ontological structures and mythological thought systems that blacks develop to define and reinforce their definitions of self and existence" (Samuels & Clenora 78) have a more harmful effect on them.

In *The Bluest Eye*, Morrison points out sharply that African-Americans' worship of white culture, along with their hopelessness, like Pecola's ugliness, is a state of being that is both forced upon and chosen by them. This is why much criticism of Morrison's works

places her in an “integrated” literary tradition but does not identify her with the tradition that has characterized much African-American literature, a tradition that “portrays racism as a definite evil” (Eichelberger 59). To Morrison, only when people choose and accept these white-defined values, do they begin to internalize them and view the world through the eyes of white culture.

Before Pecola’s shopping experience to Mr. Yacobowski’s grocery store, there are some moments when Pecola temporarily succeeds in breaking the destructive connection between what she sees and how people see her. When she considers that dandelions are pretty (which are viewed as weeds by other people), she implicitly recognizes that beauty can be created by seeing rather than by being seen. By the same logic, she could redefine herself as beautiful even without blue eyes. However, Miner has noted that the “effect of popular American culture’s specular construction of beauty is that it bestows presence or absence” (93). One’s visibility depends upon one’s beauty, which is much worse than mere judgment of beautiful and ugly. Pecola’s shopping experience well serves as an outward reflection of the process of internalization of white values. When Pecola walks to the grocery store to buy candy, she encounters “the total absence of human recognition— the glazed separateness” (Morrison 36). Mr. Yacobowski cannot acknowledge Pecola’s presence as a subject because he simply cannot look at her, “How can a fifty-two-year-old white immigrant storekeeper... see a little black girl?” (Morrison 36).

These are only reinforcements of the influence of the white-beauty standard; Pecola’s response to Yacobowski, however, is of crucial importance. After she leaves the grocery store, she briefly experiences a healthy anger, but it gives way to shame. Morrison comments that “anger is better. There is a sense of being in anger. A reality and presence. An awareness of worth. It is a lovely surging” (37-38). But rather than continue this creative act, Pecola acquiesces and “the anger will not hold; it sleeps. The shame wells up again.” (Morrison 38) Pecola interprets poor treatment and abuse as her own fault. She believes that the way people observe her is more reliable than what she herself observes. Then she considers dandelions are ugly. She takes solace in eating the candy, but, more importantly, in symbolically digesting the smiling picture of the blue-eyed, blond-haired little girl on the wrapper, “She eats the candy, and its sweetness is good. To eat the candy is somehow to eat the eyes, eat Mary Jane. Love Mary Jane. Be Mary Jane” (Morrison 38).

Pauline Breedlove, Geraldine, Maureen Peal, and Pecola are black characters who try to conform to an imposed ideal of femininity. They are absorbed and marginalised by the “cultural icons portraying physical beauty: movies, billboards, magazines, books, newspapers, window signs, dolls, and drinking cups” (Gibson 20). Pauline Breedlove, for example, learns about physical beauty from the movies. In Morrison’s words,

along with the idea of romantic love, she was introduced to another – physical beauty. Probably the most destructive ideas in the history of human thought.

Both originated in envy, thrived in insecurity, and ended in disillusion (Morrison 95).

Consequently, in trying to conform to the ideal of white femininity, the black women characters despise their blackness which in turn leads to self-hatred. They see themselves through the eyes of white people and their worship of white beauty also has destructive effects on their own community. This is because, as Taylor argues:

one of the cornerstones of the modern West has been the hierarchical valuation of human types along racial lines. ... The most prominent type of racialised ranking represents blackness as a condition to be despised, and most tokens of this type extend this attitude to cover the physical features that are central to the description of black identity. (Taylor 16)

Geraldine, for example, represses her black characteristics which are not 'fitted' to white femininity as she strives "to get rid of the funkiness" (Morrison 64). She also rejects Pecola when she sees her in her house as Pecola seems to embody all the negative aspects of her views of black girls:

She looked at Pecola. Saw the dirty torn dress, the plaits sticking out on her head, hair matted where the plaits had come undone, the muddy shoes with the wad of gum peeping out from between the cheap soles, the soiled socks, one of which had been walked down into the heel on the shoe. ... She had seen this little girl all of her life. Hanging out of windows over saloons in Mobile, crawling over the porches of shotgun houses on the edges of town, sitting in bus stations holding paper bags and crying to mothers who kept saying 'Shut up!' (Morrison 71-72)

Being well educated and having adopted Western ways of life, Geraldine draws the line between coloured and black. She deliberately teaches her son the differences between coloured and black: "Coloured people were neat and quiet; niggers were dirty and loud" (Morrison 67). Maureen Peal, a light-skinned girl at school, also thinks that she is pretty and Pecola is ugly and Morrison sets up a hierarchy of skin tone marking proximity and distance in relation to idealised physical attributes. As "a high-yellow dream child with long brown hair braided into two lynch ropes that hung down her back" (Morrison 47), Maureen is treated well at school:

She enchanted the entire school. When teachers called on her, they smiled encouragingly. Black boys didn't trip her in the halls; white boys didn't stone her, white girls didn't suck their teeth when she was assigned to be their work partners; black girls stepped aside when she wanted to use the sink in the girls' toilets, and their eyes genuflected under sliding lids. (Morrison 47-48)

In this process, Pecola chooses and internalizes within herself the values of white superiority values, thus consequently lives a life of self-hatred, and inevitable destruction. Another supportive example is from Pauline's mother, Mrs. Pauline Breedlove. Pecola's own mother reinforces the message the girls have been receiving about the superiority of whites. For Mrs. Pauline Breedlove, movies are the primary vehicle for transmitting white images for public consumption. She absorbs the set of values from the silver screen, then inflicts a severe wound on her husband and children who fail by "the scale of absolute beauty" (Matthews 188). Eventually, Pauline gives up on her own family and takes refuge in the soft beauty surrounding the Fishers' home. When she speaks to Pecola and her friends, her voice is like "rotten pieces of apple, but when she speaks to the white girl, her voice is like honey" (Morrison 78). Her desire to deny her daughter is proved when the white girl asks who the black children are and Mrs. Breedlove avoids answering her. She has renounced her own black family for the family of her white employer. It is no longer the direct oppression of black by white, but oppression of a daughter by her mother who internalizes the white standard of beauty and uses it as a tool to hurt her own daughter. Finally, having been treated very badly by most people surrounding her, Pecola yearns to have blue eyes in the hope that people will love her. Whiteness becomes thus superior and white beauty standard gets legitimization. Finally, Pecola conforms to this social construction- white beauty standard.

Conclusion

For all races and for all individuals, it is essential to fully understand how mass culture touches, influences and shapes our values and beliefs — only after fully understanding that, people can strive to fight and grow to their fullest potential. Because of Morrison's vivid portrait of the subtle yet profound cultural influence, the book won great success, though the plot of *The Bluest Eye* is not so fresh or different from those of other African-American novels. Through her statement on the damage that internalized racism can do to the most vulnerable member of a community- a young girl, Morrison jumps out of the tradition of African-American literature that "portrays racism as a definite evil" (Eichelberger 59). By illustrating the influence of cultural ideals and approaching black people's different psychical responses, this paper shows how a new social construction like white beauty standard forms replacing normalcy and explains its damaging effect on African-Americans as well as on others within their families and the neighborhood.

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A Semiotic Analysis of Some Selected Igbo Mask Head Gears

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Abstract

The study examines the semiotics of Igbo mask head gears through semiotic perspective that treats masks as icons and indexes of identity. The study employs a qualitative research design and descriptive approach. Oral interview and focus group discussion were employed in data collection. The study was anchored on semiotic theory as espoused by Pierce and Ferdinand de Saussure. The findings of the study reveal that Igbo mask head gears are symbolic in their representation. The signification of the carved figures on Igbo mask head gears are culture specific. They portray Igbo culture, their belief system and philosophy of life. For instance, Okumkpo mask head gears contains bundles of scattered spear grass which signifies feminine gender of the masquerade, small eye that symbolizes camera and the big eye that stands for boldness. The plaited hair style represents the gender of the masquerade as well while the black feather is a symbol of evil and the white feather represents sacredness. The study further reveals that in the head mask gears of Njenje masquerade, the carved skull symbolizes death while the rounded mirrors represent the reflection of life. The eye bra, red line on lips and the black dot represents women's makeup. Ekpe masquerade is another Igbo mask head gear that has a head dress bearing a carved figure of human head which is meant to jolt human beings in the parent society of the masquerade into the realization that the ancestral spirit and guardian of their communities could dispense with dissent, evil, lawlessness or immorality by means of capital punishment. The head mask of Mgbeke masquerade is a symbol of the white race. Egede head mask gears has palm branches or green grass on top of the mask to represent peace and warning for the initiated and uninitiated into the masquerade cult respectively. The skull on this masquerade head piece is a symbol of destruction while the palm front signifies the padlock used in locking its mouth. Furthermore, the findings of the study reveal that the feathers on top of the mask head gear of EzeLugulu is a symbol of sacrifice elders perform to appease the gods while the carved human figure on the head mask is a symbol of priesthood. The red line from eyes down the cheeks, nose and mouth represent punishment and repercussions for violators of communal norms. The sack bag from head down to the shoulder is a

symbol of protection from evil attack. In fact, all the carved images on Igbo mask head gears are symbolic and are also culturally determined.

Keywords: Igbo Mask Head Gears, mask, masquerade, semiotics, symbol.

1 Introduction

Masks and masquerades, as aspects of cultural heritage, take many forms. African masks and masquerades are still used dating track from pre-historic times to symbolize various aspects of African life and ethnicity. Foster (2010) avers that “African mask is an ancient form of human art, religious worship and ceremonial costume. Scribner (2002), Welmesley, Lockhart (2010) and Ferraton (2011) all agree that African masks take many forms, and are made of carved wood, tree barks, animal horns plant fibers, leather, metal and fabrics often with cultural and traditional significance depicting prestige religious rites and reinforcing cultural norms. These masks according to Grahame (2010) are powerful symbolic items, linking the wearer with his ancestors, animal kingdom and spiritual world. Uzo (1997) observes that, “The term masquerade can refer to a masking performance, a masked performer, or the character embodied by the mask itself”. Masquerade is an important mode of cultural expression for several groups from Nigeria. The purpose of masquerade can be to entertain, to commend achievers, to chastise evil-doers, to bring message of hope, peace or impending disaster, to mourn the dead or to receive a special newborn, or to grace a ceremonial occasion like a festival. To these ends, its elaborately created physical presence evokes appreciation to fear and awe. A good masquerade has admirable human and animal features and is a great dancer. Traditionally, masquerades have the highest level of freedom in a village. In view of their awesomeness, masquerades cannot be unmasked, fought, revealed, and once under the mask, he becomes an embodiment of the spirit and sacred.

In the same vein, Igbo culture (2000) reveals that masquerades (mmomonwu) are held in accordance with the community’s native calendars during festivals, annual festivities, burial rites and other social gatherings. The masquerades are geared in colorful robes and masks made of wood or fabric. Some masks appear only at one festival, but the majority appears at many or all. Masquerades are associated with spiritual elements, as according to Igbo belief, they represent images of deities or sometimes even dead relatives. The identity of the masquerade is a well-kept secret and performed exclusively by men. Masquerades in African societies as enunciated by Foster (2010) and Ferraton (2011), provide entertainment, define social roles, communicate religious meanings and inculcate societal values, and depict defense. They are used during harvest seasons, fertility ceremonies, renewal of rituals and for status and funerals.

In most societies like Igbo, only men are allowed to wear masks. Women are not allowed to wear them. Group of men usually members of the community, kingship group, professional organization or club, own mask. Masks are also linked with secret societies. Masks and the masquerade have a shared practice no matter the position or status of the individuals.

Mask is a form of disguise or concealment usually worn over the head or in front of the face to hide the identity of a person and by its own features to establish another being. Mask can also be

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seen as a figure of head or face (false head or face) worn on the stage in antiquity to identify the character and project the voice. Mask is beings worn at the carnival or rituals. Mask usually represents supernatural beings, ancestors, and fanciful or imagined features and they can also be portraits. The localization of a particular spirit in a specific mask must be considered a highly significant reason for its existence. In masks for socially significant rituals, the change in identity of the wearer for that mask is vital for if the spirit represented does not reside in the image of the mask, the ritual petitions, supplications and offerings made to it would be ineffectual and meaningless. The mask, therefore, most often functions as a means of contact with various spirit powers thereby protecting the beneficiaries against the unknown forces of the universe by prevailing upon their earthly problems.

A mask is an object normally worn on the face, typically for protection disguise, performance or entertainment. Masks have been used since time immemorial for both ceremonial and practical purposes. They are usually worn on the face, although they may be positioned for effect elsewhere on the wearer's body. They are highly respected, and women are not allowed to enjoy close proximity with them. This is because the Igbo people believe that masquerades are visitors from the spiritual world who are sent to carry out a mission on earth. Onyeneke (1987)notes that masking refers to costume and masquerade or masquerading concern not only the costume but also the religious cultural significance and the plays involved.

Onyeneke (1987) views masquerade as a representative of ritual symbolism. As a ritual symbolism, it is defined as an intermediary between the living and the dead. Libation becomes the channel of communication for the two worlds, that is the world of the dead and the living, and the visitation of masquerades signifies the rapport in the communication. Turner (1967) conceptualizes ritual as a prescribed formal behavior for non-technological occasion indicating beliefs in mystical beings or power. As a representative of an empirical symbol, it is for tourist attraction. Masquerading can also be seen as a show where masks, images, shapes, dance, chants and songs are expressed to enhance tourism. As an illusion, masquerade centers on make-up, that is, costume which stands for art.

African masks should be seen as part of a ceremonial costume. They are used in religions and social events to represent the spirit of ancestors or to control the good and evil forces in the community. They came to life, possessed by their spirit in the performance of the dance, and are enhance by both the music and atmosphere of the occasion some combine human and animal features to unite man with his natural environment. This bond with nature is of great importance to the African and through the ages, masks have always been used to express this relationship.

One of the main characteristics of culture of African people is to use masks in rituals and ceremonies. It is believed that the earliest masks were used in Africa before Paleolithic era they represent spirits of animals or ancestors, mythological heroes, moral values or a form of honouring of a person and a symbolic way. They are made of wood, pottery, textiles, copper, and bronze. Details could be made from animal teeth, hair, bones, horns as well as feathers, sea-shells and even

egg-shells. Maker of the masks has a high rank in the village because it is believed that he has a contact with the spirit world and making mask is a craft passed down in the family.

African masks are most commonly shaped like a human face or muzzle of some animals. Masks are highly stylized because African culture distinguishes between outer look of something and its essence. These masks are made to represent an abstract subject, which explains stylization. Animals are frequent theme of African art of Mask making. They represent the spirit of an animal and one that bears the mask, becomes that animal himself which allows for communication with that animal, for instance to ask animal to keep away from the village. In other words, animal is a symbol of virtue.

The most common animals that are represented with masks are Buffalo, Hyena, Crocodile, and Antelope.

Antelope is one of the most widely used animal masks. It symbolizes agriculture and is worn to enable better crops. Horns represent growth of millet, legs roots of the plants while ears represent the songs the women sing in the harvest time. Masks are sometimes made with details from different animals and then they represent some virtues. For instance, to represent the power, masks are made to have Antelope horns, Crocodile teeth, and fangs of a Warthog. Masks representing values can also be of human shape. Mask representing calmness and patience has half- closed eyes, one having small mouth and eyes representing humility while mask that represent wisdom has a wide bulging forehead. Mask with a large chin represents power and strength.

One of the major themes of African masks is female face made by ideal of feminine beauty. While masks of some tribes have breasts and ornamental scars some other have almond shaped eyes, curved eyelashes, thin chins and ornaments. All this considered as attributes of beauty as female for their respective tribes. Wearing of these female masks is reserved for men in most cases.

Masks that represent ancestors are commonly shaped as a human skull. They are used in various ceremonies as witnesses' dead ancestral protectors from which approval is asked or as subjects to whom ask is worn by a dancer that then becomes bearer of the spirit mask, a sort of a medium between the tribe and a spirit. This trance like state is accomplished with a specific pleasure that is spiritual, intellectual, and sensuous. The mask figures awaken in the audience a sensuous, intellectual and spiritual fulfillment. Aesthetics may be defined loosely to involve beauty, taste, pleasure or what could be described as artistic merit. The Igbo mask figure has aesthetic principles to invoke laughter and intellectual delight. The aesthetic considerations of Igbo mask head gears are based on the expressions in it, the kind which are apt and memorable for all time. It is the expression that retains classical merit for a long time that defines the essence of the mask. According Ojaide (2009) aesthetic has to do with critical evaluation and making selections and judgment from among an abundant array of texts.

2.0 Literature Review

This section presents a review of related literature under empirical studies and theoretical framework

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2.1 Empirical Studies

Masking tradition has attracted a lot of research in Igbo land and the grounds covered by the researchers range from tracing the origin of masking and the study of it in Igbo land, the explanation of the African concept of the object, the relationship between the mask and the history and creative arts and finally, the exposition of community masking tradition for either documentation or cooperative purposes. Researchers as M.J.C Echeruo (1987), Ossie Enekwe and ChikeAniakor(1978), Ike(2012), Onyeneke (1987), Ome(1994), Ugonna (1985), and Edson (2005) have contributed immensely to research in Igbo masking traditions. Aniakor (1978) discusses the Omabe cult and masking traditions in Nsukka cultural context, Echeruo(1981 carried out a research on the dramatic limits of Igbo rituals, Enekwe (1988) concentrates his research on Igbo myth, ritual drama in Igbo land. Ike (2012 conducts research on unmasking the mask, Ome (1994) studies Igbo masquerades as a vehicle for impediments of social mobilization, Ugonna(1984) treats mmuonwu as a dramatic tradition of Igbo while Edson (2005 studies mask and masking as faces of tradition and belief.

Madu (2015) carried out a research on Igbo Omabe chants as poetries of culture in Lejja town. The study deals with a text rendered in Lejja dialect. The main purpose of the study was to ascertain through language, the poetic qualities of the Igbo Omabe chants. The study was anchored in historical criticism theory, the major finding of the study is that the Omabe chant performance is a jubilant occasion of no observable coercion and that membership of Omabe chant rendition is voluntary and exemplified by each participants willingness serve since full participation entails sumptuous blessings from the deity.

Ani, Nwakaego and Umezinwa (2015 investigated masking tradition and its behavioural function in accounting for stability and order in the West, East, and Central African masks. The finding of the study reveals that there is a preponderance of ancestral consciousness in all the masks studied. Some masks appear most frequently at funerals while other masks are used by sorcerers to call upon primordial ancestors for purposes.

Ozor, Garunyi and Odari (2017) carried out research on Umulumgbe contemporary Odo Masquerade ritual performance. The study sets out to investigate the effects of modernity on the contemporary performance of UmulumgbeOdo masquerade ritual. Specifically, the study interrogates the extent which the performance of the ritual has on the one hand, defied modernity, while on the other, it has also incorporated new symbolism and horizon of meaning. The findings of the study reveal that the contemporary performance of this ritual embodies a lot of elements of modernism which have influenced it both positively and negatively. The modification in the UmulumgbeOdo masquerade ritual performance and its taking over by the youths is a positive indication that the traditional UmulumgbeOdo masquerade ritual will be sustained for the coming generations.

Ganyi and Okpiliya (2013) conduct a study on performance aesthetics and functionalism, the legacy of Atam Masquerade of the Bakor people of Ogoja local Government Area. The study

examines not just the functional relevance of Bakor Masquerade but also the artistry in its realization. The finding of the study reveals through Atam Masquerade, law and order and indeed socialization an entertainment are ensured in Bakor society holds a revered position as a royal masquerade which makes it feared and esteemed by every member of the community its authority is unparalleled in the history of masquerading in a Bakor and its roles span social and spiritual facets of societal existence.

Nwabueze (1987) studies Igbo Masquerade drama and the origin of theatre: A comparative synthesis. The study reveals that the origin of theatre has tended to concentrate on Western theatre disregarding sometimes completely, non-western theatrical practices. When studies are carried out on world theatre, scholars tend to refer to it as ritual which requires more development before it can be perceived as theatre. Researches carried out on non-western theatre by theatre scholars have, unfortunately, not been given the kind of recognition they deserve, while studies on western theatre have been made to assume a somewhat universal recognition. The study concludes that western theatre and Igbo masquerade drama may have developed in different ways, but they both have a common origin-ancestral worship and the urge to communicate.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

This study is premised on Semiotic Theory. The subject of semiotics owes a great deal to the pioneering works of the American Philosopher Charles Sanders Pierce (1839 – 1914) as well as to the work of Ferdinand de Saussure (1857 – 1913) the Swiss linguist. Semiotics involves the study not what we refer to as “signs” in everyday speech, but of anything which stands for something else, symbols. In a semiotic sense, signs take the form of words, images, sounds, gestures and objects. Whilst to the linguist Saussure, Semiology is a science which studies the role of signs as part of social life, for the philosopher, Charles Pierce, Semiotics is the formal doctrine of signs which is closely related to logic. For him a sign is something which stands to somebody for something in some respect or capacity. It is all-inclusive subject dealing with ramification (Sound, Sign, touch, smell and taste) and all context (e.g. dance, politics, media, eating and clothing).

Semiotics is often employed in the analysis of text, although it is far more than just a mode of textual analysis. Here it could be noted that a text can exist in any medium and may be verbal, non-verbal or both, despite the logo centric bias of this destination. A text also, is an assemblage of signs such as words, images, sounds and gestures constructed and interpreted with reference to the conventions associated with a genre and in a particular medium of communication. The distinctiveness of the semiotic model lies in its eclectic range and its focus on patterns rather than on discrete elements of signification. The insights that semiotics assimilation from various related disciplines have made its principles applicable to all aspects of human endeavor.

Semiotics is the theory of science and analysis of signs and sign systems and their meaning specifically those concerned with communication between human beings in different societies and cultures (Wales, 1989). To Semetsky (2007) semiotics is a branch of philosophy where verbal and non-verbal signs were taken to be representations of the true nature of things. Sign is perceived to

be an entity that cannot be understood directly but also connects with mother entity, by virtue of our experience.

The theory of semiotic ensures that everything one performs is a sign and everything one sees connotes signs. The study gives attention on how meanings are created via various diversified components. Semiotics basically focuses on decoding of meanings from significations, interpretation of the significations which eventually leads to the semantic consequences. This theory is relevant to the present study in the sense that it helps to explicate the meaning of various signs and symbols depicted in Igbo mask head gears which is the focus of this study.

2.3 Summary of the Reviewed Literature

The related literature reviews so far indicate that the previous scholars centered their works on the definition, description and functions of masks and masking traditions in Igbo land. None of the reviewed work discussed anything about the semiotics of Igbo mask head gears which is a vital aspect of masking traditions in Igbo land. This is the gap the present study intends to fill.

3. Methodology

The study adopted a qualitative descriptive research design. In this study oral interview and participant observation constituted the method of data collection. The researchers framed the questions in such a way that the interviewees can easily understand what information is being asked for. The unstructured questionnaire was also used in the study because this form of questionnaire does not provide any response options for the respondents. Only questions relevant to the problem were asked and the respondents supplied their responses in their own words in any manner they deem fit. Also, library work was consulted as it helped to illuminate the broad perspective of Igbo mask head gear. The collected Igbo mask head gears were examined, and the mask head gears were analyzed using semiotics theory.

4 Semiotic Analysis of Some Masks as Related to the Masquerade

This section concerns the semiotic analysis of Igbo mask head gears selected from ElugwuEzike in Enugu State, Nigeria, Afikpo in Ebonyi State and Imo State respectively.

4:1. Masks Representing Okumkpo Masquerade



As a law enforcement agent, Okumkpo is likened to the Nigeria Police Force designated by the constitution to police the country. Okumpo is used to satirize the evil of men in the community (land) etc.

Distinguishing Features of Okumkpo Mask Head Gear

The mask's head gear contains the following items:

- a). Bundle of scattered grass(eta) on the head of the mask which signifies feminine gender of the masquerade.
- b). The small eye is a symbol of camera. It is used as the general overseer (onyokometer). The masquerade uses it to see everything that is happening in the community especially the bad ones.
- c). The big eye symbolizes boldness (It fears no one) The big eye shows how bold the masquerade can be on stage regardless of who it wants to talk about and what it wants to talk about. He can say anything without minding who is involved in the act. This masquerade is no respecter of person.
- d). The plaited hairstyle represents the gender of the masquerade.

e).The one ear represents reservoir. He hears only once and whatever that goes in there cannot go out again unless on the day of reckoning. The reason for the one ear is to keep the information collected intact until when it is needed to be made public.

f).The black feather is a symbol of evil while the white feather represents sacredness. It shows the power of the masquerade in destroying evil doers in the community.

g) The star (x) at both cheeks represents her birth mark.

4.2. Mask Representing the Njenje Masquerade

This mask is a mythical figure of a young woman who died long time ago. It is one of the prominent figures in the masked performances by the Afikpo. She is adorned with a complex costume that incorporates a headdress with mirrors, multiple cloths etc.

Distinguishing Features of Njenje Mask Head Gear



a). The carved projection on njenje masquerade head gear represents women and their world of beauty (uwamma)

b) The carved skull curved on top of the head of the mask, symbolizes death.

c) The two rounded mirror represents the reflection of life.

d).The spotted background colour of the head mask represents the unique character of every woman.

e) The feather on the head mask symbolizes secrecy.

f) The eye bra, red line on lips, black dot on forehead represents women's face makeup.

g). The black line from eyes down the cheeks shows mood.

The mask has a face and a super structure that stretches from the forehead upwards with a ring at the top. The super structure on top of the face of the mask is suggestive of royalty the masquerade carries in its realm. Visibly prominent on this mask are geometric motifs of various sizes seen on a projection stretching from the bridge of the nose to the textured crown. The motifs are also applied on a part of the super structure suggesting braided hair, eye and ear.

Njenje (walkabout) is the name of a parade that involves virtually an entire village's population. It is the period that women used to remember one of their own who died in farm. To show the family of the woman that died that they really care, so they set aside a day called IRI IKO to go and visits the deceased family and their friends and well-wishers before the men took it from them. It opens the first day of the Dry Season Festival--a time Afikpo say "is our Christmas"--when rich meals, visits and ceremonies prevail. Preparations require men in their twenties to organize into an age grade lead the masquerade and assemble elaborate costumes that often involve loans of cloth and jewelry from sisters, wives, lovers and friends who eagerly await the parade. Secrecy from women and uninitiated boys is strictly enforced throughout the dressing process, which adds to the suspense of the audience, which watches players stroll through the village dressed as unmarried girls, Njenje is an elegantly dressed masquerade. Its costume and the dignified manner in which it carries itself set it apart from other masquerades.

4:3. Mask Representing Okpaa Ekpe

Ekpe is a masquerade reserved for older men that are initiated into its special cult. This masquerade is noted for its colorful costume, extended head gear and spirited music provided by middle to late adult aged.



The colour design on the costume is very significant it is used to dictate the age grade of the man wearing it.

- a) The red colour represents the Onikara age grade between the ages of 80- 90 years.
- b) The yellow colour represents the Horri age grade between the ages of 91- 100years.
- c) The black colour represents the Rekweri age grade between the age of 101 and above.

All these colours are used to show that they fought tribal wars, conquered and are celebrating it.

OkpaaOworoworo Masquerade

OkpaaOworoworo is one of the most revered masquerades in Afikpo. This masquerade only appears on rare occasions and is always accompanied by several Okpaa masquerades, who serve as assistants to the revered Okpaa Ekpe.

Ekpe Masquerade

On the very summit of its head, is poised delicately an intriguing animal head, with two white horns at the bridge of the nose which resembles that of a rhinoceros. The menacing teeth formation it bears, belong to that of an alligator (abadu) in variance to the definition of the rhino which is herbivorous in nature. The mouth is gapping wide in clear readiness to devour its victim or at least inflict injury if it is sufficiently provoked.

This masquerade most probably exudes dread among the people considering the ferocious nature of its head gear. It seems to be in tuned with a correctional spirit meant to keep in check, the excesses of members of its parent society. Masquerade carries mirrors to draw in and punish evil doers as Ijele masquerade

This Ekpe masquerade has a head dress bearing a carved figure of a human head. This head, which rests entirely on a bundled George wrapper, is fair in complexion and resembles a female teenager. It has a cosmetic appearance as if the owner of the head was prepared for an occasion before it was sent off for some ritual. This is evident in the lip coloration and well-groomed eyebrows. The fate which awaits her is registered in the sadness that reflects on its face. One can surmise that, such a head dress is meant to jolt human beings in the parent society of the masquerade into the realization that, the ancestral spirit and guardian of their communities could dispense with dissent, evil, lawlessness or immorality by means of capital punishment.

This does not remove the aesthetic quality of this masquerade which when examined critically, performs its theatrical roles perfectly. While on stage it dances well, follow the rhythm of the drums properly and strides from one end of the appointed dance arena to the other. At such times of performance, spectators are bound to forget the original purpose of this masquerade and simply just enjoy the entertainment offered them.

Ijele Masquerade

Ijele is divided into upper and lower segment by a python at the centre. It is constructed of colorful fabric on a skeleton of bamboo stick and decorated with figurines and depiction of every aspect of life.

Ijele head piece is designed with such figures arranged in scenes, showing a woman in labour, a man climbing a palm tree to cut palm fruit, a chief accompanied by his musicians, making his annual appearance, among others.

4:4. Mbeke Masquerade



Mbeke masquerade represents the white race, oyibo or mbeke meaning white man in Igbo language. The masquerade represents a wide range of European characters, i.e. colonial officers, missionaries, merchants of the white race,

According to history the mask is named after a British medical officer, Dr. Baikie, who worked among the eastern Igbo during the mid-1800s.

Distinguishing Features of the Mask Head Gear

- a. The white smooth face symbolizes the white race.
- b. eyes
- c. lips

4:5.Mask representing Egede



Egede masquerade is also used during Njenji festivals known as destroyer, performed by young boys and adults. They are also used in chasing woman. Masquerade play in the village commonly, chased by uninitiated boys but very dangerous and aggressive

Distinguishing Features of the Mask Head Gear

- a) The palm branches or green grass on top of the mask represent two things.
(1) I come in peace that is for men who has been initiated into the cult. (2) It shows warning, that is, for women and boys who are not yet initiated into the cut, telling them to stay clear because it could be dangerous.
- b) The skull on the mask represents destruction.
- c) The palm front signifies the padlock used in locking their mouth. It does not talk much. It believes that action speaks louder than voice.

d) The mask colour represents the season

4:6. Mask representing EzeLugulu



EzeLugulu is seen as a prince of the masquerade during Iko festival, he carries himself around because he is untouchable and anyone who hurts him is in trouble.

Distinguishing Feature of EzeLugulu

The feathers on top of the mask head gear represent a sacrifice. For this masquerade to come out, the elders must perform some sacrifices to appease the gods.

The carved human figure carried on the head mask represents his priesthood.

The colours, on the figure on top of the head mask, represent royalty.

The feathers round the face mask represent security. This masquerade doesn't go alone.

The red line from eyes down the cheeks, nose and the mouth represent punishment and repercussions (you must pay heavily to appease the gods. Tears must drop down your eyes whenever you caused this masquerade to fall on the ground especially when you are not imitated into the cult.

The sack bag from head down to the shoulder is a symbol of protection from evil attack. Other Igbo mask head gears analyzed includes: Ajulaka.

4:7. Ajulaka Masquerade

Ajulaka masquerade has an ugly marble on its face. It is feared because of its magical powers and aggressiveness. The ugliness indicates that it should be feared unlike some other masquerade. The twisted face indicates an attitude of anger.

Ajulaka mask has a grotesque appearance. It has a protruding forehead, two tubular projections for eyes that perhaps suggest its ability to see deep into the human heart. His tubular eyes, jutting cheekbones, and hinged jaw with audible attachment, present another worldly appearance, thereby reinforcing his role in social control. Individual who recover from the disease during the mask's appearance, are obligated to give thanksgiving feast for the whole town in the presence of the mask.

The mask has a face and a super structure that stretches from the forehead upwards with a ring at the top. The carved super structure on top of the face of the mask is suggestive of royalty the masquerade carries in its realm. Visibly prominent on this mask are geometric motives of various sizes seeing on a projection stretching from the bridge of the nose to the textured hair or crown. The motives are also applied on a part of the super structure suggesting braided hair, eye, and ear.

The Igbo funeral masquerade wears a raffia scarf like a cape that covers its shoulder from its head down to the elbow. The oblong shaped mask has two horns carved from the forehead curving up to a centre nearly touching each other at the top. The eyes are a slit suggestive of eyes that are closed in death to perhaps capture the significance and functions of its presence at funerals.

The head mask of swordfish head dress represented in a skeletal form symbolizes immortality or the spirit of the swordfish. The colors of the head dress are derived from the natural colors of the wood and earth colors of brown, red, with black and white. The meaning of these colors may be for aesthetic reasons.

4:8. Atunpi Masquerade

The head gear of the masquerade is almost merged with rest of the body. A gold band winds round its head, which is crowned with dozens of menacing horns that shoots out in different directions. This indicates that the masquerade is an animal form, and its being in tuned with many horns signifies that it can fight for people it is meant to serve as a guardian. So being an ancestral spirit, the confidence it evolves in its gait, poise and carriage, can garner courage for the people in times of need. Atunpi masquerade were guardian spirit of the people, serving to maintain law and order, and also guarantee peace and fight for the territorial integrity of their nation states at periods when wars ravaged the regions.

4:9. Adamma

The facial features are enhanced with glaring white cosmetic paint. This is possibly meant to emphasize its feminine attributions. The mask bears facial scarification on both sides of the cheek. This is further elaborated by the black colour used to paint the lips. The eyes similarly re-echo this black aspect, creating a unified design on his face. The two large blue horns are curved backwards close to its head. On its edges are decorations of a series of dark red triangles. The apparent beauty

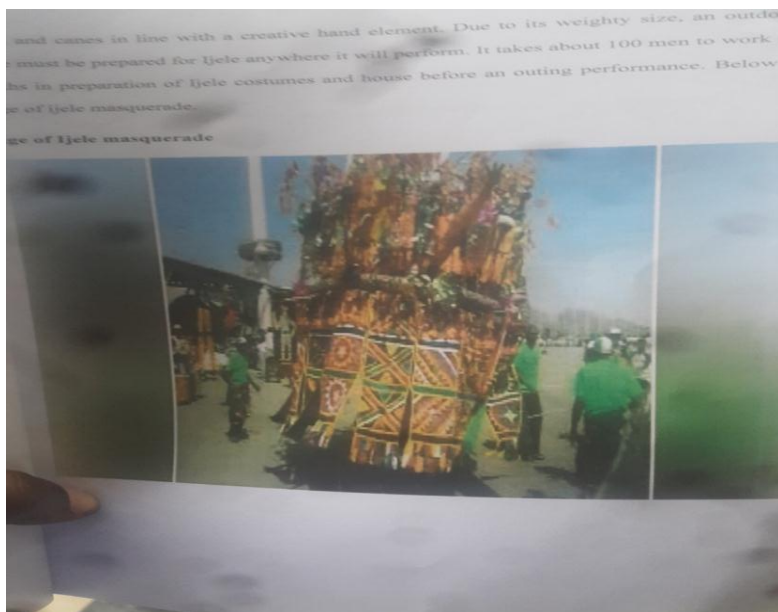
of this mask does not deter it from performing its function. In fact, the feminine aspect is even negligible when the mask dancer, takes on the centre stage. Female spirit, goddesses, queens and heroines are depicted by feminine looking mask quite alright, but it is the male members of the society who dramatize their qualities during festivals.

4:10. Adamma Masquerade



Adamma as much as it foretells the maiden spirit has no spiritual values like most masquerades. Adamma represents the elegance of an Igbo woman and the idea of maidenhood. Adamma's beauty represents the Igbo woman and her beauty.

4:11. Ijele Mask



Ijele Masquerade

Ijele is divided into upper and lower segment by a python at the centre. It is constructed of colorful fabric on a skeleton of bamboo stick and decorated with figurines and depiction of every aspect of life.

Ijele head piece is designed with such figures arranged in scenes, showing a woman in labour, a man climbing a palm tree to cut palm fruit, a chief accompanied by his musicians, making his annual appearance, among others. There are also realistic figures of local animals made of a cloth and stuffed with grass on Ijele masquerade. Also included in Ijele head piece are cocks or fowl perching on the supports as on a compound wall, a man or a woman carrying a baby on his or her shoulder. There is again a wealthy lady showing off her status or well-dressed gentleman displaying his outfit. All these reveal what people find in their local environment.

On the same head piece, one may find domestic portraits blended with figures that recall past political history of the Igbo, for example, a colonial officer strolling with his wife or escorted by a policeman. There are also figures representing the world of spirits to enhance the aura and mystical power of Ijele. There may also be the features of a variety of animal figures such as a leopard about to pounce on its prey such as an antelope. All these are not mere pictures but rather symbolize the historical background and the life of the Igbo people and things that are found among them.

Ijele mirror- this mysterious mirror picks and sees anyone with charm or destructive weapons. This mirror magnets the person to Ijele for punishment. This mirror is reflective and creates an aesthetic beauty.

Ijele python- This is a big snake signifying royalty and mightiness of the Ijele.

Ijele trees, animals, white man, carved human activities- all these signify wholesomeness of Ijele as every aspect of human life is depicted on Ijele masquerade.

Mermaid object- Ijele is crowned up with mermaid objects signifying Ijele as the greatest of all masquerades.

Ijele horse- The horse represents majesty and greatness.

Ijele masquerade performs at the burial ceremonies of great and powerful kings or special men and women in Igbo land. It also performs at the burial ceremonies of member of the Ijele family or at the death of the oldest man in the community. Ijele mostly performs during the dry season to mark fertility and annual bountiful harvest. It can equally perform at special festivals and occasions.

4:12. Nwoghebi Head Mask



4:13. Nwokeatu Head Mask

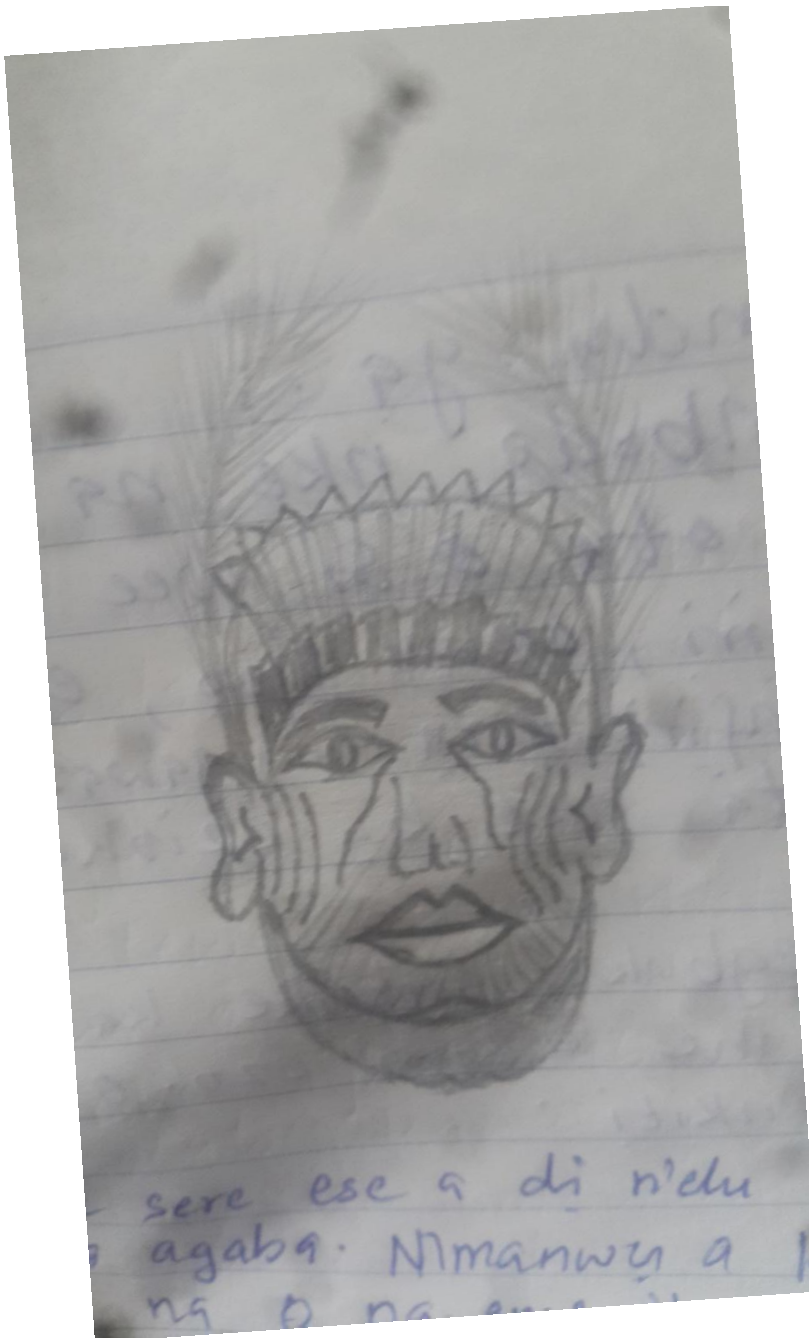
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In umu Okoro, Imo state there is a masquerade called Nwoghebi. Nwoghebi is the chief masquerade in this community. It has two carved human heads. The two carved human heads represent the two founding fathers of the community- Nwoghiri and Ebinikpa. Nwoghiri was a well-known farmer while Ebinikpa was a great hunter and two of them lived peacefully. The head mask is made up of carved farm tools and food crops as well as hunting implements such as cassava stem, yam seed, cocoyam with seeds, gun, bow and arrow, dog, matchete, amongst others. All these signify the people's cultural artifacts and depict their occupation.

In between the mouths of these masquerades is a fresh palm frond signifying that this masquerade is not a talk active type but action masquerade. These masquerades believe that action speaks louder than words. There is two white ugo (eagle) feathers thickly affirmed on the two carved human skulls on the head mask. It signifies that peace exists between Nwoghiri and Ebinikpa people.

4:14. AgabaMasquerade



Agaba is a fearful and feracious masquerade in umuokoro, Imo state. The head mask contains two ugo (eagle) feathers that signify peace and truthfulness. It has an agape mouth which signifies that it does not waste time to say whatever it wants to say. It mentions the real name of any culprit publicly and how the incident happened. Agaba masquerade is no respecter of person In terms of saying the truth of what is hidden. The wide ears signify that it hears everything such as gossips, bad words, truth, and accusations amongst others. The glistening eyes signify that it sees everything hidden.

Agaba masquerade has elaborate head dress topped by crescent shaped buffalo horns which could be carved. It also has pointed horns of various kinds of antelopes, which are used to convey

the symbol of masculinity in the community, where young men are renowned for killing wild animals in communal hunts. Agaba masquerade head piece is symbolic because it draws an analogy between the physical perfection of wild animals and the strength and vitality of young men of the community. The helmet, surmounted by a cluster of horns and sometimes carved objects, such as knives, spears, paddles and many more, are partly for decoration and partly to characterize the achievements of the young men.

4:15 Mgbedike Mask Head Gear

The elephant on the head mask represent the spirit while the two arrows symbolizes the power and glory of the spirit represented in the masquerade

Agu-lion symbolizes the power and the spirit behind the masquerade. The agu (leopard) also stands for the strength of the masquerade. Akwa –the different cloth tied on the head is for beautification of the masquerade. Enyo –the different sizes of mirror on the head also shows the beauty of the masquerade.



Some Igbo use large funeral mask that have human and animal features. This helmet has a basketry cap upon which is formed a head of wood and black gum, animal teeth, horns and wooden blade are present. The mask's distorted features, horn, blades, shaggy brown costume and the aggressive dance of the wearer, express male skill and ability

4:16. OpanwaMasquerade

OpaMma means "carry-child," and it is often referred to as the "queen" mask, "The "queen" has a female face and carries a child on her head. During Okumkpo, she is often hidden in the center of the crowd of seated performers known as a woman who rejects suitor after suitor, she is the center of great attention whenever she gets up to dance. Male performers do their best to be as graceful and delicate as possible in portraying her.

4:17. Mma Ji

Mma ji means "knife-yam" and refers to the piece, which looks like a knife or machete. Mask is worn by males from young boys to men, who can be costumed as a schoolboy, missionary.

4:19. Awuru Masquerade

It was historically a means of providing security against crimes such as stealing, poisoning, and killing of persons or crop destruction: if there was a case of such a crime, the masquerade was consulted, and the main suspect was asked to swear to Awuru to prove his innocence. The victim of the crime could ask the masquerades to kill (that is "ilimmonwu") whoever was responsible for the crime.

4:19. Okwe-Ebu

OkwaEbu is a masquerade that accompanies other masquerades. This masquerade serves as both a mouthpiece for the masquerade it accompanies as well as a praise singer to those watching the masquerade display. The praise singing often results in audience members giving gifts of money or other items of value to Okwa-Ebu and/or the masquerade it accompanies.

4:20. Ota Ikonte Masquerade

Ota Ikonte is a masquerade known for its clownish appearance and behavior. The masquerade entertains by mimicking the gestures of a drunken person, a clown and other off-beat movements.

4:21. Agboghomonwu

Agboghomonwu head piece is decorated with ribbons, trills, mirrors and tiny bells that suggest beauty and elegance. The helmet head piece, which covers the head, is crest plaited into lobes to represent the Igbo female hair-do. The style is determined by the status of the female spirits represented. Also represented as style of the helmet-face is the crest surrounded with beautifully knitted short stems which suggests fertility for maidenhood symbolizes the most-ripened and most fertile age of a woman.

5 Findings of the Study

The findings of the study reveal that Igbo mask head gears are symbolic in their representation. The signification of the carved figures on Igbo mask head gears are culture specific. They portray Igbo culture, their belief system and philosophy of life. For instance, Okumkpo mask head gears contains bundles of scattered spear grass which signifies feminine signifies the feminine gender of the masquerade, small eye that symbolizes camera and the big eye that stands for boldness. The plaited hair style represents the gender of the masquerade as well while the black feather is a symbol of evil and the white feather represents sacredness.

The study further reveals that in the head mask gears of Njenje masquerade, the carved skull symbolizes death while the rounded mirrors represent the reflection of life. The eye bra, red line on lips and the black dot represents women's makeup. Ekpe masquerade is another Igbo mask head gear that has a head dress bearing a carved figure of human head which is meant to jolt human beings in the parent society of the masquerade into the realization that the ancestral spirit and guardian of their communities could dispense with dissent, evil, lawlessness or immorality by means of capital punishment. The head mask of Mgbeke masquerade is a symbol of the white race.

Egede head mask gears has palm branches or green grass on top of the mask to represent peace and warning for the initiated and uninitiated into the masquerade cult respectively. The skull on this masquerade head piece is a symbol of destruction while the palm front signifies the padlock used in locking its mouth.

Furthermore, the findings of the study reveal that the feathers on top of the mask head gear of EzeLugulu is a symbol of sacrifice elders perform to appease the gods while the carved human figure on the head mask is a symbol of priesthood. The red line from eyes down the cheeks, nose and mouth represent punishment and repercussions for violators of communal norms. The sack bag from head down to the shoulder is a symbol of protection from evil attack. In fact, all the carved images on Igbo mask head gears are symbolic and are also culturally determined.

6. Conclusion

From the discussion made in this study, it could be concluded that some Igbo head mask has a face and a super structure that stretches from the forehead upwards with a ring at the top of the mask that suggest royalty the masquerade carries in it realm. The eyes that are slit is suggestive of eyes that are closed in death to perhaps capture the significance and functions of its presence at funerals. The facial features of some masquerades are enhanced with glaring white cosmetic paint to signify its feminine attribution. Female spirit, goddess, queens and heroines are depicted by feminine looking masks.

Every aspect of human life is depicted on Ijele masquerade such as mermaid object which signify that Ijele is the greatest of all masquerade in Igbo land. The horse portrait in the masquerade represents majesty and greatness of the masquerade. Some Igbo masks such as Mgbedike have a basketry cap upon its head on which wood and black gum, animal teeth, horns and wooden blades are present. The mask's features, horns, blades, shaggy brown costume and aggressive dance of the wearer, express male skill and agility.

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The *Dalai Lama* as a Political Figure: Nationally and Internationally Over Time

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The fourteenth *Dalai Lama* is best known for his fashionable glasses, his Nobel Peace Prize, his unique position in exile, his strong belief in democracy, his advocacy of Buddhism as the religion of kindness, and his twitter page. However, it has not always been like this. The office of the *Dalai Lama* has changed tremendously from its birth in the mid fifteenth century to the present day (Shastri 2003), but some characteristics of the office do remain the same. This paper will study how the office of the *Dalai Lama* and its political relationship to its own people and other nations has changed over time. It will begin by studying the office of the *Dalai Lama* in Tibet, then its growth to greater Asia, and finally, the international sphere.

For centuries, the *Dalai Lama* has been seen as the political and spiritual leader of Tibet - even when he has not resided in Tibet. However, this is beginning to change as the Fourteenth *Dalai Lama* begins to push for a Democratic Tibet where he remains the spiritual, but not political head. In order to understand this shift, the nature of the office of the *Dalai Lama* in Tibet must first be understood.

The *Dalai Lama* is seen as a key, multifaceted symbol of both state and religion. For example, there are five central elements that form the institution of the *Dalai Lama*. These include succession through incarnation, an identification as the patron deity and ruler of Tibet, a representation of the beginning of the Tibetan race and protector of Tibetan culture, hegemony over Tibet through a priest/patron relationship, and synthesis of *Mahayana* and *Vajrayana* elements to represent the *Bodhisattvas* of both Tibet and China. (Klieger 1991) While there have been numerous changes in the institution of the *Dalai Lama*, it has successfully maintained the aforementioned elements over time.

While seventh century Tibetan emperor Songtsen Gampo (604 A.D. – 650 A.D.) is proclaimed to have been an incarnation of *bodhisattva* Chenrezi, (Klieger 1991) the first record of a leader with the title of *Dalai Lama* participating in Tibetan ceremony and life dates to 1430 CE. (Shastri 2003) There is record of the First *Dalai Lama* being in contact with foreign kings in central Asia, sending fundraising teams to other kingdoms, receiving contributions from the

people of a neighboring kingdom to build a monastery, and writing, by royal request, a commentary on the root text of the *Vinaya*. (Shastri 2003)

The Third *Dalai Lama* maintained the relationships the First had built with nearby rulers, but also developed teacher-disciple relations with learned scholars in the region. This made possible a sharing of knowledge that was previously unseen without monetary trade at the time and set the pattern of personal discipleship with the *Lama* for generations to come. For example, one scholar shared with the Third *Lama* the *Kālacakra* system of astrological calculations in 1558. (Shastri 2003)

It was also during the reign of the Third that the title *Dalai Lama* was conferred on Bsod nams rgya mtsho (1543–1588) by the Altan Khan of the southeast Mongolian Tümed Mongols as part of a longer sequence of titles. The event recalled the relationship between the *Sa skya* hierarch (1235–1280) and Qubilai Khan (r. 1260– 1294), the founder of the Yuan dynasty that had enabled the *Sa skya* school of Buddhism to dominate Central Tibet politically. Conceived as relationships between patron and priest, and therefore framed from the perspective of religion, these relations were reciprocal in that the “priest” offered instructions and tantric initiations to the ruler, while the ruler in turn extended his patronage to the master and his community, which included political and military protection. (Kellner 2016)

However, it is the Fifth *Dalai Lama* (1617-1682) that is often remembered in history as the *Lama* that gave the office its political power. (Kellner 2016) Rahul states that “the supremacy of the *Dalai Lama* over Lamaism in Central Asia and the secular power of the institution of the *Dalai Lama* in Tibet were wholly the work of *Dalai Lama V*”. (1969)

It was under the Fifth that Tibet became an ecclesiastical or “*bodhisattvacratic*” state. As the Fifth became known not only as the latest link in a chain of reborn religious hierarchs, but also as an embodiment of the *bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara*, Tibet came to be seen as a society under the tutelage of a supreme *bodhisattva*. (Kellner 2016) This officially made Tibet a religious state, politically ruled by a religious leader of sacred lineage.

A text dating to 1698, sixteen years after the death of the Fifth *Dalai Lama*, notes that the *Dalai Lama*’s government served Tibet just as a *bodhisattva* serves all humanity. This political shift was facilitated by the close relationship between hierarchs and their Mongol patrons. In 1642, Güüshi Khan of the Khoshud Mongols offered the thirteen myriarchies of Tibet as a gift to Blo bzang rgya mtsho. The Mongol ruler was in turn awarded the title “Upholder of Doctrine, King of the Dharma”, solidifying the patron-priest relationship. This act marked the end of a long period of civil war between the forces of Central Tibet and Western Tibet, exemplifying just how much political power the institution of the *Dalai Lama* had come to hold. (Kellner 2016)

This act was not only symbolic because it increased the legitimacy of both party's political power – it also increased their spiritual legitimacy. For example, this patron-priest relationship can ultimately be traced back to the Indian emperor Ashoka's patronage of the *sangha*, an arrangement that had been prophesized by the Buddha himself. (Klieger 1991)

Furthermore, the activities of the Fifth *Dalai Lama* and his regents after 1642 include key ingredients of what a modern political analyst would refer to as “nation-building”. For example, the office of the Fifth established a new form of government—the *Dga' ldan pho brang* government. This new government system united religious and secular branches, created new administrative structures, and began large-scale public projects to reinforce the identification of the *Dalai Lama* with *Avalokiteśvara*. The most visible of these was the construction of the Potala Palace in Lhasa, that remained the residence of the office of the *Dalai Lama* until the Fourteenth fled in 1959. (Kellner 2016) It is clear that even in the relatively early generations of the *Dalai Lama* much political change was happening, while key aspects of the spiritual side of the institution remained untouched and consistent.

The increasingly political role the Fifth *Dalai Lama* laid foundation continued through both the Sixth and Seventh *Dalai Lamas*. For example, in the biography of the Sixth, it is noted that the son of a neighboring king often visited Lhasa. Furthermore, the “ten thousand offering” was collectively submitted to the sixth by the neighboring four districts. In addition, the Seventh *Dalai Lama* often acted as a mediator and settled disputes between the Kings of Upper and Lower Ladakh (territory within modern Indian state of Kashmir). (Shastri 2003)

The role of the *Dalai Lama* remained fairly stable during the time of Eighth, Ninth, and Twelfth *Lamas*. Though contact with neighboring kingdoms did slightly decrease, it was not cut off and the *Lamas* continued to receive royal visitors at Lhasa. It was during the time of the Thirteenth *Dalai Lama* that the relationship between the *Lama* and the people of West Tibet was reinforced. Tributes from Bhutan and Ladakh were also reintroduced at this time. (Shastri 2003)

Which brings us to the present – the Fourteenth *Dalai Lama*. The institution has seen much change under the Fourteenth due to his status in exile and his increased international prominence. Most notably, the Fourteenth *Lama* officially stepped down from politics in 2011 in an effort to make Tibet a democratic society. (Tsujimura 2015)

However, while the Dalai Lama has announced his renunciation of the supreme authority vested in him to approve the members of the assembly and supervise its function, the majority of the Tibetan people still see him as their total leader and reject his renunciation. In response, the *Dalai Lama* has brought the conversation back to Buddhism and states that democracy is

common to Buddhism preached by Buddha, and never contradicts Buddhism. In fact, the *Lama* focuses on compassion as one of the main points of his argument. Certainly, compassion (*snying rje*) is one of the most important concepts of Buddhism. Yet the *Dalai Lama* considers that compassion is common to all religions, and that everyone can be compassionate because no one wants to suffer. From this perspective, compassion is also a “secular” concept that implies mutual tolerance and respect for all faiths, as well as for those of no faith. By using the notion of “compassion” as a bridge between “religion” and “secularism,” the *Dalai Lama* has resolved the issue of democratic reform of the Tibetan political system. (Tsujimura 2015)

This view is regarded by scholars of Tibetan Buddhism as “Buddhist Modernism”. The Fourteenth *Dalai Lama* often cites examples from the United States and other Buddhist communities, to reinforce that he is part of an international conversation about Buddhism, Tibet, religion, and politics. Buddhist Modernism provides an effective way for Buddhist leaders to portray their religion as a world religion. Through the advocacy of this form of Buddhism, the *Dalai Lama* has engaged in a dialogue that easily incorporates Christians, Jews, and other world religious communities. (Singer 2003)

Furthermore, the Dalai Lama's role as a world spiritual leader is enhanced by the fact that he has projected a form of Buddhism with which Western audiences identify. In its press release announcing the award of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1989 to the Fourteenth *Dalai Lama*, the Nobel Committee, without mentioning Buddhism explicitly, referred to the *Dalai Lama* as the religious and political leader of Tibet. It said that he “has developed his philosophy of peace from a great reverence for all things living and upon the concept of universal responsibility embracing all mankind as well as nature.” Although the Nobel Committee elsewhere connects this to Buddhism, it also reflects the universal qualities of the Fourteenth *Dalai Lama's* Buddhist philosophy. (Singer 2003)

Now that the institution of the Dalai Lama in Tibet is understood, it is possible to study how the institution has shifted from a local spiritual and political powerhouse to an international symbol of peace, Tibetan culture, and Buddhism as a whole. It is clear that the institution of the *Dalai Lama* has always maintained regional ties, as exemplified by its consistent presence as a peacekeeper in central Asia and maintaining its ties with western Tibet. However, over the last decade, the position of the *Dalai Lama* has become increasingly globalized.

Rahul states that even in 1951 the “high lamas of Tibet were always a strong force in the politics of Central Asia” and that all Mongols looked with reverence on Lhasa, the seat of the *Dalai Lama*. The institution also experienced high influential power in the border states of Nepal, Sikkim, and Bhutan. It was because of this that the office of the *Lama* soon became one of China’s chief concerns. (1969) Tibet composes one quarter of China’s land mass – so the

Chinese government views the *Dalai Lama* as a danger to the republic, a separatist trying to steal their land. (Baculinao and Cumming 2018) Once China's attention was re-drawn, the international influence of the *Dalai Lama* only grew. Therefore, while Chinese troops did enter Tibet in 1912, the struggle for power between the Chinese government and the office of the *Lama* came to a peak in 1951 when the Fourteenth *Lama* fled Tibet for India. (Rahul 1969)

While China's aim in increasing military presence in Tibet was to solidify their position, demonstrate their power to the surrounding border states and India, and remove the threat of the *Dalai Lama* as a political figure, it accomplished just the opposite. Since the Fourteenth fled Tibet, the office of the *Dalai Lama* has exponentially grown in political influence, despite being removed from official political power. It was the Fourteenth's push for peace in the face of Chinese aggression that gained him international recognition.

But this dichotomy is exactly why the Fourteenth *Dalai Lama* has reached unprecedented levels of global influence (beyond globalization, technology, and social media). For example, Kolas states that "an important strategy in the struggle for support [was] the move towards democracy. The *Dalai Lama* initiated the democratization process soon after his arrival in India, with the first elections for the Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies". (1996)

The present Tibetan leader has repeatedly stated that the role of the *Dalai Lama* is determined by the will of his people. Therefore, changes in the roles associated with such a symbol as the office of the *Dalai Lama* would not necessarily preclude the symbol's apparent continuity and value as a national focus. (Klieger 1991) One reason for the shift towards democratization increasing Tibetan international influence is that one of the key components of Western government and their approval of modern political systems is the separation of church and state. (Kolas 1996) So, it is exactly this democratization process, the stepping out of political power, that has given the *Lama* increased global influence. The visibility of the *Dalai Lama* as a peaceful and democratic figure counteracts the notion that Tibet, as a mythical land, surely cannot exist in the modern age. (Klieger 1991)

The democratization of the Tibetan government in exile has allowed the office of the *Lama* to garner support by more effectively presenting its case for independence and Buddhist ethics to the West. (Kolas 1996) Although the first introductions of the ideological establishment and institution of the *Dalai Lama* to the West can be attributed the late Tibetan historian and statesman, Tsepon Shakabpa (1907-1989), through the formation of the strong central Tibetan government in 1967 (Klieger 1991), influence grew exponentially only in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

This is exemplified by the Fourteenth *Lama's* visiting influence in many nations as a foreign “spiritual leader”. His status as a spiritual leader allows for meetings with world leaders without the burden of political threat and power plays. For example, in 1979, when the *Dalai Lama* visited the Soviet Union and toured America for the first time, he was welcomed as a 'religious leader'. In this capacity he has met with a number of Christian religious leaders, including Pope John Paul II. During the *Dalai Lama's* first visit to America he was invited to speak at many churches as well as Buddhist centers, and was honored with the Doctor's degree by two Christian universities. (Kolas 1996) This is interesting because China's diplomatic strategy has always been to emphasize the religious role of the Dalai Lama, and persuade other governments to do the same. It is now clear that this has only positively affected the premises for much of the Fourteenth *Dalai Lama's* diplomacy. (Kolas 1996)

Furthermore, since the mid-1980s the *Dalai Lama* has been gaining recognition not only as a religious leader, but as the exiled political leader of Tibet. In June 1987 the United States House of Representatives passed an amendment denouncing Chinese human rights violations in Tibet. In addition, the *Dalai Lama* was invited to address the Human Rights Caucus of the United States Congress, where in September 1987 he presented his Five-Point Peace Plan. In 1988 the *Lama* was invited to speak at the European Parliament, where he restated and expanded on his Five-Point Peace Plan in what has been called the “Strasbourg Proposal”. Under these proposals, China would remain responsible for Tibet's foreign policy, while Tibet would be governed by its own constitution or basic law. (He and Sautman 2005)

One year later, in 1989, the Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to the *Dalai Lama* as religious and political leader of the Tibetan people. (Kolas 1996) Therefore, it was exactly the stepping down from official Tibetan political power that enabled the Fourteenth *Lama* to build international influence and come to be recognized as an international religious and political figure.

But it was not just a rhetoric of compassion and a peace plan that won the *Lama* his Nobel Peace Prize. He has been exceedingly effective in advancing his arguments about human rights and the rights of Tibetans. The Nobel Prize also recognized the Fourteenth as a global advocate for human rights and reinforced his status as world leader beyond his Tibetan nationality. (Singer 2003)

But just because the *Dalai Lama* is an international figure does not mean he ceases to be a Tibetan figure. He is still a leader of Tibetans, and as such he embodies and defines Tibet, Tibetans, and Tibetan culture for a wide audience. In addition, as the most prominent Buddhist figure, he has come to represent Buddhism in its many forms. (Singer 2003)

However, Tibetans are not as confident in the democracy as the Fourteenth is and many still view the *Dalai Lama* as their political leader as well – and his increased international influence has only solidified their faith in his ability and right to be the political head of Tibet. For example, photos of the *Dalai Lama* in company with Western political leaders have been on display in many temple altars, along with various “Free Tibet” items. Pocket-sized *Dalai Lama* photos are extremely popular, despite the fact that they have been periodically banned and are targets for confiscation. The *Dalai Lama* is gaining ground in Tibet as a political leader and a symbol. One young Lhasa monk stated that “the Chinese have Mao, we have the Dalai Lama”. (Kolas 1996)

Recently, this quote might be changed to “the Chinese have Mao, and the Dalai Lama”. As the Fourteenth *Lama* reaches his eighty-third year, more questions of his succession are brought up every day. Odds are slim that the tradition of finding a young Tibetan as the reincarnation of the passed *Lama* will be upheld. The Fourteenth has provided the untraditional options of naming the Fifteenth during his lifetime, that his soul will transfer to someone outside of Tibet, and most recently, that the line of *Dalai Lamas* may even end with him if it is the will of the Tibetan people. (Beech 2015) But China disagrees with all of the above. In 2015, the head of the influential ethnic-and-religious-affairs committee, Zhu Weiqun, stated that it is the responsibility of the Chinese government to determine the Fifteenth *Dalai Lama*. (Beech 2015) The Fourteenth *Dalai Lama* himself has stated that his biggest concern is that China will attempt to name his successor, while China says it must approve the next. (Baculinao and Cumming 2018) This is highly controversial among Tibetans, both in Tibet and in exile. They realize that if China names the successor, Tibetan Buddhism and culture in its most pure forms will most likely cease to exist.

China realizes that the pushback is strong and has been attempting to buy the support of the people of Tibet. For example, as government restrictions on Tibetan faith and culture have intensified over the past four years, more than 130 Tibetans have immolated themselves to protest Chinese rule in Tibet. In many cases, they have used their final words to express devotion to the *Dalai Lama*. In addition, the Tibetan exile community has disparaged the ruling Communist Party’s insistence on dictating the Dalai Lama’s afterlife. (Beech 2015)

Yet, while China skirts claims of human rights violations and the repression of Tibetans, it continues to boast the economic growth of Tibet. In fact, the economic growth of Tibet has surpassed China, and reached eleven percent in 2014. (Beech 2015) China is even making this bribery a personal one. In the summer of 2018, a rare Chinese government-organized visit to Tibet occurred and the plan was made to invest in infrastructure projects up to \$97 billion. This investment does not only cover traditional government works like highways, bridges, and airports, but also includes plans to protect Tibetan Buddhism’s holy sites. The officially atheist

country of China has already spent over \$450 million renovating Tibetan monasteries and other religious sites since the 1980's and has budgeted an additional \$290 million for the next five years. (Baculinao and Cumming 2018) China is showing exactly how much the power of the *Dalai Lama* is worth to them.

But the *Dalai Lama*'s increased international influence has only strengthened the belief that the Fourteenth *Dalai Lama*'s passing will sharply set back the Tibetan cause for independence. One pro-independence member of the Tibetan parliament-in-exile has stated that "[a]s long as he is alive, he will be the foremost motivating factor. After his passing away, for the next fifty years Tibetans will not be able to bring any sort of momentum for their struggle and the Tibetan issue will be lost". (He and Sautman 2005)

However, the Fourteenth *Dalai Lama* remains just as important in Tibet as he is internationally – if not more so. The *Dalai Lama* now represents a homeland and way of life that are no longer present, and comparable symbols do not exist in significant measure in any other form. Therefore, the perceived absoluteness of the *Dalai Lama* provides “a level of exclusive emotional security” to a people whose loss of homeland has been undoubtedly traumatic and without clear temporal limits. (Klieger 1991)

The institution of the *Dalai Lama* is one like no other. Its history, power, consistency, and fluidity cease to amaze no one. This is still a time of much change for the office as the Fourteenth continues to live on in exile, and it is difficult to tell what will happen to the institution once he passes. But if one thing is for certain it is that while he may wish to go quietly, Tibet and the world will share grief and mourning fit for a king.

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