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**Resisting from Below: A Critical Reading of Female Subaltern
Voices in Mahasweta Devi's Short Story *Giribala* and Baby Halder's
Autobiography *A Life Less Ordinary***

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Abstract

The socio-economic marginalization faced by the subaltern domestic worker woman is a unique position in which class, caste and gender intersect to create a multiply marginalized subject who is marked by a sense of precariousness experienced on a daily basis. In the short story "Giribala" written by the renowned writer and activist Mahasweta Devi, and in the autobiography *A Life Less Ordinary* by Baby Halder, the central female characters are subaltern women who fight against gender based and economic marginalization to develop an individual identity. This paper closely analyses the intersectional nature of the overlapping marginalizations faced by subaltern women like the fictional character Giribala and the real person Baby, to draw parallels in the challenges they face from their unique socio-economically subaltern position. This paper focuses on the power struggle of negotiating/creating a space for themselves by the women subjugated by the male-dominated social structures and enquires whether it is even a possibility for a woman belonging to the economically marginalized class.

Keywords: Mahasweta Devi, "Giribala", Baby Halder, *A Life Less Ordinary*, Third world women, class, feminism, subaltern, intersectionality.

Chandra Talpade Mohanty talks about how the 'third world women'- the real, material subjects of their collective histories are formed (in opposition to the western feminism's representation of the monolithic oppressed "average third world woman" (337)) not in an ahistorical space, but are "produced" (340) through their social relations as well as by being implicated in forming these relations.¹ Taking into consideration the heterogeneous social relations and economic marginalization that form the subjectivity of women in Mahasweta Devi's "Giribala", and the domestic worker Baby Halder's autobiography *A Life Less Ordinary*

¹ See Mohanty's "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses" pg. 333-337 for a wider understanding of "the average third world women" constructed in contrast to the self-representation of the educated Western woman.

(2008), Talpade's postulation stands true for the women, both the fictional characters in Devi's story as well as for the domestic worker Baby Halder. The subjects of these two powerful narratives are exposed to the hardships involved in the working life of a lower-class woman, and their struggle for finding space for thriving is unique in its socio-economic location. Striving to negotiate their way amidst a quagmire of hegemonic male relations and exploitative employers, both women, fictional and real, share the ethics of courage in the face of hardships that life has to offer; and resist the gendered status quo in their own social spaces despite all attempts by society to appropriate them in the hierarchical heterosexual relationship. This paper focuses on the power struggle of negotiating/creating a space for themselves by the women subjugated by the male-dominated social structures and enquires whether it is even a possibility for a woman belonging to the economically marginalized class.

Mahasweta Devi was a renowned Bengali writer and activist whose contribution to literature and society has been recognized by Sahitya Akademi as well by the Indian government as she is the recipient of prestigious civilian awards Padma Shri and Padma Vibhushan. Devi's strong activist background is reflected in the narrative of her short story "Giribala" in which the eponymous teenage protagonist belonging to the poor landless peasant class is married to an older man, Aullchand, an "absolute vagabond" (330), whose exploitative masculine hold over her life brings more trials in her already precarious life. As Nivedita Sen and Nikhil Yadav point out in the introduction of *Mahasweta Devi: An anthology of recent criticism*, the author's firsthand experience and familiarity with the tribes and peasants in areas like Palamau, Murshidabad, Medinipur and Purulia helped her to paint a realistic picture of their social exploitation, and the even more marginalized status of the peasant and subaltern women workers who are often further exposed to the threat of sexual violation as well.²

The writer graphically captures the plight of women embedded in the cultural consciousness of the community, by recording oral regional sayings like, "A girl's by fate discarded, lost if she's dead, lost if she's wed." (325) Giribala works at the Babu's house and dreams of owning a home for her family someday. But the patriarchal socio-economic structure in which she is situated denies even her subjectivity, "It had never struck anyone that Giribala might have a heart and mind of her own" (323). As the main breadwinner and economic agent of the family, Giribala's value lies in her economic and reproductive productivity, leaving no space for the development or expression of an individualistic subjectivity. When she gets a sterilization operation done after the birth of her fourth child, her husband abuses her for giving up her reproduction capacity which served to provide him with human resources to employ in the master's house, or worse, sell them (the daughters) in the prostitution racket. "Why did you have

² For more on Mahasweta's grassroots activism see Introduction *Mahasweta Devi: An Anthology of recent criticism*, ed. Nivedita Sen et al.

that operation, wife, the more daughters you produce, the more money you acquire” (339). Giribala is stuck in an exploitative matrix in her marriage, created by her husband in collusion with the girl- trafficking mediator Mohan, who orchestrates the marriage of Belarani and Paribala and sells them in the flesh-trade under the guise of marriage with ‘Bihar’ grooms who pay lucrative bride-price. As Sadhna Sharma points out, Mahasweta Devi “penned stories to render and reveal to our gaze the charade and duplicity of the democratic set-up in our country and to give a picture of the fates of the marginalized women experiencing and undergoing untold miseries within and without their own communities.”

The state, the community and the patriarchal family structure come together to exploit the lower-class woman; expected to be at the beck and call of the provider- patriarch, subservient to the employer master and unable to approach the often gender-biased and pro rich police system. When Giribala who embodies this marginalized position seeks justice for her abducted daughters through the legal system,

The Babu explains to Giri’s father, Thana-police is lots of trouble, very expensive too. The damage is done...All this talk of marriage is just a front for girl-trafficking. The racket’s in full swing all over Murshidabad. ... A few crisp notes are enough to make the beggars lose their heads. The police won’t touch a case that’s full of holes (331).

The landless man’s quest for having a home of his own leads him to commodifying the female body, firstly his wife has to produce ‘working’ children, and then selling the daughters under the guise of marriage to men from far off lands. Giribala, a fictional but all too real character is intuitive enough to realize that in the male-dominated family structure where her womb becomes a source of production, and her children, especially girls, are commodified for ‘profit’, she will never be able to achieve any space for safe existence, either for herself, or her children.³

The patriarchal anxieties of even the male well wishers are apparent in Bangshi Dhamali’s reservations about the prospect of schooling for Giribala’s children. The ‘products’ of the womb of a subaltern woman existing on the periphery of economic structures are automatically assigned the role of a worker in an exploitative economy, an easy prey to social deprivation and sexual violation.

³ “Even the daughters can yield so much profit, see how much money I got...” “Giribala” 332

Giribala's particular socio-economic position extends Beauvoir's argument of marriage being the 'destiny' traditionally offered to women by a patriarchal society.⁴ In her landless, tribal domestic worker position, where subsistence itself is under doubt, the constant refrain is, "A woman's by fate discarded, lost if she's wed, lost if she's dead" (332). For a triply marginalized tribal woman like Giribala; subject to economic, caste and gender bias; being wed is equivalent to being dead for her life is discarded by the 'fate'. As Aullchand replies to Giribala while discussing their daughter's marriage, "A daughter means a female slave for someone else's house, after all" (327).

Feminists since the time of nineteenth century German Marxist feminist Clara Zetkins have understood the fissures of class that divides a collective questioning of patriarchy by the monolithic oppressed 'woman'.⁵ The upper-class mistress lends only a few morsels in charity or pragmatic 'wise' advice that the daughter is father's "property" (332) and hence, Giribala should give up resistance. Despite her drunkard husband's ruthless and inhumane act of selling their daughters, when Giribala decides to break away from her 'fate' based on her gender role in her class position, she faces collective censure by the male-dominated society. "Everyone is convinced that it's not Aullchand but Giribala who's at fault. An indescribable relief fills them, all of them, when they reach this conclusion" (340). The woman's disruption of the hegemonic patriarchy is immediately vilified and her break away from family structure leads her to ostracization by the society within which the patriarchal family works. Armed with no education to become a skilled worker, Giribala moves towards the city leaving behind her wastrel husband and her saddest thoughts are that she wished she had done it earlier. An innate sense of raw rebellion marks this fictional narrative, and it is one of the major factors which connects it to real-life domestic worker Baby Halder's autobiography, *A Life Less Ordinary* (2006). Facing exploitative husbands, brief childhoods, challenging motherhood, and status as a domestic worker, the fictional Giribala and real Baby are more alike than different.

Baby Halder's autobiography, originally written in Bengali and published as *Aalo Andhari (From Darkness to Light)* in 2002 was a result of her resilience in the face of patriarchal abuse and silencing which she had escaped when she fled to Delhi and started working as a maid in urban houses. Her chance meeting with Prabodh Kumar, the grandson of Munshi Premchand, who noticed her interest in books and encouraged her to write her story in Bengali, was a turning point in the life of Halder. Written in a matter-of-fact tone which describes the everyday violence and lived experience of precarity, Halder's autobiography became a significant intervention in literary spaces in which the subaltern woman's voice was not prominently visible. Urvashi

⁴ For Beauvoir's Idea of The Married Woman see "The Second Sex", Part V, Ch-1.

⁵ Zetkins, the famous German socialist who brought social issues forward in association to the woman's question. For more see Chapter 1 of her "Selected Writings" New York:International Publisher,1984. Print.

Butalia points out in the foreword of English translation of *Aalo Aandhari* or *A Life Less Ordinary*, “Abandoned as a young child by her mother, married off by an uncaring father to a man fourteen years her senior when she was barely thirteen, a mother by the time she became fourteen, trapped in a violent marriage, Baby’s story is not unique” (v). Baby’s quest after and the desire to “read and write” (v) gives her the means to express herself, unlike Giribala. As Butalia points out, the problem in bringing forth the narratives of the women at the margins of economic class is that they are “largely invisible”, moreover, many have not had the “privilege of an education”, and thus, even though they may have strong feelings about issues, they may not be able to give “literary expression” (viii) to them. Baby’s education, however inadequate or intermittent, gives her the means to express her life story and give words to the silent maid, the invisible ‘subaltern’ who exists in the shadows of the privileges denied to them.

Baby’s autobiography covers almost three decades of her life narrating a disturbing amount of psychological, physical and sexual violence, control over her spatial movements by hegemonic male figures like father/brother/ husband, and a normalized and naturalized state of subordination for women in a patriarchal world. Facing marital rape at the age of fourteen, Baby is unaware of her legal rights and the illegitimacy of either child marriage or child labor until she meets her Samaritan employer, Probudh Kumar.⁶ Understanding the material and spatial politics of where she has to live is important to understand her problems, unique to her socio-economic position. Born in Kashmir and later living in Murshidabad, she moves to a dingy neighborhood in Durgapur when she gets married to Shankar. Unable to afford a well-equipped house, she shares the bathroom at her neighbor Sandhya’s house in a sort of communal arrangement. Scarcity of economic resources leads to all the community members pooling in money for renting movies, but this communal openness leaves her more vulnerable to the gaze of passersby and sexual predators like Ajit. It is not the predator, but the woman who is vilified in such a situation and her husband imposes multiple restrictions on her mobility and finances. However, Baby’s innate sense of rebellion and questioning makes her intervene in these restricting practices, for instance, when she saves raw rice and tries to sell it back to her husband, or when she starts taking tuitions or working as a domestic worker for financial independence.

The patriarchal anxiety to establish control over a woman’s sexuality leads to multiple restrictions on her movement and behavior in the public sphere. Even women internalize the patriarchal anxiety to control another woman’s sexuality as visible in the behavior of Baby’s stepmother who suspects an ‘abnormal relationship’ between father- daughter because she saw Baby consoling her father once. Thus, patriarchy is exposed as a socio-cultural ideological structure which sustains inequality between the sexes and can be sustained by both male and female subjects. Similarly, the resistance to the patriarchal ideology can also emerge from male

⁶ Baby narrates her marital rape as, “I just endured everything ”pp.39.

subjects like Prabodh Kumar, the latter employer of Baby, who will equip her with the means to gain control over her own narrative.

However, the spirit of resistance had always been there in Baby, as seen in the incident where she ruptures the hypocrisy of patriarchal society which stigmatizes Shashti, her neighbor because she has male visitors and does not live with her husband, but the man who visits her faces no such stereotypes. In an act of asserting her individuality, Baby insists on keeping her social relationship alive with her childhood male friend Dulal, and despite her husband's violent outbreaks, does not stop visiting her friends. The woman who has once faced sexual violation in her marriage becomes a go between the two lovers, and develops an almost veiled sense of sexuality, by refusing to accept patriarchal notions of being a desire less object of subjugation. Baby questions the paternalistic behavior of her husband "What do you give me...other than a few morsels to eat? Do you think I have no desires at all in my life?" (Halder 53)

The theme of state and judicial injustice towards the marginalized is reiterated in Halder's real life narrative. No case is lodged against her elder sister's husband, who strangled her to death; and there is a narration of a wife- burning incident in Halder's neighborhood in Durgapur, in which the husband goes scot free. There is no intervention from local police to stop the rampant domestic violence or the practice of child marriage. It becomes ironic when the doctor asks a fourteen-year-old Baby giving birth alone in the hospital, "Why did you choose to have a child so young?" (61). Her dependent and deprived position in a male-dominated set up leaves her with no material choices to make, let alone personal and psychological.

The narrative of the 'invisible' women that inhabit Baby's autobiography, and the seemingly endless struggle against patriarchy from her marginalized position on the basis of her gender, as well as her socio-economic position is reminiscent of Sharmila Rege's concept of 'testimonios', in the sense that the life narratives of the marginalized are distinguished from the bourgeois- individualist notions of autobiography, as their stories are not simply the journey of an individual consciousness. Instead, much like the Dalit narratives that are self-consciously representative of the years of exploitation they have faced as a group, Baby's narrative is also reflective, a 'testimonio' of thousands of 'invisible' and silent domestic workers who are never able to give a 'literary expression' to their life narratives because of their under privileged status.

As defined in Rege's *Writing Caste/Writing Gender: Reading Dalit Women's Testimonios*:

A testimonio is a narrative in book or pamphlet form, told in the first person by a narrator who is also the real protagonist or witness of the events he or she recounts and whose unit of narration is usually a 'life' or significant life

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experience. In a testimonio, the intention is not one of literariness but of communicating the situation of a group's oppression, imprisonment and struggle.⁷

Baby's story, as Urvashi Butalia points out in her introduction, is "not unique" (v). It is the story of thousands of silent women, the domestic workers whose real life and its material conditions play out in a different space than the one they work in. Baby's search for work in the metropolitan NCR led her to experience the spatial politics of a new city, living in intersectional slums, she worked for exploitative employers where there was no space for her children to have a safe and nurturing atmosphere. As a single mother, she is constantly harangued by the son of her landlord in the workers' settlement and denied work opportunities because of the absence of her husband. It is her fortunate encounter with the kind Samaritan, Premchand's grandson Probudh Kumar who gave her a "pen and notebook" (Halder 153), and a psychologically nourishing and motivating environment for both her children and herself, grooming the writer in her which led to the writing of her life narrative. Even though it is through the tools provided by the superior intellectual, the 'subaltern' does speak in her narrative, and is widely heard.⁸

Mary E. John points out, "Baby Haldar, acutely conscious of the exploitative nature of paid domestic work, ends her story with all the excitement of seeing her book in print. Does such work become less exploitative when the employer has helped make you a writer?" (205)

It is not pragmatic to imagine that every Giribala or Baby Haldar that breaks away from her exploitative marriage to find work in the city is able to carve a niche of safe environment for herself like Haldar does. It was her education and sheer luck that helped her survive the hegemonic structures that wanted to appropriate her into a submissive role in a heterosexual relationship. The question of gender equality for women based on the margins on socio-economic structures, and their specific intersectional positionality in relation to the feminist project in India is an internal critique of bourgeois society in the midst of which many Giribalas and Baby Halders still exist.

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⁷ Qtd. In Rege pg. 13. Rege cites 'Testimonio' from Beverley, John, 1992 "The Margin at the Center: On 'Testimonio'". Smith and Watson ed., *De/Colonizing the Subject: The Politics of Gender in Women's Autobiography*.

⁸ Phrase usage inspired by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's "Can the Subaltern Speak?"

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Teaching Listening in the Korean Language Classroom in India

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1. Introduction

Listening is one of the most basic language skills. This is the first language activity that human beings are exposed to after being born, even before being born. It is an accepted fact that listening contributes the most to the learning of L1. Speaking comes only much later, writing and reading even more lately. Speaking, itself, does not constitute communication unless what is being said is understood by another person (Rivers, 1966). Research says that out of our total communication time an average of 45% is spent listening compared to 30% speaking, 16% reading and 9% writing. (Adler, R. et al. 2001). But when it comes to second or foreign language teaching, listening gets the least attention among the 4 language skills (reading, writing, and speaking being the other 3 skills). Until 1970s listening was considered a passive skill and it was assumed that language learner would learn it by ‘osmosis’ (a term coined by Mendelsohn (1984)) without any assistance from teachers.

In the 1970s listening started getting attention of researchers as an important aspect of language learning. The Communicative language teaching approaches and Comprehensible Input Hypothesis (Krashen, 1982) gave research on listening a boost. After 2 decades of research, listening, now, has been recognized as a critical component of language learning and teaching but there is a still a huge gap between theory and practice in the classroom and much work remains to be done. (Morley, 2001)

The goal of most of Korean language learners is to be able (i) to get job in a Korean company or in the Korean process of an MNC, (ii) to go to a Korean university for higher studies or research, (iii) to successfully communicate with native speakers and (iv) to be able to enjoy Korean literature, movies, drama, and music by comprehending them. None of these goals is possible to reach without good listening skills in Korean language. One of the biggest challenges to foreigner employees doing Korean translation and interpretation jobs is to be able to understand what their Korean colleagues, boss or clients are speaking. Similarly for foreigner students studying in Korean universities, one of the biggest obstacles in pursuing their study or research is to understand the lectures or professors’ instructions. But listening occupies the least amount of space in our Korean language textbooks and curricula. Listening has been one of the less researched fields of Korean language education. This paper aims to

study what makes listening a difficult and complex task for foreigner learners of Korean language and what can be done in the classroom to overcome those obstacles.

2. The Process of Listening

Until a few decades back listening was considered a passive skill and just exposure to spoken language was supposed to be sufficient for the learners to develop their listening skills. Reading and listening both were seen under the bigger umbrella of Comprehension skills and most of the research assumed that the same comprehension theories, approaches, and strategies could be applied to both reading and listening. Though now researchers recognize that listening needs a totally different set of skills, as it is different in nature from reading. (Long, 1989) Apart from all the other factors of reading, listening also involves the sound factor and unlike reading it happens in real time, making it more difficult and complex. Moreover, written and spoken languages have differences in terms of syntax, semantics, and pragmatics. Therefore, we need to have different approaches towards teaching reading and listening.

Listening in a foreign language is a complex process which involves (i) using information from phonetic, phonological, prosodic, lexical, syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic sources at the same time (Osada, 2004), (ii) storing the message in short term memory while trying to understand its components (Rubin, 1995) and (iii) using cues from contextual information as well as existing knowledge (O'Malley, Chamot and Kupper, 1989). There have been two approaches to look at listening from a processing and pedagogical point of view - Bottom-up processing and Top-down processing.

Bottom-up processing involves understanding the individual units of the message (e.g., phonemes, words, clauses, sentences etc.) and combining them to understand the complete meaning of the message. Anderson and Lynch term this model 'listener as tape recorder' view of listening because in this model the message is stored and processed by the listener in the sequence it is received, the same as a tape recorder. On the other hand, in the Top-bottom processing model, the listener, instead of decoding lexical, phonetic, and syntactic units of the message, uses the cues from context and his existing background knowledge to understand the meaning (Richards, 1990). A good listener makes effective use of both Top-down and Bottom-up processing methods while the inefficient listeners are stuck finding the meaning of every single word (O'Malley et. al, 1989).

The Top-down approach of listening is closely related to Schema theory. The basic point of the Schema theory is that a written text or spoken message contains no meaning in itself but it is the listeners' existing background knowledge (schemata) that adds meaning to it. If the schemata of the speaker and listener are different it is possible for the listener to misunderstand the meaning. (Chiang & Dunkel, 1992) According to Nunan (1999), if listener is unable to activate appropriate schemata in a situation, communicating successfully

in a foreign language can be difficult. Therefore, language learners should be explicitly taught to use appropriate schemata when listening in a foreign language.

3. What Makes Korean Listening Difficult?

Even after years of direct instruction in Korean language, why do learners find it difficult to comprehend spoken language in real life situation, like when listening to a lecture or a news broadcast. Sometimes even the simple Korean sentences spoken by native speakers are difficult to understand. If those sentences are given to the listener in written form, he would have no difficulty in understanding them but when spoken they are difficult to comprehend. So obviously, lack of grammar and vocabulary information is not the only reason that makes the listening difficult. After talking with a number of Korean language learners, I found that the main reason why they find listening challenging even after learning Korean in a classroom for years is that listening in real life is much different from Korean listening practice that they are exposed to in the classroom. So, even after listening to Korean language for months and years in the classroom, when they come to the real world, they find Korean language utterances quite unfamiliar and unrecognizable. Following are the main factors that make real-life Korean listening different from classroom listening: -

- I. **Real-time** - Unlike the listening activities in Korean classroom, in real-life situation learners get only one attempt at understanding the utterance. There are no multiple playbacks nor are there ‘pauses’ and ‘going backs.’ This puts an extra load of processing on the learner. However, they can always ask the speaker to repeat but that is not always practically possible, especially in situations like - listening to university lecture, doing a simultaneous interpretation job.
- II. **Speed** - Korean language teachers are trained to adjust their speed of speaking according to the listening ability of the learners. They also put extra effort to maintain a constant speed of utterance when teaching a particular class. Even the listening tapes used in the classrooms are recorded in professional and controlled environment and have a constant speed adjusted to the language level of the learners. It makes the lesson more comprehensible, and learners feel confident. But in real-life, many times the speakers may have no prior information about the listener’s Korean language level or may not be able to assess it as a teacher would and thus, they may speak at a speed, which is too fast for the listener.
- III. **Pronunciation, Accent and Tone** - The Korean language audio material, used in the classroom for listening activities and exercises, are generally recorded by professional voice-over artists, in soundproof studios. Their audio contents have clear and correct pronunciation, a standard accent, and a constant tone, which makes them easier to understand. In real life, people may have different pronunciations, sometimes even wrong, diverse accents and tones depending on their background, age, or gender. These diversities make Korean listening more difficult for foreigner learners. In the Korean

language institutes, the same teachers teach a particular batch of students for long periods. This makes the learners familiar with the pronunciation, accent, tone and speaking style of their teachers and they are able to understand them without any problem. But when they communicate with native speakers in real-life outside the classroom, even the simple sentences may sound ‘foreign’ to them because they are outside their ‘familiar listening zone.’

IV. Colloquial - The language that teachers speak in the Korean language classroom and the language of the recorded audio content is generally a standardized formal language, which is closer to the written form of language. While in the real-life communication, people may use colloquial language. They may use a different set of expressions and vocabulary and drop important elements like particles. These changes put a lot of stress on the listener.

V. Authentic - The language used in listening activities in the Korean language classroom is generally not authentic. Most of the times, the content is made up to match the level of the class and for the purpose of practicing the grammar and vocabulary being learned. So sometimes, the students are not concerned about the complete meaning of the content. They are rather focused on finding the answers to the questions in it. One more thing worth noticing here is that many of the listening activities in the classroom are not participatory; the student is just a passive listener and is supposed to answer the questions ‘based’ on the content. However, in real-life communication, learners are supposed to comprehend the spoken message and respond immediately in a meaningful way. This expectation makes the listener extra self-conscious and anxious which in turn makes the listening process more difficult.

VI. Grammar & Vocabulary - In the classroom, learners are exposed to a controlled set of grammar and vocabulary. They are almost sure that the teachers’ utterance or recorded content will not contain lexical and syntactic elements that they are not even remotely aware of. And even it does, they can always raise their hand and get an explanation. In real life, people have no way to ascertain exactly what grammar patterns and vocabulary you know. Many people are not very good at ‘Foreigner Talk¹.’ So many times, the spoken message contains grammar and vocabulary that listeners don’t know, and this makes listening to such content (e.g. news, movies) tedious and communication (in case it’s a conversation) difficult.

¹ Foreigner Talk is a term in linguistics and language teaching for the conventionalized and simplified kind of language used by many native speakers with foreigners. It has a simple or non-existent morphology, more or less fixed word order and simple syntax. (Tom McArthur, 1998, *Concise Oxford companion to the English language*)

VII. Intrinsic Factors - Apart from all these external factors there are some intrinsic factors- like anxiety, self-confidence, social situation, comfort level with the speaker - that affect the listening comprehension ability of the Korean learners. Since they are not exposed to a different set of situations with different people in oral communication classrooms, they may find themselves nervous sometimes in real-life situations.

4. Need of an Improved Approach

Based on the discussion above, it can be said that there is a need of an improved approach to teaching listening in Korean language classroom. The aim of the new approach should be to bridge the gap between listening in the classroom and that in real life situations, to the best extent possible while keeping the teaching methods learner-centered. Following are some suggestions that I want to make for a new improved and efficient Korean listening education.

A. Taking Teaching of Listening Seriously - First and foremost, we need to realize that we need to devote as much time and effort on teaching listening as we do on teaching speaking, reading, and writing. We need to include more listening activities in our daily classroom activities. If possible, we should consider having dedicated classes for Korean listening. This is especially required when learners are learning Korean outside Korea and have very limited opportunity to listen to Korean language. Authentic listening material can be picked from Korean movies, drama, interesting TV shows, news broadcast, podcasts etc. and can be used in the classroom.

B. Instructional Material Development for Listening

There is an acute shortage of authentic listening instructional content, especially for intermediate and advanced level of Korean language learners. There is a dire need for Korean language researchers and educators to put some effort to develop authentic Korean listening content tailored to different language levels, to be used as teaching material in the classroom and also as self-study material by learners. When developing content for Korean listening it should be made sure that the topics are from real-life situations and the voices are from people of different backgrounds, ages, and genders. The need of diversity in listening content cannot be emphasized enough. The audio material should be as close to real life as possible. For example, if it is a dialogue between a shopkeeper and customer then recording should have some natural background noise of market; the voice over artists should ‘act’ like shopkeeper and customers to bring the ‘real feel’ to the content. The speed, pronunciation, accents, and intonations in the audio should be kept as diverse and close to reality as possible. Developing such authentic content is a time-consuming and expensive effort but seeing the prospective results, I think, it is worth it.

C. Learner-Centered Approach

The learners should not be restricted to just listen to the audio and answer multiple-choice questions based on that. They should rather be made active participants in the activity.

Discussion and question-answer sessions can be a part of listening activity in the classroom. If some extra efforts are put, in this age of the technology, it should not be difficult to develop interactive listening activities that can be accessed through web or mobile apps. Learners can also be promoted to make recordings and submit them as homework. It will create a huge database of audio content, which cannot only be used for research purposes but also as teaching materials.

5. Teaching Listening Strategies

Korean language learners generally try to understand each and everything that is being said, which is not an efficient way of listening. Learners should be explicitly taught how to listen using appropriate set of listening strategies, some of which are as following:

- Listening for the main idea
- Guessing the meaning
- Drawing inferences
- Looking for non-verbal cues
- Listening for keywords and specific details
- Clarifying

Different activities can be designed to teach the Korean language learners each of these listening strategies.

6. Pre and Post Listening Activities

Research has proved that pre and post listening activities help improve the listening comprehension of the learners. Schema building activities preceding the listening activity can not only enhance the understanding of the content but also make the learners realize how they can activate proper schemata to improve comprehension in different situations. As schema building activities teacher can start some small talk about the topic of the content, can give some background information or ask some questions beforehand. Similarly post listening activities like discussion, question-answer and debate can help improve students' ability to store spoken content in short-term memory, process it efficiently and retain as schemata for future.

7. Conclusion

In the last few decades, listening has been recognized as one of the crucial language skills and there has been significant increase in research on teaching listening in a foreign language classroom. This paper briefly discussed the theories of foreign language listening and analyzed the factors that make listening in real-life situations difficult for Korean language learners. The main reason why Korean language learners find listening comprehension challenging even after years of direct language instruction is that there are significant gaps between the listening activities in the classroom and those in real life situations. Speed, pronunciation, accent, tone, colloquialism, authenticity, and grammar &

vocabulary used are some of the major factors that distinguish listening inside the classroom from that on the outside. The paper also presented some suggestions to improve the pedagogy of Korean listening in a foreign classroom setting. There is a need of an improved approach to teach listening comprehension to Korean language learners. This is high time that Korean language researchers and educators take listening seriously and develop authentic instructional listening material. The teachers need to implement learner-centered approach in the listening classroom and listening strategies should be taught explicitly to the learners. There is also a need to incorporate pre and post learning activities. Implementing these methods efficiently and effectively will not only enhance the listening comprehension skills of Korean language learners but also their overall Korean language skills.

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Trend and Tendencies of Lexicographical Study in Assam

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Abstract

Lexicographical Studies is a new intellectual thought that has been developed all over the world in the second half of the 20th Century. This thinking that started in different countries of the world with a view to the art of dictionary formulation has also reached a wide range covering the theoretical aspects of Lexicography in the last seventy years. We discuss in this research paper how Lexicographical study has evolved and what direction it covers in Assam, especially in Assamese Language.

Keywords: Assamese Language, Lexicography, Lexicographical study

1. Introduction

Lexicography is an independent academic discipline with theoretical and practical branches where practical branches monitor the vocabulary prevailing in one or more languages. The collection, selection and alphabet compilation cover the techniques of their stimulus, derivation, word recognition and sampling of the application of proper description and meaning. The theoretical section covers the structural aspects and meanings of the terminology contained in a dictionary. Time-wise discussion of the different forms of words, variation in meaning according to form, as well as the theory structure required for their description and analysis, history of Lexicography, the dictionary situation and market research, examination, and development of dictionary use theories etc., are also covered in other parts. On the whole, it indicates the linguistic and technical aspects of the dictionary formulation of a language. Lexicography covers both the process or practical aspects of dictionary preparation and the theoretical aspects of the dictionary. Scholars have therefore recognized it as an independent science. Targeting the process of dictionary preparation on the practical Lexicography section is discussed. Similarly, the theoretical Lexicography has developed based on research about dictionaries. Both these sections cover various aspects. Systematic studies of Lexicography are called Lexicographical Study.

Research on dictionaries has also gained a huge scope in India. In this context, several study centres and research institutes were established at different times to conduct systematic and careful study in India, such as, ‘An Encyclopedic Dictionary of Sanskrit on Historical Principle’ in Pune, ‘Tamil Lexicon on Historical Principle’ in Annamalai University, Centre of Advance Studies in Linguistics in Pune University, Central Institute of Indian Languages in Mysore, etc. These institutions open the way for Lexicographical studies in all India backgrounds.

If we look at the context of Assam, then we can see that the Lexicographical study is still at an early stage in Assam. There has not been an initial systematic study in Assamese language, especially in terms of the origin, evolution, and current status of the theoretical aspect of Lexicography. However, Ph.D. dissertations have touched this aspect to some extent.

This research paper attempts to determine the outline of lexicographical studies in Assam by dividing the content as a Specialist review and a Journalistic review to facilitate discussion. Through it, we will be able to know which aspects the Assamese dictionary reviews have covered till date of Lexicography and what has not been covered yet.

2. Main Discussion

2.1 Lexicographical Study in Assamese in the 2nd half of the 20th Century

In the context of the whole world, the theoretical side under lexicographical study has been spread and developed since the eighties of the 20th Century. In parallel with that a tendency to Lexicographical studies was also developed in Assam with the effort of Assamese Scholars. The books and articles on dictionaries written in Assamese during this period were particularly focused on the background of the compilation of the published Assamese dictionaries, the principles of preparing dictionaries, similarity, and difference between two or more dictionaries, etc. So, in fact, they did not have the theoretical impact at all. Now we will discuss the books and articles published during this period. Till date a total of three individual and edited books related to dictionaries have been found in Assamese language.

2.1.1 Atul Chandra Barua’s *Asamiya Abhidhan Aru Bhasha* (1977) is the first book written about dictionaries in Assamese language. Out of the total of twelve articles contained in the book, five are related to Assamese dictionary and the remaining seven are related to Assamese Language. The aspects covered by the dictionary reviews discussed in the article are as follows:

1. Background and Tradition of dictionary related study in Assam.
2. Some technical aspect of dictionary preparation (e.g., Lemma selection, inclusion of entry, alphabetical order, etc.)

3. Discussion about the background, data collection, alphabetical order, Grammatical information, meaning, orthography and etymology of miles Bronson's dictionary titled A Dictionary in Assamese and English (1867)

4. Purpose of compilation of 'Dictionary in Assamese and English', 'Hemkosh', and 'Chandrakanta Abhidhan' and their reviews, etc.

1.1.2 Abhidhan Prasanga (1986) is the second book on dictionaries edited by Dr. Satyendra Narayan Goswami. The aspects discussed in the book include typology of various dictionaries with an introductory note for every dictionary. It also discussed specific types of dictionaries published in Assamese language till then. Other topics in the book include the compilation policy of Hemkosh and Bronson's dictionary, various subject matter of entry, orthography of Assamese language, problems of orthography and the need to remove them. etc.

1.1.3 Abhidhan tatva Basant Kumar Goswami has written the third book on dictionaries published during this period. The title of the book is Abhidhan tatva (1997). It is the last theoretical book on dictionaries of the 20th century. The topics of discussion in this book include a short account of tradition, growth and development of dictionary, contrast between Hemkosh and Chandrakanta Abhidhan, definition of Lexicography, relation between Lexicography and linguistics, Problems of dictionary compilation, various stages of dictionary compilation, etc.

The three books discussed above touch upon several aspects of theoretical Lexicography. (E.g., History of Lexicography, a general theory of Lexicography, criticism of dictionary, etc.). However, the history of lexicography was limited to discussing the history of dictionary compilation, not given the history of the theoretical side that was equally advanced.

From the structural point of view, only the discussion of microstructure has taken a turn for the most. In terms of dictionary criticism- Bronson's dictionary, Hemkosh and Chandrakant dictionary discuss the background of the three dictionaries, the purpose of the compilation, the principle of compilation etc. Similarly, relatively special emphasis has been laid on these issues: contrast of Entry structure and the spelling of Hemkosh and Chandrakanta dictionaries in and undisciplined use of spelling of Chandrakanta Abhidhan.

1.1.4 Since the nineties of the 20th century, various articles related to dictionaries have been found in magazines and many books on languages. Some of the articles about dictionaries published during this period are 'Asamiya Abhidhan keikhanar Pranayan reeti' by Maheshwar Neog, 'Eta Satabdir Asamiya Abhidhan', and 'Ardho Satabdit Asamiya Abhidhan' by Basants kr. Goswami. The elements reflected in these articles include Analysis of historical context and structural aspects from Bronson's dictionary to Chandrakanta dictionary, Orthographical mismatch from 'BOR AMRO' and 'LOTI AMRO' to Chandrakanta dictionary, historical value judgment efforts of

Bronson's dictionary, hemkosh and chandrakanta dictionary. In addition, problems arose in the Classification of Assamese dictionaries due to lack of specific objectives, variations in the policy of setting up Meaning, Problems arising in terms of entry insertion of dictionaries (e.g. etymology instruction problems, pronunciation instruction problems, limitations of grammatical instructions, etc.). From a theoretical perspective, the articles written in the second half of the 20th century have partially covered the two study areas, especially dictionary history and dictionary criticism. This is not an imitation of western theory. Historical context discussions from 'Bor Amro' (1795) to 'Chandrakanta Abhidhan' (1933) belong to History of Lexicography. On the other hand, comparative studies conducted between different subjects of entry in different dictionaries, studies on classification of dictionaries are under dictionary criticism.

1.1.5 Basanta kr. Goswami's Theory of Assamese Dictionary (1995) is the first and only thesis of Assamese language which is related to the dictionary. published in the 20th century. The topics discussed in this thesis include the collection of information, review of the rules for entry inclusion from Bronson's dictionary to the Chandrakanta Abhidhan, elements required to increase the usability of a dictionary, etc.

1.2 Lexicographical Study in Assamese Language in the 21st Century

1.2.1 First Decade

In the first decade of 21st century, three books on dictionaries were published in Assamese. Those are - Abhidhan Tatva (2003) edited by Prof. Arpana Konwar, Asamiya Jatiya Abhidhan Pakshyo-Bipokshyo (2010) edited by Lakshminath Tamuli and Abhidhan Tatva (2019) edited by Arpana Konwar. A large number of articles have also been written in various magazines and edited books in this decade. Some of those notable articles are as follows: 'Chandrakanta Abhidhanar Utkorsho Sadhan Aru Kisu Prasangik Chinta' (Prantik, 2001), 'Abhidhan Pranayanar DikDarshan' (Bartapokhili, 2002), 'Asamiya Bhashar Abhidhan Sarchar Itihas' (Gariyoshi, 2009), etc.

The aspects that have come up for discussions about the history of Lexicography under theoretical Lexicography in this decade include Historical outline of Indian dictionary Compilation, A superficial review of dictionaries published from Bor Amro (1795) to Asamiya Jatiya Abhidhan (2010). It should be noted that in the Assamese dictionary related books published during this period, Lexicography has adopted the traditional view of Applied Linguistics. Needless to say, after the subtle research of western scholars, the idea is over that Lexicography belongs to applied linguistics. Instead, it has been established as an independent discipline.

The book 'Asamiya Jatiya Abhidhan Pakshyo-Bipokshyo (2010) mentioned above is related to dictionary criticism. Various articles in the book discussed the weakness of the 'Asamiya Jatiya Abhidhan' (2010). Some of these are:

Despite not being used in Assamese Language, Mistakes of Data Collection, English and other foreign language words are used as Headword. Criticism include unnecessary inclusion of words, criticism against spelling, various errors in the delivery of meaning of the Head words (Such as inconsistent examples, use of unqualified illustrations, data confusion, etc.). Overall, these have been severely criticized in various directions.

1.2.2 Second Decade

In the second decade of the 21st century, a book (Abhidhan tattva 2019) was published on the theoretical side of the Lexicography and also many articles were published in magazines and research journals. Similarly, special contributions have been made from the field of research. Two Theses and four Dissertations have been published in this decade.

Let us first describe the context of the book. The title of the book is Abhidhan tattva (2019). Here are the topics included: Definition of Lexicography, use of various technique of Dictionary making, dictionary typology, use of punctuation in dictionaries, outline of dictionary compiling tradition in Assamese (from BOR AMRO to electronic dictionaries of 21st Century.)

1.2.2.1 Articles of this decade tried to complete history of Assamese dictionaries. Devabrata Sharma's Article - 'Asamiya Abhidhan Pranayan Paramparar Asampurno Itihas' is notable in this regard. Moreover, Jyotirekha Hazarika has written about the spelling of Assamese dictionary in the journal Gariyoshi (2011), Abhijit Borah reflects a brief history of Lexicographical study with the title 'Abhidhan tattva aru Asamiya Abhidhanar sarsa' in the 'PRANTA:SWOR' research journal, In Dogorangsang research journal, Bornali Saikia has discussed the nature of the dictionary with the title of 'Adhunik Asamiya Abhidhanar Prakiti Bisar.

In this decade, a notable research paper by Prof. Subasana Mahanta was published that indicates another study area (Research on dictionary use) of Lexicography. The title of the research paper is 'Samprotik Asamiya Samajat Abhidhanar Byobohar: Byoboharkarir Monuvongi' (2015). It was published in the ANVIKSHA Journal from the Department of Assamese Dibrugarh University. A survey was conducted by 29 students through a questionnaire and Interview to collect information from 274 dictionary users. The research paper was prepared on the basis of the collected data. The information sought to be found through the survey is as follows:

1. What is the user's attitude towards the prevailing dictionaries?
2. Have existing dictionaries been able to overcome all user requirements?
3. What kind of dictionary does the user want in the future? etc.

This is the first research paper in Assamese language regarding the attitude of Assamese dictionary users.

1.2.2.2 In this decade, two theses on dictionaries have been completed. The first thesis is Asamiya Abhidhanar Dersho Basar aru Adhunik Abhidhan Pranetar Sanmukhat Pratyahban (2011) submitted by Karabi Gogoi, under guidance of Prof. Subasana Mahanta. The Thesis contains the history of dictionary compilation till the 21st century, Dictionary typology and classification of Assamese dictionaries, Structural analysis of six general Assamese dictionaries published between the 19th to 21st centuries, Also, some issues of dictionary compilation have been discussed. This Thesis covers both History of Lexicography and General theory of Lexicography areas under the metalexigraphy. However, the scholar does not mention about Metalexigraphy anywhere in the research work.

The other one is Abhidhan Tattva' Byoboharik aru Tattvik Dishar Adharat submitted by Abhijit Borah (2015). There are several aspects that have been manifested in this Thesis as well. Judging from the point of view of theory, this Thesis provides a brief understanding of the Theoretical Lexicography but does not offer an explanation of the study areas under it. It also analysed a total of ten selected dictionary structures from Bronson's dictionary to the 21st century electronic software dictionary. While analyzing all the dictionaries, they are discussed in three categories as micro structures, macro structures and megastructures.

1.2.2.3 Some M.Phil. Dissertations in Dictionary have been completed in this decade. They mainly reflect the comparative aspect. Parimita Borah has submitted a Dissertation entitled Abhidhantattva'r Adharat Hemkosh Aru Adhunik Asamiya Abhidhanar Tulonamulok Adhyayan which provides a comparative discussion of the structural aspects of the two dictionaries. Similarly, Amal Nath in his Dissertation entitled Ekobingsha Satikar Sadharan Asamiya Abhidhanat Bijnan Aru Taithyo Prayukti Bikhoyak Prabisti has judged the various similarities and differences between the science and information technology entries of Asamiya Jatiya Abhidhan and Saraighat Abhidhan. Lakhiprasad Dehingia has also discussed the entry of Assamese electronic dictionaries in his Dissertation Asamiya Baidyutin Abhidhanar Prakriti. Overall, we get the following results in this decade:

1. The history of the dictionary making in Assamese has been discussed earlier, but Lexicographical Study has only been discussed in this decade. The field of research has made this contribution.
2. The comparison aspect has gained prominence during this period.
3. Structural analysis of dictionaries based on a general theory of Lexicography within Metalexigraphy took place during this period.
4. Assamese electronic dictionaries and some of their aspects have been discussed in this decade even though it is on a limited extent.
5. Research on the use of dictionaries in Assamese was first conducted in this decade. However, this field of study has not yet expanded significantly in Assamese.

3.0 Conclusion

The above study shows that many aspects have been reflected in the Assamese lexicographical study in the past period. But it is also true that the Assamese Lexicographical Study, which began in the second half of the twentieth century, has not covered some aspects or has many limitations. Some aspects are being ignored; many aspects remain to be studied on a broader range. Some of them are mentioned below:

1. Theoretical Lexicography or Metalexigraphy is a total of four major fields of study that Western scholars have mentioned in their research. Those four areas are respectively-1. History of Lexicography 2. A General theory of Lexicography 3. Research on dictionary use and 4. Dictionary Criticism. In Assamese, Abhijit Borah has given only a nominal introduction in his research work, and it does not give a proper idea of these areas of study. Similarly, this has been mentioned in the article 'Abhidhan, Abhidhanar Sangya Aru Abhidhan tattva' (2019) by Karabi Gogoi. but no one has discussed it in detail so far.

2. There have been many discussions on the historical outline of the Assamese dictionary in various articles, books, and research papers. In contrast, the discussion of Lexicographical Study is negligible. Secondly, General theory of Lexicography is discussed in theoretical books, theses and dissertations on lexicography but not in journal articles. Research on the use of dictionaries in Assamese has not yet received much attention. In Abhidhan Tattva Basanta Kumar Goswami, quotes an example of Western scholars doing user research. Prof. Subasana Mahanta's paper published in the journal 'ANVIKSA' in 2015 is the first and only Assamese paper on the use of dictionaries till now. There is scope for systematic studies in this regard in the future.

3. Dictionary criticism is not at the level it really should be, but to some extent it is found in Assamese. Asamiya Jatiya Abhidhanar Pakshya-Bipakshya and Ramesh Pathak's book Asamiya Bhashar Bivinno Dish: Mot Aru Bitorkito Mot reflects many aspects of dictionary criticism.

4. There are not many Journalistic Reviews on Assamese Dictionaries. These are naturally short and advertising. Journalistic Reviews on Dictionaries in Assamese language so far have highlighted the following aspects:

- i. the qualities of a dictionary with personal opinion.
- ii. Various problems observed in Assamese dictionaries including word collection.
- iii. Provide news on the publication of new Assamese dictionaries, quality, etc.

Due to a very wide scope of the subject under study, this research remains somewhat limited. In the future, extensive studies are needed.

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Religion and Spirituality

Views of Master EK, Vivekananda and Sadguru

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Abstract

Most unfortunately and paradoxically, maximum violence and destruction happened on the globe, is in the name of Religion for the sake of God who has been hailed as an embodiment of love and compassion by all religious people. Why is it so? What does it imply? The difference between emotion and devotion has been completely blurred. The higher the emotions of senses, the greater seems to be the violence in the name of devotion. The leaders of spirituality argue that all religions demand humans to love one another and this can be achieved if one evolves to be a spiritual being, but not remain as a religious person. In this backdrop, the present paper discusses the views on spirituality propounded by some leading Indian spiritualists – Swamy Vivekananda, Master EK, and Sadguru Jaggi Vasudev.

Keywords: Swamy Vivekananda, Master EK, and Sadguru Jaggi Vasudev, Spirituality, spiritual dimensions, religious restrictions.

Introduction

Why people in every nation and every society are looking for a God? Why they want perfect ideal somewhere, either in man or in God, or elsewhere? Because, Vivekananda explains, “the idea of religion is very much within you. It is your own heart beating, but you are not aware of it.”

Indeed, Religion is deeply rooted in the blood of men & women for centuries. Still it has been dominating man and his way of thinking and behaviour. Religious thought itself is in man's very constitution, so much so that it is impossible for him to give up religion. Man is like an infinite spring, coiled up in a small box, and that spring is trying to unfold. Religion would help men and women in unfolding their potential. But, as many think, religion doesn't mean doctrines, dogmas, nor the principles nor the philosophies. Religion doesn't live in sects and societies. Religion doesn't mean erecting temples or building churches or attending public worship only. Religion cannot be found in books or in sermons or in organizations. It is a relationship between soul and God. It is the gist of all worship. Religion is the manifestation of the divinity already within man.

Indeed, spiritual realization is religion. The ultimate goal of religion is the identification of oneself with the universal spirit- i.e., Spiritual realization. The very soul of religion is experience, experience of the divinity in all the forms.

A man of spirituality finds life always new, incredibly new at every step. For he doesn't look through the mind. Life is new, only the mind is old.

Many people consider themselves spiritual as well as religious. However, there is a subtle dichotomy between religiosity and spirituality. The obvious difference between these two, in the popular view, is that religion is driven by ceremony and ritual, whereas spirituality is devoid of all these practices. In fact, religion is a spiritual concept.

Kulapathi Ekkirala Krishnamacharya, popularly known as Master EK, says that spiritualism includes every religion. It is expressed in different parts of the globe in different times and in different languages. Each time a prophet, or a saint is born, a new faith or religion is born and the truth is expressed in a novel fashion, though there is nothing new in the content. The content of every system is spiritual. In fact, every religion speaks of a way of living. While the content is the same, the technology is different. For a spiritualist, there is only one universal religion – the religion of love.

According to Master EK, religions are like schools, the pious schools and the wisdom teaching is like an education. The same syllabus is taught in different schools of thought. If anyone thinks that every school has a separate education, it is mere ignorance. Each religion is like a page in a calendar. Even if all the twelve pages of the calendar are torn off, again the year is there revolving. Similarly, religions may be torn off after the purpose is served, and there may be the birth of a new religion every time, according to the need.

A spiritualist sees the one spirit in whom everyone moves, lives, and have their being. Spiritualism teaches us how to align thought, word, and deed. Spirituality is being inwardly awake.

For a spiritualist, there is nothing like good and bad, right and wrong, beautiful or ugly, divine or devilish in the universe. The seemingly opposites become complimentary in a truly religious person. All conflicts dissolve and become cooperation. Without inner growth, religion has no value. When a person is realised, his whole being becomes a prayer, a devotion, a sacrifice to the divine. It all lies in the attitude through which one beholds the outer world.

In the modern times, most unfortunately, religion has been exploited for personal & social gains which can be seen throughout history. Sadguru Jaggi Vasudev keeps saying that, the moment one thinks of Religion, it should be the end of all violence and hatred, but paradoxically, religion has become the very source of all sorts of sorrow, remorse, and distress. Religiosity and animosity have become the two sides of the same coin. Religion has been a great healer as well as a cruel killer. It has become the main cause of maximum pain on the planet. Lot of bloodshed has happened in the name of religious wars.

It doesn't make any sense to which religion you belong. How does it make any sense? How does it help you to know your real self? To know Truth, you need not be a religious person, you need not be identified with anything – i.e., either with a nation or with a religion or even with masculinity or femininity according to Master EK. Indeed, to know truth, you have to get rid of all this baggage, drop all these labels, leave out all ideas about God, and be just yourself. Truth has nothing to do with all these labels. Truth is naked, isn't it?

Sadhguru Jaggi Vasudev says that people keep on collecting garbage continuously through their thoughts - may it be social, political, educational, or even religious and spiritual - heaps of thoughts which are nothing to do with the reality or existence. What ideology you believe in, doesn't matter. The real thing that matters is – you, your consciousness, and your state of consciousness.

Sadhguru Jaggi Vasudev says that moving from one religion will not make a difference. Because you will be doing the same things and behaving in the same way. Man remains the same unless he changes his dimension. Unless you know that everyone is right in his own way, you can never find the ultimate truth of this creation, because the ultimate creation lies in the totality of whole creation. However great a philosophy may be, however rare a thought may be, it cannot be an ultimate truth.

Indeed, God is a tremendous paradox- He is beyond logic. You cannot make the image of a God in wood, or in stone, or in concepts and ideas. What many of us call God is only an impression of God, not God. Everyone has his own God. Everyone has his own photo of God. God exists behind all impressions. Swami Vivekananda exhorted that we may worship a picture of God, but not God as the picture.

Sacred scriptural writings are beneficial in stimulating desire for inward realization. The deeper the self realization of a man, the more he influences the whole universe by his subtle spiritual vibrations. But Master EK says that we are dead to the scriptures and read scriptures through the people of religion.

Spiritualists emphasize that all the religions have proved their strength, their worth, and their necessity for mankind. To enrich one's life, one can accept and follow that which attracts him in other religions. If one religion is true, all the other religions must also be true. Religions are not contradictory but complementary. Swami Vivekananda gives an example. If, someone takes the pictures of a building from different angles, we can see different faces of the same object and they are not contradictions, but many-sidedness of a single unique entity. According to Swami Vivekananda, we are colouring the truth with our own intellect and grasping it with the dim light of the mind. Saints and spiritual masters have identified the need for a universal religion.

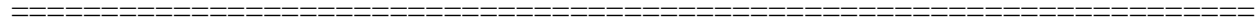
All the spiritual leaders of the world from different religious backgrounds preached the oneness of all religions with regard to the transcendental aspect of each religion. They generally claim that all religions are valid means to the same end.

Conclusion

Spiritualists focus on spirituality, not on religion. Self-realization becomes an important focus here.

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Nietzsche and Periyar: Tryst with the Concept of God

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Abstract

This paper aims at examining similar thought processes regarding the concept of God of the German philosopher Nietzsche and the Tamil social reformer and thinker Periyar. Both these thinkers critiqued the religion with which they were associated, for different reasons. Nietzsche demanded an energetic religion that would reflect the power of real life and believed bringing back Greek myths would achieve this end. Periyar demanded a religion that accepted all people as equal, and hence rejected all myths that had a hidden politics of hegemony and hierarchy. The philosopher Nietzsche has thought like a social reformer, and the social reformer Periyar has thought like a philosopher. Philosophy and social ideologies intertwine these two great thinkers.

Keywords: God, Periyar, Nietzsche, myth.

Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900) was a German philosopher who is associated with the concept of hermeneutics of suspicion against established social values. Nietzsche used his critical analyses to theorize about the nature of the self, and proposals suggesting new values that he thought would promote cultural renewal in Christianized Europe. (Anderson)

Nietzsche demanded a new symbol that will signify the zest of life in religion. He wanted religion to symbolize the dance of life and represent its fundamental energy. The Greek Gods symbolized this energy and he attempted to invoke them. “Now the essence of nature must express itself symbolically” in the society; “a new world of symbols is necessary” for people to be inspired - “the entire symbolism of the body, not just the symbolism of mouth, face, and words, but the full gestures of the dance—all the limbs moving to the rhythm,” Nietzsche says in *Birth of Tragedy* (Nietzsche 11). Human life is like a rhythmic dance, and religion has to provide a suitable symbol so that people will live with complete enthusiasm and spirit. Once such a symbol is established then “the other symbolic powers grow, those of music, rhythm, dynamics, and harmony—all with

sudden spontaneity,” he argues (Nietzsche 11). If the main symbol represents dynamism, then the other related symbols would also begin to represent the energy of life.

We have to understand the power of this symbol which will liberate man and make him aware of his powers: “To grasp this total unleashing of all symbolic powers, man must already have attained that high level of freedom from the self which seeks to express itself symbolically in those forces” (Nietzsche 11). Man has to liberate himself from the “self” to attain this liberation. Social, cultural and religious identities create a self and in that man is caught. T.S. Eliot talks about similar ideas in *The Wasteland*:

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Dayadhvam: I have heard the key

Turn in the door once and turn once only

We think of the key, each in his prison

Thinking of the key, each confirms a prison (T.S. Eliot)

We create a prison of our self; our identities and ideas about ourselves create this prison; we lock the doors of the prison; we often think about opening it with the key; when we think of the key, we confirm that we are indeed in a prison. Nietzsche says the powers of the universe will reach the human soul only if we learn to liberate ourselves from the self - the “self which seeks to express itself symbolically.”

There is energy in the human self which has to be liberated. Religions have to help people to live with energy. How do we understand this source of energy? Why have the earlier religions unleashed the power of life in their Gods? Nietzsche says in *Birth of Tragedy*: “in order to grasp this point, we must dismantle that artistic structure of Apollonian culture, as it were, stone by stone, until we see the foundations on which it is built (Nietzsche 12). Deconstructing the structure of Apollonian culture would teach us how it was built, says Nietzsche. He asks in the *Birth of Tragedy*: “What was the immense need out of which such an illuminating group of Olympic beings arose?” (Nietzsche 12) People create Gods and systems of religions to fulfil their needs. If the illuminating Olympic Gods are born in Greece, then there would have been a need for them. He compares the Christian religion with the Greek religion in *Birth of Tragedy*:

...there is no reminder of asceticism, spirituality, and duty. Here speaks to us only a full, indeed triumphant, existence, in which everything present is worshipped, no matter whether it is good or evil. ...The Greek knew and felt the terror and horror of existence... In order to be able to live, the Greeks must have created these gods out of the deepest necessity. (Nietzsche 12)

Nietzsche comments on the mainstream religion and prefers the energetic ancient regions of the past. Magrini comments on Nietzsche's approach to Christianity:

Nietzsche claims that it was Christianity that initially gave ... a truly diseased world, for it "first brought sin into the world" ... Christianity has its origins in the festering resentment that passes "sentence on this whole world of becoming as a deception and [seeks] to invent a world beyond it, a true world" ... It perpetuates the harmful belief that our terrestrial existence is of little or no value, and worse, it serves as the terrestrial "training ground" or mere dress rehearsal in preparation for the next life, which will be better. This view "devalues" the only world we have and does so by measuring it against "categories that refer to a purely fictitious world." (Magrini)

Erode Venkatappa Ramasamy (1879 – 1973), revered as Periyar or the great man changed the dynamics of South India with his deconstructions of millennia old myths and codes, ushering in a new movement of social justice and self-respect for all communities that demolished the sense of self-assurance in elite communities. Periyar brought in new thinking processes of equality and egalitarianism, and democracy gave him the space to found new political parties based on ideas of social justice. He encountered colonialism in the most appropriate manner, and it is through him that post colonialism in Tamilnadu and other southern states acquired a special meaning of a society that began to perceive all people as equal. It affected the people's views and English came to symbolise the neutrality of social ideology and still is viewed as the language of democracy, and now as the language of globalized equality.

Like Nietzsche, Periyar too expects a change in social life, Periyar too expects challenges in social life and approaches to myths and religion. If the existing social values and traditions can continue to harm the mental makeup of people, then we have to be ready for a paradigm shift, Periyar argues vehemently. Social and cultural systems have to be inclusive, and not segregate sections of people as inferior and do not facilitate their entry into the mainstream system, he consistently pleads, in an aggressive manner. The aggression is calculated to shake off centuries of practices and the words in Tamil are violent enough to bring forth a revolution. Periyar said on February 02, 1961, in a speech in Thambi Nayakkan Patti:

The self-respect movement and Dravidian movement in Tamilnadu have served our society in an unprecedented manner in the history of India for the past 2000 or 3000 years. These movements strive to bring people out of the savage habits and lowly habits. Except the Buddha, who appeared 2000 years back to remove caste from society, no other person took efforts to cleanse the society of its non-inclusive practices and ignorance. History says that the political elites made sure that

Buddhism was sent out of the land. After that, no other reformers were around to change the system. The subcontinent has created Azhwars, Nayanmars, saints, Mahatmas, godly people. All these great people did not talk about social welfare. They were more interested in self-evolution and identified themselves with the elite philosophy instead of catering to the needs of the populace. It is only in this half a century the self-respect movement and Dravidian movement have begun to bring in ideas of egalitarianism in society. The only way to bring forth the idea of equality in society is to uproot the established concepts of religion, God and the written codes that all insist on social exclusivity. (Periyar 131)

Periyar and Nietzsche critiqued the established religion of their continents. According to Periyar, a religion has to cater to the needs of all the people - economically and culturally - high and low. This was the leading ideology of twentieth century India, as the intellectuals had become familiar with the ideas of Marx. Social exclusivity became the by-product of the concept of God and religion, Periyar felt very strongly. The elite and sophisticated thinkers from India spent their time wondering how to self-evolve further and failed to worry about poverty and other social problems. Social welfare was not part of mainstream culture and philosophy that created a weak society. The uneducated poor man was ignored and left to fend for himself. Periyar felt that it was the moral responsibility of the intelligentsia to take care of the intellectually inferior people and guide them into better living. He tried to redefine the role of religion and was in favour of an organized religion that gave opportunities to all in an equal manner. There has been a growing sensitivity to the role of the man with gifted intelligence, who is expected to guide the rest of the world:

Fichte in his work *Science of Knowledge* identifies the intelligentsia with a free-thinking person who, with the help of intelligence and constructive thinking, “creates” the material world... Fichte proceeded from the fact that the philosopher, abstracting in the process of thinking from the experience of perception of objects, forms his consciousness as the intelligentsia... the intelligentsia is that layer of society that makes itself an object of both knowledge/self-knowledge and the subject of transforming life in accordance with the essential dimensions that make up the content of their individual tribal vocation. Indeed, man is a social being, always belonging to a certain type of popular community ... To be involved in the people, one should have the intelligentsia as an internal state of the soul, as the spirit of vital activity. (Tabeikyna, et al.)

Periyar’s engagement with the elite philosophy can be interpreted from this perspective of the social role of the intelligentsia. If myths have been written down by the intelligentsia, then they should have been given a check for the hidden political veins of thought as well; if there had been

hegemony found, then those aspects must have been cleansed, demands Periyar. Indian philosophy of the North aimed at getting a high sense of self-awareness and evolution. Periyar argued that it ignored the welfare of the people, in general, as the common man may not actually have the intellectual ability to reach the higher level of consciousness and self-awareness that demands high cognitive skills and talent.

Religions and social codes institutionalized by religions recommend a certain model of thinking and social behaviour. Thinkers rise against the existing systems and recommend new forms of thought. As Magrini argues, Nietzsche's comment on European society is that he claimed that it was Christianity that brought the concept of man as a sinner which created guilt in man's mind and subdued his energy. It made the world a diseased world. Christianity did not accept the violent and energetic reality and taught people to think of a world of the future. Every religion begins with an ideal and it accumulates layers of meanings slowly and after a point people begin to study its impact on society. Thinkers deconstruct these layers and approach these religions from another perspective, expecting social changes. If Christianity has brought in a guilty conscience in society, Indian mainstream thought has brought in untouchability in a method of palimpsest. Indian myths have layers of added nuances and meanings that have frozen the concept of untouchability.

Periyar argues that the religious climate in India created the structure of caste that refused equality and inclusion. The concept of God and the ideology of religion supported social discrimination that was further strengthened by governmental assistance. Caste discrimination merged itself into religious values and the perception of God, that people have accepted it as inevitable. Periyar refers to caste as a lowly practice that has been institutionalized using a religious framework. He said in a speech on March 20, 1961 in Panagudi::

Casteism has continued to exist with the support systems of the idea of God, the institution of religion, the power of the elites and the dominance of the government. One cannot remove from Indian culture without destroying the established religious ideas and its traditional approaches, as all these have become a part of Indian thinking - it is in the blood of people. In fact, it is in the life breath of people. (Periyar 179)

Periyar wanted to remove the idea of casteism that is embedded in the Indian psyche as it was institutionalized merging with religion and traditions. The ideology of caste was effectively intertwined with religious practices. It mingled with people's belief systems, and they had begun to have faith in its functioning. To remove its power, one is pushed to remove the position of religion too. In retrospect, we realise that a shake to the caste system happened as it merged with an effort to uproot religion too. The concept of God was questioned along with the concept of caste.

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Periyar rebelled against the ideology of Indian religions and stories that emphasized on the practice of caste. Tagore in his play *Chandalika* expressed the same idea:

Mother: Have you no respect for religion?

Prakriti: How can I say? I respect him who respects me. A religion that insults is a false religion. Everyone united to make me conform to a creed that blinds and gags. But since that day something forbids me to conform any longer. I'm afraid of nothing now. (Tagore)

The play was written in 1938 and it reflects the perspective of Indian intelligentsia. The intellectuals viewed religion as the responsible factor for nurturing untouchability in society. Tagore's *Chandalika* speaks from the viewpoint of the marginalized. Fraser argues that Nietzsche attacked the mainstream religion as it kept the energy of people down. The will of man was not celebrated by Christianity, Nietzsche felt vigorously. Passive behaviour only weakened mankind, he believed. Fraser wrote in 2012 in *The Guardian*:

Nietzsche's case against Christianity was that it kept people down; that it smothered them with morality and self-loathing. His ideal human is one who is free to express himself (yes, he's sexist), like a great artist or a Viking warrior. Morality is for the little people. It's the way the weak manipulate the strong. The people Nietzsche most admired and aspired to be like were those who were able to reinvent themselves through some tremendous act of will. (Fraser)

Nietzsche compared Greek religions with the new European religion of Christianity. He thought like a social reformer who wanted to change the patterns of human thought. Fraser's interpretation of Nietzsche's search for an energetic human being against the mode of the self-loathing as a sinner enables viewing Nietzsche as a reformer, bent on recreating social values. It is at this point that one can connect the ideology of Periyar with Nietzsche, as thinkers who demanded a change in society.

Nietzsche argues in his essay "Apollonian and Dionysian Art" that the Greeks encouraged both the Apollonian and Dionysian art and "these two different tendencies run parallel to each other" and operate "openly at variance" and also "continually incite each other to new and more powerful births" perpetuating "an antagonism" and, these terms are "superficially reconciled by the common term 'art'" (Nietzsche 91). The "aesthetically sensitive man stands in the same relation to the reality of dreams as the philosopher does to the reality of existence," Nietzsche says further (Nietzsche 92).

Dreams represent an irrational system of operation in the mental sphere of humanity, we can surmise, and hence they play a significant role in shaping society. Nietzsche is talking about this aspect of our lives. It is this area of human experiences that brought forth religions, myths and rituals and these have sustained humanity for millennia. To continue the sustenance of human lives, society needs these myths and stories of multiple varieties and types.

In India, these stories and myths of the past also have brought a social hierarchy and political hegemony. Hence, Periyar wants to deconstruct the myths and remove the hierarchic principles in them. He moves in the direction of rationalism as his land had myths that taught society to conceive certain sections of people as untouchables. Myths in Greece according to Nietzsche spoke of vitality, and myths in India according to Periyar spoke of hegemony. Nietzsche wants the Greek myths back and Periyar does not want Indian myths. Behind this appearance of contradictions, there is a single line of similarity in thought - both thinkers reject the existing social ideologies and recommend either old or new ways of thinking.

In *Athma, Motcham-Naragam* (The Soul, Heaven-Hell) Periyar says that man is proud of himself and hence he will not acknowledge his ignorance. He cannot confess his ignorance easily and when he cannot understand certain things, he creates a space which in turn creates God and religion. That is, Periyar says, when man does not have the capacity to understand life and its implications, he hides behind the concept of God (Periyar 9). Tamil Poet Kannadasan expresses similar thoughts in the poem “Deivam thandha Veedu”: “Thelivaga therinthaalae siddantham; athu theriyamal ponalaee vedantham - when we understand concepts well, we call it as philosophy; when we are not sure of the functionings we call it as mysticism” (Kannadasan).

Heaven and hell are created by mankind when it is not sure of happenings and are not able to formulate clear concepts about the future, as life cannot be understood with the help of a formula. There are experiences that go beyond a defined structure and man allocates them to various theories like *karma* or destiny or God’s will. As humanity evolves, we have to reckon with human imaginations, myths and related ideologies that constantly intervene with the functioning of the universe. Thinkers and intellectuals are seen reviewing the existing systems of thought and comment on social behavior. Periyar and Nietzsche are part of these reviewing systems of thought rising against existing intellectual ideologies.

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Depiction of Communalism and Angsts of Jews in *City of Fear*

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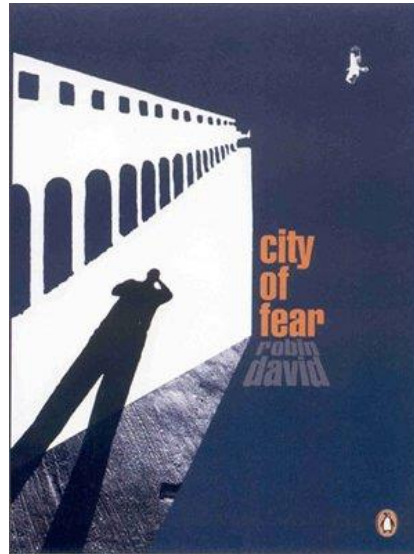
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Courtesy: www.amazon.com

Abstract

Robin David vividly covers Gujarat's earthquake of 2001 and the Godhra riots of 2002 in his novel, *City of Fear*. Though the Preamble of the Constitution of India states India as a secular country (Bakshi 1), one still finds the communal sentiments prevalent at the beginning of the 21st Century in India. The Research Paper aims at the depiction of discrimination and hatred based on religion that turns people irrational and more fanatic. It chiefly focuses on the plight of Jews like how they feel struck amidst two majoritarian Indian religions, i.e. Hindus and Muslims. This Paper acquaints the readers with the emotional and psychological anguishes of Indian Jews resulting from the communal tension between Hindus and Muslims.

Keywords: Robin David, *City of Fear*, Communalism, Secular, Psychological anguishes, Indian Jews.

Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary defines Communalism as a strong sense of belonging to a particular, especially religious, community, which can lead to extreme behaviour or violence towards others (300). It is a feeling which widens the gap between self and others. Religion is a personal and sensitive issue for most people. Some people are so fanatic that they can easily be instigated in the name of religion. Political leaders misuse this tendency of people to influence their vote banks at times. Though Article 15 of the Indian Constitution prohibits discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, or place of birth (Bakshi 41), it becomes completely ironic when it comes to practice in the context.

Robin David, the novelist, depicts how the inner turmoil compels the Jews to migrate to Israel, their Promised Land using the Law of Return, and even in Israel how they do not find themselves at home. The feelings of rootlessness and homelessness result chiefly from the communal clashes of the two majoritarian Indian religions and due to the absence of the desired ethos in their dreamland, Israel. The novelist writes, “Every Jew has the right to immigrate to this country’, the Law of Return said and, at least on paper, ended 2000 years of nationless wanderings of the Jewish people” (3). Aiming to test this law, the writer attempted to immigrate to the Promised Land twice but returns empty-handed and disillusioned. Sharing his experience, he writes:

Ten years had passed since the Law of Return had failed me. Or I had failed the Law of Return. I do not know which is closer to the truth. What do I know as truth is that I had felt more like a wandering Jew in Israel, out of place at Ashkenazi synagogues at Shabbat prayers despite wearing a white shirt and a crocheted skullcap, never totally mastering Hebrew, and wondering if I wanted to spend the rest of my life picking pears, avocados and carrots. Within a year I had realized that the Promised Land was not my country. Even the strong fragrance of spices, wafting in from the Arab market through the yellowing Jerusalem sandstone, did not help. Just like Teen Darwaja, but not like home. (12)

Robin David confesses that Israel was not their Promised Land anymore. In a hope of settling down into the closely knit minuscule minority of Bene Israel Indian Jews in Ahmedabad, he returns to India along with his sister and mother. He writes, “In short, all of us had thought of running out of the house at some point or another but was always for extremely personal reasons” (67).

The novelist projects the communal riots of 2002 Gujarat which terrorize the hearts of the people. *The Times of India* on 28th February 2002 reports that fifty-seven people including twenty-five women and fourteen children were burnt alive and thirty injured when the

Ahmedabad-bound Sabarmati Express was pelted with stones and petrol bombs by a mob at Godhra junction (33).

On 27th February 2002, David was in Vadodara and as soon as he knew about the stabbings at the Vadodara railway station itself, he called his mother and tells her not to go out of the house that day as there might be trouble. News channels had started flashing the train burning incident (36). When she says that she knows nothing, he says, “Muslims have killed some *kar sevaks* returning from Ayodhya in a train attack at Godhra this morning...There is bound to be some madness” (37).

The news turns the novelist and his mother worried about their existence in India. The incident of the burning of the train is followed by the communal riots and numerous such scenes get reported by the novelist in the novel where Hindu mobs stab and burn the minority Muslims and the Muslim mobs do the same simultaneously.

The minutely vivid description of heart-rending communal scenes turns the readers breathlessly stunned at times in the novel. The novelist writes:

I listened, carefully this time. The shouts were coming from behind our garden wall. Then the steel thaalis began to ring. Men with steel thaalis and wooden sticks had been positioned at the edge of fields just outside the house to warn residents if Muslims attacked Guptanagar from here. Apparently the men had seen some in the darkness. ‘They are coming. Everybody out...Jai Shree Ram...Jai Shree Ram...’ They were shouting. More voices joined in. ‘I am going to kill these sister fuckers’, I heard someone say as I stood in the garden peeping over the wall. All the men, the drunks included, were starting to swarm around the edge of the fields, dragging behind them axes, metal pipes, rusted swords and scythes. (84)

Geetaben becomes one of the victims of the communal frenzy of the Hindu mobs. Sam had clicked her photographs after she had been stripped by the rioters. Her body had swollen by the time Sam and David reached there. Sam visualizes that the rioters after stripping had killed her and had danced on her body in celebration like a finale which resulted in her swollen body as the dead body does not swell up so quickly. David writes, “On the other side of the road lay her Muslim husband, his shirt full of blood. The mob had left thinking he was dead, when he was in fact alive” (124). David's Mother expresses her fear a week after Geetaben's murder over the phone to David as she says, “The only people I see are the maids and the men running in front of the house with swords in their hands” (142).

Religion can tense the strongest friendships. All sorts of differences that did not matter earlier start becoming significant when religion comes between them. One starts judging people based on religion developing a riot filter. David quotes his friend Jayendrasinh Sisodiya, a professor in English who had great persuading skills with his arguments with logic. As the writer used to have a conversation on riots, at times Jayendrasinh Sisodiya's hatred towards Muslims used to get erupt from his heart. He believed that it is natural for a Hindu to hit back at Muslims and teach them a lesson. He used to argue that it was Muslims who started expressing communal hatred first. They started the bloodshed. How can one ignore the fact that they burnt the train first? David would argue that it is not fair to make broad generalizations and look at all Muslims through the lens of hate as all the Muslims were not bloodthirsty. The event happened just as one mob of Muslims turned bloodthirsty. Then the Professor would draw David into the mire of pro-Hindu and anti-Hindu arguments. The professor used to remind David that if he did not support the Hindus in this battle, he was anti-Hindu. If he is anti-Hindu, it simply means he is pro-Muslim. If he is pro-Muslim, it overtly means that he is anti-national. If he is anti-national, it directly makes him a terrorist and a spy of Pakistan because all Muslims are terrorists and spies of Pakistan. All those who support them are collaborators or pseudo-seculars (96-98). After a series of arguments, differences keep on growing and David feels compelled to explode his heart when Professor urges as why they cannot be friends despite of differences: "Fuck our friendship-where the fuck is your reasoning? A Government is behaving like the mob, and you see nothing wrong?" (103). David hardly controls his hands from reaching his friend's neck to shake him.

Thereafter, the novelist Robin David acquaints the readers with his personal experiences i.e., the mob or intentions of the rioters. He presents his first encounter with the communal frenzy when he moved for Vadodara with Bharat Pathak, the photographer: "What we did not expect is that in the eighty kilometres between Godhra and Vadodara there lay a hungry eighty kilometres-long snake with a thousand heads, ready to devour anything that looked even vaguely Muslim. It crawled slowly but stung with the force of a thousand fangs" (39). After the train had been burnt through a metaphor of eighty kilometres snake, David refers to the fanatic attitude of the Hindus of that belt who were ready to abolish the Muslims with their poison of hatred. David mentions that the policeman who emerges from the crowd let his car pass from the crowd only after confirming them as Hindus due to the photographer who introduces themselves as Hindus to the press. The policeman waves to the mob 'let them pass brothers, they are one of us' (40). After getting rid of the first mob, the second mob appears before them. This one was much larger and better armed but was disorganized. No policeman was there but every single rioter was the leader here. They were having axes, sickles, metal pipes, and even a small plough. When Bharat goes down to speak to the mob using 'Jai Shree Ram' (42), some men surround the car and start looking into the car to trace out the identity of the driver and David. One of them says to the driver that he must be a Muslim. But the driver maintains his equanimity and says, "Are baba, I am a total Hindu. Murarai Sharma my name is. Here look at my driving license" (42). Bharat

immediately supports him in his identity saying that the driver is just like him, and they all are from the press compiling a report of what the Muslims did in Godhra. More men peep through the half-shut window of the car and someone amongst them shouts that “Because we can always pull your pants down and check” (43).

At this the novelist shares his state of mind, “Between the mob and three men in the car, I was the only one with the circumcised penis. Had they pulled my pants down, they would have found my circumcised penis. I would not have been able to explain to them that I was a Jew, and although I had something in common with Muslims, I was definitely not a Muslim” (43). In such an atmosphere of communal frenzy, David’s presence is viewed with suspense either by the mob in the darkness of night when he was holding a torch (91) or while being abused ‘*Hai Madarchod!*’ (139) by the policeman.

Having witnessed the mobs and their revengeful attitudes the novelist’s mother develops an intense sense of fear and insecurity being a Jew struck somewhere in between two confronting major religions, i.e., Hindu and Islam in India. On phone, his mother says to David that they need to get out of Guptanagar. While describing the scene outside she says, “Robin it’s too scary. I can see yellow flames from between the trees. There is black smoke everywhere. Everyone seems to have a sword here. They are running all over the place” (47). Having experienced life under curfews, she says to David that she does not want to let her grandchildren grow in such an atmosphere and learn the meaning of the word “curfew” (79). After Geetaben’s cruel murder in Guptanagar, David’s mother realizes that she should not have come back from Israel. She changes her mind to leave the place and decides to sell her house in Guptanagar for the sake of peace and harmony and shifts to a new house in a new and desirably safer place.

Further, the novelist showcases that the smooth survival of Jews becomes a challenge during riots and curfews in India. Curfews provide the people with minimalistic choices whereas rioters from both communities look at the identity of people from religious perspectives. Robin David gives such an example:

Before leaving the house, mother looked into the mirror and carefully placed a large, red sticker *bindi* in the middle of her forehead. She loved to anoint her forehead with large, red dots, even wearing them to the synagogue at times to shock the Jews. She calls it her third eye and sincerely believes that without it she becomes weak. But now it had a different function. She was going to a Hindu area and the *bindi* would be her armour, her shield. 76

The understanding of present socio-cultural circumstances compels a Jew to come up with ways for survival. If she does not wear a *bindi* on her forehead like Hindu women she

would have been mistaken for a Muslim because of her white *kurta* [shirt] and white hair. Once she had crossed the Hindu settlements and was about to enter the Muslim area, she used to remove her *bindi* to give an impression of a non-Hindu.

The novelist also acquaints the readers with how people from minority religions like Parsi survive through the character of Sam. Sam has been portrayed as a Parsi, but nothing has been shown stereotypically Parsi about him obviously because of the society where he lives in. So, he becomes a Muslim among Muslims and a Hindu among Hindus. He takes complete advantage of such identity, attends the funerals of both communities sharing their grief (117).

The question of Jewish identity haunts the novelist and his mother throughout the novel consistently. After the decision of selling the old house, as they start searching for the new one wherever they visit some property it becomes tough to explain their identity. At the first property, the owner considers them Christians and asks whether they are Roman Catholic or Protestants and as David replies that they are Jews, he asks, “‘You are what?’ ‘Jews’, mother said. ‘You know... Yahudis. We are different’” (150). Another experience of this category the novelist shares about Ramesh, the Barber who asks David while having a conversation ‘you are Christian, right?’ (176). David says that they know one another for a long time, why he has asked this question after so many years? Ramesh replies ‘No I was just wondering... About your caste and all that...’ (177). David attempts to clarify his doubt that he has no caste. He has a religion just. He is Jewish by faith and Jews do not have any castes. He translates the word as Yahudi for more comprehension. He further adds that Jews are different from Christians and Muslims.

The most dominating aspect of the novel is the depiction of the psychological insecurity, fear, and horror that terrorizes human beings and turns them restless irrespective of religion. After having witnessed numerous mobs, various sights and sounds of the riots overpower the novelist’s mind and heart. After such experiences, he gets up in the morning with a dull headache, and dry throat, having woken up thrice during the night feeling that the Hindu rioters were trying to pin him down by pushing at his chest, grabbing his balls, and inspecting his penis (115). All communal events and rioters' assertions leave indelible impressions on the mind of the novelist and move to his unconscious mind. In other words, keep haunting the victims all the time.

The novelist comes up with a clear stand that things or matters cannot be generalized into black and white rather one must look into them objectively. It is not right to make biased observations, rather impartiality must not be forgotten. David addresses the following lines to his Hindi fanatic friend:

You seem to believe that all Muslims are violent, sub-human animals, who, as you say, deserve to die. But is there a difference between them and you? Haven't you displayed the capacity for equal if not more violence? I fear that you have become as sub-human and violent as you claim the Muslims to be. You have become what you hate, so who are you killing and defeating in these bloody street fights? Isn't it yourself? (119)

Through this rhetorical question, the novelist puts more emphasis on the fact that there has remained no difference between Muslims and Hindus, and both have become inhuman and violent which is disastrous for peace, love, and harmony in society.

To Conclude

To conclude, with the vivid and minute descriptions of killings, stabbings, burning and destruction by Hindus of Muslims and vice versa based on religion, the novelist depicts the inhuman, self-centred, and irrational mindset of the mobs who can be easily led by diplomatic leaders for the sake of self-interests which the novelist is highly satirical of. The novelist presents a vice of Indian society that he wants to reform. He seems to revive the Gandhian principle of non-violence, love, and peace for the harmonious co-existence of varied communities in India. However, the plights of minority communities like Jews and Parsis have well been expressed like how they feel unsafe and homeless even desiring migration under such circumstances. Moreover, the novelist has emphasized the formation of the value of truthfulness and justice like criminals are criminals who do not belong to a particular religion, caste, gender, or race. They can be born from any religion. Punishing the whole community for the deeds of one criminal is unjust.

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Tactile-Terms in Gujarati: A Cognitive Semantic Analysis

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Abstract

Touch is one of the five basic human senses with which one perceives the physical world around oneself. The conceptualization of touch varies among different languages. This paper attempts to analyze the conceptualization of tactile terms in Gujarati. The primary focus is on the conceptualization of the tactile terms with reference to their prototypical usage, and also their non-prototypical usage, that is, their metaphorical extensions. For example, [*gəɾəm svəbʰav*] ‘hot temperament’ or [*ʈadʰo svəbʰav*] ‘cold temperament’ conveys short-tempered and calm attributes of personality, respectively. These extended meanings are based on the conceptual metaphors available in the language, where the source domain is a touch descriptive adjective while the target domains vary. The target domains are established based on the conceptual metaphors observed in the conversational use of the language. There hasn’t been much work done in this area, especially in Indian languages.

This paper is divided into three sections. The first section consists of an introduction. The second section deals with the analysis of data. In closing, the third section provides the conclusion.

Keywords: touch, tactile terms, cognitive semantics, conceptual metaphors, conceptual blending

1. Introduction

Touch is one of the five basic human senses, along with taste, smell, sound, and sight. Touch is important to the learning and existence of humankind since it is imperative to the survival of humans. One can gauge the harmfulness or harmlessness of an object by touching it.

Tactile terms (or touch-terms) are words that describe this sensation of touch. However, there is no basic cover term for words of sensation of touch. For example, there are seven basic taste terms in Gujarati (Wakhale & Sarvaiya 2021: 2), but there is no specific number of ‘touch-terms.’

In this paper, six tactile terms have been discussed from a cognitive semantic perspective. Using the Cognitive Metaphor Theory and the Conceptual Blending Theory, this paper tries to analyze the selected tactile terms.

In the cognitive semantic framework, metaphor is defined as understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain (Kövecses 2010, Lakoff and Johnson 1980). One way of capturing this view is: CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN A IS CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN B, which is called a conceptual metaphor. Any coherent organization of experience is called a conceptual domain. A metaphor is essentially a cognitive structure that involves conceptualizing one domain of experience in terms of another domain of experience (Kövecses 2010, Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Lakoff 1993). The two domains that participate in a conceptual metaphor have specific names. The conceptual domain from which metaphorical expressions are drawn to understand another conceptual domain is called the source domain, and the conceptual domain that is understood in this way is called the target domain (Kövecses 2010, Lakoff and Johnson 1980). Metaphor, in cognitive semantics, is regarded as a fundamental property of the everyday use of language; and metaphors involve not only ways of talking about phenomena but also ways of thinking about them (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999).

In cognitive semantics, metaphor is linked to the notion of construal by the virtue of the fact that different ways of thinking about a particular phenomenon (i.e., different construal of that phenomenon) are associated with different metaphors. In any given metaphor, the Conceptual Domain A is the TARGET domain and Conceptual Domain B is the SOURCE domain. As noted by Kövecses (2010), the source domains are typically more concrete or physical and more clearly delineated concepts than the target domains, which tend to be fairly abstract and less-delineated ones.

TIME IS MONEY

You’re *wasting* my time.

Can you *give* me a few minutes?

How do you *spend* your time?

We are *running out of* time.

In the above conventionalized linguistic expressions, time is conceptualized as money, where time is the target domain and money is the source domain. So, the experiences with the concrete domain of money are mapped on to the experiences of the abstract domain of time.

A conventional metaphor is also defined as a conceptual mapping between two domains (Croft and Cruse 2004: 196). This mapping is not based on similarity between two concepts, as believed by the traditional or classical theory of metaphor, but rather on the correlation of our experience in these two domains and our ability to structure one concept in terms of the other (Kövecses 2010). They are, in other words, embodied in nature. They are grounded in experiences of being and interacting in a given society and culture.

Mental spaces are small conceptual packets constructed as one thinks and talks, for purposes of local understanding and action (Fauconnier and Turner 2002: 40). According to the conceptual-blending theory, two or more mental spaces, also known as input spaces, are brought together, and integrated or ‘blended’, resulting in a new blended space that contains information projected from both input spaces. The input spaces not only feed the blended space but are connected to each other via cross-space mappings or vital relations (Fauconnier and Turner 2002, Ungerer and Schmid 2006).

In this paper, the source domain is the touch descriptive adjective or the ‘tactile-term’, and the target domain is the noun that is described by the tactile term. These metaphors have been segregated according to the source domain. For instance, if the term ‘hard’ is being discussed, then that forms metaphors such as “target domain is hard.”

The motivation behind analyzing these tactile terms is to study how tactile terms, or the sensation of touch, are conceptualized with regard to other domains. It also provides insight into the importance of tactility and its impact on one’s perception of the world.

2. Data Analysis

In this paper, we analyze and discuss six tactile terms using the conceptual metaphor theory in a cognitive semantic framework. For every term, a prototypical usage where the meaning of the tactile term is used literally, and a non-prototypical usage where the meaning of the touch term is metaphorically extended, are analyzed.

2.1 *gāram* ‘hot’

Prototypically, this tactile term is used for things that are hot to the touch. For instance, [*gāram paṇi*] ‘hot water’ is used for water that is hot, and [*gāram t̪ā*] ‘hot tea’ is used for tea that is hot.

The following are the non-prototypical usages of the touch-term:

2.1.1 TEMPERAMENT IS HOT

1. *gəram məgəď̪* ‘hot-tempered’
2. *gəram miď̪aď̪/svəb^hav* ‘short-tempered’
3. *gəram ɸ^həv̌* ‘to get angry’

This conceptual metaphor becomes evident when an individual’s temperament is represented by adjectives of touch. Here, the cognitive approach towards the temperament is the same as that towards the sensation of the mentioned touch-term. Thus, TEMPERAMENT is the target and HOT is the source.

The metaphorical meaning of [*gəram məgəď̪*] ‘hot brain’ is being short-tempered or someone who is angry, and that of [*gəram miď̪aď̪*] or [*gəram svəb^hav*] ‘hot temperament’ is someone who is short-tempered.

Anger is expressed through the metaphorical linguistic expression ‘hot’ because when something heats up, its particles start to vibrate and there is a constant state of conflict between said particles, which causes this vibration. Anger, too, in most cases, arises from some sort of conflict (of either thought or action, or both).

2.1.2 OBJECTS ARE HOT

4. *gəram kəpəḍā* ‘woolen clothes (clothes that keep one warm)’
5. *gəram məsalō* ‘hot spices (a mixture of spices that generate heat and taste hot)’

This conceptual metaphor becomes evident when physical objects are represented by touch adjectives. Here, the cognitive strategy used to approach material objects is the same strategy used to approach the perception of the aforementioned touch-term. Thus, CLOTHES AND CONDIMENTS are the targets and HOT is the source.

The metaphorical meaning of [*gəram kəpəḍā*] ‘hot clothes’ is not that the clothes are hot to touch, that is, they’re not the same as heat experienced upon touching hot water. Rather it refers to woolen clothes which provide warmth to the body when it is cold outside. The metaphorical meaning of [*gəram məsalō*] ‘hot spices’ is a powdered mixture of certain spices specifically used in Indian cooking, which are hot or spicy to taste and generate heat in the body.

Both are compound words where an adjective (*gəram* ‘hot’) combines with a noun (*kəpəḍā* ‘clothes’, *məsalō* ‘spices’). They display a phenomenon of conceptual blending where in

[*gəram kəpəḍā*] ‘hot clothes’ input space 1 is ‘hot’, input space 2 is ‘clothes’, vital relation is that of identity, and the compressed space is clothes that keep one warm. And in [*gəram məsalo*] ‘hot spices’ input space 1 is ‘hot’, input space 2 is ‘spices’, vital relation is cause-effect, and the compressed space is a mixture of spices that produce heat in the body.

2.1.3 ACTION IS HOT

6. *gəram kərvū* ‘to make someone angry’

This conceptual metaphor becomes evident when actions are represented by touch adjectives. In this case, the cognitive approach to one’s action is the same as the cognitive approach to the touch-term in question. Thus, ACTION is the target and HOT is the source.

The metaphorical meaning of [*gəram kərvū*] ‘to heat up’ is to make someone angry. While the prototypical meaning is to heat something up, like heating up water to cook rice in, the metaphorical meaning is to make someone angry. This idiomatic usage points to the metonymic relationship between anger and the subsequent heating up of the body.

2.1.4 PHYSIOLOGICAL STATE IS HOT

7. *gəram pəḍvū* ‘condiments that give rise to negative effects in the body’

This conceptual metaphor becomes evident when bodily sensations are represented by touch adjectives. Similar to how the aforementioned touch-term feels, the cognitive technique used here to analyze the physiological state is the same. Thus, PHYSIOLOGICAL STATE is the target and HOT is the source.

The metaphorical meaning of [*gəram pəḍvū*] ‘to feel hot’ is to produce heat in the body upon consumption. This is usually used for food items, such as garlic, eggs, etc., which according to Ayurveda, naturally produce heat in the body when consumed. Since these food items produce heat in the body, they are termed hot foods. This heat is not in terms of temperature, rather regarding the harmful effects the consumption of these condiments produces in the body, such as the production of bile which corresponds to fire.

2.2 *ṭaḍḥū* or ‘*ṭḥəṇḍū*’ ‘cold, cool’

Prototypically, this tactile term is used for things that are cold to the touch. For instance, [*ṭaḍḥi həva*] which means a breeze that feels cool on the skin, and [*ṭḥəṇḍū paṇi*] ‘cold water’ meaning water that is cold to the touch.

The following are the non-prototypical usages of the touch-term:

2.2.1 TEMPERAMENT IS COLD

8. *tʰandq̄gar d̄zevũ* ‘a person without fervor’
9. *ʃadʰo svəbʰav* ‘an easygoing personality’

This conceptual metaphor becomes evident when an individual’s temperament is represented by touch adjectives. Here, temperament is approached cognitively in the same way as the aforementioned touch-sensation. Thus, TEMPERAMENT is the target and COLD is the source.

The metaphorical meaning of [*ʃadʰo svəbʰav*] ‘cold personality’ is someone who is easy-going and calm, and this metaphor has a positive connotation, and that of [*tʰandq̄gar d̄zevũ*] ‘completely frozen’ is a person who is without fervor and this metaphor has a negative connotation.

2.2.2. PHYSIOLOGICAL STATE IS COLD

10. *ʃadʰũ pədvũ* ‘to become calm’
11. *ʃadʰũ lohi* ‘a state of non-reaction’

This conceptual metaphor becomes evident when bodily sensations are represented by touch adjectives. Here, the cognitive approach towards bodily sensations is the same as that towards the sensation of the aforementioned touch-term. Thus, PHYSIOLOGICAL STATE is the target and COLD is the source.

The metaphorical meaning of [*ʃadʰũ pədvũ*] ‘to become cold’ is to become calm and progressively become less angry. Its metonymic implication is that between the body and calm. As one becomes calm and composed, one’s body cools down and the heat ebbs out. This is the antithesis of [*gəram kərvũ*] ‘to heat something up.’ The metaphorical meaning of [*ʃadʰũ lohi*] ‘cold blood’ refers to a person who doesn’t react to anything despite external stimuli.

2.3 *kəʰəŋ* or *kəʰor* ‘hard, not soft’

Prototypically, this tactile term is used for things that are hard to the touch. For instance, [*kəʰor pəttʰər*] ‘hard rock’ is used for a rock that is hard, and [*kəʰəŋ d̄zəmin*] ‘hard land’ is used for land that is hard and not easy to dig into.

The following are the non-prototypical usages of the touch-term:

2.3.1 TEMPERAMENT IS HARD

12. *kəʰəŋ svəbʰav* ‘a strict personality’
13. *kəʰor bʰəʃa* ‘rude or strong language’
14. *mən kəʰəŋ kərvũ* ‘to steel oneself’

15. *kəṭʰəŋ tʃʰaṭṭinũ/kaḷdʒanũ* ‘someone of robust character’

This conceptual metaphor becomes evident when an individual’s temperament is represented by touch adjectives. Here, the cognitive approach towards the temperament is the same as that towards the sensation of the mentioned touch-term. Thus, TEMPERAMENT is the target and HARD is the source.

The metaphorical meaning of [*kəṭʰəŋ svəbʰav*] ‘hard personality’ is someone who is very strict, rigid, and inflexible, of [*mən kəṭʰəŋ kərvũ*] ‘to make the mind hard’ is to steel oneself against and instill courage in oneself during difficulties and hard times, and of [*kəṭʰəŋ tʃʰaṭṭinũ/kaḷdʒanũ*] ‘of hard chest/heart’ is someone of strong character with who can withstand and fight against difficult situations and times without losing courage. The metaphorical meaning of [*kəṭʰor bʰafa*] ‘hard language’ is language that is strong, strict, rough, or rude. However, one’s language may or may not be an innate part of one’s personality. One may not be inherently strict or rude, but they might use that kind of language to show power, assert dominance, or as overcompensation for being cowardly or timid.

In all these instances, the touch-term ‘hard’ is used in two ways: positive meaning and negative meaning. While being ‘hard’ in certain situations is considered a good thing, when facing difficulties, at times it has negative connotations when ‘hard’ is the default. This means that someone is extremely rigid and not adaptable.

2.3.2 OBJECTS ARE HARD

16. *kəṭʰəŋ paŋi* ‘hard water (water saturated with minerals)’

This conceptual metaphor becomes evident when physical and abstract objects are represented by touch adjectives. Here, the cognitive approach towards material objects is identical to the sensation of the aforementioned touch-term. Thus, PHYSICAL AND ABSTRACT OBJECTS are the target and HARD is the source.

The metaphorical meaning of [*kəṭʰəŋ paŋi*] ‘hard water’ is water that is saturated with minerals and is so termed because it is rough and not easy on the hair and skin.

2.3.3 LUCK IS HARD

17. *kəṭʰəŋ rekʰa* ‘unfortunate, weak luck’

18. *grəh kəṭʰəŋ tʃʰəva* ‘to be unlucky’

19. *kəṭʰəŋ kəpaḷno* ‘someone who is not destined for happiness’

This conceptual metaphor becomes evident when abstract concepts like luck are represented by touch adjectives. Here, the cognitive approach towards luck is similar to the sensation of the touch-term in question. Thus, LUCK is the target and HARD is the source.

The metaphorical meaning of [*kəʃʱəŋ rekʰa*] ‘hard line’ refers to the lines on the palm of one’s hand. An astrologer may predict one’s future based on these lines and if one’s future is full of struggles and hardships, one is said to have ‘hard lines.’ [*grəh kəʃʱəŋ ʃʱəva*] ‘planets become hard’ is also based on astrology. One’s luck can be predicted via the position of the planets according to one’s birth. Since astrology is not a proven science, it is all a game of chance. [*kəʃʱəŋ kəpa[no]*] ‘someone with a hard forehead’ refers to a person who is not destined for happiness and is bound to suffer for the better part of their life. All these metaphorical linguistic expressions have negative connotations.

2.4 *potʃũ* or *nəɾəm* ‘soft’

Prototypically, this tactile term is used for things that are soft to touch. For instance, [*potʃi dʒəmin*] ‘soft land’ is used for land that is soft and can be easily dug into, and [*nəɾəm tʋətʃa*] ‘soft skin’ refers to soft and supple skin.

The following are the non-prototypical usages of the touch-term:

2.4.1 TEMPERAMENT IS SOFT

20. *nəɾəm svəbʰav* ‘a timid personality or temperament’
 21. *potʃa ka[dʒanũ* ‘a coward’

This conceptual metaphor becomes evident when one’s temperament is represented by touch adjectives. Here, temperament is understood in terms of the sensation of the aforementioned touch-term. Thus, TEMPERAMENT is the target and SOFT is the source.

The metaphorical meaning of [*nəɾəm svəbʰav*] ‘soft temperament’ is a person who is timid and passive, someone who doesn’t act fast, and that of [*potʃa ka[dʒanũ*] ‘of soft heart’ is a person who is a coward, someone who cannot muster up the courage when needed.

2.4.2 PHYSIOLOGICAL STATE IS SOFT

22. *nəɾəm paqũ* ‘to calm (someone) down’

This conceptual metaphor becomes evident when one’s physiological state is represented by touch adjectives. Here, the cognitive approach towards one’s physiological state is the same as that towards the sensation of the touch-term in question. Thus, physiological state is the target and soft is the source.

The metaphorical meaning of [*nəɾəm paɖvũ*] ‘to make (someone) soft’ is calming someone, who is angry, down. It refers to the act of placating an enraged person.

2.5 *komə* ‘delicate, soft’

Prototypically, this tactile term is used for things that are soft and delicate to the touch. For instance, [*komə* ɖvətʃa] ‘soft skin’ is used for skin that is soft and delicate. While this word is a synonym of the ones mentioned in the previous section, the connotations and implications vary.

The following are the non-prototypical usages of the touch-term:

2.5.1 TEMPERAMENT IS SOFT

23. *komə* svəb^hav ‘someone with a pleasant personality’
24. *komə* b^haʃa ‘sweet language’

This conceptual metaphor becomes evident when one’s temperament is represented by touch adjectives. Here, the cognitive approach towards one’s temperament is the same as that towards the sensation of the aforementioned touch-term. Thus, temperament is the target and soft is the source.

The metaphorical meaning of [*komə* svəb^hav] ‘soft temperament’ relates to a person whose nature or personality is pleasant, a person who is amicable, that of [*komə* b^haʃa] ‘soft language’ is sweet speech used for polite conversation. However, one’s language may or may not be a part of their personality. One may be rude and use sweet language just to get their way or one may actually be soft-spoken.

2.5.2 PHYSIOLOGICAL STATE IS SOFT

25. *komə* tʃitt ‘someone who is innocent’
26. *komə* aŋgi ‘someone who is delicate’
27. *komə* əvadʒ ‘a sweet voice’

This conceptual metaphor becomes evident when one’s physiological or physical state is represented by touch adjectives. Similar to how the aforementioned touch-term feels, the cognitive technique used here to analyze the physiological state is the same. Thus, physiological state is the target and soft is the source.

The metaphorical meaning of [*komə* aŋgi] ‘soft limbs’ is someone who is delicate and is used in a positive connotation, and that of [*komə* əvadʒ] ‘soft voice’ is a voice that is easy on the ears and a pleasant hearing experience. [*komə* aŋgi] is a compound word that is formed by joining the adjective *komə* ‘soft’ and the noun *aŋg* ‘limb.’ [*komə* tʃitt] ‘delicate mind’ is used to

describe someone who is innocent and guiltless. It refers to a person who leads an honest life and has a clear conscience.

2.6 *q^hilũ* ‘loose, soft’

Prototypically, this tactile term is used for things that are loose or soft to the touch. For instance, [*q^hili d̄z̄amin*] ‘soft land’ is used for land that is soft and loose, and [*q^hilã k̄apdã*] ‘loose clothes’ is used for clothes that are loose to fit and airy.

The following are the non-prototypical usages of the touch-term:

2.6.1 TEMPERAMENT IS SOFT

28. *q^hilũ mukvũ* ‘to give free rein’
29. *q^hilũ t̄f̄aritr̄a* ‘someone of immoral character’

This conceptual metaphor becomes evident when one’s temperament is represented by touch adjectives. Here, the cognitive approach towards one’s temperament is the same as that towards the sensation of the aforementioned touch-term. Thus, TEMPERAMENT is the target and SOFT is the source.

The metaphorical meaning of [*q^hilũ mukvũ*] ‘to let loose’ is giving someone free rein to do as they please, going so far as to bless them and oversee their actions, and that of [*q^hilũ t̄f̄aritr̄a*] ‘loose character’ is someone with bad moral qualities, usually someone with a perceived history of extra-marital romantic relationships.

2.6.2 PHYSIOLOGICAL STATE IS SOFT

30. *q^hilo əvad̄z̄* ‘a weak voice’
31. *q^hila p̄ədvũ* ‘to become weak’
32. *q^hila hoṭ^h k̄arva* ‘to be on the brink of tears’

This conceptual metaphor becomes evident when one’s physiological or physical state is represented by touch adjectives. Here, the cognitive approach towards one’s physiological state is the same as that towards the sensation of the aforementioned touch-term. Thus, PHYSIOLOGICAL STATE is the target and SOFT is the source.

The metaphorical meaning of [*q^hilo əvad̄z̄*] ‘soft voice’ is a weak voice, usually when one is sick; that of [*q^hila p̄ədvũ*] ‘to become soft’ is to become weak due to external stimuli like disease, immense pressure, tension, or stress, or bad news, and that of [*q^hila hoṭ^h k̄arva*] ‘to loosen lips’ is one who is on the brink of tears due to being scolded, loss, or some negative event that affected them greatly.

Here, both *koməl* ‘soft, delicate’ and *q^hilo* ‘soft, loose’ are used for the noun *əvad̪ʒ* ‘voice’. Although both these metaphors translate to “soft voice” in English, they both have different connotations in Gujarati. [*koməl əvad̪ʒ*] ‘soft voice’ is used for someone who has a sweet and pleasant voice with a positive connotation, whereas [*q^hilo əvad̪ʒ*] ‘soft voice’ is used for someone who has a weak voice, mostly due to reasons of health.

3. Conclusion

The purpose of the cognitive-semantic analysis of tactile terms is to investigate the various conceptualizations of tactile terms in Gujarati. This paper discussed the analysis of six tactile terms used in the language. Initially, the prototypical usage of the tactile terms is discussed, followed by their extended meanings through conceptual metaphors. Their metaphorical usage highlighted the perception of language users toward these tactile sensations and the conceptualization of the tactile terms.

According to the analysis of the data in this paper, we can make a few generalizations regarding the tactile terms. They are as follows:

Anger is hot and calmness is cold.
Strict is hard and easy-going is soft.
Rude is hard and polite is soft.
Courage is hard and cowardice is soft.

If we suggest a cover term for tactile terms, like ‘taste’ for taste terms, we can construct conceptual metaphors with different source domains of tactile terms and homogeneous target domains which are common in all the tactile terms that have been discussed in this paper. For instance, if we use the term ‘tactility’ for tactile terms, we can construct the following conceptual metaphors:

TEMPERAMENT IS TACTILITY
PHYSIOLOGICAL STATE IS TACTILITY
PHYSICAL ACTION IS TACTILITY

However, no such term is available for tactile terms at the moment. This paper provides insights into the impact of human perception of touch as a sense and its importance in conceptualizing one’s immediate environment. We further encourage conducting investigations into touch-related terms.

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From *Auctor* to *Author*: Evolution of the Idea of *Authorship* Through Legal and Cultural Discourse

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Abstract

This paper examines the ideas of authorship and copyright as they developed through the complex discursive traffic of forensic and literary arguments during the 18th century in England. It carries out a brief survey of few legal cases which played a critical role in determining the nature of the ideas of literary property, authorship, and copyright. The original transcripts of these courtroom trials are not readily accessible. My work, therefore, is based on the fragments of textual evidence incorporated in the work of authors who have discussed these ideas in wide detail and made it possible, through their labor and shrewd understanding of legal provisions, for people like me to develop a working understanding of the concept of authorship.

Keywords: Authorship, Copyright, Censorship in 17th and 18th Century England.

From the perspective of legal and cultural rationality, each of the legal cases discussed in this paper represent a kind of threshold, a scandal, in the positive and constitutive sense of that term. These scandals, or “stumbling blocks” are responsible for intense and impassioned self-reflexivity. Susan Stewart in her remarkably erudite work, *Crimes of Writing*, argues that the laws of copyright were in fact products of these legal scandals. “It is not so much as the ballad scandals of eighteenth century were the *products* of rules regarding forgery, authenticity, plagiarism and originality as that the ballad scandals helped *produce* such rules” (Stewart: 103). Terry Eagleton also affirms this positive implication of the term scandal: “that which the builder has rejected as *skandalon* or stumbling block will become the cornerstone” (Eagleton: 288).

I would like to begin with a brief discussion of the idea of copyright. What is copyright and what are its many possible applications and implications? Mark Rose describes copyright as “the practice of securing marketable rights in texts that are treated as commodities” (Rose: 3). The definition has the advantage of being simple, yet it is this very simplicity that inveigles us into the trap of believing that there is nothing problematic about the concept of copyright.

What is foreshadowed in Rose's definition of the term is all but one aspect of its complex theory: the commercial nature of copyright. As I will discuss below, the term copyright, consistent with the circumstances and practices that have historically surrounded it, has seen phases of evolution that are not easy to grasp. In foreshadowing of the commercial aspects of copyright, one tends to relegate the other equally significant aspects to an epigonic status. To emphasize the commercial interest alone would be to fatally undermine the integrity of a work of art and its producer. In continental jurisprudence, the creative interests of an artist are given equal billing with the commercial interests he might have in his work. The embodiment of that belief is known as *droit moral*: "the doctrine that purports to protect the personal rights of the author as distinct from commercial ones" (Roeder: 556).

Paraphrasing Lyman Patterson, the scope of copyright and the laws protecting it may be summarily put together as guarding the following four interests; 1) to avoid disorder and distemper in the book trade which includes licensing, printing and publishing of works, 2) to promote and encourage learning in societies, 3) to safeguard the interests of an author in his work and 4) to circumvent monopolistic practices amongst the booksellers and tradesmen (Patterson: 181). As Lyman Ray Patterson has amply demonstrated in his remarkable book, these four aspects of copyright have forever remained inextricably interwoven within the doctrine of copyright, and while addressing historically various circumstances, one or more has occupied the dominant position at the expense of others.

In order to arrive at a serviceable understanding of why the ideas of censorship and copyright are an inextricable tangle, it is imperative for us to consider that these two themes evolved in lockstep with each other. And it was not until late in the 18th century that these two could be identified as two distinct conceptual categories.

Copyright, an idea originally meant to secure balance in the exponentially expanding book trade and to encourage the art of writing and printing books so that the society might benefit from it, underwent radical changes throughout its use by the Stationers' Company, a publishing guild that oversaw the interim workings of the book trade. The inveterate practices of the Stationers' Company remained the mainstay of the idea of copyright and eventually found a comprehensive expression in the licensing act of 1662, which in itself was a coarse rephrasing of the Star Chamber decrees of 1586 and 1637.

It is worth noting, as Patterson does, that the precise nature of literary property and copyright were allowed to remain indeterminate until the latter half of the 18th century because these ideas were never developed in common law courts but instead, they evolved under the aegis of the Court of Assistants, which was a part of the guild of Stationers' Company (Patterson: 88). Mark Rose, in a complimentary way, indicates that the typical methods through which the guild court used to settle disputes were by and large concerned with compromises and expedient reconciliations (Rose: 51). The guild court was at no time known to be concerned

about laying down principles that could serve as guidelines in settling legal disputes that were to gather force only later. The Court of Assistants therefore, derived its methods from the established *customs* of the company as distinct from the *principles* of law.

Right from the moment of its incorporation after the receipt of a charter from Philip and Mary on May 4, 1557, the policies and practices of the company and the state could be seen as serving mutual interests, ligatured by the motives of control and monopoly. In fact, the whole point of granting the charter to company was to “obtain an effective agency for censorship” (Patterson: 29). The Crown wanted to prevent forms of dissent in matters of faith and government; the Stationers, on the other hand, wanted to secure perpetual monopoly over printing and publishing texts whose commodity value was increasing significantly as a corollary of the massive expansion in the market of ideas. In addition to providing stability in the increasingly disorganized book trade, the stationers were also expected to assist the Crown in suppression of ‘schismatical and heretical’ writings which “moved the sovereign’s subjects not only against the crown, but also against the faith and sound Catholic doctrine of Holy Mother Church” (Arber, cited from Patterson: 31).

Once we come to see that the Stationers were the State’s cat’s-paws in the ‘regime of regulation’ over the print market, it won’t be too difficult to imagine the reasons for which they were able to practice their monopolistic trade techniques for almost over 150 years with royal sanction. Perhaps the most revealing illustration of this collusion between state and Stationers-- which implicitly fostered the monopolistic trade practices of the Company-- can be seen in the fact that when in 1603, the Statute of Monopolies was passed, it was not extended to affect “letters patent concerning printing” as well as the “Digging, Making or Compounding of Salt-Petre or Gunpowder, or the Casting or Making of Ordnance” (Patterson: 86). The symbolic categorization of books and ammunition as belonging to the same inventory of objects draws attention towards the menacing potential of these things and indicates the degree of threat felt by the state in allowing them to go unregulated.

The idea of an author as an “autonomous creator” of a text and a proprietor who has both, creative as well as economic interests in his work was hardly relevant in the early stages of development of the doctrine of copyright. The right of the Author as the sole owner of his intellectual property was indefinitely suspended during this time. Mark Rose, in his interesting study, suggests that the most distinguishing feature of the figure of modern author is proprietorship or copyright (Rose: 1). But it was not until very late in the 18th century that the author was recognized as having economic as well as creative interest in his own work. Before this period, even though he could be recognized as the owner of his work, the idea of author was little more than a smoke screen for defending the Stationers’ monopoly.

In the times preceding the passage of Statute of Anne, also known as the first copyright statute of England, copyright was not really author’s copyright but stationer’s right to publish an author’s work. The Stationers’ copyright can be understood as the right to publish, i.e.,

reproduce copies of a book that has been assigned or ‘signed off’ to him by the consent of the author. The stationers never cared to claim a creative right in a work, but merely concerned themselves with the lucrative outcome of its market demand. The stationers’ copyright therefore “was literally a right to copy-- that is, a right to reproduce a given work for sale” (Patterson: 71).

The thought that authors had an incontrovertible right in their work was implicitly recognized by the guild practices of the Stationers’ company but never legally delineated for a variety of reasons. Part of these reasons was the company’s monopolistic control over the book market. As long as there was not threat to this monopoly from the outside, it was never really necessary for them to get the legal attention of courts to settle the trivial disputes that existed within the company. These disputes mostly involved malcontent members of the company or rogue printers operating outside the company’s control. The authors were never concerned with the litigations that followed once they had assigned their copies to booksellers who would then make free with them as they pleased.

The ensuing trade disputes were never an author’s concern but merely involved the booksellers who would infringe each other’s right to print and publish a given book. By signing off a copy to a bookseller, the author used to enter what Patterson has called a “negative covenant” with his assign or assigns which implied that he would not interfere or cause to interfere in the publishing of the said copy in exchange of an amount stipulated at the time of this assignment (Patterson: 73). It was common practice that a book had to be entered in the registers of the company before it could be sent for printing, and since the access to these registers was restricted only to the members of the company, authors hardly cared to go beyond their nominal transactions with the booksellers.

“And the sanctions for copyright came from the company, for it was the company, not the author that granted the copyright. From the stationer’s viewpoint, copyright was protection against rival publishers, not against authors, and the existence of continuing rights of the author in his work was consistent with the existence of copyright in the stationer.” (Patterson:71)

As long as there were few authors and limited number of printing presses, this arrangement worked impressively despite the few occasional infractions that commonly occur within the space of every established trade. But as the book market expanded, some booksellers grew in importance while others experienced a steady decline in fortunes. This could be seen as the beginning of the practice of piracy, which was nothing more than an unauthorized publication of a copy that, according to the ‘ancient usage’ of the company, was understood to be the ‘property’ of another bookseller. Despite a few skirmishes within the company, it was still the Court of Assistants, an interim tribunal, that was usually called upon to adjudicate and arbitrate the disagreements that individual booksellers had amongst themselves. But with further growth in the book market the number of competitors was not merely restricted to the

malcontents and insurgents within London. Some provincial booksellers, especially Scottish ones, had enjoyed a raving success and made sizable profits by reprinting copies owned by the stock of Stationers' Company and selling them for much cheaper prices. This amounted to a lot of discontent within the company and finally with the passage of the Copyright Statute in 1710, which restricted the term of copyright, it became impossible for the members of the company to ignore the existence of the provincial booksellers. But the Stationers were relentless in their pursuit of perpetual monopoly. Just because the statute had limited the term of copyright did not decisively mean that they were prepared to forswear the wealth they had put together in form of patents. They sought legal redress and opened the war on a new front and the figure that was to lead this front was that of the author.

On 10th of April 1710, when the Statute of Anne was finally passed, it carried, inter alia, two implications which are of crucial significance for the present discussion. First of these implications was that the term of copyright, which was theretofore held as perpetual and transferable, was limited to a certain number of years. The statute ordained that the term of copyright for works already in print should be restricted to a period of Twenty-One years from the date on which the statute went into effect. For works that were to be printed after the passage of the act, it was ordained that the term should be restricted to a period of Fourteen years, after which if the author of the work is still alive, it would return to him for another term of Fourteen years.

The second most important implication of the Statute was that it proposed an alternative way of publishing a book. As I have mentioned before, in the years preceding the statute, only a member of the Stationers' Company could print and publish a given work after making an entry in the registers of the company. According to the statute, it was possible for any one now to publish a book after giving an advertisement in the *Gazette* (Birrell: 95). It would be pointless to suggest that both these provisions dealt a direct assault on the monopoly of the Stationers' Company but despite the passage of the Statute of Anne, the London booksellers were able to enjoin publications of works for which the term of copyright had expired, on grounds of the fact that an author-- and by extension-- his assigns had a common law right in the work that he so laboriously produces, a right that cannot be taken away or abridged by the statute. This debate surrounding the nature of literary property and the extent of author's right in it, was never conclusively resolved until the landmark hearing of *Donaldson vs. Beckett* in 1774.

Before we get to the discussion of how the modern institution of authorship was forged under the influence of legal and commercial forces, I would like to point out that the reasons why the 18th century saw an unprecedented upsurge in the debate of authorship and the corollary debates of copyright cannot be apprehended without the consideration of a crucial change that was already taking place in the commercial and cultural circumstances of that time. This change was the gradual decline of the traditional system of patronage. The Idea of an author as an independent institution with commercial and social interest in the artefacts he

produces, could not have been conceived under the influence of such a system, wherein “through a complex set of symbolic and material transactions, patrons received honor and status in the form of service from their clients and in return provided both material and immaterial rewards” (Rose: 16).

It is worth noting that the first form of copyright was known as the “letters patent”, predecessor to the “stationer’s copyright”, granted by the sovereign, “in exercise of his royal prerogative”, to an individual author by way of reward for his services to the state and the society (Patterson: 26).

In these cases, as few as they may have been, the monarch used to presume the position of the patron. As Mark Rose has observed, the printing patent granted to Samuel Daniel for his *History of England* by King James is not as much of an act of investing property in the author as it is concerned with the ideas of “reward” and “honor” (Rose: 17).

Interesting from this point of view is Lyman Ray Patterson’s observation regarding the difference between the idea of the royal prerogative as it was used by the Stuarts and Tudors. He observes that while the Tudors saw the royal prerogative as a “department of law which conferred upon the ruler certain necessary rights not available to the subjects”, the Stuarts saw it “over and above the law” or “over and against it” (Patterson: 51).

These two different conceptions of the royal prerogative when examined together can work to explain if the author was understood as having any natural rights in his work or whether his rights were a constitutional or sovereign grant. According to the first thesis, if the author had any natural rights in his work, even the authority of the sovereign could not challenge its existence. Such a right would be imprescriptible even if it went against the royal claim. The royal prerogative, therefore, would merely be an instrument to *recognize* such rights and to protect them. If, on the other hand one favors the second theory, then the author’s rights were little more than provisional sanctions from the ruling authority and could be taken away just as easily as they were *invested*.

It is no mere coincidence that the literary scene of 18th century was ripe and conducive for the entry of a genre like the novel. Traditional forms such as the sonnet were waning in importance because it was a “form inscribed within a network of aristocratic traditions and patronage” (Stallybrass: 71) Not more than a century before this, Ben Jonson had argued in favor of a “consociation of offices between the monarch and the scholar” wherein he coarsely equates these two as positions of privilege and authority (Stallybrass: 74). At the time when Jonson was writing, such a view might have seemed treasonous, but it outlined a change which was only to be realized critically in the following century with the simultaneous decline in the prerogatives of the monarch and the rise of the doctrine of possessive individualism. The latter

rushed forth in the following period to meet the new and more professional demands of the idea of authorship.

“Authorship in this sense required a two-handed fending off of royal and popular patronage alike, since both entangled the poet in symbolic arrangements, rituals deferences which no longer quite answered his *professional needs*” (Italics mine, Stallybrass: 75).

Daniel Defoe, during the early years of the 18th century was arguing for the abridgement of censorship while emphasizing that the author’s interests in his work need to be protected just as the rights of any inventor who has sole property in his invention. A very similar position was being argued by Addison in his *Tatler*. Mark Rose refers to this period as the early stage of the formation of a discourse that would eventually establish the boundaries of authorial rights. Rose demonstrates that the idea of author was still not entirely dis severed from the system of patronage, by making use of the articles published by Defoe in his journal *Review*. “Despite his concern for property and authorial rights Defoe presents the issue of authorial property from within the framework of traditional society where punishment and reward are transmitted from above” (Rose: 38).

As the language of these articles suggests, rather than considering literary property as a matter of right, these authors were primarily concerned in characterizing the role of a writer as an individual who secludes himself from the tedious affairs of mankind for the cause of learning and as a token of good grace and encouragement deserves a ‘reward’ for his labors. But, following unprecedented and rapid changes in commerce and technology, by 1747 the idea of an author as a professional individual who must depend on his work for sustenance had acquired both form and substance.

The publication of William Warburton’s *A Letter from an Author to a Member of Parliament Concerning Literary Property* was a crucial moment in the development of this authorial discourse. The pamphlet argues that just as an inventor has a right over his invention, which is both; the material unit and immaterial spirit of innovation, an author’s claim to property in his work is irrefragable. The very nature of literary property is immaterial and therefore it occupies a place that is significantly higher than any other form of property. Rose observes that by invoking this distinction between material and immaterial natures of property and their corresponding implications of mental and physical labor as different from each other, Warburton was engineering a rhetoric which “when fused with the traditional coding of spirit as superior to matter, produced a hierarchical ordering” (Rose: 73). The author thus occupied the highest position in this commercial hierarchy. What we see here is a gradual shift from the traditional notion of the author as an especially skilled selfless individual working in favor of the society as a whole to an individual who labors to support his continued existence and deserves to have a perpetual interest in the profits of his work; “a commodity producer” (Rose: 74).

It has been observed by many authors, Mark Rose in particular, that the idea of an author holding property in his compositions was hugely influenced by the Lockean Humanist discourse on property, individual and society. Rose shows, through detailed illustrations, how Locke's work was central in the fashioning of these ideas. For Locke, the society was there to nurture and protect the interests of the emerging category of the individual, the highest instance of manifestation of which was the author. Locke's doctrines are indelibly inscribed within the subsequent systematic evolution of the idea of the author. Those arguing a case for the author's right as a common law right were using Locke's arguments to provide theoretical flesh to this emergent discourse. It was more in tow with the doctrine of possessive individualism, which suggested that the whole point of society was to safeguard the interests, especially property interests, of the individual. But it would be a critical error to propose that Locke's discourse was seamlessly supporting the author's claim of permanent property in his work. Those trying to limit the term of copyright rested their appeal on the fact that the limitation of the term of copyright was in interest of public and common weal. Learning promotes learning, but if it were kept within the confines of someone's personal right to print, it was highly probable that great works of literature never see the light of day. Monopoly is not an impatient trade and the only way of preventing it from damaging public standards of learning was to have some form of statutory regulation as a stranglehold on the perpetuity of copyright.

These two arguments are best understood, not as diametrically opposed to each other, but as situated on the opposite ends of a continuum. While the Lockean doctrine of property was helping the booksellers to consolidate the essence of literary property in terms of something as physical as a carriage or real estate, Locke was also emphasizing that the idea of booksellers getting away with perpetual monopoly was all but ludicrous.

“That any person or company should have patents for the sole printing of ancient authors is very unreasonable and injurious to learning; and for those who purchase copies from authors that now live and write, it may be reasonable to limit their property to a certain number of years after the death of the author, or the first printing of the book, as, suppose, fifty or seventy years” (Locke's *Memorandum*, 208-9: cited from Rose).

The notion of literary property as a right and not merely a reward for author's industry was indeed a novel thought. As I have discussed earlier in this paper, for as long as authors were working under the aegis of a patron, such an interest seemed little more than unnecessary. Moreover, the book trade was largely controlled by a guild and before the passage of the Statute of Anne their monopolistic practices were never threatened. The idea of a book as something independent of the manuscript was hardly relevant even in the times when authors used to assign the right to print and publish their works to booksellers outright. For a man of learning to be involved in the affairs of commerce and market was a token sign of disgrace but with the

professional evolution of authorship it became more and more necessary to define the complete extent of such rights.

The first case to be argued upon the nature and location of literary property was *Pope vs. Curll* (1741). It has been speculated that Alexander Pope contrived a situation whereby he had copies of his literary correspondence with Dean Swift published by a London bookseller, Edmund Curll and then proceeded to bring legal action against him (Rose: 121). The reasons regarding why he might have done this have also been generously speculated upon. One theory suggests that it was generally regarded as unbecoming of an author with a reputation like Pope's to make his letters public. Pope might have wanted to publish these letters on his own, but he could not have done that unless and until it was as a way of, as Mark Rose calls it, "setting the record straight" (Rose: 122). Getting someone else to publish his letters first would simply have paved a path for Pope to go ahead with the publication himself and still preserve his image as a gentleman scholar.

Notwithstanding the reasons Pope might or might not have had, the following trial was a landmark case in the slowly developing legal discourse on authorship and literary property because for the first time the lawmakers of Chancery courts found themselves engaging with the intractable and pesky nature of literary property. Pope's Bill of Complaint was presented in front of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, who after long deliberations, issued an injunction against the sale and publication of the volume in question. The most important point to be discussed during the case was the *abstract* nature of literary property. To whom does a letter belong? Is the writer the sole owner of this property or is it the recipient, or is it possible perhaps that the ownership of such documents is shared by both? Does a letter deserve to be protected under the terms defined by the Statute of Anne? Indeed, if anything, the very question of what could one possibly mean by the words like 'work' and 'book' was being addressed by the law for the first time.

One should recall here that the first part of the title of the Statute of Anne was '*An act for the encouragement of learning*'. Allowing the author complete and transferable rights over his work had a very important implication; that it might be to the detriment of learning in society should the author or his assigns refuse to print such work. But it also seemed natural that an author must have some recognized interest in the very artefact that he industriously produces. In Lord Hardwicke's decision, an injunction was issued to prevent the publication of the letters written *by* Pope and not the ones written *to* him. The defendant's counsel had based his argument on the premise that once a letter is sent to the addressee, it takes on the nature of a gift thereby discrediting the claims of the author to possess any property in it. Lord Hardwicke pontificated:

"it is only a special property in the receiver, the property of the paper may belong to him; but this does not give a licence to any person whatsoever to publish them to this world,

for at most the receiver has only a joint property with the writer” (Lord Chancellor Hardwicke’s decision: Reprinted in the appendix A, Rose: 237).

Though fundamental questions regarding the exact character of literary property and authorship were far from *resolved* in this trial, one important implication of the case was that the contentious and problematic nature of these concepts was finally *revealed* to legal scrutiny. This was 6 years before the publication of Warburton’s pamphlet which systematically developed the questions that were raised during *Pope vs. Curll* (1741). Warburton was groomed as a lawyer before he took up his offices in the church and had a personal interest in the landmark trial owing to the fact that he was also Pope’s legal executioner (www.copyrighthistory.org).

One of the most nuanced arguments made in the pamphlet was regarding the essence of literary property. Warburton argued that the property of an author in his work was never merely restricted to the physical manuscript but extended to the *doctrine* that it contained.

“Six years earlier in *Pope vs. Curll*, Lord Chancellor Hardwicke had tentatively distinguished between the receiver’s property right in the possession of a letter and the author’s property right in the words. Now, in Warburton’s *Letter*, the notion of a property in pure signs abstracted from any material support was being systematically developed” (Rose: 73).

As I have mentioned above, despite the passage of the statute, booksellers were still able to obtain injunctions from the chancery courts against publications whose term of copyright had expired. A comprehensive account of these legal cases is available in Rose, Patterson and Saunders. Although, in *Pope vs. Curll*, the crucial question of the abstract nature of literary property was raised, it was never really resolved, and the judgment issued by Lord Chancellor Hardwicke was more of an expedient that represented a middle house position.

How can one locate property in ideas? This was a question that stared unhappily in the faces of those who were to participate in the trials that determined the nature of literary property. The most practical problem faced by the jurists involved in the matter was the lack of precedents. Since these questions were never before argued in the legal context of courtrooms, it was impossible to draw upon precedents which could serve as guidelines. Another problem was that if the very essence of literary property was abstract, how could one define it in terms which were only applicable to material property, the limits of which could be defined for terms of possession?

Mark Rose’s work presents an interesting reflection on the metaphors that were being used during these trials and concludes that the most frequent of them were the ‘paternity trope’ (the renaissance notion that an author has as much of a right over his work as a father has over his child, famously antiquated by now) and the ‘real estate metaphor’ (supported by the

Lockean idea that man has his property in everything that he has manipulated and mixed with his labor) (Rose: 78). To put it sharply, the jurists simply did not know where to situate the idea of literary property given that the available ways of interpreting and determining property were all restricted to the conditions of material possession. And if determined, could it be possible for it to receive the same treatment as something material, like an estate or a house or even a chair? It is way easier to run away with a book than to encroach upon a house. Significantly, once stolen, material property cannot be augmented physically but it is easy for one to reduplicate copies of a book. Augustine Birrell seizes upon this confusion by pointing out that in the Western countries, the idea of property had been developed around the theory of exclusion.

“Certain rights over things amounting in the aggregate to a more or less complete exclusion of others than the owner from participating, save by consent, in their enjoyment had in the Western World become recognized as property” (Birrell: 11).

Now since the fundamental point of publishing a book is share it with people, it seemed almost impossible for the jurists to offer it complete protection from intellectual pillaging.

The three other landmark trials which proved crucial in the determination of authorial rights were *Tonson vs Collins* (1762), *Millar vs Taylor* (1769) and *Donaldson vs Becket* (1774). In the first of these three cases, despite the good intent of the judges, no verdict was issued because it was revealed that the action was collusive and the defendant was merely nominal. The case was orchestrated by the London and provincial booksellers to solve the aporia of literary property and authorial rights (Saunders: 141). The whole question was based around discussion of whether or not an author possessed a common law right in his work and did or did not the Statute of Anne destroy this right? Saunders argues that a crucial clue to understanding that the statute took away author’s common law right, if any had existed before its passage by drawing attention to the title of the statute. The statute mentions ‘vesting’ of rights in the author, which clearly indicates that it was not in recognition of any such rights but rather it was assigning them to the author.

In *Millar vs. Taylor*, the judges of King’s Bench concurred— with one dissenting opinion of Justice Yates— that an author has a common law right in his work and the statute had failed to recognize it. But in the following trial of *Donaldson vs. Becket*, the House of Lords overturned the decision of the Kings Bench and held that the term of copyright has to be kept limited in continuous interest of the needs of a learned society. Thus, it was in 1774, some sixty-four years after the passage of the Statute of Anne, that the question of literary property and the author’s right in it was finally resolved despite the resistance of the booksellers.

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A Study of the Impact of Long-Term School Closures Due to Covid on Students of Classes 3-5 of English Medium Schools

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Abstract

The topic of concern of the research was to determine the effects on students' performances before and after school closures due to Covid. The focus group of this study was the middle school level students of Bangladesh. The topic covered a significant area of our education. It focused on the middle school level students of Bangladesh and explored the learning that took place during the school closures. Not only that it explored the students who were out of reach of learning and but also the impact it had on the lives of these students. Additionally, the goal of the research was also to investigate the effects of school closures on the learners' social and communication skills. In addition, the current study, examined the nature of interaction between teachers and students before and after online classes. It also examined the students' academic performances and the impact it had put on their emotional or psychological well-being.

Introduction

1.1. Background of the Problem

The problem identified in my research project is to find out the impact of the closure of schools on the performances of the students of Bangladesh due to Covid 19. It is a case study of the learners at the primary level (Grade I to Grade V) of Bangladesh. The students and their education have undergone a series of changes throughout the pandemic. At the very beginning of the outbreak of Corona patients in Bangladesh, the government shut down all the educational institutions from March the 17th, 2021. The closure was later extended periodically according to the situation of the Corona Virus.

Bangladesh government declared reopening of the schools from September 18, 2021, after 18 months of the nationwide shutdown of the schools. At that time, students attending public examinations were only allowed to attend classes after the 1st reopening of the schools. Students of other grades were advised to attend classes only once or twice in a week. Finally, after almost two years (from March 17th, 2020, to 20th March 2022) the schools were reopened for the students.

By this time, the government started the vaccination programme of the children aged above 12 years old. During the shutdown phase, most of the children of the primary level were out of the reach of learning and practising. According to a newspaper report (Mahmud, 2021), Bangladeshi NGO BRAC conducted a study which found that at least half (56%) of the country's students were not connected with online or recorded classes during the pandemic. In addition, very few number of schools only in the main cities in Bangladesh could provide online teaching via zoom, google meet, google classroom and WhatsApp. Considering the importance of the issue and to find out the learning gaps of the children in these (from March 17th, 2020, to 20th March 2022) 18 months, the research will provide an in-depth analysis of the impact of the closure of the schools on students' performances due to Covid 19.

1.2. Significance of the Study

The importance of the study lies in discovering and mitigating the learning gaps in these (from 17th March 2020-September 2021) 18 months. As learning did not happen as it is supposed to happen, this group of children have gone through various kinds of losses which will impact them later in life. It is evident to us, after the reopening of the schools. It was found that many of our grade III students struggling to read according to their level. It is just an example of one of the areas of their subjects. As these groups of children start to learn the basics of all the subjects, and when they are out of learning for a longer period, they are likely to forget what they have learned. Therefore, it is important to know the impact of the school closures have had on the performances of students due to Covid. Only by exploring and understanding the impact it had on the learners, we then only we can work towards lessening the learning gaps of these two years.

1.1. Objective of the Study: The Study Aims

- i. to find out the differences between student performance before and after long term school closure due to Covid.
- ii. to explore the effect of long-term school closure on learners' social or communication skills
- iii. to evaluate learners' participation and interaction both before and after online and offline classes
- iv. to evaluate the nature of interaction between teachers and students during online and offline classes

- v. to compare learners' performances on exams or assignments both before and after online classes

1.3. Research Questions

General Question: What was the impact of long-term school closure on the learners from classes 3-5?

Specific Questions

- i. What kind of academic activities did the learners engage in during school closure?
- ii. Is there a visible gap in the academic performance of the learner?
- iii. What are the possible causes of the gaps?

1.5. Literature Review

During this period (from 17th March 2020-September 2021), mostly the schools in the cities started classes their online. (Khan, Rahman, & Islam, 2021) identified that at the beginning teachers have just started using a combination of real-time interactive courses and classes, along with pre-recorded materials and a mix of content, with some instructors choosing to use both methods separately. However, this isn't the scenario for the whole country. In the beginning, a state-run television station transmitted pre-recorded classes to primary school students across the country. As the classes were pre-recorded, these classes were non-interactive. Moreover, (Khan, Rahman, & Islam, 2021) stated that the 50% figure for households without a television set means that a good amount of people have been kept outside the ambit of a tv set. Therefore, when we think of students' performance during the Covid 19 situation, we have to take into consideration different aspects of it.

A study conducted by the World Bank found that a full 50% of respondents from this study reported that they spend less time on education than before the lockdown began. 94 per cent of the respondents reported that they spend more time on household chores or childcare. According to the World Bank report, girls are three percentage points more likely to spend more time on household chores and childcare since COVID-19 regulations in January. Ramji & Sultana, (2020) stated that students are disconnected during the virtual class with students stuck for minutes at a time trying to figure out how to log back into the classroom with connectivity issues. Most online classes are conducted through video conference style, which normally consumes heavy data and needs high-speed internet to function. Due to the lack of speed or unavailability of the internet, many students were out of the online class.

A school provides essential learning to the children. Children learn better from repetitions, drills and practice and they need repetition or drills on the learned topics. They also learn from

observing, listening, exploring and asking questions. Learning occurs while children attend classes and learn together with other children. Burgess & Sievertsen, (2020) specified that going to school, whether at a public or private institution, is the best public policy option to improve skills. They further indicated that school time is a great way for students to develop social skills and social awareness. Moreover, according to them from a cognitive point of view, being in school is the best way to increase a child's ability to gain intelligence and potential.

According to UNESCO (2020b) some of the harmful effects of school closures are as follows:

- **Interrupted learning:** When schools close, children and youth are deprived of opportunities to grow, as well as suffer from threats to their cognitive development. The disadvantage of being an underprivileged learner is that the number of opportunities outside of school is disproportionately low.
- **Poor nutrition:** Many children and youth rely on school meals because they often provide food and healthy nutrition for free or a discounted price. When schools close, the nutritional needs of students are compromised.
- **Rise in dropout rates:** It is difficult to ensure that children and youth who have been absent because of school closures return to school and stay enrolled in subsequent terms.
- **Increased exposure to violence and exploitation:** When schools shut down, so do early marriages, teen pregnancies become more common, and child labor becomes more prevalent.
- **Social isolation:** Schools, for the most part, embody social activity and human interaction. When school closures occur, children and youth miss out on essential social contact that is needed for learning and development.

1.6. Methodology

We have used a mixed-method with a combination of both qualitative and quantitative research methodologies in our research. As a qualitative research methodology, we have explored the impact of school closures on students' performance due to Covid 19 by analyzing their performances and results both before and after school closure due to Covid. We have recorded the students' performance both before and after school closures. Moreover, one to one communication with the students helped us to determine the impact of the school closures due to Covid 19.

1.7 Results

The closing of schools due to Covid provided the decision- making bodies to determine plans which were necessary to recover the learning gaps among students. Thus, it helped to

mitigate the learning gaps in the school going children. Therefore, the research paper benefitted not only the policy makers, but also teachers in dealing with learning and learning gaps of the students.

After conducting the research, we did find out that, long term school closures have had effects on students' results. Moreover, the overall learning of the students was affected by the closures. The students who have had extraordinary performances in online, could not perform likewise after the reopening of the schools. Additionally, in the online assessments, most of the students performed extraordinarily. However, they could not show the same in the offline assessments. The exam scripts of the students varied a lot in this regard. While matching the scripts of the students of online and of online, it is understood that in online classes, the students could get the access of the books and other caregivers to help them with answers. But, in offline classes, those options were unavailable.

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A Study of Motifs of Patayani, a Folk Art Form

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Abstract

Patayani is an ancient ritual art form which blends music, dance, theatre, sataire, masks, costume, paintings, etc. Patayani highlights the domination of light over darkness. Patayani orginated from the myth dharikavadham. It is also a harvesting festival. Patayani is a combination of myraids of ancient belief system and diverse of worship. Motif is the basic unit of folklore; it relates a character, story and incident, just like a phoneme in language that is an arbitary sign. The artist imposes a specific meaning to motif. This research paper analyzes the motifs of Patayani.

Keywords: Patayani, kōlam, motifs, folklore.

Introduction

This study mainly examines the significance of Patayani as a folklore art form. Patayani, as a ritual art form, has a decisive influence in shaping the social life and culture of the people. It has been able to sustain itself by undergoing periodic renovations. This art form has also been able to represent the language and artistic development of the people in the places where it spread. This study tries to identify the prominent motifs involved in patayani, their classification, identify different types of motifs and understand their importance in folkloristics. The study also analyzes the relationships and differences between the motifs, themes and symbols.



Paṭayaṇi, also known as Paṭēni, is a traditional folk dance of Kerala. It is an ancient ritual performance enacted in the temples of Goddesses in Kerala. This art form blends music, dance, theatre, satire, masks, costumes, paintings, etc. Paṭayaṇi can be said to be a ritual art form which maintains the domination of light over darkness. Advancing hesitantly through bits and pieces of dreams of social life through an

extended period, surviving the wear and tear it caused, this folk art form is still alive, shining brilliantly as the lofty bloom of light bearing all the brunt and bruises thrust on it. The apodictic position of Paṭayaṇi among the diverse art forms of Kerala asserts true tradition in antiquity based on belief and ritual, ensuring active participation of the local population is genuinely unique. Paṭayaṇi, which absorbs the very life force itself of the life of the people and presents it in front of them through themselves utilizing seen and unseen techniques, is, in reality, simple and complex simultaneously. All the factors involved in Paṭayaṇi are straightforward as well as crooked and indirect. Paṭayaṇi has acquired an attire of ever-fresh feeling, at the same time antiquity beyond the consideration of time since the names and forms appeared much after the concepts evolved. All the different factors of Paṭayaṇi are seen to be interdependent.

Folklore

"The science of folklore is that branch of human knowledge that collects, classifies and studies the materials of folklore scientifically to interpret the life and culture of people across the ages. It is among the social sciences that explore and interprets civilization's history. "Folklore perpetuates the pattern of culture, and through its study, we can often explain the motifs and the meaning of culture. Therefore, the science of folklore contributes significantly to the history and interpretation of human life (Aurelio M Espinosa, *Dictionary of folklore, mythology and legend*. p398). "Folklore is that art form comprising various types of stories, proverbs, sayings, spells, song indications and other formulas which employ spoken language as its medium" (Waterman R. *A dictionary of folklore, mythology and legend*. P. 398)

Motif

"In folklore, the form motif designates any parts of a folklore item that can be analyzed. In folk art, a design motif is repeated or combined with other forms in a distinctive fashion. Similar recurring patterns may be identified in folk music and folk song. However, the area in which motifs have been most studied and carefully analyzed is that of folk narratives such as folktales, legends, ballads and myths". (Stith Thompson)

"Motif is the basic unit of a folklore, and it relates a character, story, incident just like a phoneme in language that is an arbitrary sign the artist imposes specific meaning to the motif" (Dorison Richard M. 1962).

The *motif* is a term handled mainly by folklore enthusiasts known as folklorists who dwell deep into it, analyzing, interpreting, and describing the essential elements found in it, which are traditional. They go further, and the traditional elements found in a specific folk group's lore are compared with folklore from various parts of the world and cultures worldwide, keeping these motif patterns as the base. Folklorists work difficult to identify motifs in folklore to clarify where they are used, how they are used, and why they are used for a specific purpose. These studies seek to comprehend the values associated with them, the various customs of the groups, and, more importantly, to comprehend the traditions of rare cultures for the interests of the entire world.

As per cultural anthropology and folkloristic studies, the motif is a term used to cover much larger fields of activities directed to understanding the meanings of motifs utilized in music, literary criticism, visual arts, textile arts, etc. That is why folklorists devote their minds to the study of motifs, which are, in fact, the recurring elements in all of these fields. In folklore and folk-art traditions, these motifs generate recognizable patterns.

Professional folklorists refer to story elements that are repeated consistently and efficiently recognizable with the motif. Characters seen or read commonly, objects, actions, events, etc., may be cited as examples. These are used commonly in the traditional plot structures, tale types of many stories, folk tales, etc. These motifs, which Dr. Margaret Read Macdonald calls "each small part of a tale" [1], were indexed in 1932 by Stith Thompson and published as the *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*. [1].

Motifs can be said to be the blood running through the narrative of a book or art form if their themes are regarded as heartbeats. Motifs are engaged in adding depth to the contents of the expressions or writing a performer of visual art or writer of a text which takes up the function of directing the readers or viewers to the cardinal message intended to be imparted. It will be amply supported by other literary devices considered salient.

An essential recurring ingredient of a narrative with symbolic implications is known as the motif. A symbol, concept, or plot structure which keeps appearing in a consistently repeated manner in a book or any other visual art form could mean that a motif is being dealt with; these motifs are to be closely connected to the cardinal idea of the book or art forms. They should also reinforce the overall message of the author or the performer. The motifs are highly traceable, repeating consistently throughout the length and breadth of a book. They usually leave a trail of totally purposeful clues. These trails are purposefully put in place by the author of a book for the readers to figure out the author's views which prompted the author to venture into its creation.

Thompson expanded on Antti Aarne's research, the tale type index he created by compiling, categorizing, and numbering the traditional motifs of the primarily European folktale types in Aarne's index and then cross-referencing those motifs with Aarne's tale types.

Stith Thompson's "six-volume Motif-Index of Folk-Literature and the Aarne-Thompson tale type index constitute two of the most valuable analytical tools in the professional folklorist's arsenal, "according to folklorist Alan Dundes.

Definition of Motif

A motif may be defined as an object, concept or idea that repeats itself consistently throughout a literary work and art forms (*Encyclopedia Britannica*)

Meaning of Motif

The term 'motif' is a literary term that is an idea, object, or concept that repeats itself consistently throughout a work. The motif hints at the theme or reinforces ideas that the author or artist wishes to emphasize. The use of motifs reinforces the work's theme. To be considered a motif, it must repeatedly appear throughout a work. It should also be noted that the motif can manifest itself in various ways.

Function of Motif

A 'motif' is to provide readers with subtle or overt clues to the central message that the author wishes to express in his or her literary work. The author may repeat the motif several times throughout his/her literary work to strengthen the theme according to his/her preference. There are no hard and fast rules for incorporating motifs into literary works. It is totally up to an author to decide whether a motif or motifs should be incorporated into his/her literary work. It is usually used to generate an intended mood in the minds of the readers and to help the readers to realize the intended meanings lying concealed, which the author wishes to communicate to the readers in the form of clues which will force them to glue themselves to the theme until the very end of the work.

Examples of Motif

'Death' may be taken as a motif in a literary work. It is not essential for the author to strictly use the word 'death' to bring in the concept of the motif. The author may use terms like 'funeral,' 'grave,' 'dead,' etc. The author has the liberty to illustrate death-like images reinforcing the motif. The author could also use symbols like that of a coffin to express his concept of 'death.' Language, symbols, imagery, etc., are utilized to reinforce the motif, and they all contribute to it significantly. As regards motif, this is the thing which contributes to the theme the author tries to express in the work.

Motif and Theme

A motif in a literary work can be defined as an image, sound, action, or other figures that have symbolic meaning and contribute to the development of the theme. In a literary work, motif and theme are linked but distinct. A literary work's motif, as opposed to its theme, is a recurrent image, concept, or symbol that advances or clarifies the theme.

It may be realized that motifs are closely related to the theme of a work. The readers or viewers must properly discern motifs, themes, and symbols. The ultimate meaning which backs up a story may be said to be the theme of a book. Theme can be stated to be the soul of a book. Themes, as it is, may be said to be everywhere in the world all the time. It is noticed that themes highlight aspects of society in general, the nature of human beings or the world as a whole. Motifs function as objects which reinforce the theme. This function is carried out by consistently repeating a particular cardinal message of the narrative.

In paṭayaṇi, in kālankōlam, mārkaṇḍheya hugs Śivaliṅga when kāla throws his rope around his neck; mārkaṇḍheya puts his faith in Lord Śiva. Faith in the Lord is highlighted here. This motif repeatedly continues throughout the performance. The motif may be said to be its prime, 'sight.' The consistent recurring imagery of eyes drives this point home. The motif and the theme of the work are closely related, as may be seen in this example. It may be noticed that one supports and provides strength to the other.

Difference between Motif and Theme

A motif is that which consistently repeats itself all through a literary work. It also acts as a base for developing the 'theme' the author has in mind. Conversely, the theme's function is to be a message the author wishes to express through the renderings in the author's literary work. The various clues provided by the author through the length and breadth of his literary work will prove helpful to the readers resulting in them grasping the message the author tries to express. One such clue may be termed 'motif.'

Motif and Symbol

Occasionally, instances of the motif are misidentified as symbols. Symbols are images, ideas, sounds, or words representing something else and aiding in comprehending an idea or a thing. On the other hand, Claus and colleagues' Motifs are images, ideas, sounds, or words that help explain a literary work's theme. It is also a recurring idea or concept repeatedly appearing throughout a text. Only a few more symbols will appear in the work.

A symbol may be defined as something recognizable that represents something abstract. It can be compared to a traffic signboard on the street. For example, in India, the tri-colour flag is the national flag of India. Bhima, in Mahabharata, is the symbol of bravery. Symbols may be realized when consistently repeated, signifying or reinforcing a motif. It may also be realized that a symbol typically is a material which symbolizes a thing which may be entirely different from it. An example that can be cited that is used universally is the heart symbol of love. To cite another example, a coffin, when displayed in a particular situation in work, relays the idea of death. This way, this coffin symbol is meant to signify the death motif. As mentioned above, symbols are objects that contribute to a motif. The motif itself simply reinforces the theme of the work. As per cultural anthropology and folkloristic studies, the motif is a term meant to cover the meanings of the motif used in the various fields of music, literary criticism, visual arts, textile arts, etc. Because folklorists apply their minds to acquire and enlarge their

knowledge base regarding motifs, which are, in reality, the recurring elements in every one of these fields, these motifs are found to generate recognizable patterns in folklore and folk-art traditions.

Professional folklorists refer to story elements that are repeated consistently and efficiently recognizable with the term motif. Characters seen or read commonly, objects, actions, events, etc., may be cited as examples. These are used commonly in the traditional plot structures, tale types of many stories, folk tales, etc.

The motifs are highly traceable, repeating consistently throughout the length and breadth of a book. They usually leave a trail of totally purposeful clues. These trails are purposefully put in place by the author of a book for the readers to figure out the author's views which prompted the author to venture into its creation.

In Padayaṇi, 'bhadrakālī' is depicted as having taken birth from the third eye of Lord Śiva. She is visualized as wielding a sword and 'vaṭṭaka'(round vessel) in her hands, wearing 'cilambu '(an ornament goddess wears as her anklet) and 'maramaṇi'(a bell made on wood) on her ankles, snakes around her head, silk dresses, ornaments, sandal paste on her forehead, large breasts termed 'pormulakal' resembling a hillock, which are all motifs related to this deity. She is depicted as having walked on her knees to avoid her head hitting the sky. She is approaching to kill 'dārikan,' an asura, who got the boon from Lord Śiva that no man could kill him. It was also said that a woman would kill him. It was also known that a thousand dārikans would come to life from every drop of his blood that landed on the ground. The sight of 'kālī' approaching for battle with this 'dārikan' is compared to the blue mountain approaching. 'kālī' assumes a ferocious expression due to the harshness of the battle. The form of 'kālī,' as described above, is also a motif of Padayaṇi. The brutal nature of 'kālī' is another motif. Being ferocious, in itself, reminds one of 'kālī. The terrible form of 'kālī' is praised in songs to the accompaniment of 'tappu.' The sound produced by the drumming of 'tappu' reminds one of padayaṇi, which makes it another motif.

"The same deity is described in many songs of Padayaṇi in various forms.' yakṣis' are depicted as beautiful maidens.' yakṣis' are described to be having hair dancing about in the wind, 'tilakakkuri' on the forehead, 'kuṇḍhalam' on ears, 'ponmaṇimāla' around the neck, 'tarivaḷa' on hands, 'purinūliḷa' on the chest, breasts resembling hills, 'pūntukil' around the waist and 'cilambu' at the ankles." (Katammanitta Vasudevan Pillai, Paṭeni, 1992, Page 62.) There is mention of different types of 'yakṣis.' (Ibid, Page 13.) 'marutā,' considered the mother-deity, is described in many songs. (Ibid, Page 14.) The form of 'mātankōlam' fits' ekirə' and teeth in its mouth, puts on eyebrows, wears 'kuṇḍhalam,' brandishes beard and moustache and has a staff in hand. He approaches like a hill coming apart. (Ibid, Page 295.)

Many deities of different forms and expressions are described in the songs of paṭayaṇi. Mentioning these frightening features will undoubtedly bring the listener the form of the

particular deity and the art form of paṭayaṇi, which act as strong motifs. The poets who composed songs of paṭayaṇi make words their medium; the people who depicted 'kōlams' make colours their medium; the singers make tunes their medium; and the artists who perform the ritual dance ('tuḷḷal') make their dance steps their medium in a bid to bring about a fusion of literature, music, painting and dance in the mental state of the listeners or viewers.

Types of Motifs

The motifs are identified in patayani; they are mythological, magical, entertaining, and decorative. Patayani kolams (painted mask made on areccaplam sheet) and rituals are included in mythological and magic motifs. Drama-type performances in patayani are entertainment motifs, and various writing styles and colours are in decorative motifs.

Motifs in patayani



Paṭayaṇi is a Dravidian ritualistic art form. There are five kōlams which are essential in Paṭayaṇi. These are generally known as pañcakōlams (five kōlams). They are:

1. piśācu kōlam (demon kōlam)
2. māṭan kōlam (kōlam of village diety)
3. maṛutā kōlam (kōlam of mother goddess)
4. pakṣi kōlam (bird kōlam)
5. yakṣi kōlam (fairy kōlam)

Other than these five kōlams, two kōlams which attract attention are kālan kōlam and bhairavi kōlam. These two kōlams are essential indications of the Aryan occupation of South India.

While scrutinizing the mythology of these kōlams, the impact of Aryan traditions and the resultant superimposition of their culture becomes evident in Kerala, where people of ancient tribes inhabited. Consequent to the Aryan impact, the centers of worship of the tribal people were adopted by all. Tribes followed the Dravidian system of worship; their belief systems were impacted by the Aryan concepts of God and their systems of worship were thrust upon the people over a while. kālan kōlam and bhairavi kōlam found their place in paṭayaṇi as marks of this impact on worship. 'kāvus,' which were the centers of worship of the local population, were taken over and converted into bhagavati temples. The deities of the Dravidian population like piśācu, maṛutā, māṭan, yakṣi, etc. were shifted out of the temples in a gradual process.

piśācu kōlam (demon kōlam)



Though there are various types of 'piśācu' in 'paṭayaṇippāṭṭu' like 'erippiśācu (anger demon)' parappiśācu (cruel demon)' 'aḷḷupiśācu, (demon with long nail)' 'muḷḷupiśācu,' (demon with a throne) 'ampiśācu,' (male demon) 'pempiśācu' (female demon) etc., only one 'kōlam' appears at the arena. Another deity worshipped in paṭayaṇi is 'maṛutā.' 'taḷḷamaṛutā' and 'piḷḷamaṛuthā' perform 'tuḷḷal' in paṭayaṇi. 'tuḷḷal' is performed in the costume of 'pakṣikkōlam' for the protection of children from troubles caused by birds. It remains a part of snake worship that was prevalent in Kerala healthily. Different traditions of worship are in prevalence from time immemorial, including 'nāgārādhana,' (snake worship), 'maladevatārādhana,' (hill deity worship), 'vṛkṣārādhana,' (tree worship) 'ūrvarathārādhana,' (cult) 'māṭṛdevatārādhana,' (mother goddess worship), worship of 'yakṣi' and 'piśācu,' etc. remain intertwined in paṭayaṇi.

piśācu kōlam is the first kōlam which appears in paṭayaṇi. This kōlam is also known by the name gaṇapati kōlam. This kōlam attracted the name gaṇapati (Hindu deity) kōlam since this is the first kōlam which takes on the arena. This kōlam is drawn in a single sheath of the areca palm. Red, black and white are the colours used in this kōlam. These form the motifs of this kōlam.

The concept behind enacting this kōlam is closely connected with the treatment of diseases. 'pē' or 'piśācu'(demon) was meant to indicate in ancient times as a means of evicting a person or the entire society of their fear and anxiety. It forms a basic concept of the Dravidian culture.

Paṭayaṇi is presented as a festival of the agricultural society also. After the harvesting season, before the start of the new agricultural activities, a kōlam of this type conducts 'tullal' as part of the rituals to protect the crop and the agriculturists from the excesses and vagaries of natural and other similar forces. piśācu kōlam is a part of the various ritualistic methods by which the ancient tribal society effectively warded off the challenging problems faced by the tribal people in the past and to ensure better crops and life in future. This kōlam tullal aims to ward off mental problems and provide society with a healthy and positive mind.



marutakkolam marutakkolam represents the concept of a mother deity among the people of the Dravidian cult. 'maruthai' is a term which means another mother. The ancient tribal society were worshippers of the mother deity. marutā is also the concept of the deity of the hills. The marutā kōlam of paṭayaṇi may be considered as the concept of the mother deity known as 'korraive' in the sangham period. There are two kinds of marutakkolams in paṭayaṇi. One is taḷḷamarutā (karimarutā) and the other piḷḷamarutā (kūṭṭamarutā).

taḷḷamarutā

marutakkolam is drawn in two styles - southern and northern. karimarutā kōlam, which is drawn using white and black colours, will have 'mukhavaṭṭam' (face cover) cut out of a single sheath of the areca palm. 'ekirə' (in a way that the teeth protrude upwards) form of eyes cut out of the sheath of the areca palm, necklace or 'neñcumāla' consisting of 'kalaśams' (breasts), 'aravañci' (an ornament ware in waist) made of the leaves of ilaṅṅi tree, etc. will be there for this marutā. Round eyes on the face and 'tāmarakkātə'(decorative drawing on the ear) will also be there. Moreover, round eyes, 'cokkə' (black dots on the yellow surface), etc., will also be there for decorative purposes. marutakkolam is one having 'nerrićcuṭṭi,' (a decorative sign), 'tāṭi' (beard)', 'kaviḷ' (cheek), etc. also. marutakkolam enters the arena wielding 'muṛam' and cūlu.

piḷḷamarutā

piḷḷamarutā is a concept of deity in the form of children. piḷḷamarutā or kūṭṭamarutā enters the paṭayaṇi arena in response to the call of marutakkolam in the style of its children.

Red, black and white colours are used in this kōlam. The face is cut out of a single sheath of areca palm on which round eyes, 'ekirə,' tongue, etc., are drawn. On the forehead, there will be red 'poṭṭə (a sign on the forehead),' and also 'maṣikkōḷ,' (a decorative sign), 'cokkə,' (a decorative form), etc. for decorative purposes. On the 'neñchumāla' created in a single sheath of the areca palm, there will be 'iṇavara,' 'maṣikkōḷ,' 'kamattə,' (a decorative form), etc.

This piḷḷamarutā or kūṭṭamarutā enters the arena walking with the help of a walking stick. Teeth protruding upwards and a tongue extending outside will be there in this marutā.

'marutā' appears after 'piśācukōlam.' There are times when more than one 'marutās' perform 'tuḷḷal' in the arena together. 'marutakkolam' arrives at the arena making shrill noise and performing 'tuḷḷal' from the midst of people standing outside the arena. 'tuḷḷal' is performed together first, then in circles, and later, one group comes forward and the other moves backwards alternatively and performs 'tuḷḷal.' 'marutās' of paṭayaṇi roars aloud at the end of 'tuḷḷal' and fall unconscious in the arena or among the spectators.

A 'marutā,' imitating an old mother, is displayed to be cleaning the courtyard with a broom, brushing hair, preparing a feast starting from paddy, cleaning it, making rice out of it

and all the procedures until the feast is made ready. The articles required for this would be with the artiste, including broom and others. When the feast is ready, the mother 'maṛutā' invites some child 'maṛutās.' They are showered with love and affection by the mother, 'maṛutā.' Some of the child 'maṛutās' imitate the mother 'maṛutā' comically.

māṭan kōlam



māṭan kōlam is the kōlam which performs tullal for the protection of the livestock. This kōlam has adorned a face made of a single sheath of the areca palm, a necklace, and a stick. In an agricultural society, livestock forms an integral component used in agriculture and other essentials. Because of this reason, ensuring their protection was essential for their survival. māṭan kōlam was part of the rituals conducted by the ancient tribal people to protect their livestock from illnesses, from the attacks of other animals, from the attacks and theft of other societies, etc. Depending on the various regions' peculiarities, there are five variations of māṭan kōlam.

vaṭi māṭan

The peculiarity of vaṭi māṭan is that it has a face made of a single sheath of the areca palm, a necklace and a stick. Red, black and white colours are used in this kōlam. 'vaṭṭakkaṇṇə,' 'maṣikkōl,' 'kamattə'(a decorative sign) are used in the drawing of the face mask.

toppimāṭan

The face of a single sheath of the areca palm, necklace, aravañci(an ornament ware on the waist) and toppi(cap) is seen in this version. Each of the above is made from a different sheath of the areca palm.

pullimāṭan

The face of a single sheath of areca palm, necklace and aravañci are provided. Red, White and black colours are used.

cerramāṭan

Necklace, hands and legs are provided. The form is created by braiding tender coconut leaves.

kālamāṭan

This kōlam is created in a triangular shape. Colours other than green are used in it. This kōlam displays itself in the attire of covering itself with a blanket. 'māṭan' is a minor God worshipped in small temples of South Kerala. 'māṭan kōlams' are usually connected with the worship of Lord Śiva. "The circular part at the top end of 'kōlam' indicates the matted hair of Lord Śiva. "Paśupati,' the deity of cowherds of the Indus Valley Civilization period, was Lord Śiva." (Kaṭammaniṭṭa Vasudevan Pillai, 1992, 55.) 'māṭans,' hit looking at the shadow, it is

said. It is assumed that 'cuṭala māṭan' is the lord of the crematorium and 'kāla māṭan' is the lord of time.

'māṭan' hits the ground and performs 'tuḷḷal,' (a dance form), looking at the shades of people in the concept that the souls of people who meet with premature death due to diseases or accidents trouble society with malicious intentions. 'vaṭimāṭan' performs 'tuḷḷal' looking at the sky holding the staff, which is kept on towards the back in between both the hands, quite firmly. Keeping a 'maṛam' on his head, he performs 'tuḷḷal' to the rhythm of 'tappu.' Sometimes, it is also seen that 'māṭan' performs 'tuḷḷal' along with "maṛutā.'

'kālamāṭan' performs 'tuḷḷal' standing inside a pedestal about five and a half feet tall and covered with a blanket. In this 'kōlam,' which generates terror at sight, the artiste performing 'tuḷḷal' is not visible to people standing outside. The face of 'māṭan' is drawn on a sheath of the areca palm and fixed firmly on the top portion of the pedestal.

pakṣikkōlam

This single wings from green, kōlam. of the 'iṇavara' chin



kōlam includes the face created with a sheath of the areca palm, necklace, and made of tender leaves of coconut tree which the midribs are removed. Red, white and yellow colours are used in this. The face created with the single sheath areca palm will have round eyes and 'tuṇavara.' Ears, black dots on the (cokkə), and 'maṣikkōl' above the eyes

will also be there. An aura will be created around the face made of tender leaves of the coconut tree. Chin made of a single sheath of areca palm will be stitched onto the face with the midrib of coconut leaves. There will be a 'poṭṭə' in red colour in a circle of white; the lips will be in red. The necklace will have 'iṇavara' and 'cokkə.'

pakṣikkōlam is performed in paṭayaṇi as a cure for diseases seen in children. The ancient people believed that certain birds might become the cause of fear and disease in children. pakṣikkōlam is included in paṭayaṇi as a ritual to ward off such diseases which arise from the fear of birds. In 'pakṣikkōlam,' the artiste imitates birds like their way of walking, playful activities, flight, etc. in the process of performing 'tuḷḷal.' It is remarked by Kapila Vatsyayana (1960, Page, 28) that 'saṅketanṛttam' and 'pakṣinṛttam' are those that imitate the dances of the 'somanāga' tribe of Assam, imitating the various actions of animals. (Velliyan, 1980, Page 49)

The birds perform 'tuḷḷal' in the rhythms of 'aṭanta,' 'muriyaṭanta,' 'otta,' 'aṭantapatiṇṇathu,' and 'marmatālam.' (aa are rhythms) 'yaksikkōlam' uses 'chirṛati' occasionally. The steps normally used for 'tuḷḷal' includes 'otta,' 'iratti,' 'mukkanni,'

'valyamukkaṇṇi,' 'vetṭiyerram,' 'chavittiyirakkam,' 'nilaccuvaṭu,' 'vaṭṭaccuvaṭu,' 'niraccuvaṭu,' 'valamnīkkam,' and 'iṭamnīkam.' (dance step) As the rhythm reaches a crescendo, the artists perform the rustic frenzy dance and fall unconscious at the end.

yakṣi kōlam

yakṣi is tribal culture, protector of like 'sundara yakṣi, (fairy in in the sky), ('māya yakṣi,' (fairy of time) Sasibhushan



the deity concept of the ancient which was regarded as the kāvus. Various types of 'yakṣis' yakṣi,' (fairy of the forest), 'antara side humen)' 'ambara yakṣi,' fairy arakki yakṣi, (terrible fairy) (fairy of illusion) 'kālayakṣi' are there in Paṭayaṇi. remarks that it is the mixed form

of the various concepts of 'yakṣi' prevalent in Kerala. "The initial 'yakṣi' concept took shape from the worship of trees. Later on, the concept of 'yakṣi' also evolved in Jainism. The Śaiva concept of depicting Goddess pārvati as 'kirāta' evolved later. At last, evolved 'nāga yakṣi.' The Kerala concept of yakṣi is a mixed form of these four concepts." (Sasibhushan, 2002, 06.)

The concept of 'yakṣi' was the symbol of awareness of the beauty of Indian artists. 'yakṣis' are depicted all over India in wall paintings and sculptures. In the wall paintings of Ajanta caves and sculptures on the columns at the entrance of temples at Hoysāla, Sānchi, etc. 'yakṣis' are portrayed as beautiful maidens. 'yakṣi' is a minor deity at paṇayannār 'kāvu.' 'nāgayakṣi' (fairy in snake form) (is the main deity at maṇṇāraśśāla.

antara yakṣi (fairy inside the human)

The costume of this yakṣi includes a crown made of sheaths of the areca palm, cut into the desired shape and stitched together using the midribs of the blades of coconut leaves. 'ekiṛṇ,' eyes, and 'kuṛi' decorate the face painted in green. Ears, kaittāmara, nails made of tender coconut leaves, 'kalaśams' attached to the chest garland and wearing 'aravañchi' complete the description of the costume of antara yakṣi. 'iṇavara,' 'tuṇavara,' 'cokkṇ,' 'maṣikkōl,' 'vaṭṭakkaṇṇṇ,' 'tāmarakkātṇ,' (decorative forms), etc. They are drawn onto the crown. Red, black and white are the colours used in this kōlam.

'amabarayakṣi' (fairy in the sky)

'amabarayakṣi' stands on a frame and performs 'gaṇapati' and 'paṭivaṭṭam.' There will be a screen of cloth in front. When the frame moves forward, it creates the feeling that it is a deity arriving airborne. As they finish performing 'gaṇapati' and 'paṭivaṭṭam,' removing the cloth screen, the 'kōlams' jump onto the arena and start 'tullal.' The steps and the movements of hands and body generate the feeling of traversing through the air.

'arakkīyakṣi' (fairy in terrible form)

'arakkīyakṣi' performs 'tuḷḷal' inside a cloth screen with 'prukāl' attached. 'māyayakṣi' stands apart in the steps and movements of hands and body, though there is not much of a difference in the rhythm. 'kālayakṣi' generates terror at sight through its form and movements. Women and children are seated very far from the 'kolams.' To make sure the 'kōlams do not go 'north' while in frenzy dancing, many people stand guard hand in hand. While performing the rustic frenzy dance, this 'kolam' picks up the blazing fire.

sundara yakṣi (fairy of the forest)

sundara yakṣi form has a face of a single sheath of the areca palm, 'neñcumāla'(an ornament covering the chest) with 'kalaśams,' (breast)'alli,(a decorative form)' etc. Colours used include black, red and white.

Conclusion

The motifs of Paṭayaṇi are dealt with at length. Paṭayaṇi is a ritual art form in which communication techniques are acquired from the experiences of day-to-day life in the songs and performances, songs which contain mythological stories of the deity, and performances as per the traditional ways - all mingle together to provide a mystical experience. The ferocious form of 'Bhadra Kālī' with all the decorations is one of the motifs of Paṭayaṇi. The sound produced by the drumming of 'Thappu' reminds one of Paṭayaṇi, which makes it another motif. Motifs are engaged in adding depth to the contents of the expressions of visual art, which direct the viewers to the salient message intended to be imparted. The function of 'motif' is to provide the readers with subtle or overt clues to the salient message the artist wishes to convey in art form. 'Kolams,' the masks worn by dancers of Paṭayaṇi, the typical materials used for making them, how the 'kolams are painted, light emitted by the lighted 'Olacchūṭṭu' in the dim light of the villages, the majestic aspect of fire provided to Goddess Kālī, lighted 'Panthams' on the 'Kolams' - all these form motifs of Paṭayaṇi. Myths, legends.

Informants

1. Katammanitta Reghukumar, age 59
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2. Aravindakshan nair(master in patayni kolam drawing)age 64
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3. Renjith K. age 36
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2. Unnikanattu Dravidians Photography
3. Akhil Othara
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English Speaking Problems of Bengali Learners: A Case Study of Selected Secondary Schools in a Native District in Bangladesh

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Abstract

English, undoubtedly and indirectly, is one of the factors which decides the future of the students. We cannot negate the importance of English because of its broad acceptance and understanding worldwide. Considering the effectiveness of communication speaking is the most important skill for communication. Many non-native learners find it arduous to communicate through spoken English. English is a global language, and we cannot ignore its significance in our life. It is strenuous for the non-native learners to communicate effectively, and bear problems using a foreign language to express their thoughts. They stop communicating because they face irrational impediments or cannot find the proper words and eloquences. The central focus of this paper is to uncover the constituents which problems faced by the students from speaking English. Because of mother tongue intervention and ineffectual education, the Bengali-speaking learner of (EFL) can barely comprehend. English intonation and their speech, therefore, appear outrageous and even incomprehensible. In this paper, the author essentially tried to find out the issues which are liable for speaking problems of the learners and guide a survey among language learners from five secondary level schools which are located in the Panchagarh district of Bangladesh. This study has been performed based on the experiment on 150 secondary level students from 5 different schools, and data received from the different students has been analyzed numerically. Finally, based on the data, the author provided recommendations to overcome the English-speaking problem.

Keywords: Bengali speakers, learning English, high schools, Bangladesh, Speaking, Communication, Bengali medium and English learning.

Introduction

English, because of being the international language, is spoken as a first language by 400 million people (Estglobal, 2020), all over the world. Learning English is so crucial that without English we cannot even think of access to the whole world or making the world a Global Village. English gives us access to the whole world- a world of trade, a world of business, a world of entertainment etc. English gives us access to the billions of web pages of information that might not be possible without English. Skills in communication in English are very important in the tourism as well as many other sectors. English, nowadays, is a medium of research connecting researchers all over the world and making them able to share and gather knowledge.

Understanding the importance of speaking English many educational institutions set English as a medium of learning all over the world. Speech communication is considered to be the simplest form of communication where influential speakers should deliver their message to the listeners. Though English is the international language, many students suffer from being unable to communicate effectively through speaking and their communication skills are not up to the level of expectation. To discover the problems in English speaking researchers in this article had some case studies on some selected secondary schools in Bangladesh.

Bangladesh is a South Asian country where Bengali is the predominant language as it is the mother tongue of the Bengali nation. Bangladesh is the country where people fought for their language and this country was created based on language. 98% of the people of this country speak Bengali (Bhuiyan, 2019). English is a second language and for some other reasons, the quality of speaking English among Bengali learners is somewhat below standard. Though some of the schools, here in Bangladesh, use English as the first language, these schools are known as English medium schools, and most of the schools are Bengali medium. Bangladesh is a fast-growing nation, according to the recent reports- e.g., surpassing India in GDP, and improvement in the English language in Bangladesh has become a prior concern, considering the importance of English (Rahman et al., 2019). Nowadays in Bangladesh, lots of importance have been put on providing education in the English language, both lettering, and speaking, and in the National Education Policy of Bangladesh English is recognized as an indispensable means to build a knowledge-based nation.

Speaking English is the first criteria for effective national or international communication which is also now an unavoidable condition because the world is a 'Global Village'. In this article, we have tried to find out some of the reasons for the English-speaking problem of the Bengali students through a case study in five selected secondary schools.

Objectives of This Study

- i. Finding out the factors responsible for the difficulties in English speaking of the Bengali learners.
- ii. Helping the Bengali learners to overcome the difficulties in English speaking.
- iii. Making them aware of the factors that affect English speaking.
- iv. Finding out the problematic areas, influenced by the mother tongue, in English speaking.
- v. Discovering the connections among the regional accents that create problems in English speaking.
- vi. To help tertiary learners overcome speaking difficulties which are produced due to inter - lingual factors.

Background Study

Lack of proficiency in English speaking acts as major barrier to higher communication. But the English - speaking problems are unexplored in the small city of Bangladesh named Panchagarh. The aim of this study is to find out the English - speaking problems and ways to improve the condition.

Speaking

Factors that Influence Speaking

1. Use of Mother Tongue

All the nations in the world have got their mother tongue. The Bengali learners, the native language here in Bangladesh is Bengali, communicate in their daily life using Bengali. It is difficult for them to converse and learn English as it differs from their mother tongue. Challenges in acquiring English may be a dilemma for anyone of any utterance setting out to procure a different semantics. While training in English, the pedagogy of pronunciation is not given much attention. The number of dialects is so big that it is essentially difficult to address all the accents in a classroom. This can be considered to be the most severe hurdle in Bangladesh during teaching the English language. The areas of sound relating to spoken English and pronunciation in the Bangladeshi context needs to be consciously addressed to counter the challenge and to make a native-like accent in Bangladeshi learners more probable. The importance of pronunciation in communication cannot be denied. It is important as grammar and vocabulary. Yet, the testimony of the mother tongue's impact on English is very prominent. Errors in pronunciation may be due to many upshots. The errors that are generally made in pronunciation are because of variations in the sound system and spelling symbols connecting the mother tongue and English. A teacher can be considered a model for accurate speaking in a class. The probability of achieving a native-like articulation is more comfortable when the second language is acquainted with the

learners before adolescence. We can meet this challenge by practicing the mother tongue relocation mechanism that appeared in an ideal language lab.

2. Vocabulary

All four areas of communication (listening, speaking, reading, and writing) can be improved with a strong vocabulary. School achievements are directly linked to the germination of vocabulary. Vocabulary is one of the most important skills needed for teaching and learning a foreign language. It is absolutely important to know what the words mean. The English language mentor will necessitate utilizing other maneuverings also to supplement the level of thesaurus of the English as a second language apprentice. One can increase vocabulary by the use of suffixes and prefixes. There are numerous manageable yet powerful tactics to influence and intensify the thesaurus of English as a second language learner.

3. Fear of Making Mistakes

Getting out of your comfort zone will rapidly enhance your language learning abilities. You need to get over your fear of making a mistake while speaking. Mistakes will occur, even in your native language. No need to dwell on them and let them keep you away from practicing the language.

4. Shyness

One of the reasons for students feeling shy is when they speak English, they presume they will invent bewilderment when they communicate. They are also frightened of being snickered at by their companions. Students are expected to consider fine of making mistakes in their learning.

There are many tips out there that will help you feel less shy:

- i. Speak slowly: There is no need to make it look like you are as fluent in English as you are in your mother tongue. Speaking slowly will help you organize your thoughts and feel calmer.
- ii. Ask questions: Asking questions is not only a great way to feel engaged in a conversation but is also an excellent way to feel in control of the dialogue.
- iii. Act confident: Many studies are now showing that by acting confident, people essentially become more confident.
- iv. Use filler words: There is nothing wrong with using “ums”, “errs” and “ahs” when you speak.

- v. Practice: This is the most important tip of all. The most effective way of becoming a better speaker is by practicing speaking. You can find a speaking partner you feel comfortable with so that you won't feel shy or judged.
- vi.

5. Pronunciation

There are many elements of efficient communication. The most basic form is to utilize the language accurately. Pronunciation is an appearance of linguistic communication that makes the communication more charming and efficacious. Pronunciation performs an indispensable part in the sound system of any language.

6. Confidence

Confidence is an interesting thing. Some people just naturally seem to have it, even if they are 'not necessarily the best at something. For the rest of us, though, it's something we need to develop over time.

7. Lack of Motivation

When someone notices that he/she cannot communicate with others, he/she is expected to suffer from a lack of motivation.

Methodology

This study has been performed on 150 secondary-level students from 5 different schools in the Panchagarh district of Bangladesh. The snowball technique has been used to collect data. The duration of the data collection is from October 2020 to November 2020. Data received from the different students has been analyzed numerically.

Results and Data Analysis

A wide range of schools, depending on the ranking, has been selected for the experiment. Name of the schools are given below:

1. Panchagarh B. P. Govt. High School
2. Panchagarh Govt. Girls High School
3. Pouro Adarsha High School, Panchagarh
4. Barrister Jamiruddin Sarkar High School
5. Dewan Hat High School, Panchagarh.

Google Forms were used to collect the data. Along with the answers to the questions set by investigators in the Google Forms other data like age, address and email addresses were collected.

Result of the Interview of the Students

As mentioned earlier in the previous section, 150 students of the secondary school level have been interviewed and asked different questions to understand their level of speaking. Let's discuss some of the topics.

- i. All the students believe speaking is a powerful mode of communication and have a desire to obtain efficient speaking skills.
- ii. 70% of the students are fully aware of English phonetics and phonology also they understand the lack of pronunciation and want to perform like Native speakers.
- iii. In an effort of finding out the weakness in speaking English, we found that their syllabus and current education system do not fully focus on speaking.

Students over the world are languishing immensely with their education interfered by the COVID-19 pandemic. There are now schemes for starting a blended, hybrid education policy, utilizing both online and offline platforms. The research is designed following qualitative data like interviews. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, all educational institutions are closed, so the researcher has gone to the student's homes and collected data. Analysis of students' observations is also a major part of the process of data analysis of this research. The questionnaire was escorted among 150 students of five secondary schools of Panchagarh city namely Panchagarh B. P Govt High school 30 students, Panchagarh Govt Girls High school 30 students, Pouro Adarsha High school 30 students, Barrister Jamiruddin Sarkar High school 30 students and Dewan Hat High school 30 students. Among the respondents, 75 were male students and 75 were female students. The responders were interrogated about the classroom communication and the medium of lecture delivery at the secondary level only 25% of them reported that their classroom communication was in English and 45% had a classroom environment of both languages. The majority (70%) received lectures in Bengali. Though the curriculum and texts rendered by the National Curriculum and Text Book Board (NCTB) of the country highlight four skills (reading, writing, speaking, and listening) 40% of students acknowledge that they did not understand the presence of this accent. Moreover, 50% of them acknowledged that they were not forced to speak in English by their teachers and 25% students said that their classroom environment failed to provide them an opportunity to use their skills of English speaking and listening. 20 students gave their opinion about the English syllabus to the SSC course which according to them is not sufficient for promoting listening and speaking English. The result conducted so far exactly recognized that the

students did not believe that schools performed a significant part in developing their speaking ability. Now let's see in data perspective:

Table 5.1: Number of participants and their institutions'

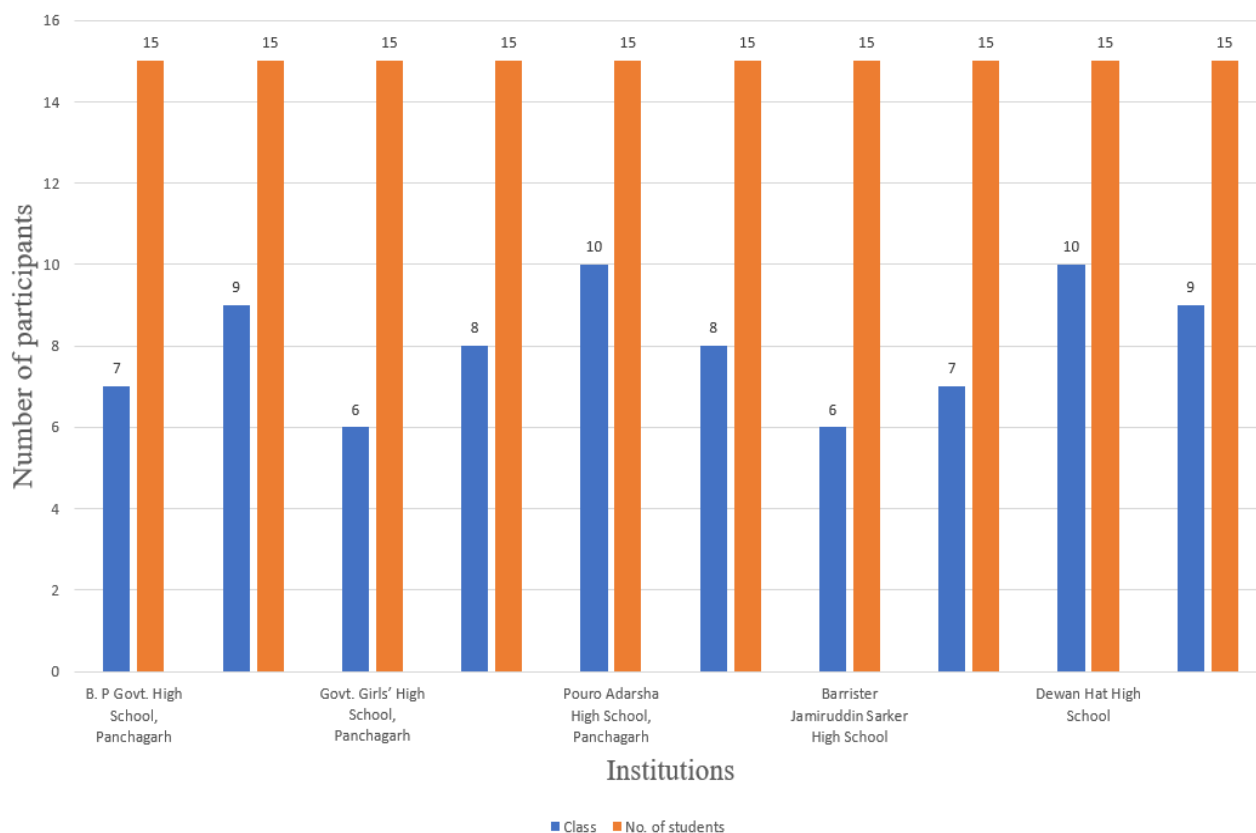
Institution	Class	No. of students
B. P Govt. High School, Panchagarh	7	15
	9	15
Govt. Girls' High School, Panchagarh	6	15
	8	15
Pouro Adarsha High School, Panchagarh	10	15
	8	15
Barrister Jamiruddin Sarker High School	6	15
	7	15
Dewan Hat High School	10	15
	9	15
Total	-	150

Table 5.2: Results of the interview

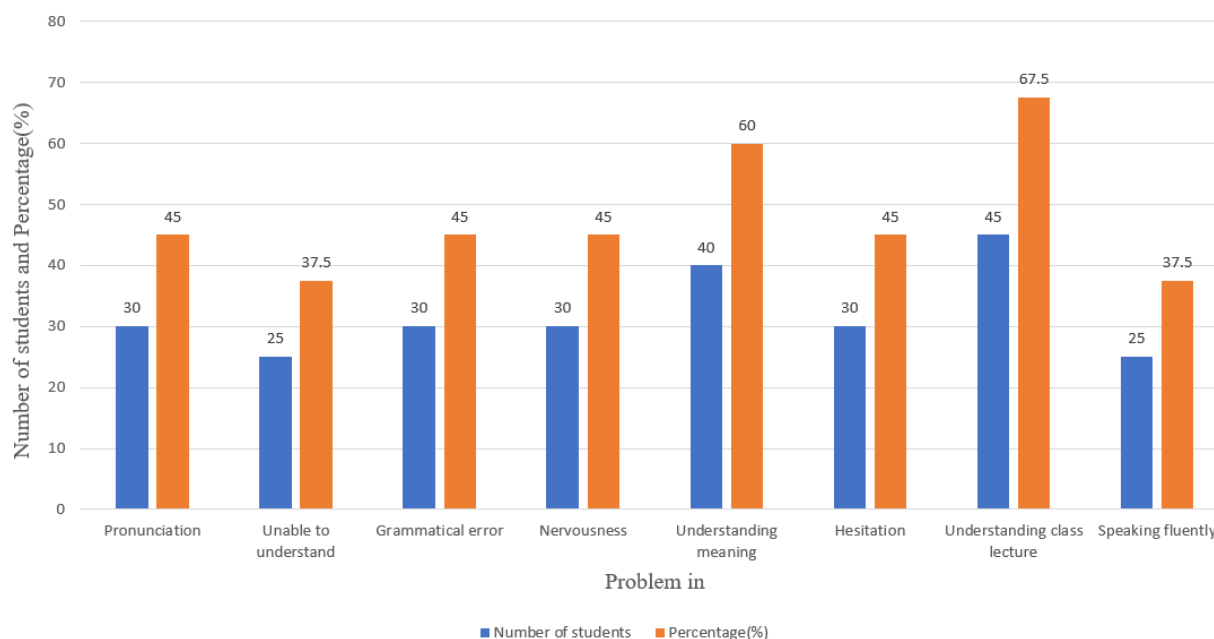
S. L No.	Problem in	Number of students	Percentage(%)
1	Pronunciation	30	45
2	Unable to understand	25	37.5
3	Grammatical error	30	45

4	Nervousness	30	45
5	Understanding meaning	40	60
6	Hesitation	30	45
7	Understanding class lecture	45	67.5
8	Speaking fluently	25	37.5

Number of participants and their institutions



Results of the interview



Limitations of This Study

Main challenge of this study was to get students and interview them because of the COVID-19 pandemic. Importance was given to the accuracy of data but because of students wearing a mask, it was difficult to measure their pronunciations and fluency properly.

Another limitation of this study is that students in the Panchagarh district were interviewed. Moreover, students all over the district were not interviewed whereas only 6 institutions were selected. To get more accurate results about the test we are carrying out, we need more data. But as we mentioned earlier, due to the COVID-19 situation, we couldn't collect a larger amount of data.

Another limitation of this research is that data/opinion from the teachers is not included. We could not interview teachers from the mentioned institutions as most of them were not interested. This is because of the pandemic. A clearer idea about the students and their English-speaking condition could be obtained from the teachers' opinions.

Despite the limitations, in the future, it can be conducted in border areas with more students and get more data on speaking of the Bengali students.

Recommendation

Based on the data, mentioned above, the following recommendations are given to overcome the English-speaking problem.

1. Teachers should be careful about the pronunciation of words so that students can get exposed to the correct pronunciation.
2. Different kinds of educational materials, directed at both the sense of hearing and sight called 'Audio-Visual-Aid' should be used.
3. Students should take part in interschool and intraschool debating competitions.
4. Different kinds of practical sessions can be added to the syllabus so that students are bound to attend English speaking.
5. Specific courses on English pronunciation can be added to the syllabus. National Curricular for English Textbook syllabus has been reviewed and we think it's not sufficient for the students to improve their pronunciation. This requires that teachers should also know the correct pronunciation of the words; so sufficient training for the teachers should be arranged.
6. The International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) chart should be arranged.
7. Based on the importance of Communication in our life, different kinds of Communication Workshops, both for the teachers and the students, can be arranged in different institutions locally and nationally.

Conclusion

A survey of 150 students has been done. School is a place where different kinds of good practices are taught, and teachers and the management of the schools have to focus on the English speaking of the students. Bangladesh, as its mother tongue is Bengali, is situated in the south-east of Asia, students here suffer from the English-speaking problems. Most of the students here are afraid of speaking English in front of people. We found that majority of the students have problems with pronunciation and speaking fluently because of not having the habit of speaking English in daily life. Students can focus on all four skills and a little bit more importance can be put on English speaking.

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