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Bilingualism in the *Brahmajālasutta*, Indo-Aryan & Indigenous

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Abstract

The first part of the *Brahmajālasutta*—the *Cūḷa-*, *Majjhima-* and *Mahāsīla* sections—contain almost 200 words of non-Indo Aryan (non-IA) derivation in the root transmission (*mūla*) and commentary. Many of these are lists of indigenous items, like vegetation and various cultural practices in their Aryanized form; others are glosses of a Dravidian or indigenous term in Middle Indic, or vice-versa. All these terms occur in the context of practices which monks are to avoid, suggesting that many of them were specific to the Dravidian culture. It is also possible that the plethora of *desi* (autochthonous) terminology indicates a translation of these sections from an underlying Dravidian work. At the very least it indicates the presence of extensive bilingualism at the time these sections were transmitted, and supports an old hypothesis of a prominent Dravidian substrate underlying Middle-Indo Aryan languages and Pāli, manifested in both structural features and lexical borrowing.

Keywords

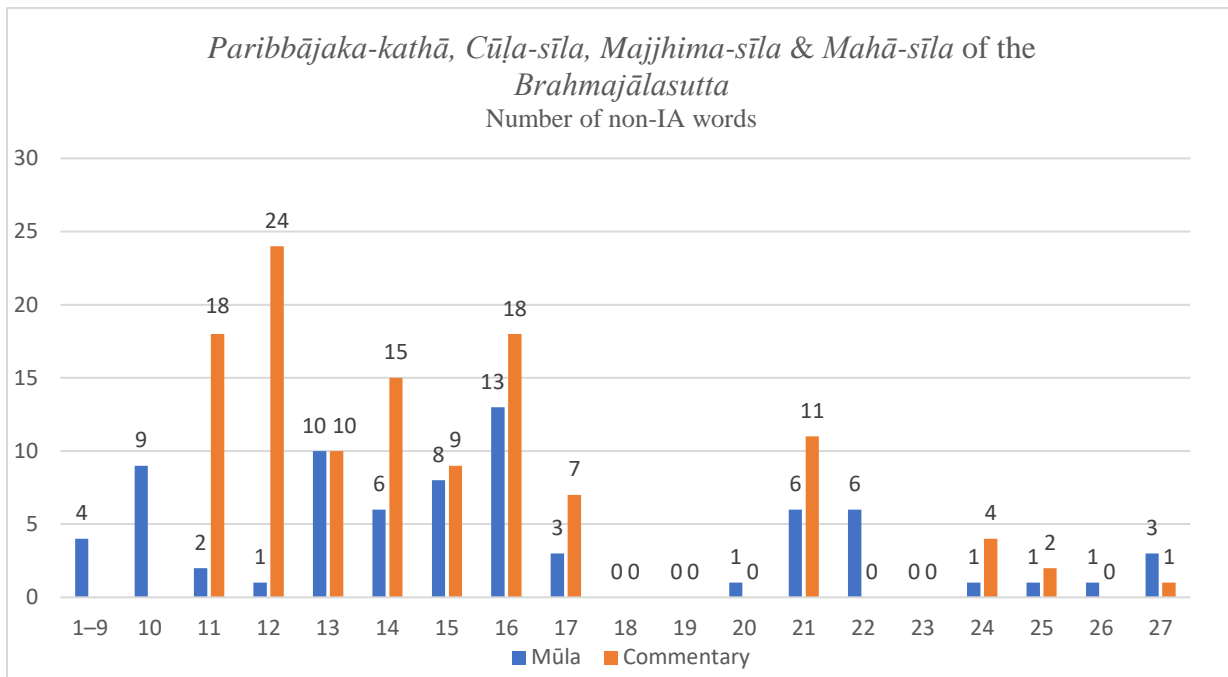
Brahmajālasutta, Pāli, Middle Indic, Middle Indo-Aryan, Dravidian languages, bilingualism, Indian linguistic area, Sprachbund, substrate.

Introduction

Most Buddhist *suttas* are composed in a language which is almost 100% pure Middle Indic (MI), except for proper names like toponyms which often preserve their indigenous heritage; so when there is a sudden change in word etymology, as occurs at the beginning of the *Brahmajālasutta*, one must try to understand the significance of that spike. Here the number of non-IA words goes from only four in the first nine sections of the work to nine in Section ten, and, especially in the commentary, goes as high as twenty-four in section twelve and fifteen in Section fourteen, before

gradually declining back to its normal, near zero non-IA content at the start of Section twenty-eight (*Pubbantakappikā*). Graphically this charts as follows:¹

Figure One



Altogether there are approx. 180 words of non-IA etymology that are found here. Although the *Cūḷa-sīla* section does not begin until section ten, it is pre-figured in section nine by a long list of

¹ Section markers are on the horizontal access and follow the PTS and Burmese numbering. For a list of words used, see Appendix A. The ones listed with a question mark (?) are considered “unsure” or “contested” to use Mayrhofer’s terminology. Some I have included as non-IA based on my own criteria which are summarized in Levman 2021a: Chapter two, which also contains numerous examples of the methodology used to determine the etymology of a word. The commentary for sections one-nine has been omitted from consideration here as it contains fifty pages of material not directly related to the *Brahmajālasutta*, like the meaning of Tathāgata which occupies ten pages alone in the PTS edition, pp. 59-69).

prohibitions which introduce a significant number (nine) of words of non-IA derivation, which are then repeated and commented on in the following *Cūḷa-Majjhima-* and *Mahā-sīla* sections.

The Indian Linguistic Area

The many shared features between Dravidian and Indo-Aryan were named the “Indian Linguistic Area” by Emeneau in 1956 and since that time his discoveries have been validated over and over again (1956, reprinted 1980: 105-125; Sjoberg 1992; Krishnamurti 2003: 38-42; Levman 2013: 147-152; Levman 2021a: Chapter four). Emeneau defined the phrase “linguistic area” as an area in which “languages belonging to more than one family show traits in common which do not belong to the other members of (at least) one of the families” (1980: 1). In Emeneau’s definition of the term with respect to South Asia, the common traits belong to the Indo Aryan languages (OI, MI, NIA) and Dravidian and Munda (and perhaps Tibeto-Burman), but are not shared by Indo Aryan’s closest cousin, Iranian. These include, *inter alia*, the use of retroflex consonants, the extensive use of non-finite verbs in strings as a compositional principle, the use of the quotative marker in reporting direct speech, syntactic parallels between the proto-Dravidian *-um* suffix and IA *api*, and the use of what he called “echo words” or “expressives.” Although IA languages show a lot of structural borrowing from Dravidian, the amount of lexical borrowing is not great; there is much more borrowing the other way around, from Indo-Aryan into the Dravidian languages, which is certainly what one would expect considering the political, economic and military dominance of the immigrating IA peoples. Yet there is also a significant amount of borrowing the other way around, as this article will demonstrate.

Emeneau postulated that the structural borrowing was facilitated through extensive bilingualism. Because of their economic interdependence and growing IA political and cultural influence, the native population was forced to learn the IA languages. In doing so, they imposed their own grammatical structures on the foreign language and in some cases, their own terminology. Or, the terminology was simply adopted by the IA immigrants, especially for unfamiliar items for which they lacked referents. Krishnamurti suggests that Middle Indo-Aryan was “built on a Dravidian substratum”:

The fact that the invading Aryans could never have outnumbered the natives, even though they politically controlled the latter, is a valid inference. We may formulate the situation as follows: If the speakers of L1 (mother tongue) are constrained to accept L2 (2nd language) as their ‘*lingua franca*’, then an L3 will develop with the lexicon of L2 and with the dominant structural features of L1 and L2; L1 = Dravidian languages, L2 = Varieties of Sanskrit, L3 = Middle Indic. This is also true of modern Indian varieties of English, which have an English (L2) lexicon but a large number of structural features of Indian languages (L1) (Krishnamurti 2003: 41).

This article is not about structural influence—which is well covered elsewhere—but lexical borrowing. We can see this lexical substrate surfacing in the opening sections of the

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Brahmajālasutta, the catalyst being certain religious and cultural practices forbidden to the Buddhist monks. Many of these words are of autochthonous origin, suggesting that the practices originated with the local population. We often find the word communicated in two forms, Indo-Aryan and Dravidian/Munda, both in the root text and the commentary, side-by-side and as a gloss, suggesting that bilingualism had an important role to play in the *sutta* and commentary reaching its present form.

Brahmajālasutta

The *Brahmajālasutta* is an important composition in the *Tipiṭaka*, being the first *sutta* in the *Dīgha Nikāya* collection and one of only two *suttas* explicitly mentioned at the First Council (Vin 2, 287¹⁶, the second *sutta* mentioned is the *Sāmaññaphalasutta*, DN 2). It lists sixty-two wrong views espoused by non-Buddhists, prefaced by a list of abstentions which the Buddha defined as part of his *sīla* (“morality”). This begins with the five precepts in sections seven through nine, and continues with a long list of prohibitions in section ten where the *desi* words appear in significant numbers. After the *sīla* sections are complete, the list of sixty-two views are presented which are almost wholly Middle Indic in vocabulary with very few native words, just like a “normal” *sutta*.

G. Ch. Pande considered the *sutta* to be a “late composition compiled out of ancient materials” (1974: 82) because of the presence of “formular expressions...long fossilized”; however, I question the validity of this criterion for age stratification. As has been argued elsewhere (Levman 2020: 22), instruction by standardized rote recitation and memorization was an integral part of the teaching and transformation process in the Buddha’s time. Per Ñāṇamoli and Bodhi (1995: 52), “these formulas were almost certainly part of the Buddha’s repertory of instructions, employed by him in the countless discourses he gave during his forty-five years’ ministry in order to preserve the unity and consistency of his teaching.” Von Hinüber talks of a “a highly formalized dialogue...a true orality...the result of their [the Buddhists] having to create a formalized text that can be remembered and handed down by the tradition” (1996: §55); though it sounds artificial to modern ears, the formular expressions are mnemonic devices, concocted for transmissional accuracy and not necessarily indicative of a late composition. Certainly the materials in the *Brahmajāla* are ancient and must go right back to the time of the Buddha’s encounter with the competing *samaṇa* groups he encountered. It is also a mistake to consider the commentary as late, because it was compiled by Buddhaghosa in the fifth century CE. One must remember that he had access to very early materials including the *aṭṭhakathā* as it existed in the mid-third century BCE as brought by Mahinda to Sri Lanka. As Norman and Endo have shown (Norman 1997/2006: 206; Endo 2013: 5), some parts of the commentary may go right back to the time of the Buddha, when his explanations on certain difficult points were incorporated right into the *suttas* or remembered by his disciples in the commentary (which, according to legend was recited at the First Council; DN-a/Sv 1¹⁵⁻⁶), as a parallel oral explanation of his teachings.

The Title

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The title of the *Brahmajālasutta* itself epitomizes the mixed nature of this introductory *sīla* section: it is etymologically half IA and half indigenous. The word *Brahma/brāhmaṇa* is generally derived from the Vedic root *br̥mh*, “to grow great, to grow strong, increase,” but the Buddha re-defined it as coming from a homonym *br̥mh*, “to destroy, tear, pluck, root out” as “one who has destroyed evil.” (Norman 1991: 275). There is indeed considerable evidence that the word is IA in origin (Mayrhofer 1956-76, vol. 2: 452-56, hereinafter M1), not the least of which is the God’s position as the Supreme Being of Brahmanism. Charles Autran, however, has suggested an “underlying Dravidian influence” (une influence sous-jacente du dravidien; 1946: 241, note 1) in the form of the Dravidian root *pār*, “to see, to know, to search, to worship, to charm away by incantation, to look at with compassion” (DED #4091; Tamil Lexicon). The participial noun form of this verb is *pārppāṇ*, meaning, “one who sees, knows...,” which indeed is the Old Tamil word for brahman, occurring in their oldest work the *Tolkāpiyam* (circa 5th century BCE; section 1137, 1437, 1438 hereinafter Tolk). The word is also very similar to the word for brahman in the Asoka edicts, the oldest written record we possess: Kālsī *bābhanā* (13G), any of Dhauli edicts, all but one of which omitted the *-m-*, or the Delhi-Topra edict: *bābhanesu* (7th Pillar Edict Z), *bābhana* (7th PE HH); the nasal *-m-* or *-m-* was clearly not essential.² In proto-Dravidian (PD) voicing of stops, and aspirates was not phonemic. Moreover, the meaning in Dravidian seems much more relevant and descriptive than either of the two IA roots. The word *Brahma/brāhmaṇa* however is much older than Tolk, so it is likely that it is borrowed from IA into Dravidian with a unique calque on the underlying meaning. We may therefore concede the word as IA in derivation with some potential Dravidian influence. The word *jāla*, however, seems to be almost certainly of native origin. Kuiper finds it cognate with Pāli *jaṭa* (“matted hair”),³ deriving it from the proto-Munda root **da-da* “matted, entangled.” Mayrhofer calls *jāla* “not satisfactorily explained,” or “unclear” (1992-96: vol. 1: 588, hereinafter M2). Kuiper’s suggestion that the word has a Munda origin is well supported by the comparative lexicon: cp the Munda languages Turi, *jal*; Santali *jalām*; Juang, *jalō*; Korwa *ja:l*; Korku *ja:li*, *jhali*, *jali*; Birhor *jhāli*, all with the meaning “net.” Both the Dravidian and Munda words may be from a common source.

So here we have in the very title of the *sutta* two words, one IA with possible native influence and a second Dravidian and/or Munda in heritage. This mixed scenario will continue to manifest throughout the first part of the composition. For translation of these sections of the *sutta* see Bodhi 1978/2007: 53-62.

The *Majjhima-sīla*

The *Majjhima-sīla* begins with an explication of what is meant in the *Cūḷa-sīla* of section 10 by “the Samaṇa Gotama refrains from damaging seed and plant life” (*bīja-gāma-bhūta-gāma-samārambhā paṭivirato Samaṇo Gotamo*, DN 5⁴⁻⁵). The word *gāma* (Pāli, “collection of houses,

² The capital letters refer to the section in Hultzsch 1969, where the edicts are transliterated and translated.

³ M1 vol. 1: 413, sv *jaṭa*: “The Indo-Germanic interpretations are all of them unsatisfactory...Non-Aryan origin immediately suggests itself but is not certain.” See Burrow 1947: 135, cp Tamil *caṭai*, “matted locks of hair”; Malayalam, *jaṭa*, *caṭa*, *ceṭa*, *ciṭa*, *idem*. In proto-Dravidian *j-* is an allophone of *c-*.

hamlet” cp OI *grāma*, idem and “collection”) is of IA extraction per Mayrhofer (M1 vol. 1: 353), but it is not clear where the word comes from; in M2 vol. 1: 508 he relates it to an IE root **gr-em*, “gather, collect.” Burrow (1943: 139, note 1) derives it from Dravidian, cp Kannada *gummu*, “mass, crowd,” but both of these derivations are questionable. *Bīja* is on more solid ground and appears to be a native word. M1 vol. 2: 433–34 calls the Dravidian connection “very noteworthy”; M2 vol. 2: 227 suggests a possible Indo Iranian (Iir) connection, while Burrow (1946:10) derives it from the Dravidian, cp Tamil *viccu*, “to sow” Kannada *bittu*, “to sow” and “seed”; Gondi *vījā*, “seed.” Southworth reconstructs a proto-Dravidian (PD) root **vit* (2005: 285; hereinafter Southworth). Kuiper (1955: 157 derives it from Mundari *ibil*, “to sow”; cp Juang, *bir* “sow”; Kharia *biḍa*, “sow”; Korku *baṛa*, “seed”; Sora *biṛ*, “sow.” Witzel (2009: 93) traces the word to the Bactria-Margiana Archaeological Complex of ~ 2400–1900 BCE, a bronze age civilization of central Asia. It is definitely a non-IA word, although not necessarily Dravidian.

In the commentary the seeds are subdivided into five categories: *mūla-bījaṃ* (“plants propagated by roots”),⁴ *khandha-bījaṃ* (“propagated by shoots”), *phaḷu-bhījaṃ* (“propagated by joints”), *agga-bhījaṃ* (“a plant propagated by cuttings”), and *bīja-bīja* (the seven *pubbaṇṇa* or grains; and *aparaṇṇa*, beans, other leguminous plants and gourds).⁵ Of the nineteen plants listed, only a small number are IA (four), the rest (eleven) being Dravidian or non-IA with a few (four) ambiguous or indeterminable.

1. Vegetation List

Pāli name	Old Indic name	Derivation	Source	Comment
<i>haliddi</i> , “tumeric” (<i>Nikāyas</i> , Vin).	<i>hardirā</i> , idem (RV, Br).	IA.	M1 vol. 3: 580. Probably from the root <i>hari</i> , “yellow.”	
<i>siṅgiveraṃ</i> , “ginger root” (Jā).	<i>śṛṅgavera</i> , “ginger” (Suśr).	Dravidian/AA (Austro- Asiatic).	M1 vol.3: 370, “foreign word, the echo to <i>śṛṅgam</i> is only	Burrow 1943: 130; Burrow 1946: 26; <i>vēr</i> = Tamil for “root”; <i>iñci</i> =

⁴ The word *mūla* itself is of native origin. cp Tamil *mūtu*, “root, cause, origin”; Malayalam *mūtu*, “bottom, root, origin”; Kannada *mūdu*, “to arise, originate, be born”; *mūdi*, “rising of the sun”; Tuḷu *mūdu*, “support, the east”; Telugu *mūdu*, “to happen”; Gondi *mūr*, “beginning.” Kuiper (1955: 158) also suggests a connection with Santali *mula* and Mundari and Ho *murai*, “radish”; one also finds *mūla* as “radish” in Bondo and Gta’; in Juang *mu|ɔ*; and Korku *mu.ṛa*, all meaning “radish,” a root vegetable; the English word radish of course is itself derived from Latin *radix*, “root, foundation, basis, source.”

⁵ These are listed in the PTS as: *pubbaṇṇa* (the seven *dhañṇāni* or grains, *sāli*, *vīhi*, *yava*, *godhūma*, *kangu*, *varaka*, *kudrūsa*); and *aparaṇṇa* (i e. beans and other leguminous plants, and gourds such as *mugga*, *māsa*, *tila*, *kulattha*, *alābu*, *kumbhaṇḍa*). Due to space limitations they will not be discussed further except for those that come up later in the commentary. Most of these names are indigenous in origin; see Witzel 1999b and Southworth 2009 for further information.

			a folk etymology.”	“ginger” < * <i>singi</i> < AA ultimate source.
<i>vacā</i> , “orris root” (Vin).	idem, <i>Acorus calamus</i> (classic lit.).	Dravidian.	M1 vol. 3: 126.	See DED #5213, Tamil <i>vacam</i> ; Kannada <i>baje</i> , <i>vace</i> , <i>vaje</i> , etc; <i>Acorus calamus</i> .
<i>vacattam</i> , “a kind of root” (Vin).	?	Dravidian.		presumably another form of <i>vacā</i> , inflected form (oblique case ending in <i>-ttu</i>)
<i>ativisā</i> , “plant name” (Vin).	<i>ativisā</i> , <i>Aconitum Ferox</i> .	IA.	“exceedingly poisonous.”	
<i>kaṭuka-rohiṇī</i> , “black hellebore” (Vin).	idem, <i>kaṭuka</i> < * <i>kṛt-u</i> “cutting” per M1; <i>rohiṇī</i> < <i>rohita</i> , “red.”	IA.	M1 vol. 1: 143; M1 vol. 3: 81.	
<i>usīram</i> , “the fragrant root <i>Andropogon muricatus</i> ” (Nikāyas, Vin).	<i>uśīra</i> , idem (Suśr).	probably Dravidian.	M1 vol. 1: 113, “unexplained”; Burrow 1947: 139.	cp Tamil <i>ucil</i> “Sirissa” (shrub; Tolk); meanings are inconsistent.
<i>(bhadda)-muttakam</i> , “fragrant grass, <i>Cyperus rotundus</i> ” (comm).	<i>(bhadra)-musta</i> , “a kind of <i>Cyperus</i> ” (Kālidāsa).	Dravidian/IA?	M1 vol. 2: 659-660.	cp Tamil <i>mucalai</i> <i>Cyperus rotundus</i> ; Telugu <i>muste</i> , idem. ⁶
<i>assattha</i> , “ <i>Ficus religiosa</i> ” (Nikāyas, Vin).	<i>aśvattha</i> , idem (AV, ŚBr).	non-IA, prob. Dravidian.	M1 vol. 1: 61, 155 ⁷ ; Burrow 1945: 92.	PD root * <i>att-i</i> (Southworth 274).

⁶ The word *mucalai* is found under *musalī*, “alligator < Dravidian “crocodile (Kannada *mosale*, *masale*, etc). Apparently this had a near-homonym in Tamil *muyalai* ~ *mucalai*, “*Cyperus rotundus*.” Mayrhofer suggests that the word was loaned from IA into Dravidian, but the timing is late for both words, so hard to tell priority.

⁷ The *-ttha* suffix is Dravidian (see discussion in M1 vol. 1: 237-38 s.v. *kulatttha*, “wohl dravidisch,” probably Dravidian). M2 vol. 1: 140-41, “nicht sicher gedeutet” (not interpreted with certainty).

<i>nigrodha</i> , “banyan tree” (<i>Nikāyas</i>).	<i>nyag-rodha</i> , idem (AV), lit: “growing downward.”	IA?	Southworth 209. PTS: Non-Aryan? unusual - <i>gr</i> - conjunct in Pāli.	The Dravidian word for the <i>Ficus Indica</i> is <i>kōḷi</i> in Tamil and Malayalam and <i>gōḷi</i> in Kannada, which may be the kernel of the word.
<i>pilakkha</i> , “ <i>Ficus infectoria</i> , wave-leaf fig tree” (Vin, <i>Nikāyas</i> , Jā).	<i>plakṣa</i> , idem (AV).	non-IA.	M1 vol 2: 383, “unclear tree name, that, despite its early attestation (AV) could also be pre-Aryan”; M2, vol. 2: 194, “not clear, foreign word?”	
<i>udumbara</i> , “ <i>Ficus glomerata</i> ” (Sn, <i>Nikāyas</i>).	<i>uḍumbara</i> , idem (AV, ŚBr).	non-IA, Dravidian or Munda.	M1 vol. 1: 104, “perhaps AA”; M2 vol. 1: 217 (“the source of <i>udumbara</i> is not clarified”;) Kuiper 23-5 <AA <i>tumba</i> (Bondo), “gourd.”	cp Bondo <i>dumri</i> , “fig”; Southworth (74) derives it from PD * <i>uttumara</i> , “date-tree.”
<i>kacchaka</i> , “a kind of fig tree, <i>Cedrela toona</i> ” (Vin).	< <i>kaccha</i> ? “bank, shore marsh” < <i>kakṣa</i> ? “wood” (RV) ?	?		cp Dravidian <i>kaccha</i> , “loincloth”; Tamil <i>kaccai</i> , <i>kaccu</i> , “girdle, belt.”
<i>kapitthana</i> / <i>kaṭṭana</i> , “a kind of fruiting tree” (Jā).	<i>kapittha</i> , “ <i>Feronia elephantum</i> ” (MBh).	Dravidian.	M1 vol. 1: 155, “apparently Dravidian.”	
<i>ucchu</i> , “sugar-cane” (Vin, <i>Nikāyas</i>)	<i>ikṣu</i> , idem (AV).	Dravidian.	M1 vol 1: 84, “derivation unclear”; M2 vol. 1: 185,	Witzel (2009: 90) derives it from Dravidian * <i>it-cu</i> “sweet

			“probably a foreign word.	juice”, after Southworth (218).
<i>naḷa</i> , “reed, stalk, tube” (<i>Nikāyas</i> , Vin).	<i>naḷa/naḍa</i> , idem (RV).	Dravidian.	Burrow 1946: 23; Kuiper 82 < PM * <i>ḍa-ḍa</i> , “bare, stalk, shaft of an arrow,” with common change of <i>ḍ- > n-</i> (<i>ḍa-ḍa > na-ḍa</i>). Witzel 16.	cp Kannada <i>naḷḷu, nānal</i> (“reed”).
<i>veḷu</i> , “bamboo” (<i>Nikāyas</i>).	<i>veṇu</i> , idem (RV).	Dravidian.	M1 vol. 3: 253–54, “non-Aryan source possible”; M2 vol. 2 : 578 “not clear.”	Southworth (220) reconstructs a proto-Dravidian root * <i>vet-Vr-</i> , which he suggests > OI <i>veta</i> , “cane, reed” and <i>veḍu/veṇu</i> “bamboo.” ⁸
<i>ajjakam</i> , “name of a plant, <i>Ocimum gratissimum</i> ” (Vin), clove basil.	<i>arjaka</i> , idem.	?		cp Tamil <i>accakam</i> , “species of <i>Hygrophila</i> ”
<i>phaṇijjakam</i> , “sweet marjoram” (Vin, Jā). = <i>samīraṇa</i> (“marjoram”) per Childers.	<i>phaṇijjha(ka)</i> , idem (Suśr).	non-IA perhaps Munda.	M1, vol. 2: 391, “all very unclear”; perhaps < AA <i>phaṇa</i> , “cream” as marjoram cream & oil have medicinal usages?	M2, vol. 2: 200, derivation “unclear”; per Kuiper 163 < AA (<i>phaṇa</i>).
<i>hirivera</i> , “a kind of <i>Andropogon</i> ” (Jā).	<i>hrīvera</i> , idem.	non-IA.	M1 vol. 3: 616-17, “unclarified foreign word.”	

⁸ The common Munda word for “bamboo” is *mad, mat, maḍ, maḍ, maḍ, maḍ* in the North Munda languages, which is related to Dravidian because of the common *m- >< v-* interchange which happens in Dravidian (Zvelebil 1990: §1.7.8), and in OI/MI (Bloomfield and Edgerton 1932: §223–240; Pischel §251). Proto-Munda had no *v*, so it would be heard as an allophone of *m*.

It is hardly surprising that the IA immigrants would have adopted the indigenous names for these plants, especially if they were unfamiliar with them or their uses. In some cases, the Indo-Aryans develop their own names for the plants (usually descriptive metaphors like *aṅga-loḍya*, for ginger, “a piece to be stirred”), but the above *desi* names are probably all earlier. In brackets after each name is its earliest appearance in both Pāli and OI, so the reader can get a sense of timelines; for example, a word like *usīraṃ* which appears in the Pāli *Nikāyas* but does not appear in Sanskrit until *Suśruta* (a medical text of several layers parts of which may date back to the early centuries BCE) was probably borrowed by Sanskrit from Pāli which itself borrowed it from Dravidian.

Hoarding

In the next section on hoarding (*sannidhi-kāra-paribhogam*), the terminology is not as straightforward. The first section on hoarding food does not mention any special kinds of food, just states that the monk can not keep it until the following day. The section on drinks mentions eight drinks starting with *amba-pāna-ādīni* (a mango beverage), but they are not listed here; *amba* is a non-IA word which has been discussed extensively elsewhere (Levman 2021a: Chapter two). Section three on hoarding clothes simply states that one should be happy with the three robes (*ti-cīvara*); *cīvara* is also of Dravidian extraction, based on the verb *cī/cīvu* (Tamil), “to pare off, shave or scrape off,” referring to the bark of a tree (*cīrai*), originally used as clothing (Burrow 1945: 101–02; for discussion, Levman 2021a: Chapter three).

The next section is about hoarding vehicles and lists six types, three IA and three non-IA: they are all very close in meaning and it is clear that the composer is glossing one language in terms of the other:

2) Vehicle List

Pāli	Old Indic	Derivation	Source	Comment
<i>vayhaṃ</i> , “vehicle, bed, litter” (Vin, Jā).	<i>vahyam</i> , “portable bed, litter, palanquin	IA < gerundive of <i>vah</i> , “to carry, transport, convey.”	M1 vol. 3: 177-78.	
<i>ratha</i> , “chariot, car, wagon, cart, vehicle” (Sn, <i>Nikāyas</i> , Th).	idem, (RV).	IA < <i>*rotā</i> , “wheel”; or from the root <i>r</i> “to advance towards an enemy, to attack.”	M1 vol. 3: 38	
<i>sakaṭaṃ</i> , “cart, wagon” (<i>Nikāyas</i> , Vin, Jā).	idem, “cart, wagon, car, carriage” (Nir).	Munda.	Kuiper 1955: 161, < Munda, cp Santali, Mundari, Juang <i>sagaṭ</i> , “cart	

			with two-spoked wheels”; Kharia <i>cakaṛa</i> “cart.” Birhor <i>sāgri</i> ; Bondo <i>sogor</i> .	
<i>sandamānikā</i> , “chariot” (Vin).	<i>syandana</i> , “chariot” < <i>syand</i> , “to move or flow on rapidly, run, drive” in present participle form (RV).	probably IA.	M1 vol. 3: 550-51, “not convincingly explained.”	cp Dravidian Tuḷu <i>caṭṭa</i> , “litter, palanquin, bier” (DED #2304).
<i>sivikā</i> , “palanquin, litter” (Vin, Jā).	<i>śibikā</i> , “palanquin, litter, bier” (MBh).	Dravidian/IA?	M1 vol. 3: “unclear”; < <i>śiva</i> , “friendly”?; cp Tamil <i>civikai</i> , “palanquin, covered litter” (<i>Tirukkura!</i>).	sometimes described as a <i>mañca-sivikā</i> , “bed- palanquin”; <i>mañca</i> is also a Dravidian word.
<i>pāṭaṅkī</i> , “sedan chair”? “Cone ? “carrying a sling on a pole”; var. <i>pāṭaṅgin</i> , <i>pāṭaṅgan</i> <i>pāṭakan</i> (Vin).	No corresponding word.	Dravidian < Tamil <i>pāṭu</i> , “to lie prostrate; <i>pāṭu-kāṭtu</i> , “to lie leaning one’s side.” ⁹	DED #3852.	

Here we have three words for “palanquin, litter” all listed together, *vayhaṃ* (IA), *pāṭaṅkī* (Dravidian) and *sivikā* which may or may not be IA, as direction of borrowing is impossible to tell. There are two words for chariot, the normal IA word *ratha* and *sandamānikā* which is a metaphor from the present participle of the verb *syand* (Pāli *sandati*, “to flow”), but itself etymologically “not convincingly explained” (for which see Kuiper 1937: 144-45); it is quite possible that *sandamānikā* (and the corresponding Skt form *syandana*) are calques on an

⁹ The word *pāṭaṅkī* appears to come from the very old root *paṭu* in Dravidian, common to all branches of the language (DED #3852), whose basic meaning is to “perish, die, lie down horizontally.” The form *pāṭu-* has the specific meaning of “lying prostrate” and this is where the form *pāṭaṅkī* appears to come from. Tamil also has the word *pāṭakam*, meaning “shade” and this is another possible line of derivation.

(unknown) Dravidian or Munda word for “moving swiftly,”¹⁰ or the word is related to another term for “palanquin” the Dravidian word *caṭṭa* (above). The word *sakaṭa*, which is a generic term for cart or wagon, comes from the Munda language, a substrate underlying Dravidian (cp Tamil *cakaṭam*). In these six words there are two or three of IA ancestry, two of Dravidian, and one of Munda derivation. The author of the commentary is him/herself bilingual and appears to be speaking to a bilingual audience.

This trend of mixing IA and non-IA words, often in glossing couplets, continues throughout the commentary. In the next section the word *mañca* (“couch, bed, platform,” coupled with *sivikā* in other parts of the *Tipiṭaka*) glosses *sayana*, the normal IA word for “bed” from the root *śī*, *śaya-* “to lie down.” *Mañca* itself derives from Burušaski *man*, “an earth platform” < older **manč* or **manč* < a precursor of Burušaski which is a language isolate (M1 vol. 2: 551); it is related to the word *-maṇḍa* (*bodhi-maṇḍa*), the Buddha’s enlightenment seat. The word appears in Dravidian as *mañci* (DED #4638), “cargo boat with a raised platform.” In Pāli, the word occurs in the *Sutta Nipāta* (v. 401), a work which goes back to the time of the Buddha and is earlier than its first appearance in OI (MBh).

Hoarding of Scents

The next section on the hoarding of scents (*gandha-sannidhi*) contains two non-IA words, *kaṇḍu* and *kacchu*, both technical terms representing a cutaneous infection. The word *gandha* itself is probably of native origin; even though it has an Avestan correlate, it has no IA derivation.¹¹ The word *kaṇḍu* (~ OI *kaṇḍū*, “itch”), however, is a native *desi* term. Burrow (1948: 369) derives the word from a proto-Dravidian source, cognate with Tamil *karaṇṭu*, “scrape” and *curaṇṭu*, “scrape, scratch” and similar words in Malayalam, Tuḷu and Kannada. Kuiper 1950: 168 explains these words and OI *kacchu*, “scab” and OI *kharju*, “scratching, itching” as being derived from the same AA source: cp Santali *gar*, *gḍur*, “scrape, scratch”; *gḍuḥ*, “to scratch, claw”; *gasar gasar*, *ghasar ghasar*, “to scratch oneself; *kasra* “scabies”; *kuṭ kuṭ*, “itching, irritating, to itch”; and from the Munda Etymological Dictionary (MED) compare also Korwa *goda:r*, “to scrape”; Bodo-Gadaba *gor*, “write, scrape”; Korku *kosod*, “scrape”; Juang *kuri*, “to scrape”; Korwa *k^horḍa:o*, “scrape food with the fingers.”¹²

In the Vinaya, *kaṇḍu* occurs in the compound *kaṇḍu-paṭicchādi* (“itch-cloth covering”) as a treatment for monks suffering from an (inter alia) *thulla-kacchu* (“large scab”). *kacchu* derives

¹⁰ A monk’s only proper conveyance is his sandals (*upāhanā* < *upa-nahyati*, “to fasten on”), which itself may well be a calque or literal loan-translation from the old Dravidian word for “sandal, slipper, shoe”, *ceruppu* (DED #1963) < verbal root *ceruku*, “to insert, slide in.”

¹¹ The word *gandha* (“smell, scent”) per M1 vol. 1: 322, may have an Avestan pedigree but its IA derivation is “questionable”; M2 vol 1: 461 connects it with late Avestan *gaiṇti*, “offensive smell” but “[anything] further is uncertain.” Munda has several words that are related, but it is not clear whether as a donor or receiver, although the former is indicated from the widespread use of phonetically similar words in Santali *gandha-gandhi*, “strong smell, stinking, horrible smell,” with the related word *gandhak*, “sulphur, brimstone”; in Sadri, *gḥmk*, “smell; Juang, *gonda*, *gono*, “to smell”; Kharia, *ghāri*, *ghaṇi*, “smell” (noun and verb); and Sora *ga:da:*, “a strong smell.”

¹² M1, vol. 1: 147, “with high likelihood an AA loan-word.” M2 vol. 1: 292, “not clear.”

from the Dravidian (Burrow 1943: 133), cp Kannada *kacce, koru*, “to bite, sting, smart” and several other examples; while *thulla* (alt. *thūla*) < OI “big, thick, dense” < *sthā*, “stand firmly, remain.” In this section we have a glimpse of Dravidian medicinal terms adapted to IA usage; all the other words in the passage are normal Pāli. What is left over of the fragrance is to be given to other ill persons or placed on the door in the form of a *pañc-aṅguli-ghara-dhūpana* (lit: “five-finger-house-fumigation”) a curious expression of IA words but yet apparently pointing to an autochthonous purification practice (Morris 1884: 84-5). This was some kind of ornament in the shape of a hand dipped in *gandha*, that was hung on the door for magical protection. The expression occurs several times in the *Jātakas* in connection with tree-worship, which was a native practice (Levman 2013: 166-68).

Food hoarding

The next section is about food hoarding, and curiously, most of the items are indigenous products, or at least have indigenous names:

3) Food List

Pāli	Old Indic	Derivation	Source	Comment
<i>tila/tela</i> , “sesame seed/sesame seed oil” (Sn, <i>Nikāyas</i>).	<i>tila/tila</i> , idem (AV, ŚBr).	Munda/Dravidian.	M1 vol. 1: 504-5, “not sufficiently explained; perhaps a non-IA word”; M2 vol 1: 648, “not clear; foreign word?”	Kuiper 1955: 157, Witzel (2009b: 90) both < AA; Burrow 1948: 380 suggests a Dravidian source. ¹³
<i>taṇḍula</i> , “rice-grain” (Sn, Vin).	idem (AV, ŚBr).	Munda/Dravidian.	M1 vol. 1: 471, “not clear”; Kuiper 48-9 < PM root * <i>ga-da</i> , “in pieces”; Bloch 1930: 737 < Dravidian.	Chatterji and Bagchi 1929: xxiv give several AA cognates from Bengali, Mon, Khmer, etc.
<i>mugga</i> , “kidney bean” (<i>Nikāyas</i>).	<i>mudga</i> , idem (VS).	Munda/Dravidian.	M1, vol. 2: 653, “without convincing explanation”; M2 vol. 2: 361, “not clear.”	Kuiper 146 < Munda; Witzel 2009b: 90; Burrow 1948: 391 <

¹³ Cp Santali *til* or *tilmin*, “sesame oil plant”; Mundari *tilming*; Korku, *telamij*; Kharia, *telmiṅ, tilmiṅ*. For Dravidian, cp Tamil, Kannada and Malayalam *eḷ* with original *c-* > \emptyset , but *c-* > *t-* in OI and MI. Southworth (p. 204) says “origin unknown.” Munda has the wider distribution.

				Dravidian, cp Tamil <i>mutirai</i> .
<i>māsa</i> , “bean” (Vin).	<i>māṣa</i> , “bean” (RV).	Munda/Dravidian.	M1 vol. 2: 630, “without convincing explanation”; M2 vol. 2: 352, “problematic.”	Kuiper 144 < Munda; Witzel 2009b: 90; Burrow 1948: 390 < Dravidian,
<i>nālikera</i> , “coconut tree” (Jā).	<i>nārikera</i> , idem (Suśr).	Dravidian.	M1 vol. 2: 155, “probably a native word”; Bloch 1930: 740 < Dravidian	cp Tamil <i>nāri</i> , Kannada <i>nār</i> , etc., “fibre, sinew” and Tamil <i>kēli</i> , “coco-palm.”
<i>loṇa</i> - “salt” (Vin, <i>Nikāyas</i>).	<i>lavaṇa</i> , idem, also “beautiful”; (“derivation doubtful” per MW; ŚBr).	probably Munda	M1 vol. 3: 92-3; M2 vol. 2: 476 < <i>lav</i> , “to cut”; Wackernagel 1896/2005 vol 1: 223 (“foreign origin”). Southworth (268) reconstructs PD form <i>*cup-</i> “salt” (e.g. Tamil <i>uppu</i>) apparently unrelated (DED #2674a).	cp proto-Kherwarian <i>*bu’luṇ</i> , “salt” which is very widespread in Munda languages (prefix <i>bu-</i> > Ø?).
<i>maccha</i> , “fish” (<i>Nikāyas</i> , Sn, Jā). Mil 331 ¹³ .	<i>matsya</i> , idem (RV).	IA? cp Iir Avestan <i>masya</i> .	M1 vol. 2: 566-67 connects the word with the root <i>mad</i> , “to rejoice” and M2 vol. 2: 298 with the s-stem <i>*mad(a)s</i> , “food,” both of which are singularly unconvincing.	Southworth (258) reconstructs a PD generic root <i>*mīn</i> for “fish”
<i>maṃsa</i> , “meat” (<i>Nikāyas</i> , Jā).	<i>māṃsa</i> , idem (RV)	IA.	M1 vol. 2: 615.	

<i>vallūra</i> , “dried meat” (<i>Nikāyas</i> , Jā).	idem (Manu).	Dravidian.	M1 vol. 3: 167; cp Tamil <i>vallūram</i> , “dried meat”; but directionality uncertain.	Burrow 1948: 393. DED #4352.
<i>sappi</i> , “ghee” (Sn, <i>Nikāyas</i>).	<i>sarpis</i> , idem (RV).	IA.	M1 vol. 3: 446.	
<i>guḷa</i> (<i>piṇḍa</i>), “ball” (<i>Nikāyas</i>).	<i>guḍa</i> , idem, also “dry sugar lump” (MBh).	Dravidian.	Burrow 1948: 377; Kuiper 1939: 1001.	cp Telugu, <i>guḍḍu</i> , “eyeball, egg”; <i>goḍḍa</i> , “cylindrical stone”; etc. (DED #1680)
<i>yāgu</i> , “rice-gruel” (<i>Nikāyas</i>).	<i>yavāgū</i> , idem (Br).	prob. IA.	M1 vol. 3: 10 “difficult to assess.”	
<i>dadhi</i> , “sour milk, curds” (<i>Nikāyas</i>).	idem, (Pāṇ).	IA.	M1 vol. 2: 15 < reduplicated root <i>dhū</i> .	
<i>piṇḍa-pāta</i> , “alms giving” (Sn, <i>Nikāyas</i> , Vin).	idem (<i>piṇḍa</i> , RV).	Dravidian.	M1 vol. 2: p. 275 < MI sources. M2 vol. 2: 128 “not clarified.” ¹⁴	cp Kannada <i>peṭṭa</i> , <i>peṭṭe</i> , <i>peṇṭe</i> , “lump” ~ Tamil, Kannada <i>piṇḍu</i> , “press together.”

Of the fifteen items not to be hoarded, only three to four of them are IA (omitting *maccha* which is ambiguous). How to account for the wholesale importation of non-IA terms into the IA vocabulary? All the terms are from agriculture; the only IA terms, with the exception of *yāgu*

¹⁴ Kuiper associates the word *piṇḍa* with a Munda word meaning “fleshy swelling, round and thick” (p. 143); cp Gta’ *bāntu*, “ball”; Juang *penḍu*, “ball”; see Witzel §1.6, p. 15 and 1999b: footnote 26 where he suggests it may come from an unknown W. Central Asian substrate language. The word has a wide distribution in Dravidian in the meaning “squeeze, press into (a cake),” which appears to be the root. See DED #4183, examples: Tamil *piṇṭi*, “oilcake made of the residue of oil seeds”; Malayalam *piṇṭi*, “what is squeezed, residue, sediment”; Kannada *piṇḍu*, “squeeze out, wring”; Koḍagu *punḍ-* “squeeze”; Tuḷu *piṇḍi*, *punḍi*, “oilcake”; Kolami *pinḍ*, *pīnḍ*, “squeeze”; Naiki *pīnḍ*, “milk”; Malto *piqe*, “wring or squeeze out”; Brahui *piḷhing*, *princing*, “squeeze, squeeze out.” The OI word appears in the RV 1.162.19, where it refers to lumps of flesh; it first refers to balls of food offered to deceased ancestors in Manu and MBh (after fourth century BCE). The wide distribution in all sub-languages of Dravidian suggests a very old ancestry, predating its OI occurrence by many centuries. The word *pāta*, is popularly taken from the root *pat*, “to fall” (food falling into the monk’s bowl) but might also be from the Dravidian *patam*, “cooked rice” making *piṇḍapata* a hendiadys or an epexegesis.

(whose derivation is unclear), are those designating animal products (meat, ghee and sour milk), which makes sense for a pastoralist group. Witzel explains this in greater detail:

The reason [for the adoption of non-IA terms] clearly appears in the RV: the Vedic tribes preferred to have local people (*kināśa*, cf Kīkaṭa RV 3.53.14) do the back-breaking agricultural work (*sā/sī*, *lāṅgula*) and preferred to do the more ‘noble’ work of tending their cattle, Maasai style: by young armed men roaming about the cow pastures (*gavyūti* in the ominous *araṇya* ‘wilderness’ (RV 10.146), and returning to their temporary settlements (*grāma*) and cow enclosures (*gotra*) in the evening—a picture still epitomized many centuries later by the Yādava tribe’s cow herd Krishna, playing his flute in the wilderness (2009: 94).

Two other *desi* words are of interest in the commentary. Monks who hoard are criticized as living the life of a *muṇḍa-kuṭumbika* (“bald householder”). The first word is a *desi* word, used by brahmins as a term of insult for the Buddha and his followers; arguably it refers not only to their shaven heads, but also to their ethno-linguistic group, the Munda language speaking clan (Levman 2021a: Chapter five). The word *kuṭumba* (Pāli, OI *idem*, “household, family”; Jā, ChUp) derives from the Dravidian word for “hut”: *kuṭi* (Burrow 1938: 717 and 1946: 8; cp Tamil *kuṭi*, “hut”; Kannada, Telugu *guḍi*, *idem*). This section provides a unique glimpse into the socio-cultural divide of these two groups, the immigrants and the locals, as reflected in the language mix. Here we have wholesale borrowing of one language group to the other (section twelve has the most non-IA words of any section in the commentary), which presupposes extensive bilingualism in both parties.

Entertainment

Section thirteen is about *visūka-dassanaṃ* or entertainment. Here again we have many indigenously derived words (twenty in the *mūla* transmission and commentary), both in mixed lists and in binary pairs where one IA word glosses a *desi* word. The word *visūka* itself is of Dravidian extraction, from the Dravidian root, Telugu *cūcu*, “to see, observe, behold, look at, view” (Burrow 1948: 395; DED #2735), and has widespread provenance among Central and South Dravidian language groups suggesting an age of about 1500 BCE (Southworth 51; 2009: 110); Mayrhofer (M1 vol. 3: 491) tries to derive the word from a denominative of *sūci* (“needle”), but that is not very plausible; in any case the word in OI (*sūcayati*, “to point out, indicate, show; indicate by gesture”) is quite late, not appearing until the MBh. *Visūka* (“show”) and *dassana* (OI *darśana*, “seeing, observing, exhibiting”) are themselves a binary pair, one in Dravidian and one in Pāli, each complementing the other.¹⁵ Presumably *pekkha* (OI *prekṣa*, “show”), the fourth item in the *mūla*, is also a synonym for *visūka* and *dassana*.

¹⁵ Although the PTS gives the primary meaning of *visūka* as “restless motion, wriggling, twisting, twitching” which they say is better than “show,” it occurs dozens of times in the canon and commentary in the compound *nacca-gīta-vādita-visūka-dassana*, which clearly means “show” (“dancing-song-music-show-show”).

4) Entertainment List¹⁶

Pāli	OI	Derivation	Source	Comment
<i>nacca/naṭa</i> , “dancing, dancer” (<i>Nikāyas</i>)	* <i>nṛtyaka</i> , idem < <i>nṛt</i> , “to dance” (RV); <i>naṭaka</i> , “actor”	Dravidian.	M1 vol. 1: 127; M2, vol. 2: 22; Kuiper 1955: 104-06. ¹⁷	cp Kannada, <i>naḍaka</i> , Tamil <i>naṭalai</i> , “trembling.”
<i>pāṇi-ssara</i> , “hand music (clapping)” (<i>Nikāyas</i>)	<i>pāṇisvarika</i> (BHSD) “recitation or singing to the accompaniment of the clapping of hands.”	IA.		
<i>kaṃsa-(tāḷa)</i> , “bronze, gong, metal vessel” (Jā).	idem, “vessel made of metal” (AV).	prob. non-IA, gloss for <i>pāṇi-ssara</i> .	M2, vol. 1: 285- 86 “not clear.”	cp Malayalam <i>kiṇṇam</i> , “gong”; Bondo, <i>kakṇ</i> “kind of metal bangle.”
(<i>pāṇi</i>)- <i>tāḷa</i> , “clapping of hands”) < <i>tāḷayati</i> (“to beat”).	<i>tāḍa/tala</i> , “slapping the hands together” < <i>taḍ</i> , “to beat, strike; to strike a musical instrument” (MBh).	Dravidian, gloss for <i>pāṇi-ssara</i> .	M1 vol. 1: 492 “etymologically not clear”; Burrow 1948: 380; Kuiper 1937: 139, note 1.	cp Tamil, Kannada <i>taṭṭu</i> , “beat”; connected with <i>tāṇḍava</i> , “wild, frantic dance.”
<i>vetāḷa</i> , “musical art”; cp <i>vetāḷika</i> , “court musician” (<i>Nikāyas</i>).	<i>vetāḷa</i> , “demon, goblin, vampire” (medieval); <i>vaitāḷika</i> , “one	non-IA	Levman 2013: 156; Warder 1967: 88, note 1. M1 vol. 3: 255,	> <i>vetāḷiya</i> metre. ¹⁸ cp <i>Mahāvastu</i> (Senart 1897) <i>vaitāḷika</i> (113 ²),

¹⁶ There are twenty words of non-IA extraction in this section alone. To save space I am not including all of them (some have already been dealt with above), nor am I including the IA words, except where they form binary pairs with the indigenous terms.

¹⁷ The derivation is unclear. It looks like an original Dravidian root *naṭ* was adopted first by the Prakrits (*naṭati*) and later Sanskritized, but the word *nṛtyati* is old, going back to the RV. M1 vol. 1: 127 takes it (*naṭati*) as non-IA, “with greater likelihood the originally differentiated *naṭ-* (“stagger, shiver”), Bengālī *naṛā*, “to shake” (*Gopālakelicandrikā*), may probably come from a non-IA source.” See DED #3585. Kuiper (1955: 105) also identifies the root *naṭ* with the Skt. word *laṭva* “dancing boy” even though initial *n-* does not usually change to initial *l-*; there is also a word *laṣva*, “dancer” in the *Uṇādi sūtra*. This suggests that the word *lāsikā*, “dancer” is also another version of the word *naṭaka*, with phonological changes. How exactly the root *nṛt* is related is not clear, if not a back-Sanskritization. But the Prakrit *naṭ* is clearly not a development from OI *nṛt*, but a separate pathway from the Dravidian.

¹⁸ Warder (1967: 88, note 1) suggests, “It is possible that this *deśī* music was that of the pre-Aryan population of the Ganges region,” and on page 103, “The new metre may have had its origin in *deśī* (Māgadhī) folk song: its rhythms may even be non-Indo-Aryan in origin, coming perhaps from some Munda tradition in Eastern India.”

	possessed by a <i>vetāla</i> .” (med).		“not certainly explained.”	“bard, musician, conjurer.”
<i>ghana</i> -(<i>tāla</i>), “cymbal”;	idem < <i>han</i> , “to strike.”	IA, gloss for <i>vetāla</i> .		
(<i>kumbha</i> , “jar, pitcher”)- <i>thūṇa</i> , “drum” (<i>Nikāyas</i>).	idem (<i>kumbha</i>)- <i>sthūṇa/sthāṇu</i> “pillar” (Mn MBh) < <i>sthā</i> ?	<i>kumbha</i> is IA; <i>thūṇa</i> is prob. Munda.	M1 vol. 3: 528; Kuiper 1954: 248-50 as AA in origin.	< * <i>thāṇu</i> , Munda synonym with initial vowel change (normal); cp Pāli <i>khāṇu</i> (“stump, leafless tree”) < Munda root * <i>ḍaḍ/gaḍ/baḍ</i> “tree trunk”
(<i>caturass</i> ’)- <i>ambalaka</i> -(<i>tāla</i>) < <i>ambaṇa</i> , “measure of capacity” (Vin)	<i>caturaśra</i> - <i>armaṇa</i> (Suśr).	gloss for <i>kumbha-thūṇa</i> ; Dravidian	Rhys Davids (1889: 8, note 4); the Sinhalese comm. has “striking a drum big enough to hold sixteen gallons.” ¹⁹	cp Tamil <i>ampaṇam</i> ; Malayalam <i>avanam</i> , “measure”; DED #263.
<i>caṇḍāla</i> , “outcaste” (<i>Nikāyas</i>).	idem (ChUp).	non-IA, probably Dravidian.	M1 vol. 1: 370; M2 vol. 2: 539, “prob. a pre-Aryan tribe name.”	cp Dravidian, Tamil <i>caṇṭai</i> , “conflict, quarrel, fight, war”; Malayalam <i>caṇṭa</i> , “quarrel.”
(<i>ayo</i>)- <i>guḷaka</i> , “little ball” < <i>guḷa</i> , “ball” (<i>Nikāyas</i>).	<i>guḍa</i> , <i>gola</i> , idem (MBh).	Dravidian.	M1 vol. 1: 349, “probably Dravidian”; Burrow 1948: 377; Kuiper 1939: 1001.	
<i>vaṃsa</i> , “bamboo” (Sn).	<i>vaṃśa</i> , idem (RV).	Dravidian.	M1 vol. 3: 120 finds connections with some Indo-Iranian border languages, “all further	cp Tamil <i>vañci</i> , Malayalam <i>vañci</i> , <i>vañṇi</i> , “rattan, bamboo, reed” < proto-Dravidian * <i>vank</i> , “to bend” Southworth 73.

¹⁹ The *-thūṇa* (-*sthāṇu*) appears to be a support for the drum, mirrored in the word *-ambalaka*, as per the Sinhalese commentary.

			correlations remain uncertain”; M2 vol. 2: 485 idem.	
<i>veḷu</i> , “bamboo” (<i>Nikāyas</i>).	<i>veṇu</i> , idem (RV).	Dravidian.	M1 vol 3: 253-54; Southworth (220) reconstructs PD root <i>*vet-Vr-</i> , which he suggests > OI <i>veta</i> , “cane, reed” and <i>veḍu/veṇu</i> “bamboo.”	
<i>meṇḍa</i> -(<i>yuddha</i>), “ram” (<i>Nikāyas</i> , Jā).	<i>meṇḍha</i> , idem (Lex).	Munda.	M1, vol. 2: 682, “prob. non-IA, perhaps AA”; Kuiper 109.	cp Juang <i>meṇḍa</i> , “ram”; Bondo <i>meṇḍa</i> “sheep”; Mundari <i>miṇ'di</i> ; Ho <i>mi'di</i> ; Birhor <i>miṇḍi</i> , etc., all “sheep”
<i>kukkuṭa</i> -, “cock” (<i>Nikāyas</i>).	idem (MBh).	prob. Munda.	M1 vol. 1: 218, “onomatopoeic”; Kuiper 1991: 59, 68 < AA.	cp Kota <i>kukur</i> , “cock’s comb”; Kharia, <i>kokoro</i> , <i>kōkrō</i> .
<i>daṇḍa</i> -, “stick, staff, pole” (<i>Nikāyas</i> , Vin).	idem (RV).	Dravidian or Munda.	M1 vol. 2: 11-12, A contested, undecided etymological problem”; Burrow 1946: 19 < Dravidian; Kuiper 75 < Munda; Witzel 16 < Munda; Southworth 72 < Dravidian.	cp Tamil <i>taṇṭu</i> , <i>taṭi</i> , “staff”; cp Santali <i>ḍaṇṭa</i> , “club”; Mundari <i>ḍāṇḍā</i> , “club, stick”; Sora <i>daṇ</i> , idem; Kharia, <i>ḍāṇḍa?</i> , <i>ḍāṇṭa</i> , <i>ḍaṇḍa?</i> , <i>ḍaṇḍa?</i> , idem.
<i>muṭṭhi</i> -, “fist” (<i>Nikāyas</i> , Jā).	<i>muṣṭi</i> , clenched hand (RV)	Dravidian.	M1 vol. 2: 658 connects with the word for “mouse” (<i>mūḥ</i> = “clenched hand”	DED #4932, cp Tamil <i>muṭṭu</i> , “assault, attack fight”; Kannada, <i>moṭṭu</i> , “rap the

			= thief); not very plausible; M2 vol. 2: 363 idem.	head with the knuckles of the fist”; etc.
<i>nibbuddha</i> -, “wrestling” (<i>Nikāyas</i>).	<i>niyuddha</i> , idem, (MBh).	IA, a gloss of <i>muṭṭhi-yuddha</i> .		
<i>malla</i> -, “wrestler, name of a people” (<i>Nikāyas</i>).	idem, (Mn, MBh).	Dravidian, a gloss of <i>nibbuddha-yuddha</i> .	Burrow 1946: 18.	cp <i>malla</i> -, “wrestler, boxer, strongman.”

In the above there are several binary pairs or “double translations” where one term is glossed in the language of the other, indicating extensive bilingualism. The words for “hand-clapping” or “time-keeping” are particularly informative as here we have several different musical technical terms from the two languages combined. The basic term *pāṇi-ssara* (IA, “hand-clapping”) occurs in the *mūla* where it is immediately followed by *vetāla*, “musical art,” a *desi* word, glossed by *ghana-tāḷa* (keeping time with a cymbal; *ghana* is IA and *tāḷa* is Dravidian) in the commentary. The compound *pāṇi-ssara* itself has two glosses, *kaṃsa-tāḷa* (non-IA), which is keeping time with some sort of gong and *pāṇi-tāḷa* which is keeping time by clapping. Granted these may be all slightly different ways of keeping time with the music, but the mixed nature of the glosses and the compounds themselves (where one word *pāṇi*- or *ghana*- is IA and the second, *-tāḷa* Dravidian, or where two *desi* words, *kaṃsa-tāḷa* gloss two IA words) tell us that this composition was composed by and directed at a bilingual audience, or at least an audience that was becoming bilingual.

This practice continues in a few other places where the word *-thūṇa*, apparently a Munda word originally meaning “tree-trunk,” is explained in terms of the Dravidian word *ambalaka/ambaṇa*, a “certain measure of capacity” and apparently a stand to the *kumbha* or drum (also perhaps a drum-resonator). The interplay between the two languages continues in the *mūla* text where *muṭṭhi-yuddha* and *nibbuddham* are placed side by side, one explaining the other: *muṭṭhi* (a Dravidian word) is a form of fist-fight and *nibbuddha* (< OI *ni* + *yudh*, “to fight” > *nivvudh*- > Pāli *nibbudh*- von Hinüber 2001: §216) the same (also “wrestling”); the latter is glossed with *malla-yuddha* in the commentary which is the Dravidian word for “wrestling” and also the name of a sub-Himalayan tribe, who were well-known athletes.

The Indo-Aryans were a pastoralist, nomadic culture and they apparently were not as musically sophisticated and established as the urban Dravidians (Levman 2021c: 22); most of the musical terms here are non-IA and adopted from the local population. The IA musical orientation appears to be more religiously manifested in the sacred, sung hymns of the Vedas, rather than the popular music portrayed here, where the audience is involved with the performers, audibly keeping the beat.

Actors and dancers are also very important in the Dravidian culture; when the dancers died, they were not cremated, but when their body decayed, the bones were collected, washed and anointed and placed in a sacred place where mourning took place and food and alcohol were consumed (Sv 1, 84²⁷-85³).

The language here is highly unusual, with twenty indigenous words (ten in the *mūla* out of twenty-six total designations, and ten in the commentary), all important cultural and technical terms appearing in this short space. They indicate not only bilingualism, but an interdependency of the two cultures, which has perhaps not been heretofore appreciated.

Games

This cultural amalgam is also shown in the next section fourteen, which contains twenty-two important terms from the language of the native culture (six in the *mūla* and sixteen in the commentary). This portion is about the various games which the monks are not to engage in. Presumably, based on the word etymology, they are largely Dravidian practices which the Indo-Aryans were prone to adopting; of course their appearance here does not mean they were sanctioned in the Dravidian culture either.

5) Games List

Here there are nineteen different games described in the *mūla* of which six are of non-IA etymology; the commentary has another fifteen technical terms. The word for “game” is *kīlā* in Pāli (OI *krīḍā*) from the verb *krīḍ/krīḷ* (RV), “to play, amuse oneself.” Although this seems like a bona fide IA derivation, counter-views have been expressed by Master (1948: 363-64) who takes it from a PD root *kiḷ/keḷ* (cp Tamil *kēḷ*, “friend, companion”), and Kuiper who derives it from Munda **k(h)id*, “to play” (1954: 242).

Pāli	Old Indic	Derivation	Source	Comment
<i>sakkharā</i> , “gravel, grit, grain, (sugar) granules.” ²⁰	<i>śarkarā</i> idem (ŚBr).	probably Munda.	M1 vol. 3: 308-09; M2, vol. 2: 618-9, “difficult”; Kuiper 122.	cp Khari <i>gargar</i> , “gravel” < PM root <i>*gaḍ</i> .
<i>khalikā</i> , “dice-board” (Vin); < <i>khala</i> “contest, battle.”	<i>phalaka</i> , “gaming board.”	Dravidian.	prob. from <i>khala</i> . M1 vol. 1: 305, “not certainly explained”; M2 vol. 1: 449,	cp Tamil, <i>kaḷam</i> , “threshing floor, open space”; Tuḷu <i>kala</i> , “square.”

²⁰ The word occurs in the game called *santikaṃ* which involves stacking up *sakkarāyo* (“granules”) and *sāriyo* (OI *śāri*, “die or small cube”) and trying to remove them with one’s nail. M1 vol. 3: 327 treats the latter as an IA word, although Burrow 1945: 117 takes it from the Dravidian, cp. Kannada *cāra*, “line, streak”; it has not been included as an IA word here as the meaning does not correspond.

			idem; Burrow 1946: 9.	
<i>pāsaka</i> , “die” (Jā).	<i>pāśaka</i> , “die” < <i>pāsa</i> , “die”(MBh) < <i>pra-as</i> “to throw.”	IA, glossing <i>khalika</i> in comm.		
<i>ghaṭikā</i> , “game of sticks” (Th) < <i>ghaṭa</i> , “multitude, heap” (Jā).	<i>ghaṭā</i> , “number, collection, group” (BhP).	Dravidian ?	M 1 vol. 1: 355 s.v. <i>ghaṭa</i> , “waterjar” “unclear, perhaps a native word”; Kuiper 55; Burrow 1948: 377	Note change of meaning
<i>daṇḍaka</i> , see above sv <i>daṇḍa</i> .		Dravidian.		
<i>salāka</i> , “small stick” (<i>Nikāyas</i>).	<i>śalākā</i> , idem (ŚBr).	non-IA?	M1 vol. 2: 314 < <i>śara</i> , “arrow”? Gonda 1932: 332-34; Kuiper 1955: 167 < Munda.	Turner (sv <i>śalyaka</i> , “porcupine”): “possibly connected with a word or words of non-Aryan origin.”
<i>mañjiṭṭhika</i> , “crimson” (<i>Nikāyas</i>).	<i>mañju</i> , “charming” in superlative <i>mañjiṣṭha</i> , “bright red, crimson (MBh).	Dravidian.	M1 vol. 2: 533; “not convincingly explained”; M2 vol. 2: 292, “a foreign word remains possible”; Burrow 1948: 389.	cp Tamil <i>mañcu</i> “beauty” < <i>maintu</i> , “strength, beauty, desire, love.”
<i>guḷa-kīlā</i> , “playing with balls or marbles.”	see above sv <i>guḷaka/guḍa</i> .	Dravidian, glossing <i>akkha</i> , “dice” (IA, <i>akṣa</i>)		

<i>paṅga-cīra</i> , “leaf-pipe” ²¹	?	Dravidian?		
<i>paṅṅa-nāḷika</i> , “leaf-tube.”	(<i>parṅa</i>)- <i>nāḷika</i> .	Dravidian/Munda (<i>nāḷika</i>) glossing <i>paṅga-cīra</i> and (<i>patta</i>)- <i>āḷhaka</i> .	M1 vol. 2: 127–29 sv <i>naḍa</i> ; Burrow 1946: 23; Kuiper 81-2.	Witzel, 16 suggests Munda connection.
<i>naṅgala</i> , “plough (Sn, <i>Nikāyas</i>).	<i>lāṅgala</i> , idem (RV)	Munda or Dravidian, glossing <i>vaṅkaka</i> , “a sort of toy; toy-plough.”	M1 vol. 3: 97 < AA; Kuiper 127; Burrow 1946: 25 < Dravidian; Przyluski 1929: 8; Witzel, 25 < Para-Munda <i>*laṅgal</i> .	cp Tamil <i>nāñcil</i> ; Khmer <i>aṅkāl</i> ; Malay <i>taṅgāla</i> ; Southworth 80, PD <i>*ñāñ-kVI</i>
<i>ciṅgulika</i> , “a wheel made of palm-leaves blown about by the wind.”	~? <i>hiṅgulaka</i> , ? “vermillion, cinnabar; a plant.”	? unknown; glossed by <i>tāla-</i> <i>paṅṅa</i> which are two Dravidian words. For <i>paṅṅa</i> (“leaf”) see above; for <i>tāla</i> (“palm-tree”) see Southworth 82, PD <i>*tāz</i> .	Southworth 2009: 119 early PD root for date palm <i>*cīnt(t)-</i> .	cp Tamil <i>cikku</i> , “to become entangled” (DED #2498) as a possible source, or Kannada <i>teṅgu</i> , “coconut palm,” with change of <i>t-</i> > <i>c-</i> .
<i>tāla-paṅṅa</i> , “palm-leaf.”	<i>tāla-parṅa</i> , idem.	both Dravidian, glossing <i>ciṅgulika</i> .		
(<i>patta</i>)- <i>āḷhaka</i> , (bowl) “a certain measure” (<i>Nikāyas</i>).	- <i>āḷhaka</i> , “a measure of grain” (Pāṇ).	? glossed by <i>tāla-</i> <i>paṅṅa</i> .	M1 vol. 1: 71, “unclear.”	Comm: “leaf-tube; they play, measuring sand, etc., with it.”
<i>vālukā</i> , “sand” (<i>Nikāyas</i>).	idem or <i>bālukā</i> (MBh).	Munda, glossing (<i>patta</i>)- <i>āḷhaka</i> .	M1 vol. 3: 196, “not convincingly clarified.”	cp Bondo, Juang <i>bali</i> , “sand”; Gta’ <i>bali=lo</i> ?; Korwa <i>ba:la:</i> ; Santali <i>bḷi</i> .

²¹ According to the commentary a *paṅga-cīra* is some kind of leaf-pipe, glossed as *paṅṅa-nāḷikaṃ taṃ damantā*, “blowing through a leaf-tube”; both these words (*nāḷikaṃ*, < *naḷa*, “reed” OI *nāḍa*) and *paṅṅa* (Levman 2021c: 28 note 34) are of Dravidian extraction. So is the second word in the compound -*cīra*, (“bark”); see above. The Dravidian word *paṅga* commonly refers to the forked branch of a tree, so *paṅga-cīra* as a compound would have something to do with stripping bark off a tree branch, which of course is not consistent with the commentarial gloss given here.

<i>kāṇa-</i> , “blind, usually of one eye” (Vin, Jā, Th).	idem (MBh).	Dravidian.	M1 vol. 1: 196 favours IA; M2 vol. 1: 336 idem; Kuiper 1955: 176 < Munda; Burrow 1946: 22 < Drav.	cp Tamil <i>kāṇ</i> , “to see” with neg. ending <i>-ā</i> > <i>kāṇā</i> , neg. root “to not see.” ²² Modern Tamil <i>kāṇaṇ</i> , “one-eyed man.”
<i>kuṇi-</i> , “deformed, paralyzed” (Jā).	idem (MBh).	Dravidian.	M1 vol. 1: 225, “apparently Dravidian”; Kuiper 54; Kittel 1894: XXVIII; Burrow 1946: 22.	DED #1688, Malayalam <i>kuṇṭan</i> , “cripple,” etc., < Dravidian root <i>kūṇ</i> “bend, curve, humpback”; modern Tamil <i>kuṇi</i> , “that which is lame; person with a withered hand.”
<i>khujja</i> , “humpbacked, crooked” (Jā). var. <i>khañja</i> , <i>khajja</i> .	<i>kubja</i> , idem (MBh).	Munda/Dravidian.	M1 vol. 1: 230, “prob. proto-Munda”; Kuiper 42f; Burrow 1948: 374.	cp Santali <i>kubja</i> , <i>kobjo</i> , “bandy, crooked.” Dravidian cp Kannada <i>gubāru</i> , “swelling”; <i>gubbi</i> , “knob, protuberance”; DED #1743. Modern Tamil <i>kuñcitam</i> , “bent, crooked” < verb <i>kuñci</i> , “to bend.”

Of all these non-IA words, the most revealing are the last three, which are part of the gloss for the game *yathā-vajjam* (“according to their fault”). This is some form of mimicry of a person’s defects: *kāṇa-kuṇi-khujj-ādīnaṃ yaṃ yaṃ vajjam, taṃ taṃ payojetvā dassana-kīlā* (“imitating this or that fault of a blind, deformed or humpbacked person, etc., the game of showing it” Sv 1, 86²⁰⁻¹). The words are all Dravidian in origin (*khujja* perhaps from a Munda substrate), and are a direct lift from that language. In modern Tamil it would read *kāṇa-kuṇi-kuñcitam*, almost identical to the

²² Mayrhofer objected to this explanation as did Kuiper, the latter on the grounds that it must have been very rare. But there is also a neg. verbal root (Wilden 2018: 148) *kāṇā*, that is root + *-ā*, with implied pronominal suffix *-a* (3rd plural), “those eyes don’t see,” which is the logical source of MI/OI *kāṇa*, the *-ā* > *-ā* to denote the masc. sing. nom., that is, a form of aryianization.

Pāli, and presumably old Tamil would not be far from this. This shows a high degree of language integration and bilingualism, whereby the words in one language have been borrowed and are understandable in another. Note that the words are not expressed in IA which has its own words for these phenomena (*andha-virūpa-vakra-prṣṭha*); presumably this is another example of using pejorative language from Dravidian (as in *muṇḍa-kuṭumbika*, “bald householder” discussed above) to imply a subaltern position for those native speakers.

Two of these words (*ciṅgulika*, *paṅgacīra*) only occur here in the canon (and in the section as repeated in the *Sāmaññaphalasutta* DN 2), which is a means of dating them, assuming we can date the *suttas* in which they appear. A third appearance is later, in the Vinaya commentary (Sp 3, 179-180) criticizing the followers of Assaji-Punabbasu, some wayward Buddhist monks; here, virtually all the forbidden practices in this *sutta* and more are repeated.

Again there are some binary pairs in this section where one phrase is glossed by another in the opposite language like *phalaka* (“dice-board”) or *pāsaka* (“dice”) glossing *khalikā* (“dice-board”), and *naṅgala* glossing *vaṅkaka* (“plough”); and there are also indigenous phrases like *paṅga-cīra* and *ciṅgulika* which are glossed only by other words of Dravidian etymology (*paṅṅa-nāḷika*, and *tāla-paṅṅa* respectively); all these common words for leaf (*paṅṅa*), reed (*naḷa* > *nāḷika*) and date palm (*tāla*) have been in the IA language for a long time, the first two since the RV, so no particular conclusion should be drawn from this fact, except that the languages have been interacting since at least the time of the middle RV period (~1500 BCE, Witzel, 14). More important are words like the last three name-calls, which appear quite late in IA (MBh) and are therefore likely recent borrowings. Intuitively this makes sense, as common agricultural terms would be the first to be borrowed, and later, as the two languages became acculturated to each other, the profane language of each culture would be exchanged.

Highbeds

Monks were forbidden to sleep in raised beds or use fancy bed-covers, and section fifteen is devoted to those which are prohibited. Here there are approx. twenty different types of bed and bed coverings listed of which eight are non-IA in etymology; in the commentary there are nine words of indigenous origin. Again, only these are listed, with IA words as appropriate for illustration.

6) Bed and Bed-covers List

Pāli	Old Indic	Derivation	Source	Comment
<i>pallaṅka</i> , “sofa, couch, cross-legged sitting, palanquin” (<i>Nikāyas</i>).	<i>palyaṅka</i> , idem (Pāṇ).	Dravidian.	M1 vol. 2: 226, sv <i>paryaṅka</i> , “from an Indian source, allegedly Drav.”	American Heritage dictionary < Javanese <i>pelangki</i> (AA).

<i>vāla</i> , “snake, beast of prey” (Jā).	<i>vyāḍa/vyāla</i> , idem (AV).	prob. non-IA, unknown source.	M1 vol. 3: 276, “unclear”	glosses <i>pallaṅka</i> , “with the legs made of beasts of prey.”
<i>goṇaka</i> , “a woollen cover with long fleece” (<i>Nikāyas</i>).	<i>goṇikā</i> , “kind of woolen cloth” (<i>Lotus Sūtra</i>).	Dravidian.	M1 vol. 1 345-46 < Dravidian, cp Kannada, <i>gōṇi</i> , “sack” Telugu <i>gōne</i> , idem; Burrow 1945: 90.	
<i>kojava</i> “a rug or cover with long hair, a fleecy counterpane” (Vin).	<i>kocava</i> (BHS) < <i>kavaca</i> , “armour, jacket” (ŚBr).	Dravidian, glosses <i>goṇaka</i> .	M1 vol. 1: 186, “apparently Dravidian”; Kittel 1894: XXXI I; Burrow 1945: 90.	cp Kannada <i>gavasaniḡe</i> , <i>gavasani</i> , “cover, wrapper, cloth, case”; <i>kavudi/kavadi</i> , “quilted cover.”
<i>paṭikā</i> , “white, woolen cloth” (<i>Nikāyas</i>).	idem, “woven cloth” < <i>paṭa</i> , “cloth” (MBh).	Dravidian/Munda.	M1 vol. 2: 190, “perhaps from AA”; Master 1944: 302,	cp Dravidian reflexes <i>paṭṭa</i> , <i>paṭa</i> , <i>paḍa</i> , <i>paṭṭe</i> , <i>paṭi</i> , etc., “cloth”; cp Tamil <i>paṭṭu</i> , “silk cloth”;
<i>paṭalikā</i> , “a woolen coverlet embroidered with <i>āmalaka</i> (gooseberry) flowers.”	?	Dravidian.	M1 vol. 2: 189, sv <i>paṭalam</i> , not to be separated from <i>paṭa</i> (see row above).	
<i>pupphaka</i> , “flower” (<i>Nikāyas</i> , for <i>puppha</i>).	<i>puṣpa</i> , “flower” (AV).	Dravidian.	M1 vol. 2: 318; M2 vol. 2: 153; Burrow 1946:10.	From the Dravidian root <i>pū</i> , “to blossom, to flower” and noun <i>pū</i> , “flower, blossom.” ²³

²³ *puppha*, “flower”: (Levman 2021a: Chapter three, Appendix two): The word *puppha* (“flower”; OI *puṣpa*) is usually interpreted as derived from the root *puṣ*, “to thrive, flourish, prosper,” but the derivation is questionable as the meaning does not correspond (so Turner notes in CDIAL #8303). Dravidian has at least a direct correspondence in Tamil *pū*, “flower,” (noun and verb, non-past stem is *pūpp-*; absolutive is *pūppu*, “flowering, having flowered”; Telugu *pū*, *pūvu*,

<i>-paṭṭa</i> , “cloth, strip of cloth” (<i>Nikāyas</i> , Vin, Jā).	idem, “cloth, bandage, strip, bturban” (MBh).	Dravidian.	M1 vol. 1: 192-3, “non-IA source?”	cp Dravidian, Tamil <i>paṭṭai</i> , “rind, strip” (DED #3876).
<i>tūlika</i> , “mattress, full of three cotton layers” (<i>Nikāyas</i>) < <i>tūla</i> , “tuft of grass, cotton” (Sn).	<i>tūla</i> , idem (AV), (<i>tūlika</i> = “cotton trader”).	Dravidian.	M1, vol. 1: 520 “not convincingly explained”; Burrow 1944: 348; 1946: 18, 28	cp Tamil <i>tūval</i> , “feather, down”; Malayalam <i>tūval</i> , “feather.”
<i>dasā</i> , “fringe” (<i>Nikāyas</i>).	<i>daśā</i> , idem (Mn).	Munda.	M1 vol. 2: 27, “without certainty”; M2, vol. 1: 710.	cp Santali <i>dāsi</i> , “fringe”; Kharia <i>dosiyara</i> , “border”; Mundari <i>dāsi</i> , “fringe”; Korwa <i>d^hari</i> ., “edge, border of a garment.”
<i>kaṭṭissa</i> , “silk covering embroidered with jewels” (Vin, <i>Nikāyas</i>)	?	Dravidian.		Tamil <i>kaṭṭil</i> “cot, bedstead, couch, sofa; throne”; Malayalam <i>kaṭṭil</i> , “bedstead, cot.”
<i>nāṭaka/nacca</i> , “dancer/dance” see above List #4.		Dravidian.		
<i>mañca</i> , “bed” see above List #2.		Dravidian.		

puvvu; Kui *puju*, “flower”; *pūpa*, “to blossom, bloom,” etc. (Burrow 1946: 10; DED #4345), although Mayrhofer considers this “little justified”; M1 vol. 2: 318; later in M2 vol. 2: 153 he calls Burrow’s proposal “a worthless sound-similarity interpretation from the Dravidian.” Yet the Dravidian word has a very wide distribution in all branches of the language, including PND (e.g. Malto *pūpu*, flower; *pūthe*, “to blossom”), which would date the proto-form to approx. 2500–2000 BCE (Southworth p. 195), well before the first OI appearance of the word in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (with the meaning “flower,” approx. seventh century BCE).

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Bilingualism in the *Brahmajālasutta*, Indo-Aryan & Indigenous

<i>kadalī</i> , “a kind of deer” (<i>Nikāyas</i> , Jā).	<i>kadalin</i> , “a kind of antelope” (Lex).	Munda/Dravidian.	M1 vol. 1: 150, “probably an AA word”; Przulski 1929: 5.	Tamil <i>katuppu</i> “herd of cattle”; Kannada <i>kadupu</i> “herd, flock” <i>kadale</i> , <i>kadaḷi</i> “a mass, multitude” (DED #1198).
<i>paveṇi</i> , “a mat, cover” (<i>Nikāyas</i>).	<i>praveṇī</i> , “a piece of coloured woolen cloth” (MBh).	Dravidian.	M1 vol. 3: 254 sv Veṇṇā; also vol 2: 224 sv Paṇṇā; Witzel 1999b: 384-5.	< originally a Drav. river name <i>veṇa</i> or <i>veṇī</i> .

Both in the *mūla* and the commentary the pattern of gloss translation is evident. The first IA word *āsandi* (“long easy chair, small couch”) is explained by the immediately following word *pallaṅka* (“sofa, couch”), its equivalent in Dravidian. *Goṇaka* in the *mūla* (“woolen cover with long fleece”) is glossed with *kojava* (“cover with long fleece”) in the commentary; here both words are of Dravidian origin and the precise difference between the two is not clear. *Cittakā*, a “many-coloured woolen covering” is followed by two Dravidian near-synonyms, *paṭikā*, a “white cover made of wool” and *paṭalikā*, a “woolen cover embroidered with flowers” which is followed by another IA-derived bed-cover *vikatikā*, a “woolen cover embroidered with figures of lions and tigers.” The word *kuttaka* (“woolen carpet”), which appears to be IA in origin (< *kattā*, “maker” < *karoti* “to make” with an original meaning “to weave” per PED), is glossed as a “woolen carpet big enough for sixteen female dancers (*nātak’itthīnaṃ*) to stand on,” dancing being primarily an activity of Dravidian urban culture. The generic IA word for “covering, carpet, cover” *attharaṇa* (~OI *āstarāṇa*, “spreading out” < *ā* + *str*, “to cover, spread”) is used throughout, counterpointed against the various covers whether IA or indigenous; by the time of this commentary one must assume that there was a fairly high level of bilingualism at work, judging from the juxtaposition and mixing of the various words we find here, IA and indigenous, synonyms and near-synonyms. The commentary also provides a lot of relevant information about various cultural practices: bed-covers made of black antelope skins (*ajina-ppaveṇi*) sewn together; a bed-cover made of *kadalī* skins, which is considered the best (*uttama-paccattharaṇaṃ*); bed canopies (*uttara-cchada*) with a red awning (*ratta-vitāna*); and the use of pillows (*upadhāna*, < *upa* + *dhā*, “to place under”) for both the head and feet (all of which are of course forbidden).

Decorations

The monks were also forbidden to wear any decorations, which were listed in section sixteen. The section starts with a binary gloss of *maṇḍana-vibhūsana* (“decoration-decoration”) in the *mūla* text (*maṇḍana-vibhūsana-tṭhāna-anuyogaṃ anuyuttā viharanti* (“they live applying themselves to the

practice of ornamentation” at DN 1, 71⁷⁻⁸), with *maṇḍana* a word of Dravidian etymology (Burrow 1948: 389, cp Tamil *maṇṇu*, “to wash, clean; to anoint, adorn, beautify, decorate; to polish, perfect, finish”), and *vibhūsana* its IA equivalent (< *vi* + *bhūṣ*, “to adorn, decorate; to be brilliant”). There are twenty-three terms in the *mūla* of which thirteen are indigenous and approx. eighteen further *desi* terms in the commentary.

7) Ornament List

Pāli	Old Indic	Derivation	Source	Comments
<i>maṇḍana</i> , “decoration” (<i>Nikāyas</i>).	idem (MBh).	Dravidian.	M1 vol. 2: 558, “not convincingly explained”; Burrow 1948: 389; Kuiper 111.	
<i>kucchi</i> , “womb” (Jā).	<i>kukṣi</i> , idem (R), as “belly” (RV).	uncertain.	M1 vol. 1: 219, “not wholly certain,” perhaps related to <i>kośa</i> , “treasury” which is also uncertain; M2 vol. 1, 360 perhaps Iir.	cp Santali <i>kukhi</i> ; Dravidian <i>kūl</i> , “womb, belly” (DED #2244); <i>kūcci</i> , “pulp of fruit.” ²⁴
<i>gandha</i>	as above.	non-IA.		
<i>malla</i>	as above.	Dravidian.		
<i>muggara</i> , “club, hammer, mallet” (Jā).	<i>mudgara</i> , idem MBh.	see <i>mugga</i> above, Dravidian/Munda.	M1 vol. 2: 652 “not satisfactorily explained”; Kuiper 146, note 35 < Munda.	cp Tamil <i>mottu</i> , “to strike, to beat”; Kannada <i>mōdu</i> , <i>mōhu</i> , idem.
<i>mālā</i> , “wreath, garland” (Sn, Th, Jā).	idem (MBh).	Dravidian.	Burrow 1948: 390.	cp Tamil <i>mālai</i> , “garland.” ²⁵
<i>mukha-(cuṇṇa)</i> , “face-powder” (<i>Nikāyas</i>).	<i>mukha-(cūrṇa)</i> , idem (RV).	Dravidian.	Bloch 1929: 55- 8; M1 vol. 2: 648-49; M2 vol.	cp Tamil <i>mukam</i> ; Kannada <i>moga</i> ;

²⁴ It is intriguing that Dravidian has the same word (with long *-ū-*), here meaning, “the pulp of a fruit” (analogous of course to the embryo) and it has a fairly wide distribution in Tamil *kūcci*, “pulp of wood-apple”; Malayalam *kūññū*, “centre of a fruit”; Kannada *kusuri*, “pulp of some vegetables and fruits”; and various cognates in Tuḷu, Telugu, Gadaba and Gondi, that is in PSD and PCD (see DED #1880, suggesting a pre-RV date of approx. 1500 BCE (Southworth 51).

²⁵ M1 vol 2: 628 agrees with the Dravidian source; M2 vol. 2: 351, “probably a loanword.” See also Southworth 77 who derives the word from proto-South Dravidian **mālai*, “garland, necklace.”

			2: 360; Southworth 93; Levman 2021a: Chapter three, Appendix four #4.	Telugu <i>mogamu</i> ; etc., “mouth, face”; further, Tamil <i>mūkkū</i> , “nose.
(<i>mukha</i>)- <i>cūṇṇa</i> , “face powder” (Vin, <i>Nikāyas</i>).	(<i>mukha</i>)- <i>cūrṇa</i> (VarBrS).	Dravidian/Munda.	M2 vol. 1: 547, “not clear.”	cp Telugu <i>guṇḍa</i> ; Parji, Kuwi, <i>guṇḍa</i> ; Malto <i>kunḍo</i> , etc., “powder”; for Munda, cp proto Kherwarian * <i>guṇḍa</i> ; Mundari, Santali <i>guṇḍa</i> ; Korwa <i>guḍa</i> ; Bondo <i>guṇḍ</i> ; “powder.”
<i>sikhā</i> , “crest, topknot” (Sn, Jā).	<i>śikhā</i> , “tuft of hair on the crown of the head, crest, topknot, plume” (ŚBr).	probl. non-IA.	M1 vol. 3: 333- 34, “not satisfactorily explained”; Kuiper 148 < PM <i>ḍa-ga</i> “high.”	
<i>kāḷa</i> , “black.”	idem (MBh).	Dravidian.	Kittel 1894: xxviii; Bloch 1930: 738; Burrow 1946: 16; Levman 2021a: Chapter three, Appendix four #14.	M1 vol. 1: 203, “probably a loanword from Dravidian”; M2 vol. 2: 343, “Dravidian to Kannada <i>kāḍu</i> , etc.?”
<i>pīḷaka</i> , “boil” (Vsm).	<i>piḍaka</i> , idem (Suśr).	Dravidian/Munda.	M1 vol. 2: 273, “not certainly interpreted”; Kuiper 142 < AA; Burrow 1948: 384 < Dravidian.	cp Tuḷu <i>puḷa</i> , <i>poḷa</i> , “pustule, blister”; <i>puḍi</i> , “sore, ulcer”; Munda, Juang <i>pucuka</i> , “boil.”
<i>kakka</i> , “paste” (Vin, Jā). A black paste used on the face as a	<i>kalka</i> , idem (MBh).	Dravidian.	M1 vol. 1: 183, possibly Dravidian”;	cp Tamil <i>kalakku</i> , “to mix up”; <i>kalavai</i> , “mixture”;

boil-remover (comm).			Burrow 1948: 371.	Kannada <i>kalaka kalka</i> , “mixture.”
<i>sāsapa</i> , “mustard seed” (<i>Nikāyas</i>).	<i>sarṣapa</i> , idem (Mn).	non-IA.	M1 vol. 3: 447, “perhaps non-IA”; Przulski-Régamey 1936: 704 < AA.	
<i>tila</i>	as above.	Dravidian.		
<i>kaṇṇikā</i> , “ear ornament” < <i>kaṇṇa</i> , “ear” (Sn, Jā).	<i>karṇikā</i> , idem (Pāṇ).	? IA/non-IA ?	Burrow 1943: 125, note 1; M1 vol. 1: 172, “Burrow’s derivation < Drav. too bold.”	“A convincing etymon is missing” per M2 vol. 1: 315.
<i>makara</i> , “mythical fish or sea-monster” (Jā).	idem, “crocodile, shark, sea-monster” (VS).	? prob. non-IA	M1 vol. 2: 539, “not clearly determined”;	cp Santali <i>maṅgar</i> , “alligator”
<i>mora</i> , “peacock” (Jā).	<i>mora/mayūra</i> , idem (VS).	non-IA.	M1 vol. 2: 587; M2 vol. 2: 317; Przulski 1929: 131-32; Burrow 1945b: 609-10 and 1946: 19; Witzel 15; Southworth (92-3); Levman 2021a: Chapter three, Appendix four #12.	cp Tamil <i>mayil</i> , Tuḷu <i>mairu</i> (“peacock”) or < AA, cp Santali <i>marak</i> , Mundari, <i>mara</i> , Kharia, <i>mara?</i> , Juang, <i>marag</i> ; Korku, <i>mara?</i> , <i>mhara?</i> (<i>idem</i>).
<i>piñcha</i> , “tail feather” (Vin).	<i>piccha</i> (MBh).	uncertain, possibly non-IA.	M1 vol. 2: 270-71, “without convincing explanation”; Burrow 1946: 28.	cp Malto <i>pice</i> , “feathers of a peacock’s tail”; Tamil <i>pittai</i> , tuft or bundle of hair.”
<i>cīraka</i> , “strip.”	see <i>cīra</i> above.	Dravidian.		
<i>muttā</i> , “pearl.”	<i>muktā</i> , idem (Mn, MBh).	Dravidian.	Burrow 1946: 11; M1 vol. 2: 647-48; Southworth 77-8.	cp Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada <i>muttu</i> , “pearl.”

<i>latā</i> , “creeper” (<i>Nikāyas</i>).	idem (MBh).	? IA/non-IA ?	M1 vol. 3: 88, “not certainly explained.”	cp Parji, Gondi <i>lāṭi</i> , “tall, long”; modern Tamil <i>latā</i> , “creeper” (borrowed?).
<i>daṇḍaka</i>	as above, <i>daṇḍa</i>	Dravidian/Munda.		
<i>nālīka</i>	as above.	Dravidian/Munda		
<i>nalāṭa</i> , “forehead” (<i>Nikāyas</i> , Jā).	<i>lalāṭa</i> , idem (AV).	prob. Dravidian.	M1 vol. 3: 92, “probably non- Aryan...perhaps < Dravidian kinship.”	cp Dravidian, Tamil <i>nūtal</i> , “forehead” (DED #3705)
<i>uṇhīsa</i> , “turban” (<i>Nikāyas</i>). - <i>paṭṭa</i> (see above, Dravidian).	<i>uṣṇīṣa</i> , “turban, crown” (ŚBr).	prob. Dravidian.	M2 ol. 1: 239, “unclear.”	cp Tamil <i>uccī</i> , “crown of head, summit, zenith”; Toda <i>uṣky</i> “top of tree, zenith.”
<i>cūlā</i> -(<i>maṇi</i>), (jewel worn in a) “crest, diadem” (Jā).	<i>cūḍa</i> , “crest, plume, diadem” (med).	Dravidian/Munda.	M1 vol. 1: 396- 7, “most likely from the Dravidian”; Kittel 1894: xxxiv; Bloch 1930: 741; Burrow 1948: 379.	cp Tamil <i>cūtu</i> , “to be crowned, crest, comb”; <i>cūṭtu</i> , “to crown, peacock’s crest”; Kuiper suggests the Dravidian words may be borrowings from PM.
(<i>cūḷa</i>)- <i>maṇi</i> , “jewel” (<i>Nikāyas</i>).	idem (RV).	Munda.	M1 vol. 2: 556– 57; Kuiper 1955: 153; cp Santali, <i>maṇik</i> , “gem”; Mundari <i>mani</i> , “jewel.”	cp DED #4672, Tamil, Malayalam <i>maṇi</i> , “little bells worn as jewels.”
<i>camara</i> , “yak” (Jā)	idem (MBh).	non-IA.	PTS, “prob. non- Aryan”; M1 vol. 1: 375, “not satisfactorily explained.”	cp Tamil <i>kavari</i> , “chowrie (yak’s tail)” (DED #1327).
<i>vāla</i> , “tail” (Vin, Jā)	idem, (ŚBr).	Dravidian.	M1 vol 3: 192-3, “uncertain,” but not a loan word; M2 vol. 2: 545.	cp Tamil <i>vāl</i> , “tail”; <i>vālam</i> , “tail, hair of head”; Malayalam <i>vāl</i> ,

				“tail”; Kannada <i>bāla</i> , “tail, long hair”; Koḍagu <i>ba·li</i> , “tail” (DED #57).
<i>bījanī/vījanī</i> , “fan” (Vin, Jā).	<i>vījana</i> , “fanning” < <i>vīj</i> , “to fan” (MBh).	Munda/Dravidian.	M1 vol. 3: 272 sv <i>vyajanam</i> , “not clarified”; Bloch 1929: 53.	cp Tamil, Telugu <i>vīcu</i> , “to fan” <i>vicīri</i> , “a fan” (DED #5450), a very old verbal root with reflexes in all Drav. language branches.
<i>dasā</i> , “fringe.”	as above.	Munda.		

The last compound in the commentary— *cāmara-vāla-b(v)ījanīṃ* (“fan made from a yak’s tail”)— is a direct lift from the Dravidian *kavari-vālam-vicīri* (idem), suggesting perhaps that the underlying work from which this was taken may actually have been composed in Dravidian. See further discussion below.

This section provides a firsthand glimpse of the different vanity practices of some of the monks. To remove pimples, for example, they would first apply a mud-paste on their face, then “when the blood had been stirred” (*lohite calite*) they would apply a mustard-seed paste, then a paste made of sesame seeds followed by a paste of tumeric, and finally a face powder (Sv 1, 88²⁸⁻³³). Some monks wore bracelets of coloured shells, sported topknots, and ornamented themselves with gold brocade, strings of pearls, jewels and earrings. They carried around bottles of medicine hanging from their left side, sharp swords, five coloured umbrellas ornamented with crocodile teeth, and wore gold and silver sandals decorated with peacock tail feathers. Some wore jewels on the ends of their hair, wore a turban on their forehead with a jewel on the crest, and carried a yak-tail chowrie.

The root text and commentary of this section contain the largest number (thirty-one) of non-IA, indigenous terms and is the end of the upward trend on the graph; after this there is a very quick decline of indigenous words—less than a quarter of the total number remain in the following sections.

There are three words for “massage” in the *mūla*, but they are all IA in origin (*ucchādanam*, “rubbing the body” < *chad*, “to cover, spread”; *parimaddanam*, < *pari* + *mṛd*, “to rub”; *sambāhanam* < *sam* + *brh*, “to strengthen”); the most pejorative words are those relating to the vanity practices, and most of the keywords are from the indigenous vocabulary. Presumably some or all of these practices were adopted from the local culture along with the words; this points to

extensive bilingualism and a certain amount of linguistic condescension on the part of the Indo-Aryans to the local population's practices and terminology.

Sections seventeen to twenty, completion of *Majjhima-sīla*

The remainder of the sections of the *Majjhima-sīla* (sections seventeen to twenty) have only three non-IA words in the *mūla* (*mālā* “wreath”; *gandha* “fragrance”; *nagara* “town, city”; and perhaps *kuhaka*, “deceitful”) and seven in the commentary (*pūjā* “worship”; *sāgara* “ocean”; *dāsi* “servant”; *naccituṃ* “to dance”; *kāka* “crow”; *baka* “heron” *vitaṇḍā* “fallacious controversy” which is “unclear” per M1 vol. 3: 207). Many of these have already been discussed above so they will be omitted here as they are for the most part not germane to the overall discussion. Here the subject of the *mūla* is much more general than the preceding sections and there are very few technical terms: engaging in frivolous talk (*tiracchāna-kathā*, section seventeen) or in argumentation (*viggāhika-kathā*, section eighteen), or in delivering messages (*dūteyya-paṇiṇa-gamana-anuyoga*, section nineteen) or in “deceit” (*kuhaka*, section twenty). Most of the words are IA (except as noted) and the non-IA words are of reduced significance as the practices described are for the most part not specific to one linguistic group and would apply to both. The last three sections (sections eighteen to twenty) which basically have no non-IA words at all (with the possible exception of *kuhaka* which is contested) are a good example of a typical IA “translation”; that is, whatever the underlying transmission was, it has been fully assimilated into the IA language.

The *Mahā-sīla*: Predictions, Oblations, Charms,

As can be seen from the chart, the first *Mahā-sīla* portion begins with a section on prophesy which is more technical in nature and seventeen terms are introduced on non-IA provenance (of which seven have already been discussed above). However the balance changes noticeably here in that the preponderance of technical terms are IA, and not indigenous. Of the thirty fortune telling terms in the *mūla* of section twenty-one only six are *desi* words, well below the proportions noted above. Five of these relate to the practice of making oblations of *thusa*, “husk of grain”; *kaṇa* “husk powder”; *taṇḍula* “rice-grain”; *tela* “sesame-oil”; and *mukha* “mouth,” spitting mustard and other seeds into the fire. All of these are *desi* words. With the exception of *sakuṇa-vijjā* (“knowledge of birds”; *sakuṇa* is a non-IA word), all the other practices use technical terms from the IA language which suggests very strongly (when counterposed against what has been detailed above) that these practices originate in the IA ethno-linguistic milieu.²⁶ This tallies well with our understanding of the brahmanical culture, whose preoccupation with auguries and knowledge (*vijjā*) of various crafts and charms is embedded in their sacred writings, especially the *Arthava-Veda*; which is not to say that the Dravidians were not interested in these arts, but that their influence on the IA culture was probably negligible, judging from the linguistic analysis. The commentary is also fairly sparse

²⁶ There is no need to list all these as they may be found on pages 9-11 of the DN. A few examples: prophesying on the basis of one's limbs (*aṅga*), signs (*nimitta*), unusual celestial events (*uppāta*), dreams (*supina*); oblations by fire (*aggi*) or from a ladle (*dabbī*); knowledge of building sites (*vatthu*), snakes (*ahi*), poisons (*visa*), demons (*bhūta*), etc.,

with *desi* words, having a total of eleven (noted in Appendix A). Many of these are simple synonymic glosses (*vāyasa-kāka* “crow”; *taṇḍula-sali/tiṇa* “rice-grain-rice/grass”; *sakuṇa-sapakkhaka* (“bird”); *undūra-mūsika* “mouse”) with an IA word glossed with its *desi* counterpart).²⁷ Several of these have already been discussed above (*muttā*, *muṭṭhi*, *tila/tela*, *sāsapa*, *kukkuṭa*), so there is no need to go into the few remaining here.

Section twenty-two is also about augury with respect to interpreting the significance of the characteristics (*lakkhana*) of various items. Twenty-seven are listed of which six (*maṇi* “jewel”; *daṇḍa* “stick”; *dāsa/dāsi*, “servant”; *meṇḍa* “ram”; *kukkuṭa* “cock”; and *kaṇṇikā* “earring”) are indigenous (*kaṇṇikā*, contested); most of these have already been discussed above. The commentary is all pure IA.

Section twenty-three concerns predictions about current political events. There are no indigenous words in the *mūla* or the commentary.

Predictions concerning celestial events is the subject of section twenty-four. Most of the language is IA derived. In the *mūla* there is only one word which is a *desi* term *dudrabhi*, (var. *dundubhi*, “kettledrum”) to indicate the sound of a thunderstorm. All the astronomical/astrological terms are IA, which is what one would expect for a culture immersed in that art. The commentary has only three or four indigenous words, all describing the IA technical term *disā-ḍāho* (“direction-glow”), an unusual redness in the sky which it defines as *disā-kālusiyam aggi-sikha-dhūma-sikhāhi ākula-bhāvo viya*, (Sv 1, 95¹⁰⁻¹¹, “an obscurity of the direction like a confusion of fire and smoke crests.” the word *sikhā*, as noted above, is prob. non-IA, *ākula* (“confused”) is proto-Munda (M1 vol. 1: 69; Kuiper 16f), and *kālusiyā* (“obscurity, darkness” < OI *kaluṣa*, “stained, dirty” < *kāla*, “black” see above) is Dravidian. The word *valāhaka* “cloud” in the section on thunderstorms is also of obscure origin and may be native. The rest are all standard IA.

The last three sections are almost exclusively IA with the proportion of *desi* words continuing to decline. In section twenty-five there are thirteen terms to do with prediction of which only one (*gaṇana*, “accounting”) is indigenous (Levman 2021c: 23); the commentary has two words (*piṇḍa*, “ball” and *paṇṇa* “leaf”) both of which are discussed above. Section twenty-six is about auspicious dates, charms and spells and communicating with the gods. This is completely IA language with the one possible exception being the word *kaṇṇa* “ear” (in the context of a spell to induce deafness), which, as noted above, is contested in etymology. The final section twenty-seven is largely about medicine and contains three non-IA words (of twenty-six technical terms) in the *mūla*: *kaṇṇa-tela*, administering sesame oil in the ear as a treatment (the word *kaṇṇa*, as noted above, is unclear as to etymology) and *sālākiya* (“ophthamology”~ OI *śālākya*, < OI *śalākā*, Pāli *salākā*, “chip, splinter,” presumably used as an instrument for operations; M1 vol. 2: 314; Kuiper 1955: 167), and only one in the commentary (*paṭala*, “membrane covering the eye” < *paṭa* “cloth” see above). Again, the field of medicine has very little terminology borrowed from the local culture, suggesting

²⁷ The *desi* words here are *kāka*, *taṇḍula*, *sakuṇa* and *undūra*; the others are IA. The pair *kaṇa-kunḍaka* “husk-powder” are both *desi* words.

that the Indo-Aryans had their own developed art, which was independent of Dravidian medicine culture, whatever that was.

Section twenty-eight begins the *Pubbantakappikā*, “speculations about the past” with the first of the sixty-two views, eternalism, which is the heart of the *Brahmajāla*. Like the beginning of the *sutta*, it returns to exclusively IA language with hardly any non-IA words.

Timelines

One might object to the bilingualism thesis propounded here on the basis of timelines. Some of these words (*gandha*, *mukha*, *amba*, *maṇḍala*, *ratha*, etc., see Appendix A) are very old borrowings from the *desi* languages into IA, going back as far as at least the middle period of the RV ~1500 BCE (Witzel 14). Yet the *Dīgha Nikāya* was not “composed” (that is recited) until the death of the Buddha in the early fourth century, and probably not in its present form. So *desi* words in the language do not necessarily indicate bilingualism (or for that matter a potential translation from an earlier work, as discussed below), as the words may have been in the language for centuries. There are three cogent answers to this objection:

1) The massive change in etymological proportions (Table One) indicates that a true linguistic saltation “event” has taking place in these sections of the *Brahmajālasutta*.

2) Many of the words, perhaps the preponderance (it is impossible to tell), are of younger origin and appear to date from the time of the Buddha. A comparison of first appearances (in brackets after the word), suggests that dozens of words first appear in the *suttas* and are then incorporated into OI, or both occur at approximately the same time.²⁸ They are relatively young; some (*pāṭaṅkī*, *paṅga-cīra*, *ciṅgulika*, *paṭalikā*, *kaṭṭissa*) do not occur at all in OI, again suggesting that their provenance in Pāli/MI is coeval with the *suttas*. This is in keeping with Burrow’s observation of the increasing number of Dravidian words which occur in the classical Sanskrit language and in Pāli around the period of 500-300 BCE (1955/1973: 385-86; Witzel 14-20; Levman 2021a: Chapter three, “Objections” section).

3) Two of the *mūla* words (*ciṅgulika*, *paṅga-cīra*) are *hapax legomena* in the *suttas*, with only one other appearance later in the commentary. Similarly, the commentary (which could date anywhere from the time of the Buddha to the time of Buddhaghosa) has unique phrases which occur nowhere else in the canon (e.g. *kāṇa-kuṇi-khujja* and *camara-vāla-bījanī*), and which are direct lifts from Dravidian; these one-time appearances epitomize a singular linguistic event.

Conclusions

²⁸ A few examples (from the *mūla* text only): *kukkuṭa* (“cock”); *maṇḍana* (“decoration”); *vaḷava* (“mare”); *eḷaka* (“sheep”); *visūka* (“show”); *vetāla* (“musical art”); *meṇḍa* (“ram”) and so forth, to take a few from the first few sections of the *sutta*, where MI pre-dates OI or is at least coeval. There are many more. The same observation goes for the non-IA words in the commentary, parts of which may be as early as, or only slightly later than the *mūla*, as noted above (pp. 3-4).

From this body of data several inferences are possible, some more certain than others.

1) There exists a large amount of vocabulary, mainly technical terms, borrowed directly from the indigenous languages into IA. This indicates extensive bilingualism and the adoption or rejection of certain cultural and religious practices from the local people into the brahmanical and Buddhist culture (e.g. Levman 2021a: Chapters two and three, with regard to the adoption of *kaṭhina* practices).

2) The association of these words with certain forbidden practices reflects a well-known hostility and linguistic condescension of the Indo-Aryans for the indigenous peoples (Levman 2013: 154-157).

3) A notable feature of both the root *sutta* and the commentary is the use of “double translations” for the same word, where one word is expressed in Pāli and the second in an Aryanized version of the local language. This has been noted before with respect to some technical terms in the Vinaya (Levman 2021a: 73), where a Dravidian word is prefixed with its Pāli translation; for example in the compound *uttara-āḷumpa* (describing an overflow basin for dyeing robes) from the Vinaya section on robe-dyeing. The first word *uttara* (“overflow”) translates the Dravidian word *āḷumpa*, “waterfall” which occurs in its Dravidian form, slightly Aryanized (Sp 5, 1126¹⁹⁻²¹). The same phenomenon occurs here on numerous occasions.

4) Sometimes indigenous words are imported *holus bolus* into the main text. Two examples of this have been noted above, the Pāli compound *kāṇa-kuṇi-khuḷḷa*, a pejorative phrase to describe physically challenged persons, represents three Dravidian words slightly Aryanized; and the same goes for the phrase *cāmara-vāla-b(v)ījanim*, describing monks carrying yak-tail fans. Some words in Pāli can only be understood as direct imports from the *desi* languages (Levman 2021b: 17-19; Levman 2021c: 37-38).²⁹

5) In a “normal” page of a Pāli *sutta* there are no indigenous words, unless toponyms or proper names are mentioned, which sometimes have preserved their indigenous roots. The sudden appearance of a lot of *desi* words is usually associated with a passage describing local vegetation (as happens here in Section ten with the seeds), or various cultural and religious practices (the Vinaya section mentioned above on *kaṭhinas*).

6) The large number of *desi* words in these sections indicate extensive bilingualism, both on the part of the Indo-Aryans absorbing (or rejecting) local culture, and the indigenous peoples learning the language of their new politically and economically dominant immigrant guests. Since, as Norman and others have long pointed out, all transmissions that have come down to us are translations of earlier works (1990: 34), it is possible that these portions of the *Brahmajāla* are

²⁹ These articles may not yet be available. The first article (2021b) describes the strange word *accharuṃ* (*Apadāna-a* 536¹¹) which appears to be a direct lift from the Dravidian root *accuru* (“to fear, to dread”), and the compound *uggaggā* (*Ap-a* 535¹⁰) which appears to be a form of the Dravidian participle *ukakka* (“soaring”). The second article (2021c) describes several words (*aṭṭivānika*, *āviddhaka*, and others at *Mahāvastu* 113¹⁰, Senart 1897), which are incomprehensible in Pāli, but make sense in Dravidian.

themselves a translation of an originally Dravidian work, where various technical terms in the original were preserved to better identify the prohibited practices and their source, and perhaps because it was felt that IA had no exact equivalent. Although no Buddhist works have been preserved in an indigenous language, they must have existed at one time, as the Buddha and the Sakya clan spoke an indigenous language, easily proven by examining all the toponyms in the Sakya republic, and the names of various Sakya converts to the Buddha's doctrine. But the hypothesis of an underlying Dravidian work cannot be proven; it is just as likely to be simple word-borrowing that we are witnessing here.

7) This paper provides a methodology for further exploring the cultural and linguistic relationship between the native peoples and the IA immigrants through isolating and examining major proportional changes in language etymology. It shows that in certain parts of the Tipiṭaka, the local languages and practices have had a much greater impact on IA culture than has heretofore been assumed and opens a pathway for further investigation: i.e. examining other parts of the canon which show a similar saltatory increase in non-IA word proportions and analyzing other phenomena which point to the interdependence of these two language groups. To take one final example: in the *Mahāsatipaṭṭhānasutta*, sections on *samudaya-sacca-niddeso* and *nirodha-sacca-niddeso* (DN 2, 308-312) the compounds *piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ* (“an enticing form, a pleasant form”) are repeated several dozen times, referring to the clinging to, and relinquishing of that which leads to suffering or liberation. Both these compounds mean the same thing. The first is IA in derivation from the root *prī*, “to please, gladden, delight, gratify, cheer” (Pāli *pīṇeti*); the corresponding adjective is *priya* (Pāli *piya*), “beloved, dear to, liked, favourite, wanted, fond of, attached, or devoted to, pleasant, agreeable.” The second compound *sāta-rūpaṃ* is supposed to be derived from the OI word *śāta* (n. “joy, pleasure, happiness”; adj. “handsome, bright, happy, pleasant, agreeable”), but has no IA/IE etymology (not listed in M1 or M2), and no root verb form; it is not even attested in OI literature until very late, being cited in the *Amarkośa* dictionary (perhaps ninth century CE) and once in the *Gītagovinda* (as *atiśātam*, v. 10.9; 12th century CE). I suggest that this word may come from the Dravidian *cantam* (which has a widespread distribution in the south Dravidian languages: Tamil *cantam*, “beauty, colour, shape, form, pleasure, happiness, manners, habits”; Malayalam idem, “beauty, elegance”; Kannada *canda*, *cenda*, “pleasing, beautiful, lovely, charming, propriety, fitness, niceness, beauty; appearance, shape, form, kind, manner”; Tuḷu, Telugu similar q.v. DED #2328. As is well known, there was no *s-* in PD and the *c-* was pronounced as a sibilant at the beginning of the word. It was also not unusual in MI for a long vowel to appear in place of a nasal (Geiger §5.3 for Pāli; Fussman 1989: 478 for Gāndhārī), e.g. *sīha* in Pāli for *siṃha* in OI “lion” or *vīsati* for *viṃśati*, “twenty; it also works the other way around: *maṅkuṇa* “bug” in Pāli for **māk* or **makk* = Skt. *matkuṇa*, etc. In Dravidian, except for Tamil and Malayalam, most languages lose the nasal after a long vowel (Krishnamurti 2003: 16), so *cantam* may well have been pronounced *cātam*, especially by IA speakers. So this key teaching

about how suffering arises and ceases, *piya-rūpaṃ sāta (canta)-rūpaṃ*, may be another example of a binary pair directed at a bilingual audience, each in their own language.³⁰

Appendix A

List of words designated as “non-IA.”³¹

Section 1-9: *suppiyo, maṇḍala, māla, kaṇṇa* (?)

Section 10: *bīja, nicca, mālā, gandha, maṇḍana, dāsi/dāsa* (?), *kukkuṭa, vaḷavā (vaḍavā), eḷaka (eḷaka)*

Section 11: (*mūla*): *bīja, mūla*.

(commentary): *cīvarāni, siṅgiveraṃ, vacā, vacattaṃ usīraṃ (bhadda)-muttakaṃ, assattho* (?), *nigrodho* (?), *pilakkho, udumbaro, kacchako* (?), *kapitthano, ucchu, naḷo, veḷu, ajjaka* (not in M1/M2), *phaṇijjaka* (?), *hirivera*= 18.

Section 12: (*mūla*): *gandha*

(commentary): *amba (-pāna), (ti-)cīvara, sakata, sivikā, pāṭaṅkī, mañco, kaṇḍu, kacchu, āmiṣa, tila, taṇḍula, mugga, māsa, nāḷikera, loṇa, maccha* (?), *vallūra* (“dried meat”), *tela, munda, kuṭumbika, nāḷi, kuṭi, guḷa, piṇḍa* =24.

Section 13: (*mūla*): *visūka, nacca, vetāḷaṃ, (kumbha)-thūnaṃ, caṇḍāla, vaṃsa, meṇḍa, kukkuṭa, daṇḍa, muṭṭhi* = 10

(commentary): *naṭa, kaṃsa-tāḷa, tāḷa, ambaṇa* (?), *guḷa, veḷum, gandhehi, malla(-yuddham), sakata, kīḷā* = 10.

Section 14: (*mūla*): *khalikaṃ, ghaṭikaṃ, salāka-, paṅgaṭiraṃ* (?), *ciṅgulika* (?), *-āḷhaka* (?) = 6

(commentary): *maṇḍala, sakkharā, daṇḍaka, tāla-paṇṇa, nāḷikā, vāḷukā, kāṇa-kuṇi-khujjādīnaṃ, kīḷāna, pāsaka, guḷa-kīḷā, naṅgala, maṅjiṭṭhikā* = 15.

Section 15: (*mūla*): *pallaṅka, gonaka, paṭika, paṭalikā, tūlika, kaṭṭissa, kadālī, paveṇi* = 8

³⁰ The *Paragaramuthali (Tamil Etymological Dictionary)*, p. 113) gives a derivation of *cantam* from the word *am* (“beauty”) > *antu* > *antam* > *cantam*; *antu* then is a denominative in 3rd neuter sing. (“one that is beautiful”) and the *-am* ending (*antu* + *-am* > *antam*) makes the phrase into a noun (“beauty”; Wilden 2018: 34). The addition of the *c-* in the anlaut is puzzling as it is not necessary; the word beginning without the initial *c-* exists in all the languages (DED #2328). Neither word is attested in Tol. or the Sangam literature (with this meaning), although *am* (“beauty”) occurs many times (Anon, *Index des mots*, pp. 40-42). Thanks to Mohanraj Thiruvengadam, for the reference to the *Paragaramuthali*.

Paragaramuthali | தமிழ் இணையக் கல்விக்கழகம் TAMIL VIRTUAL ACADEMY (tamilvu.org)

³¹ Words are only counted once per section. Words repeated across sections are counted again. Decisions about whether to include a word marked as IA/non-IA with a question mark are subjective; the reader will notice that some are included and some not, based on my own intuitive understanding of the etymology; the ones included are shown here.

(commentary): *vāḷa, kojava, pupphako, -paṭṭo, tūla, dasā (?) , nāṭa, naccana, mañca* = 9

Section 16 (*mūla*): *maṇḍana, mālā, gandha, mukha, cuṇṇa, daṇḍa, nāḷika, unhīsa, vāḷa, bījani, sikhā, dasa, muttā* = 13

(commentary): *kucchito, mallānaṃ, mudgara, kāḷa, tila, pīḷaka (?) , kakka, sāsapa, kaṇṇika (?) , mora, piñcha (?) , nalāṭa, cūḷa-maṇi, camara, cīraka (from cīra), makara, paṭṭa*= 18.

Section 17 (*mūla*): *mālā, gandha, nagara*.

(commentary): *pūja, sāgara, dāsi, naccituṃ, kāka, baka vitaṇḍā (?)*.

Section 18 and 19 (*mūla*): 0

(commentary): 0

Section 20 (*mūla*): *kuhaka (?)*.

(commentary): 0

Section 21 (*mūla*): *tuṣa, kaṇa, taṇḍula, tela, mukha, sakuṇa* = 6

(commentary): *paṇḍu, muttāyo, muṭṭhi, golikā, undūra, kukkuṭa, kuṇḍaka, tila, siṅgāla, kāka, vayāsa (?)*. = 11

Section 22 (*mūla*): *daṇḍa, dāsa/ī, meṇḍa, kukkuṭa, kaṇṇikā (?)*: 6

(commentary): 0

Section 23 (*mūla*): 0

(commentary): 0

Section 24 (*mūla*): *duṇḍubhi (dudrabhi)* = 1.

(commentary): *ākula, sikhā (?) , kalusiya, valāhaka (?)* =4.

Section 25 (*mūla*): *kaṇṇa (?)* = 1

(commentary): *piṇḍa, paṇṇa* = 2

Section 26 (*mūla*):

(commentary) : 0

Section 27 (*mūla*): *kaṇṇa (?) -tela, sālākiyaṃ*, = 3

(commentary): *paṭala* = 1.

Abbreviations

AA =	Austro-Asiatic (of which Munda is a sub-branch)
Ap-a =	<i>Apadāna-aṭṭhakathā</i> or <i>Visuddhajanavilāsini</i>
AV =	Atharvaveda
BhP =	<i>Bhāgavata Purāṇa</i> (medieval).
BHSD/BHSG =	<i>(Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary/Grammar)</i> Edgerton 1953
Br =	<i>Brāhmaṇas</i>
ChUp =	<i>Chāndogya Upaniṣad</i>
CDIAL =	<i>Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages</i> (Turner 1971)
cp =	compare
DN =	<i>Dīgha Nikāya</i> (5 th –3 rd century BCE)
DED =	<i>Dravidian Etymological Dictionary</i> (Burrow and Emeneau 1984).
IA =	Indo-Aryan
Iir=	Indo-Iranian
Jā =	<i>Jātakas</i>
Kuiper =	Kuiper 1948
Lex =	Lexicographers
MBh =	<i>Mahābhārata</i> (4 th century BCE to 4 th century CE)
M1 =	Mayrhofer 1956–1976
M2 =	Mayrhofer 1992–96
med =	medieval
MED =	<i>Munda Etymological Dictionary</i> (Stampe, D.)

Mn =	<i>Manu</i> (2 nd century BCE to 2 nd century CE)
NIA =	New Indo-Aryan
Nir =	<i>Nirukta</i> (Yāska)
non-IA =	non Indo-Aryan
OT =	Old Tamil
Pāṇ =	Pāṇini (5 th -4 th century BCE)
PCD =	proto Central Dravidian
PD =	proto-Dravidian
Pischel =	Pischel 1900/1981
PM =	proto-Munda
PND =	proto North Dravidian
PSD =	proto South Dravidian
PTS =	Pali Text Society
OT =	Old Tamil
R =	<i>Rāmāyaṇa</i>
ŚBr =	<i>Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa</i>
Sn =	<i>Sutta Nipāta</i>
Southworth =	Southworth 2005
Sp =	<i>Samantapāsādikā</i> (Vin-a)
Suśr =	<i>Suśruta</i> (medical text)
Sv =	<i>Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī</i>
Th =	<i>Theragāthā</i>
Tolk =	<i>Tolkāppiyam</i> (mid to late 1 st millennium BCE) தொல்காப்பியம்
VarBrS =	<i>Varaha-mihira Bṛhat Samhitā</i> (6 th century CE)
VS =	<i>Vājasaneyi Samhitā</i> (Yajur Veda).
Witzel =	Witzel 1999a

~ =	alongside, side by side
> =	develops to, evolves to
<	develops from, derives from

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Multilingualism in Children: Communicative Competence as a Socialization Pattern

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Abstract

Children show tremendous abilities in their language acquisition and language use. The current research reports the patterns in the language use of Arya,¹ a four-year-old, female, neurologically healthy, multilingual child in India.² A subjective report based on the observations of conversations in person and over phone calls obtained over a span of more than two and half years suggests that, in cross-cultural settings, multilingual children display communicative competence in their language use without any special instructions, provided they are exposed to the optimum amount of linguistic exposure. This research argues that children use their communicative competence as a socialization pattern to identify themselves with kith and kin. The research also hints at the future scope in pedagogy in general and in creating language teaching models, in particular.

Keywords: Multilingualism in children, communicative competence, language use, sociolinguistics

1. Introduction

A child is said to be a ‘Language Acquisition Device’ (LAD) and a ‘Little intellectual marvel’ whose capacities in learning and using a language should not be underestimated.³ Several studies in psycholinguistics have argued that an average, neurologically healthy child, in a natural environment, can acquire her native tongue by the age of two years, without any special instructions or deliberate efforts. All the child need is sufficient language data that would work as an environmental stimulus triggering the language development in children.

Going beyond the language acquisition system in children, the current report focuses on the actual language use or linguistic performance of a four-year-old female child in India.

¹ The original name of a child has been changed to maintain confidentiality.

² As this study is being reported (the late 2020s), the child has turned six years and started using more complex, coherent, and logical sentences and adheres to the four Gricean maxims of conversation. Some of these observations will be reported in the next series of the research titled ‘Multilingualism in Children- 2: Sources of Word-Meaning Acquisition’.

³ See Steinberg et.al (2006, p. 36) and Fernández et.al (2011, p. 99).

The study displays the ability of Arya in using five different languages in different environmental settings. It will be argued that children use their capacity to use appropriate language in different situations as a socialization pattern. Their decision in language use adheres to their convergence behaviour, that is, their attempt in identifying themselves with the audience during a speech act. This intricate manoeuvre on their part is being accomplished without any deliberate teaching. The next section on literature review fashions the *cortège* for the argument of this paper.

2. Literature Review

An abundant amount of literature has been devoted to many stages of language development in children such as children's crying, its pitch and intonation, responding to the messages using sounds, babbling, one-word utterances or *holophrases*, the process of word meaning acquisition, language development in deaf and mute children, language acquisition among wild and isolated children that have grown up without any human intervention, early bilingualism and its effect on the native language and other cognitive abilities, language fluency, etc.

In 1965 it is proposed by Noam Chomsky,⁴ a young US structural linguist and cognitive scientist, that a child has an innate universal grammar that helps in acquiring any language despite having less linguistic exposure.⁵ It is known as a Universal Grammar (UG) theory. Chomsky drew a classic distinction between linguistic competence and linguistic performance, where the former refers to the speaker-listener's innate or tacit knowledge of language structure, while the latter refers to the language use in a particular situation (Chomsky, 1965, p. 18) especially the processes of encoding and decoding. The term 'competence' has been one of the most controversial terms in the fields of general and applied linguistics since then. The accepted notion of competence involved, generally, both innate and acquired knowledge.⁶

In contrast to the term 'Linguistic Competence' of Chomsky, Dell Hymes, an American anthropologist and linguist (1927-2009) proposes the term 'Communicative Competence' (CC, henceforth) in 1972 as a new notion of linguistic enquiry. The term CC refers to the ability of a speaker to use linguistic competence in a specific social context.⁷ With this, Hymes not only brings the sociolinguistic aspect to Chomsky's 'Linguistic Competence'⁸ but also reflects on the competences of actual speakers, not some idealized norm.⁹

⁴ Chomsky's '*Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*' (1965, p. 6)

⁵ Chomsky's term 'Linguistic Competence' had challenged the behaviorist tradition started by B.F. Skinner that proposes that a child can only learn a language with the optimum amount of exposure and derives the grammar and lexicon in that language all by themselves without any special training.

⁶ (Renart, 2005, p. 1943)

⁷ Hymes's '*On Communicative Competence*' (1972, p. 274)

⁸ Bargaric's '*Defining Communicative Competence*' (2007, p. 95)

⁹ (Coupland, 1997, p. 5)

Hymes's discussion is launched by Chomsky's statement¹⁰ that,

“Linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneous speech-community, who knows its language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions... in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance...”

Hymes (1972, pp. 269-271) considers this statement as ‘a declaration of irrelevance’. He, first, directs our attention to the ‘homogeneous’ picture painted by Chomsky and mentions that in several speech acts, speaker and listener have differential linguistic abilities and hence not all speech communities are homogeneous in a strict sense. For the same reason, he regards Chomsky's theory as poignant since it does not cope with these individual communicative differences among the children.¹¹ Hence, it is stated that Hymes's concentration on shared knowledge and cognitive abilities of the language speaker goes beyond Chomsky's ‘narrowly defined notion of linguistic competence’, thus a strict separation between linguistic and extralinguistic phenomenon has become untenable (Gumperz, 1997, pp. 39-40).¹²

While commenting on ‘Linguistic Performance’, Hymes brings forth the salient connotation of the term ‘performance’ as an ‘imperfect manifestation of underlying system’ as in actual natural speech, we find the cases of ‘degenerate’ speech acts. Hence, Hymes's (1972, p. 272) statement that the avoidance of sociocultural features or sociocultural dimension in Chomsky's linguistic theory is not accidental starts making sense. By sociocultural features, Hymes (1972, p. 277) refers to socioeconomic differences, multilingual mastery, the relativity of competence in different languages, expressive values, socially determined perception, shared norms of evaluation of the variables, and contextual styles. Thus, the concepts such as speech act, acceptability of speech, speech community in Chomsky's linguistic theory are sociocultural variables and the term ‘competence’ of Chomsky is based on these social factors.

Extending the notion of ‘Linguistic Competence’, thus, Hymes opines that,

“A child who might produce any sentence whatever- such a child would be likely to be institutionalized: even more so if not only sentences, but also speech or silence was random, unpredictable.” (Hymes, 1972, p. 277)

Hymes (1972, pp. 277-278) holds that the children also have the tacit competence of speech act in terms of when, what, what not, where, with whom, in what manner to speak. In

¹⁰ (Chomsky, 1965, p. 3)

¹¹ As a graduate student in 1950-1954 at Indiana University, Dell Hymes, started his investigation into the relation between the language and culture, especially after the end of the Second World War, when the rise of several linguistic programmes carried out by American anthropologists mostly neglected American Indian studies (Hymes, 1992, p. 31). In his later article ‘Ways of Speaking’, Hymes describes (2009, p. 158) a speech community as an ‘organization of diversity’.

¹² Also see (Zhan, 2010, p. 50), and (Savignon, 2018, p. 2).

their sequential use of language, children display ‘sociolinguistic competence’ (Hymes, 1974, p. 75). This competence, according to him, is integral to their knowledge of the language and its features, and the speaker’s attitudes, values, and motivations concerning that language. Children acquire the set of rules or ways in which they can use their sentences. This ‘speaking appropriately’ in the speech community entails the existence of their tacit sociocultural knowledge or competence.

Children, in their learning to speak also learn appropriate ways to speak in a particular group as against another group of a speech community, which is known as ‘Language Socialization’. Hence, CC is the key component of social competence. The factors that are considered while speaking are as follows: Setting and Scene, Participants, Ends, Act sequence, Key, Instrumentalities, Norms of interaction and interpretation, and Genre, acronym-ed as ‘SPEAKING’ (Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2015, pp. 231-234). Hymes (1992, p. 31) makes it explicit in his later writings that CC arises from two independent developments, *viz.*, transformational generative grammar and the ethnography of communication.

However, the term CC has changed its notion over time. Earlier in 1973, the term was used in the sense of ability to conduct spontaneous interaction in the second language.¹³ Hymes’s own emphasis on the term ‘competence’ in the sense of *abilities* and *skills* was missing. Among several later uses of the term CC, we find the meanings such as ‘communicative habits’, ‘a fluent speaker’s mastery’, and ‘command of a language’, and ‘the universal conditions of possible understandings’.¹⁴ Thus, the term CC subsumes the idea of fundamental cognitive or mentalistic ability in humans in using language to achieve desired outcomes by showing adaptability in different contexts (Duck, 1989, p. 92).

This paper refers to CC in the sense of an ability to communicate in a culturally appropriate manner to accomplish social tasks efficiently and fluently through extended interactions.¹⁵ Later scholars have combined these abilities of knowledge and implementation under the title ‘Communicative Language Ability’.¹⁶ Thus, the term comes to refer to the assimilation of knowledge, skills, and judgement in linguistic and other social, strategic domains of competence.¹⁷

3. Methodology

Observation, reporting and analysis have been the primary sources of information for the research. Participant’s observation is the primary method that the current research follows, in addition to an informal interview.¹⁸ The data is collected by observing in-person

¹³ (Hymes, 1992, p. 34), (Agar, 1997, p. 467)

¹⁴ See (Duck, 1989, p. 92), (Hymes, 1992, p. 34), and (Gumperz, 1997, p. 39).

¹⁵ (Tarvin, 2015, p. 2)

¹⁶ (Saleh, 2013, p. 103)

¹⁷ (Clarke, 2013, p. 3)

¹⁸ It is suggested that in the Participant-observation method, freeing oneself from the filter of one’s own cultural experience leads to a more successful understanding of the language use (Saville-Troike, 1997, p. 133).

communication and conversations on a phone call. The sentences uttered are noted down and handwritten notes are referred to during the documentation.¹⁹

Consent is sought from the near-family member of Arya and the person has been given full knowledge of the process of observation and was ensured about no physical or any other kind of harm in the process of observation, maintaining the confidentiality of the child, no misuse or fabrication of the data, and only academic use of the findings, etc. The child has been observed in normal settings in a natural environment without any specific requirements from her.

Arya has been observed for the following factors: the sequence of learning languages, the amount of using a particular language as against other, the degree of fluency in all languages, use of dialects and language varieties, sources of acquisition of new vocabulary and pattern of using it, use of borrowed words, the effect of her native language on her second language use, convergence behavior, language choice, language shift, code-switching, other conversational abilities such as style of starting a conversation, attention-grabbing techniques, turn-taking patterns, retaining attention and deliberate effort to make a conversation more interesting, inferencing, coherence, self-repair, etc. Although many of these factors overlap in the actual conversation, that is, in a single use of a sentence more than one factors can play its part, the current report tries to present each of them separately emphasizing one of them more than the other in a given setting.

4. Findings: A Case Study

It is not very uncommon for an Indian child staying in urban or suburban areas to be multilingual. In a general situation, every child may know at least two languages by the age of three years, one of them is her native language and the other is English as a medium of instruction in a preschool. When a child's native language is different from the regional language, as is the case in a cosmopolitan setting, a child acquires three languages simultaneously, although the degree of inter-language fluency might vary. Furthermore, in addition to three languages, in some cities with international schooling, a child learns a fourth and a foreign language at nursery school in a classroom environment.

Arya shows similar advanced capabilities in knowing five languages, being able to construct full-length sentences in at least four of them and readily transmitting the message she intends to just by the age of four years old. Her ability in using appropriate language in specific social settings is the main topic of the current research. Before exploring the communicative competence displayed by Arya in Section 0, a background is set of Arya's language abilities in Section 0 that would lay the foundation for the subsequent discussion.

5. Multilingualism

This section presents the *mise en scène* that forms the backdrop for the main argument of the report. It mentions the different scenarios *viz.* linguistic situations that have imparted

¹⁹ No audio message is being recorded, hence no use of transcripts is mentioned.

multilingualism in Arya. It gives the scrupulous details of how Arya has acquired the language and put it to use in her everyday life.

(a) Language Acquisition and Learning

The study refers to the following sources of acquisition of CC among children. They are: Mother's talk, nursery school, caretaker, and family structure and residential pattern.²⁰

Arya was brought up as a native speaker of Telugu²¹ in the initial ages i.e., till the age of two years. Living with an eight-member family that use Telugu for daily communication has given her a perfect linguistic situation in which she could acquire the language as her native tongue without any special instructions. Before the age of two years, when she was responding to the messages, she was exposed to Marathi,²² a regional language, by her mother and maternal relatives. This had led her to acquire both Telugu and Marathi at an early age, simultaneously.²³ The continuous exposure to both languages as a 'motherese'²⁴ from her mother and maternal relatives made her fluent in both languages by the age of three years.²⁵ She started using Marathi to converse with the female maids, artisans, and other workers at home apart from her parents. She converses in Telugu with other family members than her parents. This observation contrasts some of the beliefs that early bilingualism would impair a child's learning of both first and the second language, and that a child would not be as fluent as a monolingual of speakers of those languages.²⁶ The evidence suggests that children are flexible in learning more than one language and by the age of three-four years and can become fluent in both languages.

Arya was slowly exposed to Hindi²⁷ by observing her family members talking to the Nepali family that has migrated to India for livelihood almost six years ago before Arya's birth and has been staying with Arya's family working as household helpers. Furthermore, the cartoons, videos, and daily TV series have given her some exposure to both dialectic and standard varieties of Hindi. Soon after the age of three years, Arya started conversing in Hindi with the Nepali workers using words in Hindi and constructing small sentences.

²⁰ (Zhan, 2010, p. 50)

²¹ Telugu is one of the classical languages in India that belongs to the Dravidian language family and is spoken in the southern and east coastal parts of India. The eastern part of the city Solapur, Maharashtra state where Arya lives consists of a majority of Telugu speakers.

²² Marathi is one of the modern Indo-European languages, specifically of the Indo-Aryan sub-branch of the Indo-Iranian language family. It is spoken in the state of Maharashtra and some parts of the state of Karnataka.

²³ There are two language situations in which a second language is learned by a child. Firstly, when the second language is learned at school later in life after a child has acquired the first language (*sequentially*), and secondly, where a younger child is exposed to two different languages at the same time at home (*simultaneously*) (Steinberg & Sciarini, 2006, pp. 165-166).

²⁴ 'Motherese' is a short speech consisting of well-formed sentences spoken very slowly and clearly towards a child (Aitchison, 2008, p. 77). Sometimes, it has a comparatively higher pitch and exaggerated intonation contours (Aitchison, 2008, pp. 152-153). It is also known as 'parentese', 'caregiver speech', 'Adult-to-Child Language' (ACL), or as 'Child-Directed Speech' (CDS), etc. (Steinberg & Sciarini, 2006, p. 27) that can be received from many sources such as parents, siblings, relatives, friends, etc.

²⁵ Caregivers, such as parents play an important role in children's language learning process. A sensitive caregiver is supposed to enable the child learn the language faster (Aitchison, 2008, p. 74).

²⁶ (Steinberg & Sciarini, 2006, p. 161)

²⁷ Hindi is one of the official languages of India belonging to the Indo-Aryan language family. It is widely spoken in neighboring parts of northern India.

It was surprising as one of the family members noticed an almost three-and-half-year-old Arya talking in Nepali²⁸ with the children of this Nepali family while playing with them. The researcher has an insufficient amount of first-hand information about Arya's Nepali usage. It is not clear whether she can construct the full-length sentences in Nepali, owing to the limitation that the researcher herself is unaware of Nepali grammar. This observation confirms earlier linguistic studies, especially, the behaviorists that children are 'set' to extract the grammar for themselves if they have a sufficient amount of data at their disposal.²⁹ The linguistic situation in which the Nepali adults talking to their children in Nepali proved to be enough exposure for her to acquire a few words and phrases. Soon, Arya started using single-word phrases or 'holophrases'³⁰ in Nepali with the children in certain conditions.

Similarly, daily exposure to the English language as a medium of instruction in her pre-school and a sufficient amount of time when her family members read her stories in English has allowed Arya to learn some simple words and phrases in English that she uses occasionally in her speech. This is, nonetheless, a classroom-controlled setting as against the natural setting she had received to acquire other four languages. While the first four languages *viz.* Telugu, Marathi, Hindi, and Nepali are acquired by her without any instructions, the fifth language English was imparted in her with deliberate efforts. Furthermore, both the instructors at her pre-school and parents that read stories to her are second-language speakers of English.

(b) The Degree of Fluency in Each Language

Multilingualism has become a norm these days. However, it does not always have positive associations. In other words, no single person is equally fluent in all languages they know. Albeit, Arya was exposed to both Telugu and Marathi simultaneously, she shows variations in fluency in both languages. This phenomenon is what Hymes was suggesting by referring to Labov's study that linguistic competence can covary with the speaker.³¹

In the early days till the age of two years, Arya was more fluent in Telugu, while on the border of crossing the two years, she shifted to Marathi and started using Marathi more often than Telugu. The reason for choosing Marathi over Telugu can be numerous, however, the most probable reason behind switching to Marathi can be traced back to the 'Motherese' or 'Parentese' that she has got from her parents. Similarly, Arya manages to use holophrases in Hindi and Nepali. Nonetheless, she has less fluency in Hindi and Nepali as compared to either Telugu or Marathi. While, Arya can construct long, full-length sentences in Hindi, she is not very confident with her Nepali, which suggests the least fluency in Nepali as compared to other

²⁸ Nepali belongs to the Eastern Pahari sub-branch of the Indo-European language family and is mainly spoken in Nepal and Bhutan. Some states in India have given Nepali an official status as it has a significant number of speakers in many North-Eastern states.

²⁹ (Aitchison, 2008, p. 76)

³⁰ 'Holophrase' refers to one-word utterances by children that usually stand for a complete sentence. For example, the holophrase "Juice!" uttered by a younger child refers to the complete sentence "I want juice". Younger children express a variety of complex ideas and semantic functions by their one-word utterances (Steinberg & Sciarini, 2006, p. 7).

³¹ (Ohno, 2006, p. 26)

languages. Likewise, she is not able to construct novel sentences in English all on her own. Although, she repeats the words and phrases that she has heard from her teacher in an appropriate situation. In other words, Arya lacks the ‘creativity’ aspect of language that refers to the *continuity* or *productivity* or *openness* in constructing a novel, infinite grammatical sentences in English.³² The primary reason can be the source of language acquisition i.e., in naturalistic settings versus classroom settings.³³

While Arya obtained much exposure to Telugu and Marathi, she has obtained comparatively less exposure to the other three languages i.e., Hindi, Nepali, and English. Chomsky, referring to children’s innate language abilities, would argue, that children acquire a well-formed grammar of a language despite being exposed to inadequate data³⁴ as against the behaviorists. But if we adopt an empirical exploration, we *may* not confirm Arya’s acquisition of Hindi, Nepali, and English language at par with her acquisition of Telugu and Marathi.

The observations, however, emphasize the fact that the optimum amount of linguistic exposure imparts language abilities in children. Children are essentially participant-observers in their linguistic community, and they actively participate in using language by processes of observation and interpretation. Thus, a sufficient amount of linguistic input which works as a stimulus becomes unavoidable for them to derive rules of grammar. These environmental inputs trigger the language development in a child,³⁵ in which a child can construct a grammar and a lexicon of the given language. While Arya heard Telugu, Marathi, Hindi and Nepali, in descending order of amount of use, she became fluent in these languages acquiring the equivalent fluency in these languages. On the other hand, the lack of exposure to spoken English at home and nearby places inhibit her abilities in using English as a medium of conversation.

These observations accent the point that a child can be fluent in more than one language by the age of two years. Nonetheless, inter-language fluency covaries. They can even acquire the ability to use appropriate language in specific social situations, viz., the communicative competence on their own.

6. Communicative Competence as a Socialization Pattern

The research, now, sets forth focusing on the competence of Arya in acquiring the ability to use appropriate language in specific social situations, i.e., communicative competence. While exploring her ability of CC, the study takes her understanding of the socio-cultural organization, economic backgrounds, attitudes, intention, capacities and limitations, moods and emotions of the language speakers, along with other sociocultural variables such as space and time, genre, topic, message and purpose of the conversation,³⁶ etc. that are evident

³² (Aitchison, 2008, pp. 31-34)

³³ (Savignon, 2018, p. 1)

³⁴ (Steinberg & Sciarini, 2006, p. 209)

³⁵ (Fernández & Cairns, 2011, pp. 80-81)

³⁶ (Saville-Troike, 1997, pp. 142-143)

by her *performance* of refining, modifying, or changing the message, more specifically, language use. Since many of these variables co-happen in a speech act, that they co-occur concurrently, further documentation deals with them by the linguistic episode in which they occur, and not individually.

We refer to this faculty of modifying oneself as a ‘socialization pattern’. The attempt in ‘socializing’ by children include all their distinct linguistic behaviors such as their language choice, language shift, use of dialects, code-switching, etc. The effort to socialize or identify with the hearer can be assumed as the common underpinning of all their speech acts. This kind of *affiliation* or ‘like-mindedness’³⁷ especially in cross-cultural settings is one of the measures to evaluate a child’s ability in CC, although some studies have suggested that such socio-cultural differences can inhibit their communication.³⁸

In the quest for exploration of Arya’s language use patterns, we have derived some associations of linguistic situations and language choice. Figure 1 depicts the language choice made by Arya based on the type of the hearer or the interlocutor. She uses Marathi while conversing with people that she thinks are acquainted with it such as her mother, family members, her school friends, near residents that frequently visit, close guests that rarely visit, maternal relatives, neighbors, and local workers such as maids, cooks, and artisans working in the factory at their home. Except for the guests that rarely visit, every other type of person has a daily conversation with Arya in Marathi which has made her confident in using Marathi almost all the time.

She only switches to Telugu under specific circumstances when she finds that the hearer does not know any other language but Telugu, such as some of her near residents, neighbors, and some elderly adult female local artisans. Except for these cases, she downrightly uses Marathi if she has the knowledge that the hearer knows Marathi. Even though this speaker chooses to speak in Telugu with her, she answers the interlocutor in Marathi. For example, Arya’s nonagenarian great-grandfather who endorses the habit of speaking his native tongue at home constantly speaks with her in Telugu, but Arya conveniently moves to Marathi while replying to him. The investigator herself, while observing Arya’s fluency in the native tongue for the research, deliberately talks with her in Telugu but gets the reply in Marathi. The interim reasoning might be more confidence in using Marathi than Telugu or the fact that her mother using Marathi while talking to her led her to believe the superiority of Marathi over any other language.³⁹

³⁷ (Clarke, 2013, p. 10)

³⁸ (Zhan, 2010, p. 50)

³⁹ Mother’s talk is considered the most important source of early input (Zhan, 2010, p. 50).

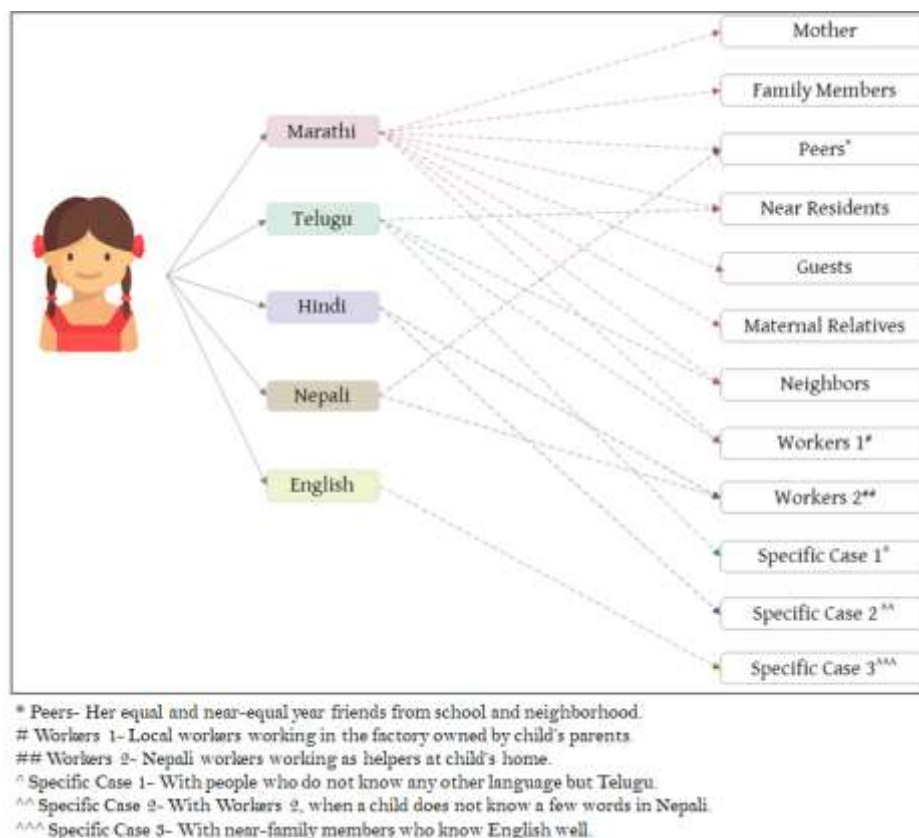


Figure 1: Arya's Multilingualism and Language Choice: Depiction of a Socialization Pattern

Arya chooses to speak Hindi, specifically some words and small phrases, with adult Nepali workers who do not know either Marathi or Telugu. Here Arya shows the tendency to connect with these workers to be more social. It accents the linguistic findings that children develop their language to cope with their everyday needs.⁴⁰ The children of these Nepali workers, a six-year-old girl and a three-year-old boy have acquired Nepali, Hindi and Telugu having obtained the most exposure to all three languages. Arya chooses to speak in Hindi with the female Nepali friend when Arya fails to have lexical access to some words in the Nepali language. In some interesting conditions, when Arya finds herself being not very fluent in Hindi as well, she smoothly shifts to Telugu for the successful transmission of the message, sometimes just replacing the Telugu word in a Hindi sentence. This shifting to another language is known as 'language alternation' or 'code switching' and is a common behavior among younger children (Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2015, pp. 212-213).

Intra-sentential code-switching has become a common occurrence in Arya's speech. Even though Arya is fluent in Marathi, she does not know a few equivalents for Telugu words, and she showcases the instances of intra-sentential code-switching where she retains the Marathi

⁴⁰ A child's effectiveness in her language use is one of the instruments assessing her interpersonal competence to achieve interpersonal objectives, as stated by Duck (1989, p. 93). Also, see (Aitchison, 2008, p. 125).

sentence and replaces only one word with a Telugu equivalent. For example, ‘*Bommārillu bhāṇḍī*’ instead of ‘*bhātukalī bhāṇḍī*’ (‘miniature utensils used for playing’), ‘*vankāya bhājī*’ instead of ‘*vāṅgyāchī bhājī*’ (‘brinjal sabzi’), ‘*chinnagā chinnagā tuḱaḱe kar*’ instead of ‘*choṭe choṭe tuḱaḱe kar*’ (‘cut this in small pieces’), ‘*soravā āṇ*’ instead of ‘*rassā āṇ*’ (‘bring [me] gravy’), etc. It seems that a child unconsciously resorts to the language they are more comfortable in, especially when the speech has some corresponding action afterwards, in which case a child focuses more on the semantics, thereby putting efforts in successful transmission of the message, rather than worrying and thinking about the language-appropriate word. Arya’s activity in transcending the grammatical rules and her concentration on the meaning or interpretation aspect of language is another measure to assess her CC.⁴¹

Her language choice in selecting Nepali, Hindi, Telugu depicts her confidence in using each language, in descending order, as per the demand of the situation as well as her interest in socializing with the interlocutor. The most interesting insight is that Arya never talks in Marathi with these people even though she is extremely fluent in it. This displays that children give the hearer and their abilities in conversation an important place in the speech act and modify themselves without any special instructions. Furthermore, they can identify the places in the conversations where they find themselves less fluent and *self-repair* their message so that the hearer can understand them fully. In addition to that, they can also recognize the difficulty in comprehension on the hearer’s part and locate the place of that difficulty and refine their speech accordingly by shifting to the mutual language to have *common ground* among themselves.

Considering Arya’s abilities in English, as explained earlier, she cannot construct novel sentences all by herself, but used holophrases in English such as “Go!”, “Stop!”, “Cut in half!”, etc. Most of these phrases are imperative sentences that she has heard in her pre-schools and mimics those sentences verbatim. She picks the complete sentences or whole phrases while talking and has not yet discovered for herself the syntax of English. Similarly, although she tends to use some negative constructions in English such as “Don’t do that!”, we are unsure if she has acquired the negation rules by herself, one of the earliest sentence structure rules acquired by children.⁴² In other words, she does not use English for daily communication but enjoys the sense of novelty when she uses these phrases while talking either in Telugu or Marathi.

It is observed that she uses English only when she knows that the hearers are acquainted with the language such as her uncles, some guests, and her grandfathers, and not with her parents and other family members that do not know English. The fact that Arya can use some context-appropriate English phrases correctly also accents the point that language comprehension precedes language production among children. Although, it does not mean that a child must understand all of the languages before being able to produce them. Her understanding of the interlocutor in terms of both their linguistic abilities and limitations helps

⁴¹ (Gumperz, 1997, p. 41)

⁴² (Steinberg & Sciarini, 2006, pp. 18-19)

her shift from English to other languages. This audience-oriented speech of a child is another variable by which we can study a child's ability in their CC.

7. Discussion and Future Scope

Based on the available data, it is argued that by the age of four years, children adopt convergence behavior in their language choice. Children try to be more social, become more like the other person, try to shift their behavior to accommodate the expectations that others have of them while they speak. This phenomenon is also known as 'speech accommodation theory' or 'communication accommodation theory'.⁴³ In some cases, Arya shows the deliberate efforts in shifting from Hindi to Nepali to Telugu to try to get connected with her younger Nepali friend, and in some other cases, she shows unconscious efforts in shifting to Marathi when her family members are talking with her in Telugu being almost unaware of doing so. Based on the type of audience or audience design, Arya orients her speech towards others. This is to gain social approval for oneself.

Her ability in identifying differences in terms of sociocultural variables in her environment and modifying her speech and behavior accordingly suggest her sophisticated understanding of interpersonal relationships and this 'competence' or 'competence performance'⁴⁴ as a social actor is demanding for any language user. With their language use, children created their social situation by taking part actively.⁴⁵

Thus, it is argued that, in cross-cultural settings, multilingual children display communicative competence in their language use without any special instructions, provided they are exposed to the optimum amount of linguistic exposure. This research argues that children use their communicative competence as a socialization pattern to identify themselves with kith and kin. This ability to use and implement their innate grammatical rules appropriately in specific sociocultural situations is acquired by children all by themselves, emphasizing the term 'competence' in the phrase 'Communicative Competence'.

However, there remain some unanswered questions. Such as, do a girl multilingual child shows different CC patterns or different dialects as a boy multilingual child, do children show varied competence in formal versus informal situations, etc. Some of the following questions will be important from a sociolinguistic aspect, such as, whether Arya chooses Marathi over Telugu because (1) she feels more confident in it, or (2) Telugu has comparatively low status than Marathi as perceived by her or has been indirectly imparted in her, or (3) learning of the second language has impaired her learning of the first language as some linguists had believed, and the more important question is whether Arya's first language would have a gradual death if she retains her speech only in the second language, etc. A few more psycholinguistic questions would help us understand children's language use patterns, such as

⁴³ (Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2015, pp. 99-100)

⁴⁴ (Duck, 1989, p. 91)

⁴⁵ (Danby, 2002)

whether lack of exposure to spoken English at home will put Arya at disadvantage when she attends her school since English is the medium of instruction in schooling, and whether she tries to change her cultural pattern after learning English, will it have profound social or psychological consequences on her, whether Arya finds increased linguistic insecurity when she will find a ‘better’ variety of Marathi than the vernacular Marathi that she speaks will it have a positive or negative consequence on her existing language variety and will that lead her to struggle with identity issues, etc.

Do multilingual children in sub-urban areas such as Solapur may show different cognitive capacities than children that have been brought up in multilingual cosmopolitan cities such as Pune and Mumbai, especially when children learn a foreign language in their schools since the age of six years, what are other factors that influence children’s language choice such as gender, age, economic status of their parents, place of residence, source of income, social status of their parents, how proficient children are in using gender-based distinctions in languages like Hindi versus Telugu,⁴⁶ etc., does multilingualism affect children’s long term academic achievements as compared to monolingual or even bilingual kids, the question of whether speaking in the first language and retaining it throughout the childhood betide more advantages than shifting to the second language in later life, whether Arya has acquired the word-order rules and other syntactic rules of Nepali, whether Arya retains her tone and pitch in Marathi while speaking in Nepali, whether she can form relative clauses and passive sentences in all languages she knows, in interethnic situations, how does a child understand economic factors, differences in goals and aspirations, other historical and cultural factors at their tender age are some more questions that need to be answered.

Some of these questions can be answered by a longitudinal study of both monolingual and multilingual children to understand different types of general, cognitive, and psychological abilities. Some recent Indian scholars have studied the simultaneous acquisition of languages in children and harnessed some insights in developing therapy-based models.⁴⁷ In her subsequent research, the author of this research work plans to seek answers to some of these questions especially focusing on Arya’s conversational abilities from age 4 to 6 years. It will be carried out both by observation and experimentation, in both formal and informal situations.

While writing this paper, the child has turned six years and chooses to speak both Telugu and Marathi. Some discrepancies in the data can be seen as a child is growing. Nonetheless, this research will be useful in understanding an average child’s capacity to grasp the inputs and knowledge from the surrounding and put it to use whenever they find it useful and necessary.

8. Conclusion

⁴⁶ This insight is motivated by the reviewer’s comments on the manuscript. I am grateful!

⁴⁷ Ibid.

A child's linguistic abilities cannot be underestimated. By the age of four years, children acquire native-like fluency in more than one language. Even though children's native language affects the syntax of their second language in the initial stages, they can learn the second language with an equal amount of fluency if taught before the age of two years, provided a proper amount of exposure is available. Children also display a great deal of communicative competence in all languages they speak, without any special instruction. They use their skills of communicative competence as kind of a socialization pattern by adopting the convergence behaviour to be identified as more like their audience. Their communicative competence can be measured by their choice in language shift, and code-switching. The understanding of sociocultural settings on their part and their choice of language use as per the audience design are some of the variables that suggest their innate competence in using proper utterances in proper environmental settings.

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Afghan EFL Students' Perceptions about English Pronunciation

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Abstract

This study investigates the perceptions of Afghan EFL students about English pronunciation in terms of positivity, importance, students' enthusiasm, and difficulty. Furthermore, it sees if there are any significant statistical differences in their perceptions based on their profile. The survey was conducted using a Likert scale questionnaire which sought to collect data from 100 EFL students of the English Department of Takhar University. Data collected from respondents were analyzed through SPSS version 26 for descriptive statistics. Also, t-test and One-way ANOVA were run on data for comparison and contrast of variables. The results revealed that Afghan EFL students hold a positive perception about English pronunciation and feel enthusiastic towards their pronunciation related activities. They also believe that learning English pronunciation is difficult for them. The survey implications for EFL administrators and teachers in the context of Afghanistan is to incorporate more pronunciation improving activities in English course-books and design learning activities that meet the needs of students.

Keywords: Afghan EFL Students, Perception, English Pronunciation, Language, Education

1. Introduction

English language learning takes place when multiple domains of language like; listening, speaking, reading and writing skills are acquired (Almaqrn & Alshabeb, 2017). Among them, listening and speaking require proper pronunciation for intelligible communication. Researches reveal that students' good feeling about their pronunciation motivates them towards better learning. As stated by Young (2006), "learners' positive attitudes may lead to increased motivation, which in turn may lead to successful attainment of proficiency due to increased input and interaction." However, if they have bad feelings about their pronunciation they are demotivated in the learning process. According to the report by Tella et al. (2010), there seems to be correlations between negative attitudes towards learning and students' poor performance. As stated by Marza (2014), there is no doubt that appropriate pronunciation of a language is the most important aspect of understanding others and making ourselves understood by others. Communicability is determined not just by correct grammar and large number of vocabulary but also by proper interaction of pronunciation features. It may be claimed that pronunciation classes should deal with pronunciation teaching and learning problems and needs. The author believes that, since the ultimate goal of learning English as a

foreign language (EFL) is comprehensibility and intelligibility in spoken English, a few hours specified for pronunciation in the curriculum will not result in students' communicative competence. Moreover, Kang (2010) states that "researchers in applied linguistics have paid little attention to learners' perceptions of pronunciation instruction in L2 contexts".

As an instructor of English language, literature and linguistics, the author has taught phonology, phonetics and pronunciation classes repeatedly to Afghan EFL learners throughout his profession. During his sessions, students have provoked different reactions towards English pronunciation. It has been observed that some students were enjoying their pronunciation activities in their groups. However, others would ignore, if possible, and think of pronunciation as a confusing and tough area of language. Although the author believes that it is teachers' responsibility to deal with pronunciation problems of students, there also seem to be some non-linguistic factors, such as; perceptions and attitudes in students affecting their improvement in pronunciation.

Therefore, the main goal of this survey is to provide detailed information on Afghan EFL students' perceptions of English pronunciation in terms of positivity, importance, difficulty, students' enthusiasm and learning strategies. The survey will also yield more literature to support the background of English studies in the context of Afghanistan.

2. Literature Review

2.1. The Status of English in Afghanistan

In the multilingual country of Afghanistan, English is considered a foreign language since the people of this country do not use this language in their immediate social context. Afghanistan is one of the expanding circle countries of the three concentric circles of World Englishes of Kachru (1997). Excluding the branching dialects, about thirty languages are spoken in Afghanistan, the majority of them derived from the Iranian branch of Indo-European family. The other remarkable language family present in this country is Ural-Altaic, particularly Turkic languages of Uzbek and Turkmen (Garland, 1963). In contrast to many other countries, the mother tongue of a citizen of Afghanistan does not necessarily indicate her/his ethnical identity. Many of the residents in this country are bilingual and even multilingual.

Uzbek language is the third official language alongside Dari and Pashto in the areas where the majority of people speak this language. Moreover, the media is free to broadcast in any of the prevalent languages of the country (Afghanistan Constitution, 2004). Fundamentally, the languages of instruction are Dari and Pashto; however, Uzbek has also benefited to some extent from the conditioned freedoms given in the Constitution of Afghanistan since 2004. Teaching in international languages (i.e. English) can also take place in the cases of need and exigencies of the ministry of higher education or as per request of the department and the approval of the faculty council and university academic council at the public universities of Afghanistan (Public Higher Education Law, 2015).

The country's education system now starts teaching English from grade 4 of elementary school and continues up to grade 12. A proportional amount of teaching English language also takes place in the first and second years of undergraduate even if the subject field is not English. Apart from this, the country has an incredible number of English language learning academies and centers where people tend to learn English outside the governmental educational system. According to Orfan (2020a), even though the quality of teaching English at Afghan public universities is really low, students hold strong positive attitudes towards learning this language. He also found that learning English was a dreamed goal of many Afghans.

According to the International Assistance Mission (IAM, 2020), Afghans understand that they need to learn English as a foreign language for several reasons. They believe it helps them in rebuilding their country, in releasing their country from international isolation and reaching the aid agencies to get the help they need. Due to the several decades of conflict, the country's economy is highly dependent on foreign aids and its nation suffers from shortage of jobs (CIA, 2020; Noori et al. 2020). Citizens of Afghanistan know that English is important to communicate with other governments and nongovernmental organizations in order to benefit from their opportunities, i.e., getting jobs, higher education and funding projects. The new generation in this country feels that their progress might be negatively affected if they do not learn English.

According to Orfan (2020a), using English increased slowly when the Soviet Union withdrew from Afghanistan in the year 1989. English language learning has now become a highly desired ambition for Afghans mostly influenced by the chances of getting a job with international INGOs within the country and higher education opportunities available outside the country's borders. English language learning in the past years has increased employment opportunities throughout the world and it has been rewarding in Afghanistan (Alimyar, 2015). It is evident that Afghans who have worked with INGOs in the past two decades have made a fortune. The government has established many English departments at public universities of the country since 2001. The private sector has also facilitated centers for learning English primarily for the purposes of business and the development of their country. Furthermore, the universities in Afghanistan are now changing over to using English as the language of instruction in faculties such as; medicine, dentistry, engineering and computer sciences (AIM, 2020; Alimyar, 2015). These factors have led numerous Afghans towards learning English language for a brighter future and a better horizon for their country.

2.2. Perception and Attitude

Findings from earlier studies about pronunciation verify that only few learners can attain native-like pronunciation in a foreign language (FL), specifically those who have not learned to speak it in their early life (Lenneberg, 1967). Also, Kenworthy (1987), found that both linguistic and non-linguistic factors are involved in the acquisition of proficiency and fluency in pronunciation. His findings showed that the speakers' attitude along with their innate phonetic capacity, exposure to the target language (TL) age and native language were

considered important. Moreover, different studies have confirmed that most EFL students feel that their pronunciation is not satisfactory and wish to speak English more fluently and similar to native speakers (Derwing & Rossiter, 2002). Therefore, it is rational to claim that English language learning, particularly attaining proficiency and fluency in pronunciation is influenced by students' perceptions and attitudes.

Perception is the way we perceive things based on our beliefs or personal preferences. A perception is an opinion that you have about someone or something. It is also said that a person who has perception realizes or notices things that are not obvious. The Chambers dictionary of synonyms and antonyms gives a series of words such as; discernment, feeling, idea, insight, observation, recognition and understanding as synonyms to the term perception (Manser, 2005). According to Longman online dictionary of contemporary English, "perception" is "the way we think about something and our idea of what it is like" (Longman, 2020). From a psychological point of view, perception is a single unified awareness that is derived from sensory processes. Perception is about how we see things (Agata, 2015). In the context of this study, "students' perception" means students understandings or views of English pronunciation. In other words, it is the personal opinion of students about English pronunciation and how they perceive it.

Literally, an attitude is a position in which you hold your body. However, one's attitude to something is the way he/she thinks and feels about it and his/her attitude to someone is the way one behave when he/she is dealing with that person. The mentality of a person is also referred to as her/his attitude. According to Norland (1995), an attitude is formed in three ways: "through direct contact with the object of the attitude, through contact with a similar attitude object, or through the social learning process". Language learning can be affected by both attitudes and motivation, because learners with a negative attitude may not be willing to perform satisfactorily (Almaqrn & Alshabeb, 2017). They also believe that personal characteristics of students can contribute to their progress in learning a foreign language. They state that there have been specific links between remarkably positive attitudes towards the target language (TL) and students' achievements of pronunciation. Zulkefly & Razali (2019) state that it is extremely vital for learners to hold positive attitudes to be better learners of a target language.

2.3. The Importance of Pronunciation

Pronunciation is the audible aspect of speech (Richards & Rodgers, 2014). According to Martin (2015), teaching pronunciation requires recognition of phonological elements that all listeners may not have. Also, Kang (2010) states that pronunciation classes don't have to stress on sounding British or American, but rather learning to become more comprehensible and intelligible. He also asserts that further investigation on listener and speaker's perception is needed to bring changes in the current policies and practices of teaching pronunciation.

Consciously or unconsciously, EFL speakers' level of competence are frequently judged in terms of fluency and accuracy based on how pleasant or unpleasant their pronunciation is (Almaqrn & Alshabeb, 2017). They also assert that in such cases, a first impression may be ineffective particularly in work environment. Jiménez (2019) state that not understanding what someone else is saying due to accent differences may lead to embarrassment, rejection, or misunderstanding. Moreover, according to Anderson et al. (1992) the role of correct pronunciation is said to be crucial in the intelligibility and comprehensibility of communication.

Since the rise of Communicative Language Teaching (CLT), it has been repeatedly claimed that teaching pronunciation is generally neglected, both in local and international contexts (Tergujeff, 2013). Although the methods of teaching pronunciation might change from time to time, it is still viewed as a significant part of language education. As of Gilakjani (2011), students will face challenges in the area of job seeking if they do not learn proper pronunciation. Therefore, English pronunciation skills hold vital importance in the performance, effectiveness and functionality of EFL learners in various contexts.

2.4. Statement of Problem

English pronunciation practices have not been studied particularly in the context of Afghanistan. Orfan (2020a) studied the attitude of Afghan EFL learners towards English education in general. He also studied the Afghan EFL students' challenges and strategies in acquiring and comprehending English idioms (Orfan, 2020b). Alimyar (2015), has studied the teaching of English as a foreign language in Afghanistan. He has also explored the attitude and motivation of Afghans towards learning English (Alimyar, 2020). Miri (2019) has investigated the impact of English language in Afghanistan. The Afghan students' attitudes and motivations in English for specific purpose (ESP) and English for general purpose (EGP) courses have been investigated by Siddiq (2019). Akramiy (2020) has case studied the speaking anxiety in an Afghan EFL setting. However, to the knowledge of the author and the extent of available literature in the context of Afghanistan, a practical aspect of teaching English, such as; pronunciation has not been yet studied. Therefore, the topic is update in its context and deserves thorough investigation to report upon the Afghan EFL students' perceptions about English pronunciation. The main goal of this survey is to provide detailed information on Afghan EFL students' perceptions of English pronunciation in terms of positivity, importance, difficulty, students' enthusiasm and learning strategies.

2.5. Research Questions

1. What is the overall perception of Afghan EFL students about their English pronunciation practices?
2. To what extent, do Afghan EFL students think of pronunciation as an important, difficult and enthusiastic part of their language learning?

3. Is there any significant statistical difference among Afghan EFL students' perceptions based on their gender, age, class, native language, experience of an earlier pronunciation class and habit of listening to podcasts?

3. Methodology

3.1. Research Design

The current research uses a quantitative approach. It is a survey of students' perceptions about English pronunciation. The data were collected through a questionnaire with 20 items. The questionnaire items sought students' perceptions towards different aspects of English pronunciation.

3.2. The Participants

Participants of the present research were 100 Afghan EFL students who were pursuing undergraduate education in the English Department of Takhar University. These participants were selected randomly from the English Department. The participants were from three classes: freshman (2nd semester), sophomore (4th semester) and junior (6th semester) of English language and literature. There were 60 male and 40 female students ranging from 16 to 25 years of age. The participants' native languages comprise of Dari/Persian (61%), Uzbek (30%), Pashto (6%) and Shughni (3%). Forty-five respondents said that they had taken an English pronunciation course/class before and fifty-five respondents said that they hadn't. Seventy students said that they listened to English podcasts/audios on a regular basis, while thirty of them said that they did not (**Table1**).

Table 1: Participants' demographic profile

Gender of Participants		Frequency	Percent Valid	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Male	60	60.0	60.0	60.0
	Female	40	40.0	40.0	100.0
Participants' age range					
Valid	16-20 years	39	39.0	39.0	39.0
	21-25 years	61	61.0	61.0	100.0
Participants' native languages					
Valid	Dari/Persian	61	61.0	61.0	61.0
	Uzbek	30	30.0	30.0	91.0
	Pashto	6	6.0	6.0	97.0
	Shughni	3	3.0	3.0	100.0
Participants' class-wise list					
Valid	Freshman	39	39.0	39.0	39.0
	Sophomore	34	34.0	34.0	73.0
	Junior	27	27.0	27.0	100.0
Have you taken an English pronunciation course/class before?					
Valid	Yes	45	45.0	45.0	45.0

	No	55	55.0	55.0	100.0
Do you listen to English podcasts/audios on a regular basis?					
Valid	Yes	70	70.0	70.0	70.0
	No	30	30.0	30.0	100.0

3.3. Data Collection Instrument

In order to derive students' perceptions, a 5-point Likert scale questionnaire was developed. The first part of the questionnaire collected the participants' demographic details. The second part of the questionnaire contained 20 statements with discrete points of Strongly Disagree (1), Disagree (2), Not Sure (3), Agree (4) and Strongly Agree (5). Most of the statements in the questionnaire were developed by the author in the shadow of literature review and some were produced during a discussion group with peer teachers. Statements 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 18 and 20 intended to check the students' perceptions of various aspects of English pronunciation. Statements 6, 7, 9 and 19 were added to see the students' opinion about the difficulty of English pronunciation practices. Statements 4, 13, 14 and 17 looked for students' strategies being used in acquiring English pronunciation (see **Table3**).

3.4. Validity and Reliability

The final draft of the questionnaire was handed out to two colleagues in English Department for items validity and error checking. It was edited and improved based on their comments. An SPSS validity assessment was applied on the input data to see if there were any missing values. There was no missing values in the input data to affect the assessment results. In addition, the KMO measure of sampling adequacy factor (0.690) was seen to be greater than (0.6) which validates the adequacy of the samples. Moreover, the reliability statistics analysis showed that Cronbach's Alpha was (0.757) which is considered acceptable.

3.5. Data Collection Procedure

The data was collected by means of a questionnaire from 100 students of the English Department at Takhar University in three different sessions. Each session was held at different times in three different classes of freshman, sophomore and junior. The respondents were given a brief introductory instruction on the purpose of the research and how to answer the survey questions. Moreover, they were made aware of the confidentiality of their responses and that their participation in the research was optional. They were also allowed to have enough time to read the questionnaire carefully. They were told to respond to each item in the questionnaire thoughtfully and to the best of their knowledge. They were informed that there was no right or wrong answer and that they had to choose their best preference for each statement. Each data collection session lasted up to 15 minutes.

3.6. Data Analysis

The data collected from respondents were entered into an Excel sheet of Office program. They were then imported into SPSS Statistics, Version 26 software. The negatively worded statements were recoded into reverse order to justify the appropriateness of the assessments. Descriptive statistics, i.e., the means and frequencies were conducted. Also, *t*-test was run to

explore the differences between two groups and One-way ANOVA was applied to observe the differences between more than two groups.

4. Results

4.1. The Overall Perception of Afghan EFL Students about English Pronunciation

To find the overall perception of Afghan EFL students about English pronunciation, the statements 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 18 and 20 were computed. The descriptive statistics from the responses of the respondents through SPSS analysis show an average mean score of 3.77 ($SD=0.45$). This shows that Afghan EFL students have a positive perception about English pronunciation (**Table2**).

Table 2: Descriptive statistics of respondents' overall perception

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Mean	100	2.42	4.75	3.7692	.44537
Valid N (listwise)	100				

4.2. The Extent of Importance, Difficulty and Students' Enthusiasm of English Pronunciation

More than 75% of the participants have agreed and strongly agreed with the seven positive statements which derived information about the importance and necessity of good English pronunciation, feeling comfortable when sounding correct, pronunciation activities being fun and interesting, learning pronunciation through repetition of words and knowing about the relationships between sounds, meanings, and forms. Above 55 percent of the participant have disagreed and strongly disagreed with the four negatively worded statements that collected information regarding lack of attention and enthusiasm towards English pronunciation, disliking English pronunciation activities and unnecessariness of native-like English pronunciation. Over 40% of the participants have agreed and strongly agreed with the four positive statements that checked information about the difficulty and complexity of good English pronunciation (**Table3**). Therefore, it can be concluded that English pronunciation is perceived important, enthusiastic at the same time difficult by Afghan EFL students.

Table 3: Descriptive statistics of the respondents' responses to statements (%)

No.	Statements	SD	D	NS	A	SA	Total
1	I believe, it is necessary to have good English pronunciation.	6	3	5	40	46	100
2	It is important for teachers to have good English pronunciation.	5	1	2	13	79	100
3	I find working on my English pronunciation fun and interesting.	3	6	15	57	19	100
4	I must repeat the words I learn many times to correct my pronunciation.	5	1	11	45	38	100
5	I feel comfortable when my pronunciation sounds correct.	4	1	5	28	62	100
6	I think English pronunciation is difficult to learn.	7	28	24	26	15	100
7	I can hardly pronounce English words correctly.	12	24	24	30	10	100

8	In my view, students who pay more attention to their pronunciation, waste their time.	42	21	13	16	8	100
9	To me, it is too hard to pronounce some English words.	9	23	20	39	9	100
10	I find the English pronunciation and spelling rules crazy and confusing.	19	30	24	16	11	100
11	I don't really like to practice English pronunciation.	42	44	7	4	3	100
12	I don't think I need native-like English pronunciation. I am not a native speaker of English.	36	32	16	13	3	100
13	In my idea, English word's pronunciation cannot be figured out from its spelling.	3	29	35	29	4	100
14	I need to focus on producing sounds that do not exist in my native language.	7	12	23	46	12	100
15	I do not feel enthusiastic to come to class when pronunciation is being taught.	18	37	19	20	6	100
16	Silent letters in English words are more than my native language.	15	10	34	31	10	100
17	I need to repeat the words I learn many times before using them.	4	6	8	56	26	100
18	I wonder why the words that rhyme are not spelt the same.	5	13	41	29	12	100
19	Sometimes even a little change in the pronunciation of a word changes the meaning or form of that word.	5	8	10	35	42	100
20	It comes to me as no surprise that why English pronunciation and spelling aren't compatible.	5	12	30	46	7	100

4.3. Respondents' Demographic Profile

4.3.1. Gender

In order to determine the difference in perceptions of female and male students about English pronunciation, inferential statistical analysis was performed. As you can observe in table 4, the overall mean score of male students' perception about English pronunciation is 3.76 (SD=0.46) while it is 3.78 (SD=0.42) for female students. The difference in the mean score is 0.02 which indicates an insignificant difference. Furthermore, the results of independent samples t-test (Table 5) show that the p-value in both Levene's test (0.521) and t-test (0.826) is bigger than the alpha level (0.05). Thus, it can be concluded that there is no statistical significant difference between female and male groups' perceptions regarding English pronunciation.

Table 4: Group Statistics

Gender	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Male	60	3.7611	.46346	.05983
Female	40	3.7813	.42226	.06677

Table 5: Independent Samples Test

	Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means					95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
	F	Sig.	T	Df	Sig. (2- tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	Lower	Upper
Equal variances assumed	.415	.521	- .220	98	.826	-.02014	.09135	-.20142	.16114
Equal variances not assumed			- .225	88.896	.823	-.02014	.08965	-.19828	.15800

4.3.2. Age

To discover whether the age of the participants affected their perceptions about English pronunciation, descriptive statistics were run. As it is shown in table 6, the overall mean score for age group (15-20) is 3.74 (SD=0.44) and that of the age group (21-25) is 3.79 (SD=0.46). The difference in mean score is 0.04 which is not assumed to be significant. Additionally, the independent samples t-test were conducted to examine the differences in the perceptions of the two age categories about English pronunciation. Both t-test for equality of means and Levene's test for equality of variances are displayed in table 7. P-value of both Levene's test (0.773) and t-test (0.595) are more than the alpha level (0.05). Thus, it is rational to sum that there is no statistical significant difference between perceptions of two age groups about English pronunciation.

Table 6: Group Statistics

Age	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
16-20 years	39	3.7393	.43477	.06962
21-25 years	61	3.7883	.45455	.05820

Table 7: Independent Samples Test

	Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means					95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
	F	Sig.	T	Df	Sig. (2- tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	Lower	Upper
Equal variances assumed	.084	.773	- .534	98	.595	-.04894	.09164	-.23080	.13293

Equal variances not assumed	-	83.762	.591	-.04894	.09074	-.22939	.13152
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4.3.3. An Earlier Pronunciation Course Impact

In order to find whether students' earlier experience of a pronunciation class has affected their perceptions about English pronunciation, a descriptive analysis was conducted. As presented in table 8, the mean score for the respondents with an earlier experience of pronunciation class is 3.72 (SD=0.52) while that of the participants with no earlier experience of pronunciation class is 3.81 (SD=0.37). The difference between the two mean scores is 0.09 which is viewed insignificant. Also, Levene's test for equality of variances and t-test for equality of means are illustrated in table 9. The p-value in both t-test (0.272) and Levene's test (0.060) are greater than alpha level (0.05). In this way, it is concluded that an earlier pronunciation class experience has not affected the perceptions of students about English pronunciation.

Table 8: Group Statistics

Have you taken an English pronunciation course/class before?	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
No	55	3.8136	.37197	.05016

Table 9: Independent Samples Test

	Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means					95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
	F	Sig.	T	Df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	Lower	Upper
								Difference	
Equal variances assumed	3.630	.060	-1.105	98	.272	-.09882	.08942	-.27628	.07863
Equal variances not assumed			-1.070	77.431	.288	-.09882	.09240	-.28280	.08515

4.3.4. Listening to Podcasts' Effect

Another inferential statistical analysis was applied to see the difference in the perceptions of respondents about English pronunciation concerning their habit of listening to podcast. As readers can see in table 10, the mean score for participants with habit of listening to podcasts is 3.79 (SD=0.48) while that of the participants with no habit of listening to

podcasts is 3.71 (SD=0.36). The difference in means of the two groups is 0.08 which is not assumed significant. Moreover, table 11 presents the results of t-test for equality of means and Levene's test for equality of variances. Both Levene's test (0.327) and t-test (0.396) revealed a p-value far more than alpha level (0.05). Hence, it can be concluded that habit of listening to podcasts does not have a significant influence on students' perceptions of English pronunciation.

Table 10: Group Statistics

Do you listen to English podcasts/audios on a regular basis?	N	Mean	Std.	Std. Error
			Deviation	Mean
Yes	703	3.7940	.47855	.05720
No	303	3.7111	.35674	.06513

Table 11: Independent Samples Test

	Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
	F	Sig.	T	Df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
								Lower	Upper
Equal variances assumed	.970	.327	.852	98	.396	.08294	.09732	-.11020	.27607
Equal variances not assumed			.957	72.783	.342	.08294	.08668	-.08983	.25570

4.3.5. Class Impression

As you can observe in table 12, the mean score for the juniors' class is on the top 3.898 (SD=0.478), followed by sophomores' class with a mean score of 3.841 (SD=0.401). Lastly, the mean score for freshmen is at the bottom 3.618 (SD=0.425). Also, independent samples t-test were conducted to see the difference between these classes. It was seen that the p-values between freshman and sophomore (0.025) as well as freshman and junior (0.015) were less than the alpha level (0.05); however, the p-value between sophomore and junior classes (0.612) was more than the alpha level (0.05). Furthermore, results from One-way ANOVA test in table13 reveals that the p-value (0.020) is lower than (0.05), which indicates a significant difference between class groups. Therefore, it is logical to conclude that there are statistical significant difference in the perceptions of students by their classes.

Table 12: Groups Statistics

Class	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Junior	27	3.8981	.47834	.09206

Sophomore	34	3.8407	.40063	.06871
Freshman	39	3.6175	.42523	.06809

Table 13: ANOVA

	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	1.520	2	.760	4.069	.020
Within Groups	18.117	97	.187		
Total	19.637	99			

4.3.5. Native Language Influence

Table 14 presents means of the four linguistic groups. As can be seen, Pashto native speaker respondents have received the highest mean score of 4.08 (SD=0.25) which is followed by Uzbek native speaker respondents with a mean score of 3.78 (SD=0.36). Dari/Persian native speaker respondents hold a mean score of 3.76 (SD=0.46). Shughni native speaker respondents receive the lowest mean score of 3.19 (SD=0.44).

Also, independent samples t-test reports were observed to see the difference between each two linguistic groups. It was found that the p-values between Uzbek and Pashto natives (0.059), between Uzbek and Dari/Persian natives (0.839) and between Pashtu and Dari/Persian natives (0.098) were greater than alpha level (0.05). However, the p-values between Uzbek and Shughni speakers (0.021), between Pashtu and Shughni speakers (0.028) and between Dari/Persian and Shughni speakers (0.048) were less than the alpha level (0.05).

Moreover, One-way ANOVA test was administered for inspecting the differences in the perceptions of respondents based on their native languages. As shown in table 15, the p-value of the four native language groups is 0.043 (F=2.82), that is lower than alpha level (0.05). In the light of these observations, it is logical to conclude that there are statistical significant differences in the perceptions of these learners about English pronunciation in this regard which shows that students' native languages may have had an influence on their perceptions of English pronunciation.

Table 14: Group Statistics

Language	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Dari/Persian	61	3.7609	.46235	.05920
Uzbek	30	3.7806	.36058	.06583
Pashto	6	4.0833	.24721	.10092
Shughni	3	3.1944	.75615	.43656

Table 15: ANOVA

	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	1.591	3	.530	2.822	.043

Within Groups	18.046	96	.188		
Total	19.637	99			

5. Discussion

The results of this survey provide significant information about Afghan EFL students' perceptions of English pronunciation. One of the informed aspects in this research is that Afghan EFL students hold an overall positive perception about English pronunciation. This finding supports the results of studies conducted by (Orfan, 2020a; Alimyar, 2020) who found that Afghan EFL learners had an overall positive attitude towards learning English. It is also in line with findings of another study by Orfan (2020b) who found that Afghan undergraduate learners have had an extremely powerful positive attitude towards the significance of acquiring English idioms.

The current study found that Afghan EFL students perceive English pronunciation important and enthusiastic which is in line with the findings of (Almaqarn & Alshabeb, 2017) who studied the attitudinal aspects of Saudi students towards English pronunciation. They found that Saudi EFL students valued the importance of proper pronunciation and believed that they could improve their pronunciation skills. He also found that Saudi EFL students have a positive attitude towards acquiring the proper pronunciation of English which is also in line with the results of this study.

The survey results reported that participants were interested in a native-like pronunciation which yields an opposite result to that of Tergujeff (2013), who studied learners' perspective on English pronunciation teaching in an EFL context in Finland. However it supports the findings of Martin (2015) who studied the teachers and students' perceptions of the role of pronunciation in the EFL classroom on a group of foreign students learning English in the United Kingdom. He found that the students in his research viewed English pronunciation important and that they wanted to have an accent like native speakers.

Moreover, this research revealed that a majority of (82%) of the participants used word-repetition as a strategy for learning and practicing English pronunciation which is similar to a finding from Derwing & Rossiter (2001) who studied ESL learner's perceptions of their pronunciation needs and strategies. They found that the use of self-repetition and paraphrase was a far greatly preferred strategy for Japanese ESL learners in practicing English pronunciation.

Furthermore, inferential analysis of data results showed that (over 40%) Afghan EFL learners perceive learning English pronunciation difficult. Since many Afghan EFL learners intend to go abroad for higher education and that many universities require a certain proficiency level in English language as a medium of their instruction, they need to pass either IELTS or TOEFL. These tests include listening and speaking sections and one must improve her/his pronunciation to score higher. Since this research reveals that Afghan EFL students feel

enthusiastic towards English pronunciation activities, English instructors at Afghanistan universities must pay more attention to the students' difficulties and needs to improve their pronunciation.

Last but not the least, the findings show that there were no statistically significant differences among students' perceptions by their gender, age, experience of an earlier pronunciation class and habit of listening to podcasts. These findings support the results of the studies conducted by Orfan (2020a; 2020b). Lastly, the investigation determined that there were statistical significant differences in the perceptions of students based on their classes and native languages.

6. Conclusion

The current study aimed to disclose more on how students perceive English pronunciation in EFL context and to provide detailed information on Afghan EFL learners' perceptions about English pronunciation in terms of positivity, importance, difficulty, students' enthusiasm and learning strategies. It is concluded that Afghan EFL learners have a positive perception about their English pronunciation practices. In addition, they feel enthusiastic towards English pronunciation activities. However, they agree that acquiring proper English pronunciation is difficult for them. It is worth mentioning that EFL students perceive English pronunciation important for themselves. It was found that there were no statistical significant differences in the perceptions of Afghan EFL learners based on their age, gender, earlier experience of English pronunciation class and habit of listening to podcasts. In contrast, it was found that there were statistically significant differences in the perceptions of Afghan EFL learners based on their classes and native languages.

7. Implications and Recommendations

The research has a number of implications. EFL instructors should consider the difficulties of students regarding English pronunciation seriously and design learning activities that meet the needs of students. Since almost all EFL teachers in Afghanistan are nonnative speakers, it is recommended that pronunciation classes should be taught by those nonnative instructors who have attained higher level of accuracy and fluency in English. It is also suggested that instructors should employ more authentic pronunciation related practices in listening and speaking subjects. The English departments of Afghanistan universities should recommend the use of podcasts as an instrument of inputs and exposures to English pronunciation for their students more effectively and efficiently through its bodies. In addition, the implication for textbook designers is that they should incorporate more pronunciation improving activities in English course-books. Finally, curriculum developers must allocate more space for pronunciation related subjects, such as; listening, speaking, phonology and phonetics in the curriculums of English departments.

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Interplay of Teacher Talk and Student Talk Inside an EFL Classroom

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Abstract

EFL learning situates in a learning environment of an EFL classroom. Whenever EFL learners and EFL teachers work in a classroom environment, they practice input-output processing of target a language. Their mutual engagement and exchange lead students to involve in a communicative act that resembles communication in a real-life situation. This research paper assesses Classroom Talk (CT) and how it is connected with Teacher Talking Time (TTT) and Student Talking Time (STT). Observation, transcribing, and survey have been used as the research tools to collect the data. This research paper transcribes 4 listening-and- speaking classes of two groups of the students, surveys 7 EFL teachers and incorporates the researchers' own observation to investigate the interplay between students' talk and teacher's talk and evaluates classroom talk as a supportive tool (scaffold) to improve teaching and learning process in a foreign language classroom. The paper finds that classroom talk is a significant input to evaluate the classroom learning environment. How much language output students produce, what level of language proficiency they exhibit and how much it represents CLT features suggest pedagogical implication for scaffolding EFL learning in the classroom.

Keywords: teacher and student talk, types of student talk, communicative classroom talk, speaking environment of the classroom.

1: Introduction

TT and ST significantly contribute to the process of second language acquisition by creating an environment of English language use in a foreign language classroom where learners go through the language performance phase by producing target language in response to TT or independently. Classroom talk in the form of TT & ST is instrumental in an EFL setting where exposure to the use of the target language is limited (Forman, 2012). Students mainly get significant time to practice language only inside the classroom in communication between the teacher and students.

According to Zhang (2008), the quality of student learning is closely linked with the quality of classroom discourse and a teacher should motivate students to generate their questions and answers and to participate more and more in authentic speaking tasks. Therefore, it is important for EFL teachers to be aware of the role of TT and ST so they can fully utilize TT and ST as effective input and output and can support accordingly students' language learning in a real-life situation.

Nunan (1987) and Thornbury (1996) transcribed some language classes and analyzed features of TT into communicative and uncommunicative. Richard Cullen (1998) has questioned this classification as not considering typical classroom context and fulfillment of pedagogical purposes and suggested some other categories to analyze TT. This paper investigates students' contribution that is the immediate reason for modification in TT and works as a context setter in the classroom. ST is a scientific reality deeply rooted in the classroom talk which determines the amount and quality of TT, communicativeness of the classroom and fulfillment of pedagogical purpose.

This paper assesses classroom talking time and types of ST. The study finds that ST is the determiner as it guides EFL language teachers to modify TT and make it as communicative as possible in term of ST quality. It is because TT and ST occur in response to each other. Without ST, it is impossible to imagine the real classroom context and its relationship with outside classroom situation.

A teacher is the primary generator of comprehensible input in the target language and he is also responsible to assist students in understanding and interpreting the input in a meaningful context. Students are the acquirer of comprehensible input by processing the comprehensible input and communicating in a meaningful situation. (Richards & Rodgers, 1994)

There is a direct relationship between TT and ST and affects each other' quantity and quality. Plenty of work is done on quantitative and qualitative aspects of TT which include

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conflicting views on teacher talking time and TT's linguistic, functional and communicative aspects. There is hardly any work where ST is argued as a determiner to effective TT and classroom talk.

Harmer (2001) has stated that one of the roles of a teacher is to provide comprehensible input in the classroom. The teacher provides exposure to the language and it is expected that the teacher will provide language input that would be comprehensible to the students. Besides the awareness of a teacher with his comprehensibility, he should also be aware of students' level to understand so he can provide comprehensible input slightly higher from the level of students. (Harmer, 2001)

2: Rationale

The basic reason to assess TT and ST talk inside a classroom is to facilitate the use of English in English language classes at the College of Arts and Sciences at Al-Namas. English in Saudi Arabia is taught as EFL and it is restricted to official and formal use. Therefore, it is the demand of the course to make the classroom more communicative. The EFL classroom also follows the guidelines of the university. The learners are trained to fulfill the following aims and objectives of the university:

1. Preparing distinguished graduates who know fluent English to work in various government and private sectors.
2. Preparing students appropriately to be qualified to pursue post-graduate studies and scientific research in various areas of the English language.
3. Providing students with basic concepts, theories and modern trends of English language.
4. Enabling students to understand the culture of the English language and to take advantage of this knowledge to promote the values of cultural interaction.
5. Developing creative and critical thinking of students.
6. Training courses for all sectors of society and meeting the training needs of government agencies in the area of English language.

The paper assesses the contribution of ST in a communicative classroom talk basing its work following the line of Nunan (1987), Thornbury (1996) and Cullen (1998) and evaluates the contribution of ST as a determiner of TT in the classroom. This paper draws the attention of ELT teachers and scholars towards student's contribution as a resource for a communicative classroom talk.

Purpose of the Study

The paper aims to assess TTT and STT and how they jointly contribute to ST inside a classroom environment. Secondly, the research paper evaluates pedagogical value to promote real-life communication in the classroom. The research paper suggests that EFL teachers should raise their awareness not only about TT but also about ST.

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Research Questions

Using the English language for conducting instructions and learning activities in the classroom is itself a pedagogical tool. Its value increases when students use the target language to contribute and participate in learning activities. An EFL teacher can use this kind of resources to provide comprehensible inputs and to build a communicative environment in the classroom. It also provides EFL teachers with a tool to implement the lesson plan and exposure to the English language that enables learners to practise the language in a classroom context (Nunan, 1991). Many kinds of research have been conducted to analyze TT and its pedagogical role, but ST (Students' contribution in classroom talk) is an area of research that is very much neglected.

In this research paper, following research questions have been under investigation.

What is the amount of TTT and STT in the classroom?

1. Do students get enough time to speak in the classroom?
2. Do students contribute to classroom talk?
3. What kinds of student talks do students produce?
4. Is the student's contribution relevant and useful?
5. Does ST help in managing a communicative classroom?

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http://www.kku.edu.sa/KKU_Website/english/Faculties/Males/LanguagesTranslation/Departments/index.htm

3: Literature Review

Until comparatively recently, the amount of TTT was a serious concern among the researchers. High TTT was an indicator of ‘bad thing’ and maximum STT was considered as a sign of ‘good thing’. The argument behind this notion was, it causes “exclusion of participation from as many learners as possible” (Scrivener Jim: 2005, p. 84). Therefore, a teacher should speak as less as appropriate to the classroom situation and reduce his talk to the extent it is logical. He should encourage students to engage in meaningful talk because the extent of acquisition of a foreign language depends on maximum involvement in meaningful and communicative activities (Richards & Rodgers, 2004). It is found that in many cases, “TTT (teacher talking time) is the time when the learners are not doing very much and are not involved”, (Scrivener Jim 2005, p. 85).

This approach to increase STT and reduce TTT is firmly rooted in the changes during the 1960s which have seen the replacement of Situational Language Teaching in Britain and Audio-lingual method in the US with communicative language teaching (CLT) under the impact of criticism made by American linguist Noam Chomsky. According to CLT, language is a means of communication. The core of communication is meaning achieved by involving learners in a communicative act (rather than listening to explanation), using language through sharing information, negotiating meaning, and interacting in group and pair. CLT replaces teacher centeredness of an EFL classroom with learner centeredness and redefines the teacher’s role to analyze learners ‘needs, to facilitate and manage the learning process by generating students’ participation and contribution in the learning process. CLT required the reduction of TT and the increase of ST (Richards & Rodgers, 1994).

With the growth of classroom-oriented research, the interest of the scholars shifted to the analysis of teacher language. Recently many research studies have been conducted on TT. Nunan has stated that TT is very important for the organization of the classroom and for the processes of language acquisition. It helps a teacher to implement teaching plans inside a classroom and provide a source of comprehensible target language input which the learner is likely to receive (Nunan, 1991).

Now, it is accepted among the scholars that TT is equally important, and emphasis is given how effectively they are able to facilitate learning and promote communicative interaction in their classroom through different features of TT (R, 1998, July). Jim Scrivener has stated that the real problem is Unaware Teacher Talk (UTT); the kind of talk EFL teachers make with no very good purpose. It only offers rich language practice to EFL teachers rather than to students (Scrivener, (2012).

It is established that the ultimate goal of TT is to facilitate learning and promote communicative interaction in the classroom. It can be possible by providing Aware Teacher Talk

(ATT) and creating communicative ST. There are some serious questions causing differences of opinions among the scholars such as:

1. What is communicative classroom talk?
2. What elements are responsible to produce communicative classroom talk?
3. What is the criterion of judging classroom talk as communicative or uncommunicative?

Nunan (1987) and Thornbury (1996) analyzed communicative teacher talk and communicative classroom talk by applying the presence or absence of certain conditions such as referential questions, feedback on content, wait time, learner initiated interaction, replicating the classroom with the outside of the classroom situation. On the basis of the presence and absence of the above-mentioned features, a classroom is said to be communicative or uncommunicative.

Nunan (1987) characterized genuine communication as:

“Genuine communication is characterized by the uneven distribution of information, the negotiation of meaning, (through, for example, clarification, requests, and confirmation checks) topic nomination and negotiation by more than one speaker, the right of interlocutors to decide whether to contribute to an interaction or not. In other words, "in genuine communication, decisions, about who says what to whom and when is up for grabs" (Nunan 1987:137).

Nunan has transcribed and analyzed five communicative lessons in line with the features such as referential questions, feedback on content, wait time, learner initiated interaction, replicating the classroom with the outside of the classroom situation. During the examination of classroom patterns in those five communicative lessons, he found the interaction in these classes is not very communicative and there is very little genuine communication between teacher and students and between student and student (Nunan 1987). Thornbury (1996) also extended the same approach by raising trainees’ awareness about the degree of communicativeness in their classroom interaction in an in-service training project (Thornbury, 1996).

Nunan’s approach (Nunan, 1987) was based on replicating natural communication outside the classroom and expectation from foreign language classes to exhibit the same features. Richard Cullen argued Nunan’s approach as over-simplistic and unhelpful to EFL teachers since it attempts to characterize communicativeness only in terms of features of authentic communication which pertain outside the classroom and ignores the reality of the classroom context and the features which make for effective communication within that context (Cullen, 1998).

By analyzing a transcription of a lesson, Cullen (Cullen 1998) established that the classroom context is different from outside contexts. He explained how ‘communicative features’ like referential questions, content feedback, use of speech modification, works side by side with other features such as display questions, form-focused feedback, echoing of students’ response and sequences of predictable IRF in favor of an effective, interactive and communicative lesson (Cullen, 1998).

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Cullen (Cullen, 1998) questioned Nunan (1987)'s views on replicating the features of outside class inside the classroom. Replicating the features outside the classroom can be a part of communicative classroom talk and sometimes, it will not replicate. The classroom context is a specific context having its own features and it can work to transfer the basic communication skills from the classroom to outside of the classroom. William Littlewood has stated that the classroom is an artificial environment when the learner is supposed to be prepared for the real-life situation outside the classroom, but it is also a real social context in its own right where learners and teacher enter into an equally real social relationship with each other. The classroom is a context that prepares learners with useful language structures and communicative functions to operate them in other than classroom context. It is the same what happens in mother tongue where the learner acquires the basic communication skills in the close family context and transfer them in later life to a much wider range of social situation. ...The purpose of TT in a foreign language is to equip learners with the language needed for routine classroom affairs, in order to establish the foreign language as the medium for organizing and managing classroom affairs and activities (Littlewood, 1992).

Cullen (1998) showed through transcribing a lesson that features such as display questions, form-focused feedback, echoing, sequences of predictable and IRF are quite relevant in classroom talk and they contribute to the fulfillment of pedagogical purpose. He suggested six categories of teacher talk in the classroom:

1. questioning/eliciting
2. responding to students' contribution
3. presenting/explaining
4. organizing/giving instructions
5. evaluating/correcting
6. sociating /establishing and maintaining classroom rapport.

(Cullen, 1998)

Many researchers have conducted their studies on a variety of aspects of TT such as Nunan (1987) and Thornbury (1996), Cullen (1998), and Forman (2007). The major focus of the work has been TT and concerning aspects such as functional and linguistic forms and categories, communicativeness of TT and its bilingual form in an EFL classroom. It can be rightly said that more attention is paid to the study of TT and ST remained an ignored area of research.

In the context of a classroom, the immediate reason to grade or modify TT is ST and it is not possible for a teacher to know exactly what language students will use or what conditions will emerge in the classroom that may be a reason to grade or modify TT. Therefore, student's contribution should be considered as the most valuable asset in analyzing the communicativeness of the classroom and the impact of TT on students' learning. Student's contribution is a tool to determine the communicativeness and pedagogical performance of TT in the classroom environment.

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4: Methodology

4:1 Participants of the Study

The researcher selected two groups of students enrolled in level 3 and 2 in the Department of English at the College of Arts & Sciences in the University of Bisha at the Al-Namas campus. These groups consisted of 17-20 Saudi students ranging between 18 to 25 years of age. These students were from different parts of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. They have been studying in the same department for one and a half years. They had completed secondary school and enrolled in the College of Arts & Sciences at the University of Bisha for the English major program.

The researcher also surveyed a group of English language teachers in the Department of English at the College of Arts & Sciences at Al-Namas. 6 EFL teachers participated in the survey. These teachers were well-qualified to teach the English language. Six of them teachers had a master's degree in English language teaching while one teacher was a doctorate.

4.2 Data Collection

This research paper uses mixed methods of research design. The data is authentic and primarily collected from students at level 2 and 3 in the Department of English in the first semester of 2019-2020. Observation, transcribing and survey are used as the tools of research to collect data. Two classes, each of Listening & Speaking –Level 3 and Listening & Speaking – Level 2, are observed using a checklist which calculated TTT, STT, Silent Period (SP, i.e., wait time/the gap of silence between TT and ST) and AT (Activity Time, i.e., time allocated for activities and exercises). A listening & speaking class for level 3 was recorded using an MP3 sound recorder. The teacher and students' utterances were transcribed by using a software <http://transcribe.wreally.com/>. The data was analyzed into major kinds of ST. A survey was conducted among the EFL teachers. In this survey, they were asked about TTT, STT, the interrelationship between TT on ST.

These guidelines were taken into consideration while collecting data:

1. Permission from the Head of the Department and the Dean of the college had been taken in advance.
2. EFL teachers who were responsible for level 2 and level 3 were informed 2 hours before they are observed. They were informed precisely about the topic of the study, not about the format of the observation.
3. Students were not informed about being observed and being recorded for transcription.
4. The classes were carried in usual order without any change in the lesson plan, topic, or activities.
5. Calculation of TT & ST is done manually using a stopwatch. The result is approximate.

5: Result

Assessing Teacher Talking Time and Student Talking Time

The result consists of observation of two classes for listening and speaking of two levels: Level 2 and Level 3 that continued for 45 minutes. The researcher recorded the classroom interaction and calculated the given time to TTT, STT, Silent Period (SP: a time when teacher and students are silent.) and AT (Activity Time when the students are engaged in any learning activity).

Figure 1: BA in English, Listening & Speaking (Level 2)

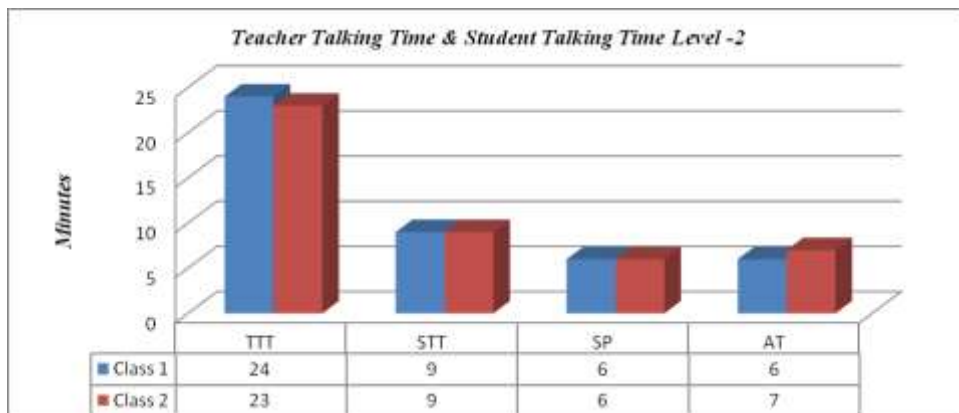


Figure 2: BA in English, Listening & Speaking (Level 3)

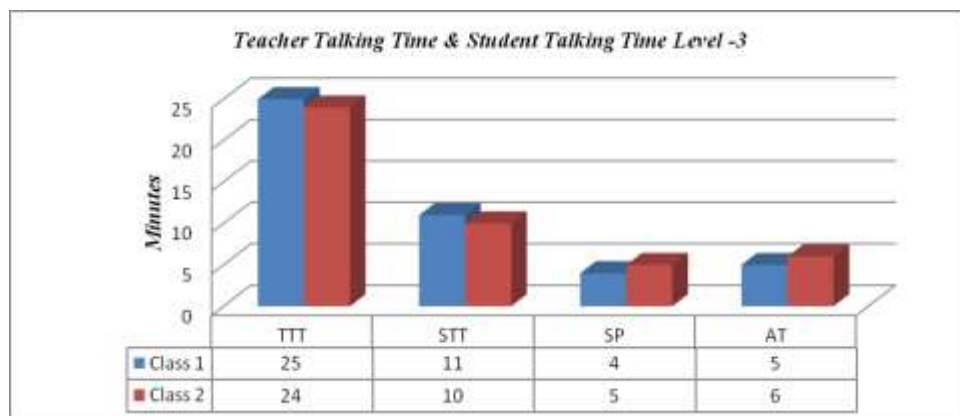


Table 1: Amount of TTT and STT and the percentage in the total class time

Classes	TTT	ST	SP	AT
Class 1 (Level 2)	24 (54%)	9 (20%)	6 (13%)	6 (13%)
Class 2 (Level 2)	23 (52%)	9 (20%)	6 (13%)	7 (15%)
Class 1 (Level 3)	25 (56%)	11(25%)	4 (8%)	5 (11%)
Class 2 (Level 3)	24 (53%)	10 (22%)	5 (11%)	6 (13%)

The result in figure 1 reveals that TTT is higher than ST in Listening & Speaking Class Level 2. In a 45-minute class, TTT takes 24 minutes in comparison to 9 minutes of STT in class 1 and 23 minutes against 9 minutes of STT in class 2. According to the table, the percentage of TTT in class 1 is 53% and STT is 20% while in class 2, TTT is 51% and STT is 20%.

The result in figure 2 shows that TTT is again higher than STT in Listening & Speaking Class (Level 3) but STT slightly rises from Listening & Speaking Class (Level 2). In a 45-minute class, TTT takes 25 minutes in comparison to 11 minutes of STT in class 1 and 24 minutes against 10 minutes of STT in class 2. According to Table 1, the percentage of TTT in class 1 is 55% and STT is 24% while in class 2, TTT is 53% and STT is 22%. Silent Period (SP) refers to the time given students as wait time or the students remain silent. Activity Time (AT) refers to activities in the classroom such as listening audio and completing exercises. SP and AT vary from 4 (8%) to 7 (15%) minutes.

From the observation and calculation of the four classes, following points are summarized:

- Teacher Talking Time was higher. It took more than 50% time of the total class time.
- Students spoke less time than teachers. They took speaking 20% to 24% time out of total class time.
- STT to each student will further reduce if it is divided among all the students (17-20).
- Students showed very little courage to speak or participate in a speaking activity.
- Listening to audio and exercises were based on the audio.
- Listening activities were preferred over speaking.
- Students lacked the required proficiency level of language to participate in classroom talk.
- Students preferred to use Arabic in ST.
- Discipline issues hampered the time limit for students.
- Explanation in TL was acceptable among the students, but pair work or group work is done in the mother tongue.

Assessing Types of Student Talk

Following are some types of ST in the classroom. They are two types. Category 1 is recognized during the observation of the classroom. Category 2 is found while the recording of the CT was transcribed. It consisted of the teachers and students' utterances in a listening & speaking class for level 3.

Category 1: Types of ST observed during classroom

1: Using Greetings/farewell

It is a regular and a common feature of classroom talk. In Saudi Arabia, most of the students use greetings and farewell in the Arabic language as 'Assalam Alaikum' at the beginning of the class and 'Shukaran' or 'Jaza Kumullah' at the end of the lecture. The researcher has also observed that some students translate their Arabic greetings and farewell into English. For example, they use greetings like 'Peace be upon you and farewell as 'any service'. Though it happens less, it is a classroom reality. Following is a piece of greeting exchanged between a teacher and his students.

Example:

T: Good Morning everybody!

Ss: Good Morning

T: How are you?

S: Alhamdolillah, fine.

T: Good.

2: Seeking information & clarifying confusion

Saudi students in graduation get the scholarship but it is mandatory for them to attend 75% of classes. Second, high grades help them other benefits in their educational career. An ESL /EFL teacher is required to keep them informed throughout the course and keep them updated with the detail of the examination. Queries about attendance and grades are very frequent. Sometimes students ask by themselves and sometimes students bring a student as a translator who mediates between the teacher and the student. It happens only when the teacher doesn't know Arabic or insists they speak in English. This kind of talk reflects the exchange of referential questions, negotiating meaning; decisions to take a turn, etc.

Example:

Duktoor (Teacher). My attendance, please.

I have an excuse for two days. I was sick. Mark me present.

3: Excusing

Some disciplinary problems like forgetting books, pens, using mobile in the class, sleeping in the class, being late for examination and assignment are very common. EFL teachers take various steps to curb them. There are many reasons and excuses given by the students. Students use typical expressions to compensate them.

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Example: Wallahe 'Malish' ...'I am sorry'...

4: Imitating teacher language

Sometimes, the relationship between a foreign teacher with foreign students in a foreign language classroom gets complex. This involves both of them in a forced environment to use the target language to exchange meaning and communication. This exchange includes imitating the most echoed words and sentences in TT inside the classroom and sometimes outside the classroom. During the observation, I found 'all right', ok, 'well done and fine are some words being imitated by the students for exchanging meaning and performing communication.

Category 2: Types of ST which are identified from transcription

1: Responding to questions

One way to generate ST is using display or referential questions. EFL teachers use pictures and videos to generate ST. In the following transcription, a teacher presented some pictures to elicit the topic from students. He used referential questions and display questions together and generated following example of ST:

Example 1:

T: Look at these pictures. ... what do you think?

S1: It's about science.

S1: It gives information about human life and animal life.

T: Ok anything else

S1: yes...about plants ...

2: Confirming

Sometimes students repeat the sentence used by the teacher or add some other words themselves. In this way, they produce ST to confirm things. In the following example in the transcription, the teacher asks the meaning of the word *cancer* in the target language. The student responds in his mother tongue. The teacher asks concept check questions to check their familiarity with the word. Students confirm by repeating the part of instruction:

Example:

T: What is cancer?

Ss: Sarataan...

T: What happens in this disease?

Ss: (Paused)

T: This is a dangerous disease or any simple disease.

Ss: very very dangerous.

3: Exemplifying

Exemplifying is one of the forms of ST in the class. Students respond in an example using words or phrases and avoid engaging in sentence-based explanation. It shows the disability

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of the students to engage in more communicative acts like explanation due to lack of confidence or language proficiency. Students find it easy to exemplify instead of producing long stretches of sentences. In the following example of transcription, the teacher asks about pain killer and their use. Students try to explain its meaning by giving examples related to medicine:

Example:

T: If you take this (...painkiller), what is the benefit? Why do we use it?

S1: Stomach Ache

T: Very good.

S2: Body Ache

S3: Headache

4: Describing

This is used in response to input provided by the teacher. It may be in the form of a single word, phrases or a long stretch of sentences. Describing things demand proficiency in the language. Students produce language confidently when they are given some input. At the beginning of a lesson, the teacher conducted an activity to generate background information for the listening activity. He showed them two pictures and asked them to describe what they see in the picture. This description by students helped the teacher in an exercise-related to sorting out vocabulary according to the topic and familiarizing them with the theme of listening. Following is an example of the transcription:

Example:

T: Now look at these two pictures carefully on page number 37.

Abdul Aziz, what do you see in picture number 1?

S1: Doctor and a sister, and some medicines.

(A student enters late in the class.)

T: Yes come in... Take your seat there. Ok.... and you.

S2: A doctor is checking the patient in the clinic.

5: Translating

The translation is the most common feature of ST in an EFL classroom. It should be retranslated into the target language to ensure the use of foreign language in the classroom. Records of classroom procedures show that students translate the concept and comprehension of difficult words and sentences in their mother tongue. It is not only because of hesitation but also because of lack of proficiency in their language. In several stages of the lesson, students translate the meaning of difficult words in their mother tongue and give an explanation in L1. In the following example, the teacher asks students about 'Concept of living things:

Example:

T: Do animals have life?

Ss: Yes

T: How do you know? S1: Harakah....

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T: Harakah.... means?

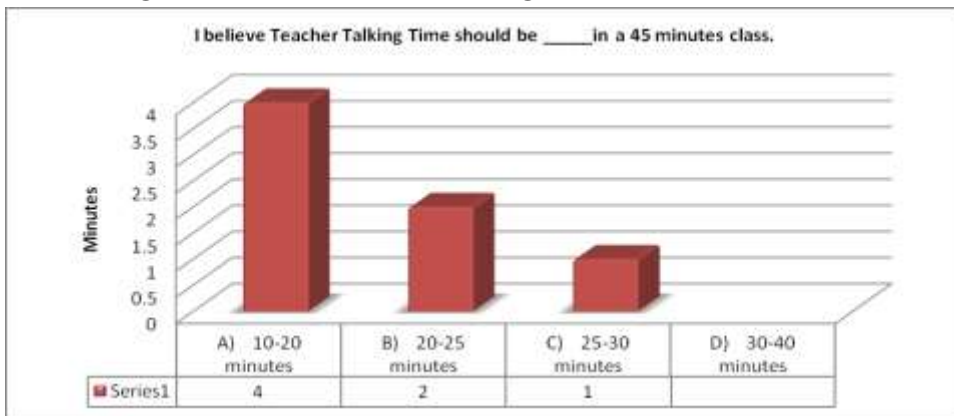
Ss: Moving.....move....Animals move....

Assessing Teacher's Responses

A survey was conducted for EFL teachers. Seven teachers participated in the survey. The survey consisted of the following five questions:

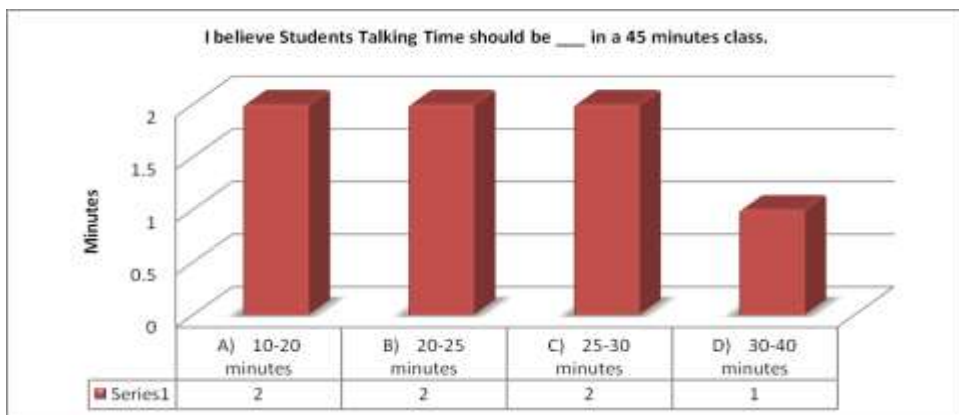
1. What should be the appropriate TTT in a 45 minutes classroom?
2. What should be the appropriate STT in a 45 minutes classroom?
3. Do the teachers listen to their students' response and decide the variety of TT in the context of students' responses?
4. Do the teachers modify their instructions in the classroom according to the level of proficiency and comprehension of the students?
5. Are the teachers satisfied with the participation and output of ST. in the classroom?

Figure 1: Ideal Teacher Talking Time:



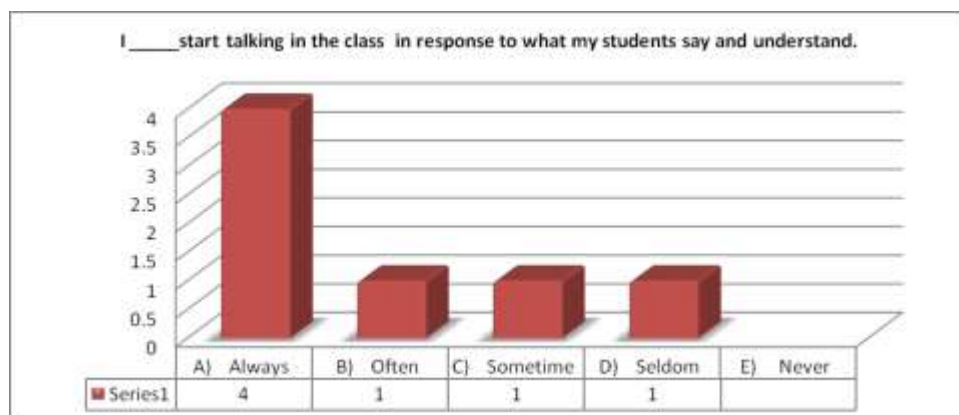
In response to TTT, out of 7 teachers, 4 teachers stated TTT should be in between 10 to 20 minutes in a 45 minutes class while 2 teachers responded it should be between 20 to 25 minutes and 1 teacher stated that it should be in between 25 to 30 minutes.

Figure 2: Ideal Student Talking Time:



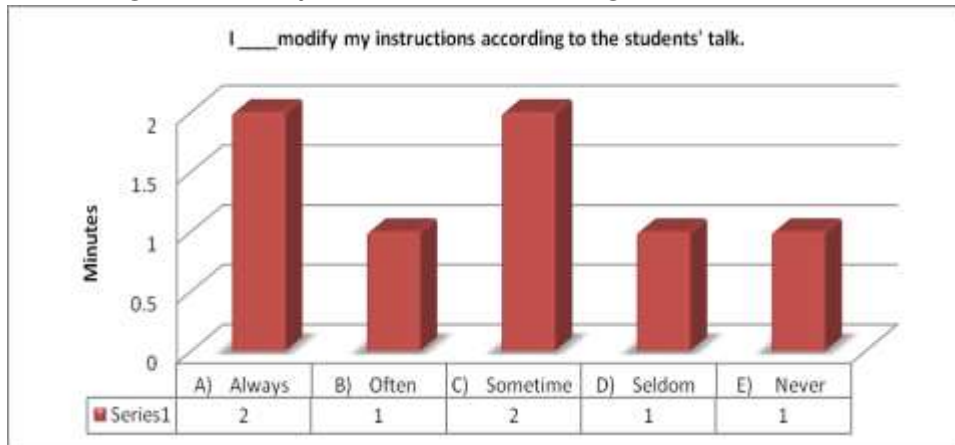
In response to STT, out of 7 teachers, 2 teachers stated STT should range between 10 to 20 minutes in a 45 minutes class, 2 teachers responded it should be between 20 to 25 minutes, 2 teachers said it should be between 25 to 30 minutes while 1 teacher said it should be between 30 to 40 minutes.

Figure 3: Consideration of ST in STT:



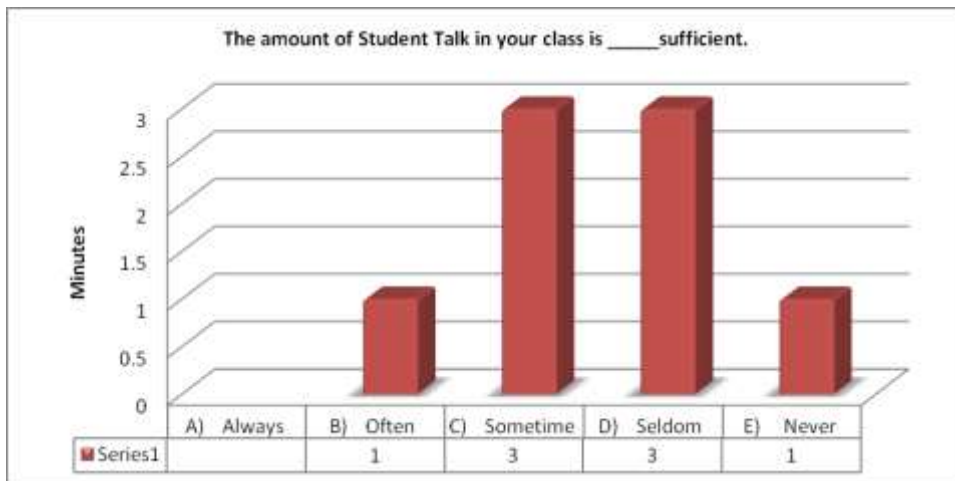
In response to teachers' attitudes towards the types of ST, 4 teachers out of 7 teachers stated they were extremely positive about ST in determining their TT. 1 teacher marked positive, 1 teacher marked somehow positive, and 1 teacher marked negative.

Figure 4: Modification in TT according to ST



In response to question about modification in TT, 5 teachers stated they consider ST in modification of their talk in the classroom. 2 teachers were extremely positive. 1 teacher was positive while 2 of them were somehow positive to ST. 2 teachers marked negative to consider ST in modifying ST. 1 teacher was extremely negative while another 1 teacher was negative.

Figure 5: Actual ST in the class:



In response to the question about having a sufficient amount of ST in their classrooms, one of the teachers marked positive and three marked somehow positive. 3 teachers marked negative and one of the teachers marked extremely negative. The major opinion of the teachers indicated that the amount of ST in the classroom was somehow negative or a little positive.

6: Discussions

From figures in 5.1, it is found that TTT is higher than STT in the Listening & Speaking class. The most striking point to be noted is it is in listening & speaking class where speaking is a part of the course. According to the nature of the course, ST is supposed to be higher than TT. In all the four classes selected for assessing TTT and STT, TTT has been above 50%. On the other hand, the findings of result 5.3 support the result of 5.1 i.e., TTT is higher than STT. It means TTT is not a considerable concern among English Language teachers.

During the observation, the author observed many problems such as lack of motivation, a mismatch between the required proficiency of language in the course and the current proficiency level of the students, lack of classroom discipline etc. But the most important is what Aljumah (2011) has mentioned:

This study investigates the problems of EFL/ESL university students' unwillingness to speak and take part in class discussions. Saudi students find it inappropriate to speak in class because of their fear to be seen as verbally challenging their teachers' views openly and publicly. Even when they do, they speak a little. This leads to frustration on the side of the teacher, in addition to the absence of any clear feedback from the students: whether they have/have not understood the lecture. (p.84)

In the above scenario, it becomes challenging for a teacher to maximize STT and create a genuine communicative and interactive classroom and a teacher revert to high TTT concentrate more on pedagogical purpose than creating communicative talk. In result 5.2, some common utterances were found during the observation and transcription of students' utterances. They were unable to perform advanced structure of language for debating, comparing and advocating a point of views. The result in 5.2 also reveals they were unable to speak continuously and fluently. It was not only because of hesitation but also because of limited vocabulary and awareness of the language system. In result 5.3, it was found that the amount of ST was somehow negative. The majority of the EFL teachers expressed their dissatisfaction with the participation and amount of ST in the classroom.

The only way to increase ST in the classroom is to recognize ST whatever be its form and types. The majority of the EFL teachers reinforced in their responses that students' contribution in the form of ST is very significant and it helps them to decide and grade complexity and amount of TT and modification in TT. During the observation, I found the success of communicativeness in the classroom is not only what Nunan (1987), Thornbury (1996) and Cullen (1998) said. It also includes incorporating potentialities of ST in classroom talk to increase ST systematically. Communication between TT and ST is unpredictable and unstructured. It varies from learners to learners. It is negotiable and unevenly distributed on the part of EFL teachers and students depending upon the quality and quantity of ST in classroom talk.' The determiner to decide the grade of TT, the use of its communicative features and fulfillment of pedagogical purpose depend upon the performance of ST.

For example, in the classroom, which was transcribed for the analysis, there are some noticeable situations on the part of ST such as replacing the answer of referential questions with short examples and yes and no answers, translating responses in L1, not utilizing wait time etc. In the context of this study, EFL teachers require to be very creative along with proficient in communicative and pedagogical features of classroom talk to enhance the amount of ST. EFL teachers can make ST a part of the assessment, they can conduct more role-play activities, oral exercises can be designed to assess listening task, and students can be provided rigorous conversational practice in using basic structures and high-frequency vocabulary. Research is needed into raising teacher's awareness with not only TT but also with ST and how ST can influence overall learning environment of the classroom.

7: Limitations

This study is based upon the particular context of the College of Arts & Sciences at Al-Namas and its findings are limited to the assessment of 2 levels of Saudi undergraduates. Findings may further be explored in other learning – teacher context. A large scale of study in different settings is required to further establish or explore the possibilities.

8: Conclusion and Implications

This study reinforced the role of ST in classroom talk. It established that awareness with ST along with TT is significant as it plays a key role in grading TT, utilizing communicative features of TT and fulfilling the pedagogical purpose of the course.

1. Teachers' awareness about TTT and STT should be increased and EFL teachers should be trained in delivering aware and useful teacher talk.
2. Teachers' awareness should be increased about ST and they should be trained in utilizing students' utterances to conduct communicative and effective classroom talk.
3. Student talk is the yardstick to measure the level of students' language and EFL teachers should utilize it to grade their language in the classroom and help students to produce better output.
4. A teacher should grade TT in correspondence to ST's proficiency, communicativeness and functions.
5. While there is a lack of motivation in students for participation in ST, EFL teachers should make ST a part of an assessment of the overall performance of students.
6. To maximize ST, a teacher can conduct more role-play activities, extempore, debate, discussion, and games such as 'find someone who...'.
7. Conducting activities such as role-play, extempore, debate, discussion, and games, a teacher should monitor and facilitate them in using the English language and prevent them from using their mother tongue.
8. In listening & speaking classes, a teacher can design oral exercises to assess listening comprehension and language acquisition.
9. The main problem of ST is the ability to product students are provided focused training in the use of basic structures and high-frequency vocabulary.

10. The teacher can enhance ST by interweaving chunks and sentences of a student with other students in the class-leading to a high amount of communicative ST.
11. Language institutions can record ST at the beginning of the session and at the end of the session to analyze improvement in the performance of ST besides the points of learning in the course.

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A Searing Comment on Caste Discrimination in Arundhati Roy's *The God of Small Things*

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Abstract

Arundhati Roy established herself as a post-colonial writer with the publication of her debut novel, *The God of Small Things*. She, like other post-colonial writers, tries to throw light on the cultural colonialism that prevails even after the colonial period. The minds of the Indian people are colonized in a most dangerous way and the decolonization of minds is one of the aims of the post-colonial writers. One of the worst results of post-colonialism is its influence on the upper classes in the colonial countries. The upper class people, in the earlier colonial countries, place themselves in the position of the colonizer and develop a 'big brotherly' attitude towards the lower classes and the weaker sections of the society. Women, untouchables and Dalits belong to the category of the 'other' and they are cut off from the mainstream of life. Roy becomes the post-colonial voice of the oppressed to speak out the various atrocities encountered by women and the Dalits.

Keywords: Arundhati Roy, *The God of Small Things*, Dalits, *Paravan*, hypocritical, Marginalization, Untouchability, Discrimination

Arundhati Roy established herself as a post-colonial writer with the publication of her debut novel *The God of Small Things*. She, like other post-colonial writers, tries to throw light on the cultural colonialism that prevails even after the colonial period. The minds of the Indian people are colonized in a most dangerous way and the decolonization of minds is one of the aims of the post-colonial writers. One of the worst results of post-colonialism is its influence on the upper classes in the colonial countries. The upper class people, in the earlier colonial countries, place themselves in the position of the colonizer and develop a 'big brotherly' attitude towards the lower classes and the weaker sections of the society. Women, Untouchables and Dalits belong to the category of the 'other' and they are cut off from the mainstream of life. Roy becomes the post-colonial voice of the oppressed to speak out the various atrocities encountered by women and the Dalits.

Arundhati calls a spade a spade in her inimitable characteristic way and she does not indulge in preaching, but merely holds, the mirror up to nature and reality in order to evoke powerfully, the image of the suffering class. The novel can be interpreted at several levels. It may be said that the novel is a satire on politics attacking specially the communist establishment in Kerala. It may be treated as a family saga narrating the story of four generations of a Syrian Christian family. It may also be treated as a novel having religious overtones. One may also call it a protest novel which is subversive and taboo breaking. It may also be treated as a love story with a tragic end. In terms of stylistic experimentation, it is the bold novel of the nineties.

Roy's fresh perspectives on an age old tradition, created waves as rebellion against the social injustice meted out both to the downtrodden and to the women. It is a feminist novel in the pity and terror it evokes for the condition of women in a particular cultural milieu, a political novel in its criticism of the hypocrisy of the communist party, an autobiographical novel in the way the facts of the author's life have been distilled into a verbal artifact and so on, a novel of Dalit consciousness as it deals with the ravages of caste system in south Indian state, Kerala portraying the miserable plight of the untouchables.

To quote Ranga Rao in his famous article:

The God of Small Things unravels as a psychological drama and reveals the social taboos, political situation, and gender discrimination that are all hidden underneath. Political affiliations, family honor, and caste system wreck havoc in the lives of the twins, their mother Ammu and others involved. It is also a story of broken marriages, love laws, disturbed childhood, and loss of innocence and how the immature decisions of adults ruin many lives for no fault of theirs. (Rao-13)

Set in 1969 and 1993 in a little village called Ayemenem, the narrative shifts back and forth around the death of the twins' cousin Sophie Mol. Estha and Rahel live with their divorced mother Ammu Ipe who escapes her ill-tempered husband and seeks refuge in her parents' house. Her brother Chacko, their blind grandmother Mammachi and the bitter aunt Baby Kochamma all contribute significantly to the many events that unfold throughout the novel. Told from the perspective of the two children, the novel centres around the drowning of their nine year old half-English cousin Sophie Mol, Ammu's love affair with a lower caste man named Velutha and its aftermath. Intertwined in the narrative is the satirical commentary on the social customs, politics, familial relationships, and gender discrimination in the Christian Syrian household. It also explores the many paradoxes that govern the lives of the people irrespective of their age or position.

The backdrop of the novel is set in the southern part of India, a town named Ayemenem in the Kerala state. In Kerala Syrian Christians make-up one third of the population, which is a

higher percentage of Christians compared to other states in India. They constitute the middle and high hierarchy of the Kerala society. Roy's relatives on her mother's side are of this ethnic group. Though Kerala is a progressive state, it is notorious for its exceptionally rigid caste system in which each caste occupies a fairly definite position. Roy ridiculed general Syrian Christians' hypocrisy and obviously showed more sympathy to those downtrodden untouchables. When Ammu returned with her two kids as a divorced woman, "Ammu finds herself amidst her family—all Syrian Christians lived like Brahmins with caste-phobia" (Dwivedi-56) Roy graphically presents the miserable and pathetic condition of untouchables when Mammachi was a girl.

Mammachi told Estha and Rahel that she could remember a time, in her girlhood, when Paravans were expected to crawl backwards with a broom, sweeping away their footprints so that Brahmins or Syrian Christians would not defile themselves by accidentally stepping into a Paravan's footprint... they had to put their hands over their mouths when they spoke, to divert their polluted breath away from those whom they addressed (TGST-73,74).

But at the time when Mammachi became older, still the condition was the same with slight changes. Roy says, "untouchables are not allowed to touch anything that touchables touched. Caste Hindus and Caste Christians." (73-74) There are two families in the novel, the Syrian Christian family which represents the upper caste mentality and the other family which belongs to *Paravan*, an untouchable community; a family that portrays Dalit life in our caste ridden society.

Velutha's grandfather Kelan was also one of the sufferers of castelessness. Along with a number of other untouchables, he embraces Christianity to escape the curse of untouchability. But, they, later on, found that they had done a blunder. Though they were given separate churches and separate priests and as a special favour they were even given their own separate pariah Bishop, but after 1947, they found they were not entitled to any government's benefits like job reservation nor bank loans at low interest. It is because they were Christians and so casteless. They were made to believe that once they become Christians, the caste-stigma would be rubbed off. Initially the Dalit Christians received a little money and food as an added incentive. But they were trapped under the new circumstances as they were not given the equal status. The direct entry of the untouchables into Christianity caused divisions among them and they lost all their benefits of being underprivileged. Roy says,

They were generally known as the Rice-Christians. It didn't take them to realize that they had jumped from the prying pan into the fire....It is a little like having to sweep away your footprints without a broom or worse, not being allowed to leave footprints at all (TGST-74).

The idea of untouchability is explored at two levels in the novel. Firstly, Paravans or socially untouchables who never possessed basic human rights and secondly, metaphoric untouchables in high castes where discrimination expresses itself in marginalizing women in their personal and public life.

Ammu in her own family was treated as a Dalit; her character reveals the condition of woman with a kind of modern thinking and rebellious thoughts in Syrian Christian family. One of the themes, which rings the note of *The God of Small Things*, is the truthful portrayal of the plight of the women in society and their marathon struggle for seeking the sense of identity in a male dominated conservative framework. The novel can be a fertile ground for feminist critics as it amply demonstrates that women did not merit much freedom in the family code of the Ayemenem house. The narrator portrays a vivid picture of the woman's childhood to adolescence, to the experience of marriage to a sympathetic and affectionate mother to a wife who challenges the age long hypocritical moral stand of a patriarchal family. As a little girl, Ammu had to face a lot of anxieties, fret and fever of life. She had seen the cruelty of her father, Pappachi who used to beat her and her mother, Mammachi with a brass-vase.

Once it so happened that Ammu's father tore a part of the shoes she had brought for herself. She was also deprived of higher education because, according to Pappachi, college education is not at all useful for a girl. This shows that Pappachi is a man of schizophrenia. He behaves like a decent man in public but demonstrates his male ego and bourgeois mentality when he tyrannizes his wife and child: "Not content with having beaten his wife and daughter, he tore down curtains, kicked furniture and smashed a table lamp". (TGST-181)

In this context, the observation of Betty Friedan is worth noting. In a male dominated society how a woman is identified in Indian families, Friedan says "The problem is always being the children's mommy or the minister's wife and never being myself." (Friedan Betty-73) The treatment meted out to a woman in a patriarchal society can be seen in the way Ammu got married. Ammu paid a visit to one of her relatives in Calcutta where at someone's wedding reception she met a man who was on vacation from his job whom she married later. He was an assistant manager of a tea estate in Assam. Ammu was in a hurry to marry him because she knew that in Ayemenem, people were quite dead against her wishes. The author observes:

"Ammu didn't pretend to be in love with him. She just weighed the odds and accepted. She thought that anything, anyone at all, would be better than returning to Ayemenem. She wrote to her parents informing them of her decision. They did not reply". (TGST-39)

How pity the condition of the teenage girl. It is the protection of the parents that guards teenagers, especially girls but here she was not interested to go to them. Many families are

broken because of the narrow mindedness and lack of love and affection for children. “Marriage is honorable in all” says the Bible. Much importance is given to the institution called marriage in one’s life but here Ammu’s marriage is like a nightmarish incident. When she wrote to her parents, they did not care to reply. Though it is being said that Ammu suffered a lot from the patriarchal dominances she suffered from both the parents. About the mentality of the members of the Ayemenem house Dwivedi commented: “The whole family of these Syrian Christians is totally conservative—almost blind to the new awakenings.” (Dwivedi-57)

Soon after the marriage, Ammu discovered that she had jumped out of the frying pan into the fire. Her husband was an alcoholic. He even went to the extent of asking her wife to satisfy the sexual desire of Mr. Hollick, his boss, so that his job could be secured. This extreme humiliation had become the last straw and she abandoned her despicable husband. In a scuffle she hit her husband with a heavy book and left the place for good with the twins Estha and Rahel.

There has been no love lost between Ammu and her parents. She received only a step motherly treatment from them. Chacko, the brother of Ammu, left for Britain for his studies; Ammu on the other hand, was not allowed to study further. Even today, in spite of a fundamental improvement in women’s stature, it is seen in the villages of India that the conservative and superstitious minds of a large number of people are against the higher education of girls.

Chacko failed in almost every other respect including his marriage with Margaret, an English woman who deserted him, yet he is in charge of the Ayemenem house and so he asserts his position whenever he can. He cynically tells his sister: “what’s yours is mine and what’s mine is also mine”. Why? Because ‘Ammu as a daughter had no claim to the property and she had no locus standi’ (TGST-57).

When Chacko flirts with low woman, he is encouraged by Mammachi in the name of “Man’s needs” (268) whereas the same behaviour of Ammu is termed as illicit, untraditional and sinful and she was locked in a room and punished. Her woman’s needs are ignored, when she tried to satisfy her needs, she was humiliated to an extent of her life being lost. Mammachi secretly gives money to the poor women who satisfy her son’s needs. “She secretly slipped them money to keep them happy. They took it because they needed it. They had young children and old parents or husbands who spent all their earnings in toddy bars.” (TGST-169) It is evident from these words that the condition of poor and Dalit women in our country is deplorable. It is how they are exploited by the rich upper caste people.

Roy does not shy away from giving her readers many instances of the pathetic conditions of untouchables even in a Christian community that was expected to rise above the differences in birth and caste. In spite of much advancement in technology and education, the grip hold of caste system has not loosened. Even though Velutha, the male protagonist of the novel is highly

skilled, he is not respected and, in fact, excluded from the society. The irrational belief of caste system has sadly ignored all his talents and hard work.

Untouchability surfaces in the novel as the major theme, especially in relation to upper caste Christian woman. The whole story of the novel with its kaleidoscopic incidents revolves around the main theme. Roy, as a strong supporter of the uplift of the untouchables, reminds the reader in this novel the position of the outcaste people and the cruel treatment meted out to them by the Touchables in our country even after many years of independence. Velutha (meaning white), an Untouchable is the real protagonist of the novel; Roy described him in the novel as the god of small things. Velutha's family consists of five members, his father Vellya Paapen, his mother, his brother Kuttapen, and his grandfather Kelan. The condition of Velutha's father was pitiable. He had thoroughly imbibed the spirit of the serfs of the old feudal society. He was a typical specimen of traditional untouchable class whose members always keep their heads bowed in humility in front of the members of higher caste. Vellya, like Lakha in *Untouchable*, a submissive older generation member whose body and soul strongly believe that the practice of untouchability by upper castes is right, justified, religious and natural. Therefore, he was a specimen of the untouchable class by being submissive, subdued, and calm. He never thought beyond the limits imposed on him by the existing social hierarchy. It was, in fact, the oppressive religious ideology from which Vellya was unable to get rid of. Vellya Paapen is an old world Dalit. He had seen the crawling backward days, the days when they were not allowed to cover their upper bodies or carry umbrellas, and when they had to cover their mouths whenever they spoke so that they would not pollute the air around those who they addressed. Vellya Paapen had profound gratitude to Mammachi and her family because they had given him so much—his land, his son's education; items in their hut, and Velutha's job, and, above all, his glass eye when he lost his own. He is an embodiment of centuries of submissive serfhood, and he never thought badly of the way he is treated.

The most important Dalit character in *The God of Small Things* is Velutha, an untouchable. Though he is a Paravan, a community ill-treated by upper caste people, and a community always looked down upon by caste Christians, he is multi-talented. He is an expert mechanic and artisan who can repair all the machines including radios, clocks, water pumps, etc. right within a short span of time.

It was Velutha who maintained the new canning machine and the automatic pineapple slicer, who oiled the water pump and the small diesel generator. Velutha who built the aluminum sheet-lined, easy to clean cutting surfaces, and the ground-level furnaces for boiling fruit ... (TGST-76)

Perhaps, this is why Mammachi employs him in her factory as a carpenter. Velutha is also seen taking part in political activity fighting for the cause of Marxism. He converted himself into the Christian religion to be free from the victimization of a casteist society. But the

conversion and his technical expertise, apart from many other good things, never bring any fruitful result in this cruel and caste-ridden society.

Obviously, a person with such extraordinary capabilities would be intelligent enough to realize his position in the caste-ridden society and Velutha is vaguely conscious of his latent talents and he harbours a wish for betterment, even it remains dormant most of the times. Velutha himself is a man of innocence and simplicity, *The God of Small Things, the God of Loss*. “he knows more about the machines in the factory than anyone else. Mammachi often said that “if only he had not been a paravan, he might have become an engineer.” (75) The words of Mammachi reveal that in India, which is a caste based society, caste is a serious impediment in the way of the development even of the skilled and talented outcastes. Unfortunately, Velutha’s caste had eclipsed all his talents. The furniture he made with his untouchable fingers, always decorated the grand houses of Touchables. He was a quick learner and seen as a multi-talented and highly skilled worker.

Although Dalits are skilled and talented, education is denied to them. By chance if some of them are educated they are humiliated and ill-treated by offering menial jobs or lower positions. They had to perform their ancestral jobs. The birth based social status was a very important factor for the livelihood of an individual. Through Velutha, a Dalit should know about the importance of education. Velutha’s father, Vellya paapen, was a Paravan, a toddy tapper, but Velutha is a carpenter which as a Dalit, is something that he is not supposed to be. Though untouchables were educated, they could not rise to the position they really deserved. Mammachi has given him a chance as a carpenter in *Paradise Pickles and Preserves* where he was rejected by touchable factory workers. It shows that Mammachi recognized his skill and dutiful nature but still she has the barrier of caste to allow him to enter her house because of his untouchable status. She had to satisfy the anger of upper caste employees by paying him lower wages than actually what he deserves because the touchable workers of the factory are so wild with casteism and think that “*Paravans* are not meant to be carpenters.” (TGST-77) So, in order to keep the workers happy, Mammachi pays Velutha a little less than the touchable workers.

In contrast to Velutha, Chacko can get away with his debauchery or his ‘man’s needs’ as his mother puts it because he is a ‘touchable’. The society presented in the novel is patriarchal. On one hand there is a group of characters, Mammachi, Baby Kochamma, and Kochu Maria the cook, who perpetuate the division of caste, race, and gender. On the other hand, Ammu and the twins, Rahel and Estha, consciously or unconsciously resist these hierarchies. Ammu, the biggest victim of the system, is an archetypal image of a daughter marginalized in a patriarchal society. “Perhaps Ammu, Estha and Rahel were the worst transgressors. They all broke the rules. They all crossed into forbidden territory. They all tampered with laws that lay down who should be loved and how much. A person is given a position based on his caste rather than his talent. In spite of all admirable virtues Velutha possess, he does not get proper respect and respectable treatment in society.

Vellya Paapen, the father of Velutha, is vehemently opposed to any type of education or advanced knowledge. He always grudges the craftsmanship and natural skills of Velutha. Further, Vellya quickly degenerates into nagging and bickering and consequently there is a sense of unpleasantness between father and son. Velutha, is quite opposite to his father in a number of qualities and in the novel he appears to be a foil to him. His freedom loving nature was not a desirable quality in an untouchable. It is, therefore, his father remained worried all the time about: “The way he held his head. The quiet way he offered suggestions without being asked. Or the quiet way in which he disregarded suggestions without appearing rebel” (76).

He (Vellya) thinks that such behaviour in a paravan ‘should be construed as insolence’ driven by this unnamed fear, he cautions Velutha and nags him continually. It is more the fear of the transgression of the caste lines than the love for moral uprightness that compels him to tell Mammachi about the illicit affair between Velutha and Ammu. (TGST-76)

Tragedy begins in Velutha’s life when he has come into contact with Ammu. As Amarnath Prasad says:

The tragedy begins to take its toll in the life of Velutha when he comes in contact with Ammu or rather say, when Ammu’s ‘troubled eyes and dimpled cheeks’ turn Velutha a transgressor as well as a victim into the secret heart of touchable woman and a miserable victim of its punishment in the police custody” (Amarnath-116)

The actual protagonist of the novel is Ammu. Since her childhood itself, Ammu had been a rebel. When her condition in the Ayemenem was pitiable she ventured to marry a Bengali, working as an Assistant Manager in a tea estate in Assam. It was her first attempt to break the social barrier by getting an inter caste and inter religious marriage. She married a Hindu which was against her own religion of Christianity. And, therefore, her parents did not reply to her letter. Now she loved a Christian—Velutha yet they disapprove of it on grounds of caste. Arundhati Roy satirizes this Syrian Christian family of Ayemenem house and points out that they possess everything except the spirit of true Christianity. Love is the basic principle of Christianity, but this sublime element of love is sadly lacking in the atmosphere of that house. Instead, hatred and jealousy reign supreme in that domesticity. Ammu could not enjoy her married life for long as she left her husband because of his unmanly, heinous character. This was, indeed, the last straw on Ammu’s back; in a fit of fury, she hit her husband and came back with her two children to her parents’ house at Ayemenem. Baby Kochamma, an orthodox old lady of Ayemenem, house, grandmother of the twins hatefully says: “A divorced daughter had no position anywhere at all” (175).

Ammu was attracted towards Velutha because of his skills and 'sudden smile'. She is also like a Dalit in the novel and was denied by all members of her family and relatives. As she was a divorcee, she, along with her two children in the Ayemenem house was treated like 'outcastes'. A victim of whimsical society, her life has been barren of love, affection and consolation since her own kith and kin have completely ignored or ill-treated her. They are sadly devoid of loving treatment by their own people. Against such a helpless, desolate condition Velutha makes his presence in their company. Velutha seems to be an oasis in the desert of Ammu and her two children's life. But the children were warned and cautioned about their behavior and attitude towards Velutha.

With Velutha they feel comfortable, without worrying about his caste. Velutha provides them a few moments of comfort and ease in the world which otherwise seems to be suffocating and hostile. They enjoy his presence as their minds were not polluted with the notion of untouchability; His affectionate and loving protection is a precious possession of the children. The friendly reactions of the twins and Velutha had brought Ammu nearer to him. His healthy and muscular body has exercised an irresistible fascination on Ammu. Thus, the sprouting of love in Ammu's bosom was very natural. Both of them have forgotten the ban "who should be loved, and how and how much." (31) She saw him growing from a boy to a man but never felt any passion of love for him. It is because she also looked at him with tradition-ridden eyes and treated him an untouchable in a very natural way. But now, she is at the heyday of her youth, she has been instinctively drawn towards him. The simple untouchable Velutha's natural love for the children and the children's innocent attachment to this young man is quite natural and spontaneous. The element of untouchability is man-made and as such, is against the law of nature. For the first time, she notices man-like qualities of Velutha and thinks that "She had gifts to give him too" ultimately two abandoned souls meet in a deserted house of Kari Saipu on the other side of the river. His love on the children may be one of the reasons that provoke Ammu to break the love laws.

Eventually, the secret love affair is discovered. It is at the height of irony that the illicit love affair between Ammu and Velutha has been discovered by none other than Vellya, his father. As Vellya Paapen is a man of submissive generation, a staunch follower of the tradition, he thinks that the relation between a Dalit man and an upper caste woman is a crime and he was ashamed of his son's shameful conduct. "Vellya Pappen told Mammachi what he had seen. He asked God's forgiveness for having spawned a monster. He offered to kill his son with his own bare hands. To destroy what he had created." (TGST-78) Vellya is devoid of human dignity, self-respect and consciousness of human rights; their relation stirs him as "they had made the unthinkable thinkable and impossible really happen" (256). He has a typical mind set of a serf in a feudalistic society.

Whenever an Untouchable is accused of any crime, the Touchables become united to remove him forever. In this novel one sees the unity of the Touchables, the policemen, Marxist

KNM Pillai and the members of Ayemenem house, workers of the pickle factory, even the innocent twins. Baby Kochamma considers herself to be a devout Christian and looks down upon others. She does not even like her grandnephew and niece Rahel and Estha, because they are half-Hindu hybrids who, she thinks that no self-respecting Syrian Christian could marry. She is the real villain of the piece, although she thinks she is a pious woman, her actions greatly differ from what the church or Christianity preaches. Kochamma is the best example of the sanctimonious humbug. Her reactions, after having known the love affair, are quite natural and truly represent the established hierarchical order of the society. She betrays Velutha to save her family reputation. In the whirlwinds of circumstances, he is proved to be a man who has committed a crime. As a helpless untouchable, Velutha, who is guilty of an adulterous affair with a high caste Syrian woman Ammu, has falsely been charged with fabricated accusations by Kochamma. She is hell bent on taking revenge on Velutha, who she believes, has damaged forever, the reputation of her family. Ammu on the other hand is locked in her room because “she had defiled generations of breeding and brought the family to its knees. For generations to come, forever now, people would point at them at weddings and funerals at baptism and birthday parties” (TGST-258).

Alex Tickell remarks,

The God of Small Things is a book where you can connect the very smallest things to the very biggest. Therefore, the chain of connections delineates the multi-layered pattern of big and small in the novel, originating from the very title which challenges the tyranny of big things and enunciates creative potential of dissent” (Tickell-10).

Velutha is a Dalit who is socially discarded, politically neglected and physically tortured. His mistake is only that he wants to rise above the established social tradition and convention. Arundhati Roy wants to project the idea as to how the basic human rights are being trampled upon and an atmosphere of disillusionment is created in the society. Although Velutha is a card-holding member, he is denied all his rights. The Communist Party, seemingly revolutionary, no longer made any revolutions and were unable to deal with the complex social and political changes. The communist party is unable to bring any significant change in the deep-rooted caste system of Kerala. Comrade Pillai was a hypocrite to the hilt. He was the symbol of all political parties led by upper caste leaders who deceive Dalits by pretending that they are working for the welfare and uplift of the Dalits. Pillai’s speech betrays how dangerous he is. There is an unbridgeable gulf between what he says and what he does: “people of the world... be courageous, dare to fight, deny difficulties and advance upon ... you must demand what is rightfully yours” (120). He asks his comrades to fight but when time comes, he doesn’t support the comrade who is struggling. Through the characters of Chacko and Comrade Pillai, the author exposes the ambivalence in their motives and goals. She critiques the dual face of communism in

Kerala and attacks the role of leaders who are supposed to strive towards a classless society but they fail to.

Roy highlights that the caste system is deeply rooted even among the Marxists. Comrade Pillai who gives long speeches about the rights of the untouchable remarks: “He may be very well okay as a person. But other workers are not happy with him. Already they are coming to me with complaints. You see comrade, from local standpoint, these caste issues are very deep-rooted.” (TGST-278) Pillai’s double standards are also seen when despite his slogans of ‘Caste is class’, he deliberately distances himself from Velutha in order to maintain the support of Chacko’s other workers who dislike working with a Paravan. Chacko himself appears to be an armchair Communist with no real understanding of the politics that surround him. Even though Pillai is aware that Velutha is innocent, he does not support him because he does not want to incur the wrath of the higher class. In fact, Velutha becomes Comrade Pillai’s accessory when he wants to contest in the Assembly. He never helps Velutha when he seeks the protection of the party nor does he reveal of Velutha’s visit to his house on the night of Sophie Mol’s death. He uses Velutha’s misfortune for his private gains.

Velutha is betrayed by everyone, including his master, mistress, leader and even his colleagues. Even his own father betrays him. Velutha is representative of the downtrodden masses who are merely puppets and vote banks of the politicians. Roy’s searing insight, though controversial, does not deter from revealing her mind about the things as she sees them.

The police inspector, a representative of higher caste is also against Velutha after seeing the illicit relation between Ammu and him. His attempt to get the statement of the children changed to save the reputation of Baby Kochamma clearly reveals that his purpose is not to trace the truth rather it is to protect touchables at the cost of an untouchable’s life. The harsh treatment of police is quite common if an untouchable is accused. Policemen found Velutha at the deserted house where Rahel and Estha passed their night, ignorant of his presence; but the event has been further aggravated by the false comments of people. Arundhati Roy has presented a heart rendering description of the pitiable plight of Velutha:

Blood spilled from his skull like a secret. His face was swollen, and his head looked like a pumpkin, too large and heavy for the slender stem it grew from a pumpkin with a monstrous upside down smile. Police boots stepped back from the rim of a pool of urine spreading from him, the bright bare electric bulb reflected it. (TGST-319,320)

For the sake of social prestige, Velutha is somehow trapped in the net prepared by the society, police and the so called custodians of religion. Though Velutha is indispensable to Kochamma’s family and does a lot of work for their well being, when it comes to their family

pride and prestige, he is pitiably left to his own tragic fate. Wrong statements were fabricated in police station against him. It reveals the fact that the rampant prejudices against the members of the low caste compel the higher caste people to adopt such heinous methods. In the words of M. Adhikari, “In Velutha’s case, it is caste discrimination that makes him powerless and not his gender. His greatest crime is that while being a Karna, he has dreamt of Draupadi.” (Adhikari-141)

The reason why Velutha got beaten, in the first place, is because of the lies of the upper castes; he lacks support from his father or his friends in the Marxist party, and partial views of the policemen. The wrong that the Dalit has done is to love an upper caste woman who too loves him. Velutha is a Dalit; he is helpless and does not have any support and therefore, he is accused of rape and murder. No prosecution, no trial, no judgment in the cases where Dalits are accused. But in some cases where Dalits are ostracized, murdered brutally, massacred yet the judgment favours the upper caste only.

Lakshmi Parasuram observes:

Velutha’s place in history was predetermined. He was not expected to see many things that were out of bounds for him obscured by history’s blinkers... But one day changed the whole course of his life; he was caught in the noose of his history with a suddenness, which the big brought upon the small. (Parasuram 102-103)

When he dares touch a woman from higher caste, whole of the world gets topsy turvy. If Ammu is raped or seduced by a non-Dalit, the story would be different. Actually, if Ammu along with her children gets love and affection from the members of Ayemenem house, she would not have thought of Velutha. Her woman needs on the contrary to the ‘Man’s needs’ of Chacko is pointed out. The victims of ‘Man’s needs’ of Chacko were lower caste women only. Velutha’s untouchability is such a blot for him that his human qualities appear to be insignificant in comparison to his caste identity. This injustice is perpetrated by a group of characters who are themselves the victims of injustice. Mammachi, Ammu’s mother, who endured her husband’s abusive attitude, ignores Chacko’s sexual exploitation of the female workers, but she cannot tolerate her daughter’s love affair with a *Paravan*. Baby Kochamma, the defender of the system, would go to any limit to save the so-called family honour. The novel shows the process of creating and labeling *Paravans* within the high class families—the people who go beyond the unwritten laws of society in pursuit of happiness.

Roy presents a pessimistic picture of society that bristles with the rude realities that vex anyone with an iota of right thinking; with the death of Velutha, the last ray of justice extinguishes. He is accused of kidnapping the twins, and Estha falsely confirms it. Estha

becomes a silent creature. Her incomprehensible ‘Yes’ served to prove an innocent man guilty. Roy expresses her disillusionment with the social conditions of the postcolonial world in which the untouchables of the past still face a hostile society that does not let them live as free and independent individuals. Velutha, the god of small things, the outcaste, can never co-exist peacefully with the “touchable” communities, for as long as, the stigma of untouchability is attached to him and countless others like him. Ammu, another ‘untouchable’ within the ‘touchable’ cannot pursue happiness as things stand; she has been made an untouchable by accepting an untouchable, Velutha as her paramour. After such barbaric treatment, Velutha dies during the night. He is invisible and his death “left no footprints in sand, no ripples in water. No images in mirrors.” (TGST-265) His body is discarded in a pit and Ammu is left behind to feel remorse and later she too dies a lonely ignominious death at the ‘viable die-able’ age of 31. Both of them suffer terribly for transgressing the love laws that were written for them. It is not only Ammu and Velutha who suffer due to the society’s irrational laws but even the twins Rahel and Estha are caught in the complex web of caste and politics. Even though Velutha offers companionship and love, something that was denied to Ammu, Rahel, and Estha, he is punished brutally. Twinkle B. Manavar aptly opines, “Velutha stands as a very tall figure in the novel. It was his desire to ‘relive’ as a touchable which resulted in the tragedy.” (Manvar-26)

The death of Velutha extinguishes all the rays of hope in the lives of Ammu and her children. Roy’s attack on the untouchable-touchable relationships sheds light on the mindless and irrational rigid laws that oppress and suppress people just on the basis of their birth. Readers are left wondering if the caste system will ever truly be abolished and how many nameless Veluthas will it take to realize that we are humans first, irrespective of our caste and culture.

Even after sixty years of Independence, the Indian society is not free from discrimination on the basis of caste, culture, gender and politics. *God of Small Things* is a searing commentary on the caste problems faced by the untouchables in an enlightened society. It explores the role of politics and politicians and its effect on the common men. The novel closes with the gap between the untouchables and the touchable, those who are exploited and those who exploit them, the powerful and the powerless.

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English as a *Lingua-Franca*: A Conflict between Global and Other Languages of Kuwait

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Abstract

Present work is based on language use and language preference between the global and local languages of Kuwait and about the role of English and, the negligible and marginal role of other languages which are spoken in the State of Kuwait by the citizens and expatriates from different countries. The researchers have collected the survey data and did the analysis of English and its impact on Arabic and other languages. The analysis focused on the usage of Arabic language and other languages with English language in different contexts and situations. The survey data has been collected from three different settings in Kuwait – an academic institute imparting engineering education, a commercial establishment housing life-style services, and a kinder-garden play school. These establishments are Kuwait College of Science and Technology, Ayuryoga Club and Kriselle Nursery. The study is carried out by questionnaire technique and interview conducted. After the data collection in the field, Researchers have analyzed the data in the form of tables and charts.

Introduction

The present study has drawn data from more than one hundred respondents living in and around Kuwait City for the survey questionnaire work and around 50 respondents for interview.

The data has been collected through a combination of techniques, with the help of tape recorder and field diary. These techniques include:

1. Questionnaire
2. Serving a text,
3. Reading of word list,

4. Interviews,
5. Anonymous observations on the field diary.

While the preliminary calculation of correlation was made on the basis of text and words list production by the respondents, the investigators heavily used their anonymous observations to authenticate the calculations and analysis. For achieving this, the investigators had to participate in religious addresses, speeches by learned people, academic lectures, and daily life encounters, etc. This was also complimented by the observation of such speakers in totally or relatively informal situations, e.g., when speakers are in rash, emotional or friendly moods. The investigators tried to observe all types of speakers including students, scholars, and office-goers and for more authentic data to the laborers, clerks, shopkeepers, etc. at as many places as they could. Radio/Television news and other programmes were also referred to make comparisons between the speech of elite and non-elite class, urban and rural and formal and informal contexts.

The Survey Questionnaire was designed and structured to collect the most basic and general information about the speakers. The purpose of Survey Questionnaire was to clarify the respondents in terms of the social background in which they are living. This enabled the investigators to put various respondents into particular social classes.

A field Dairy was maintained throughout the study to systematically record the observations during the data collection. It is found that usually, there is no concordance between the actual uses of language and the attitudes towards one's usage. One speaker who produces and claims to use a particular form, starts using different form with a slight change in the social setting.

Keywords: Braj Kachru's Three Circle Model of World Englishes, Kuwait Diaspora, English and other languages, Aims of Study, Data Collection, Data Presentation, Data Findings.

1. Braj Kachru's Three Circle Model of World Englishes: A Review

The Three-circle Model of World Englishes was developed by Kachru in 1985 and it remains one of the most influential models for grouping the varieties of English in the world (Mollin, 2006, p.41). Kachru (1985) described the spread of English in terms of three concentric circles: the Inner Circle, the Outer Circle and the Expanding Circle. These circles represent "the type of spread, the patterns of acquisition and the functional domains in which English is used across cultures and languages" (Kachru, 1985, p.12). Although Kachru's three-circle of English is still an important initial steppingstone for the division of Englishes, drawbacks and variations have been identified by several authors, including Kachru himself (Yoneoka, 2002).

In the Kachru's Three-circle Model, the Inner Circle Kachru's model refers to the traditional bases of English, dominated by the mother-tongue varieties, where English acts as a first language (White, 1997). The countries involved in the Inner Circle include the USA, the UK, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. The varieties of English used here are said to be 'norm providing'. The Outer Circle consists of the earlier phases of the spread of English in non-native settings, where the language has become part of a country's chief institutions and plays an important 'second language' role in a multilingual setting (Rajadurai, 2005). Most of the countries included in the

Outer Circle are former colonies of the UK or the USA, such as Malaysia, Singapore, India, Ghana, Kenya, and others (Rajadurai, 2005). The English used in the outer circle is considered as 'norm-developing'. The Expanding Circle refers to the territories where English is learnt as a foreign language. The territories do not have a history of colonization by members of the Inner Circle and institutional or social role. English is taught as a 'foreign' language as the most useful vehicle of international communication (White, 1997). The countries in the Expanding Circle include China, Japan, Greece and Poland (Crystal, 1997). The English used in the Expanding Circle is regarded as 'norm dependent'.

The Kachru's model is in a dynamic nature. According to Kachru (1985), dividing English speakers into Inner, Outer and Expanding circles is preferable to the traditional native, ESL and EFL labels which involve the dichotomy between native and nonnative speakers (Rajadurai, 2005). English native speakers are visually not privileged since they are not placed at the top of the Three-circle Model. However, the model is not sufficiently dynamic to reflect the reality of English use in the world. It still prefers the English native speakers in the inner circle. The limitations of the model will be discussed in the following.

According to Patil (2006), the model assumes that the three circles represent linguistic reality perfectly. Kachru (1985) himself has noted that the concentric circles may be oversimplified, and fuzzy areas exist. Some special cases like South Africa and Jamaica are difficult to be classified. As Kachru himself has acknowledged, the fact is that the categories are not necessarily mutually exclusive and grey areas exist between the circles (Rajadurai, 2005). Apart from the fuzzy classification between circles, Tripathi (1998) points out that there are no mechanisms to differentiate varieties within a circle. Therefore, Crystal (1997) suggests not defining the boundaries of Kachru's concentric circles in such absolute terms.

Kachru's model describes the Inner Circle, Outer Circle and Expanding Circle as 'norm-providing', 'norm-developing' and 'norm-dependent'. However, Crystal (1995) comments that the model cannot represent the reality of international English use because the reality is often not so clear-cut. Crystal wonders it is difficult to distinguish whether the Outer Circle looks to Inner Circle norms or it creates its own norms. Norm development is also possible in the Expanding Circle.

In the Kachru's model, the Expanding Circle refers to the territories where English is learnt as a foreign language. However, because of the growth of English, the language has become a necessity in today's world; English is not only learnt in the expanding circle, or even mostly, to enable communication with the Inner and Outer Circles (Patil, 2006). The importance of English is keep increasing in the world, especially in the Expanding Circle. As a result, learning English can no longer be seen as learning a foreign language in the traditional sense (Patil, 2006). Graddol (2006) has even argued that knowing English has become a basic skill in the global world. Nunan shares the same feeling with Graddol that knowing English makes more sense than simply "learning English" for EFL or ESL (Robertson, 2005).

The functions of English are highly restricted in the Expanding Circle which cannot reflect the actual use of English. Englishes in the Expanding Circle are seen as far removed from the Inner Circle core and marginalized. As the description of the Expanding Circle mentioned in Kachru (1992), "The performance varieties of English have a highly restricted functional range in specific contexts; for example, those of tourism, commerce, and other international transactions". In fact, the range of English use in the Expanding Circle has become much wider due to the increasing growth of English. "There is much more use of English nowadays in some countries of the expanding circle, where it is 'only' a foreign language ..., than in some of the countries where it has traditionally held a special place" (Crystal, 1997, p. 56). For example, although Egyptian English is classified in the Expanding Circle, "there are a number of Egyptian contexts, such as medicine, higher education, the sciences, or in tourism, which extend limbs into the Outer circle as well." (Yoneoka, 2002). The above example shows that the functions of Expanding Circle English today are not as restricted as Kachru mentioned. It can be observed that there is a merging of the Outer and Expanding Circles.

The Three-circle Model implies that the Outer Circle cannot merge into the Inner Circle (Patil, 2006). However, sometimes it is difficult to define which one owns English as the first language and which one knows English as a second language. "There are several countries where population movement, language loss, divergent language attitudes, and massive shifts in language use have made it difficult to answer the question: "What is your first language?"(Crystal, 1995, p. 363). Therefore, not only the classification between the Outer and Expanding Circles, that between Inner Circle and Outer Circles can also be tough.

Some researchers suggest that Kachru's Three-circle Model should not base the classification of English speakers on national identity. National identity should not be a basis of classification of speakers of an international language. The more English becomes an international language, the more the division of its speakers into 'native' and 'non-native' becomes inconsistent. Refer to this problem; Rajadurai (2005) has presented a different Three-Circle Model: "While acknowledging the fuzzy distinctions between circles, in principle, the inner circle could comprise all users who are proficient in English and able to instinctively code switch between international and national or regional varieties to communicate in the most appropriate way. The second circle could consist of speakers who are proficient only in regional varieties, i.e., native and nonnative speakers with restricted international proficiency, while the outer circle could be made up of learners of the language."

Although English native speakers visually do not have higher hierarchy since they are not placed at the top of the Three-circle Model, it still prefers the English native speakers in the inner circle. As Burt (2005) comments, the Inner Circle clearly establishes at the top of the hierarchy. The idea that English is someone's second language implies that it is someone else's first language. It gives the impression that English belongs to the native speaker who owns it as his first language. Kachru has acknowledged that "it is almost unavoidable that anyone would take 'second' as less worthy" (Kachru and Nelson, 1996, p.79). In order to ease the problem, Yano (2001, p.122-123)

has suggested that the ENL and ESL circles can merge into a single ENL circle with two sets of varieties: genetic and functional ENL.

To conclude, Kachru's Three-Circle model has limitations to reflect the reality of English use. The model is oversimplified and the classification among the three circles is fuzzy. In fact, the three varieties are mutually inclusive and grey areas exist. Due to the rapid growth of English, English status has increased in the Expanding Circle. English is not only learnt but more widely used in different settings. The classification between the Outer Circle and the Expanding Circle becomes difficult. Therefore, the Three-circle Model should be modified to a more dynamic one to represent the actual use of English. Instead of categorizing the English speakers based on national identity, the revised model can be classified in terms of the English proficiency in international and regional varieties. More research related to World Englishes should also be conducted in the future to meet the rapid growth of English.

2. English in Kuwait: A Review

State of Kuwait is a country in Western Asia, situated in the northern edge of Eastern Arabia at the tip of the Persian Gulf. It shares borders with Iraq and Saudi Arabia. As of 2016, Kuwait has a population of 4.2 million people; 1.3 million are Kuwaitis and 2.9 million are expatriates. Expatriates account for 70% of the population. (data from Public Authority for Civil Information, 2016). Nearly 98% of the population in Kuwait is urbanized, and about 83% of the total population resides in the capital, Kuwait City. The country also has an urbanization rate of 2.1% per year, so the number of rural people will slowly dwindle over the next decade. 25.32% of Kuwait's population is under the age of 15; 15.21% are between the age of 15 and 24; 52.32% are between 25 and 54; 4.82% are between 55 and 64 and just 2.33% of the population is 65 and older. The median age in Kuwait is currently 29 years. The population pyramid of Kuwait shows an unbalanced structure for working-age groups due to high immigration rates and a large reliance on foreign labor. (Source: Website)

Kuwait's official language is Modern Standard Arabic, but its everyday usage is limited to journalism and education. Kuwaiti Arabic is the variant of Arabic used in everyday life. English is widely understood and often used as a business language. Beside English, French is taught as a third language for the students of the humanities at schools. Kuwaiti Arabic is a variant of Gulf Arabic, sharing similarities with the dialects of neighboring coastal areas in Eastern Arabia. Due to immigration during its early history as well as trade, Kuwaiti Arabic borrowed words from Persian, Indian, Turkish, English, and Italian. (data from Public Authority for Civil Information, 2016)

Languages spoken by the expatriates are Hindi, Urdu, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Kannada, Oriya, Nepali, Bangladeshi, Sri-Lankan, Persian, Philippines' language Tagalog, Indonesian language, Malaysian language and a little bit of Greek, French, Russian, etc.

In the Arab world, English is having substantial effects on the region's educational systems, language policies and patterns of language use. Having realized the importance of English in all domains of life, Arab countries have encouraged the acquisition of English by their people. Most

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Arab countries have introduced English as a main subject in the school curriculum. In most government and private sectors, most business organizations ask for proof of English proficiency before hiring people for employment. (Dashti 2015)

3. Impact of Globalization: English as a *Lingua-Franca*

The relativized and pluralized western culture further evokes a perception of ‘the West’ as being tolerant and ‘the Rest’ as intolerant and fundamentally dogmatic. It is good that there is change but the change is not rapid enough to transform the society into an affluent but socially unstable one like that of the western world, which is now becoming the model for our people. As years and decades pass by, the future historian might well compliment Kuwait for the evolutionary manner by which the social change was brought about.

“The ideology of science, new information technologies, international media and communication and the growth of world capitalism, economy and globalization have contributed to the hegemony of English in the education system of a country. Furthermore, the hegemony of English has been strengthened by the internal language conflicts, politics of language and language planning discourse, and lack of proper implementation of language policy.” (Dua: 2001: 47)

Though English is spreading as a universal language of science, it cannot be denied that some developed languages like German, French, Russian, Japanese, etc., have a strong tradition of scientific research and are extremely rich in literature in some needs of scientific studies. Thus, most developing countries that rely exclusively on English sources of scientific literature are deprived of scientific knowledge being generated in other languages and scientific communities (Dua: 2001: 113). The most significant question that emerges in relation to the scientific community in India concerns the problem of language use in scientific education, scientific publication and scientific communication that shows the dominance of English and the marginal or negligible role of other Languages. But the monograph brings out the need to develop a new language planning paradigm based on an integrated policy of science, language, and economy. It urges the speakers to build alternative futures for themselves as well as for their languages. The monograph provides insight and commitment for the accomplishment of the renaissance of languages, cultures, and sciences for the realization of different futures and traditions of science (Dua: 2001: Coverpage).

"... the case of English is still more curious—this exocolonial, exoglossic language—is not only the associate national official language, but also serves as an inter-state, link language and is promoted, propagated and supported as the language of opportunity, the language of higher learning, the language of prestige and the language of power”. (Patnaik & Imtiaz: 2006: 11)

“Computers and internet have further tightened the hold of English in the world. There are many newspapers, advertising agencies, radio and television networks whose reach, aided by computers, has greatly expanded recently.” (Patnaik & Imtiaz: 2006: 53).

The new wave—language globalization is created through marketization and internationalization of politics. The new wave is creating global market for the realistic society of today and tomorrow (Patnaik & Imtiaz: 2006: 102). In any linguistic market an individual is as a customer may assigned the language of the need. English has so much damaged our linguistic life that we are suffering from ‘Linguistic Numbness Syndrome’.

The extensive use of computers and the internet has revolutionized the concept of globalization by bringing people and communities together in ways we never thought possible. Electronic English has given fresh meanings to old words. Lexicon items like desktop, internet, surfing, E-mail, inbox, outbox, recycle bin, search engine, home page and download etc. are new words derived only from the computer and mobile. All these new words transform in traditional English. It changes the English completely as well as other Indian languages too. English is due course of time has become the primary choice for code-switching or is used as a code-switched variety.

As compared to Arabic, English has established itself in comparatively less time and in spite of initial opposition, the main factor for this being globalization. For the instance of the mobile phone more than twenty English usages have become popular in every hook and corner of Kuwait, e.g.: Prepaid, postpaid, sim-card, incoming call, out-going tariff, etc.”. One of the effects of globalization is the growing tendency to use English words instead of Arabic words, where English words are not at all necessary. Particularly in domestic life, the tendency to use English for domestic purpose is growing rapidly among the Arabic speakers. It is very much noticeable nowadays. That is a kind of code-mixing between English and Arabic. There are a lot of chaotic sentence structures that have been employed by Arabians chatting in the internet. Though the sentence structure is mixture of both English and Arabic vocabularies, it gives mere understandable meanings to communicate to others.

Use of English words in the mother tongue is due to the impact of globalization on mother tongue. Internal hegemony is less dangerous than the external linguistic invasion. In the process of globalization all such linguistic diversities are liable to be abolished. This is to be resisted by giving expression to our ideas and emotions against the despotism of globalization. ‘Get the superb by money; don’t claim even the essential, if there is no money’—this is the philosophy we hear in the consumerist, capitalistic world market.

“In the dichotomous process, many less favourably placed speech variety---which may be dialects, vernaculars or minority languages, or may have non-elite style---stand in danger of becoming extinct.” (Khubchandani: 1997: 165).

An analysis of linguistic features in relation to the language problems pertaining to language structure: writing, spelling, pronunciation, vocabulary, syntax, forms of discourse, and a problem of speech is very important for researchers to do further work in this area. The developmental status of these features can be indicated on the basis of the processes of standardization, codification, elaboration and cultivation. (Hasnain: 1995: 179).

The processes of innovation brought about in most Modern Arabic Language is marked by an ongoing struggle between purists and propagandists on the one hand, and language pedagogues and planners on the other. While in the former the uncompromising attitude remains a strong underlying ideology, the latter has an all pervasive comprehensibility as its forte. And between the two warring groups, by and large, it is the former that succeeds in foregrounding those linguistic innovations that conform to their ideology. But at what cost? Off course, at the linguistic price of incomprehensibility. Language incomprehensibility remains a problematic for its users as they are couched in highly Sanskritised or Perso-Arabicized languages far from the spoken and even ordinarily written reality.” (1995: 213).

The simplification of Arabic script has to be accepted so that its user can use the script more easily. The simplification of vocabulary, simplification of sentence structure and pronunciation and simplification of script are very important and crucial so that majority can use, speak and write that language by the process of “Standardization”.

4. Arabic Language: It’s Origin

Arabic is a *lingua franca* of the Arab world. It is named after the Arabs, a term initially used to describe peoples living from Mesopotamia in the east to the Anti-Lebanon mountains in the west, in northwestern Arabia, and in the Sinai Peninsula.

The modern written language (Modern Standard Arabic) is derived from Classical Arabic. It is widely taught in schools and universities, and is used to varying degrees in workplaces, government, and the media. Modern Standard Arabic largely follows the grammatical standards of Classical Arabic and uses much of the same vocabulary. However, it has discarded some grammatical constructions and vocabulary that no longer have any counterpart in the spoken varieties and has adopted certain new constructions and vocabulary from the spoken varieties. Much of the new vocabulary is used to denote concepts that have arisen in the post-classical era, especially in modern times.

During the Middle Ages, Literary Arabic was a major vehicle of culture in Europe, especially in science, mathematics, and philosophy. As a result, many European languages have also borrowed many words from it. Arabic influence, mainly in vocabulary, is seen in European languages, mainly Spanish and to a lesser extent Portuguese.

Arabic has influenced many languages around the globe throughout its history. Some of these languages are Persian, Turkish, Spanish, Maltese, Urdu, Kashmiri, Kurdish, Bosnian, Kazakh, Bengali, Hindi, Malay, Maldivian, Indonesian, Pashto, Punjabi, Tagalog, Sindhi and Hausa and some languages in parts of Africa. Conversely, Arabic has borrowed words from other languages including Greek and Persian in medieval times, and contemporary European languages such as English and French in modern times.

5. Aims and Scope of Study

The present study takes the Kuwait College of Science and Technology, Ayuryoga Club and Kriselle Nursery as aerial points. All possible steps have been taken to make the data

comprehensive and representative of Arabic language as such. It makes a thorough analysis of Speakers' attitude and preference in seventeen different contexts and twelve different situations.

In terms of the Socio-economic status (SES), it was measured based on the parents' education level, age group and occupation. This is most significant as the parent's backgrounds play a major factor in the future of their children's education. The parents are current students at KCST (Kuwait College of Science and Technology, Kuwait) who are pursuing their education due to not obtaining a Bachelor's degree in their former years. The majority work in ministry jobs while others are working in the private sector for petroleum companies, both in which obtain a middle income. The data found shows that the SES of the parents explains most of the variance in their choices to require an English educational background for their children. This is a positive correlation showing that even those parents who have lower paying jobs want their children to obtain a better educational achievement. The data also demonstrated the female's educational attainment and expectation acted as a better predictor for the future of children as opposed to the data collected from the male parents.

6. Goals and Objectives of the Study

Researchers conducted the field survey in order to find out the actual position of the different languages and Mother Tongue like Arabic, Urdu/Hindi, Tamil, Telugu, French, German, etc. and English on the other side. It was noticed that different Mother Tongues are substantially used for oral communication in almost all the domains, whereas English is used in the fields of administration, education, literature, written communication and in formal settings such as writing, printing, etc. It was also found that the Arabic language speakers have strong feelings for the development of their language. It is their desire that this language should be used for various functions in the society. To focus on these issues the following objectives were formulated:

1. To find out the use and the status of Mother Tongue or Arabic language and to ascertain the functions of English.
2. To investigate the preferences of languages at specific domains and situations.
3. To find out the attitudes of the Mother Tongue or Arabic speakers towards English.

6.1. Hypotheses

The foremost important step in conducting a research work is to establish hypotheses that form the key points to be either proved or disproved. So, the present study is based on a few prepositions which are as follows:

1. It has been established that in Kuwait a number of languages come into use for different purposes. So, all the languages must have their specific domains of use.
2. People having the advantages of more than one language at their disposal might prefer one language over the other. Thus, English is supposed to be preferred over other languages.
3. English, the worldly prestigious language, is mostly preferred for higher education.

4. Arabic speakers favor the use of Arabic for all purposes including education, administration, and mass media.

6.2. Tools of Data Collection

In order to test these hypotheses, researcher prepared a questionnaire for collection of data that consisted of four sections (appendix 1). Section A of the questionnaire is concerned with the background information of respondents. Section B contains seventeen questions to inquire about the use of language (s). Section C contains fourteen questions to elicit preferences of languages. Of these fourteen questions, 13 were provided with language choices, mother tongue or Arabic and English whereas, the fourteenth question is related to progression of society, science and technology and foreign ways of life.

6.3. Sample Design

The researchers distributed questionnaire among 100 respondents, but later decided to consider only 95 samples which are presumed to be the representative data. The data is collected from State of Kuwait in general and Kuwait City in particular, and the variables are taken into consideration are Sex (male and female). 50 respondents are selected from the Kuwait College of Science and Technology in which 30 are male students and 30 are female students, 40 respondents are selected from Ayuryoga Club and Kriselle Nursery in which 20 are males and 20 are females which include parents of small kids and others are from yoga and gym candidates respectively.

6.4. Collection of Data

All the four sections of the questionnaire are prepared in English. Respondents have filled up the questionnaire themselves in the presence of the researchers. The total of 100 questionnaires is distributed in which 95 samples are selected for analysis. The distribution is made almost equal keeping in view the comparative analysis between different social variables from different regions. For the present study, researcher is not considered region as a separate variable.

6.5. Analysis of Data

The data is analyzed by obtaining simple frequency percentage for each language in each domain/situation. On the basis of the frequency percentage, we have studied the following:

1. The use of Arabic/ other language and English in all considered situations with respect to one variable: sex.

2. Presentation of findings

Different tables and graphs have been made according to the findings and result.

3. The seventeen different contexts or domains with respect to Arabic/ other languages and English have been analyzed are as follows:

1. Talking to people in a locality (context 1).

2. Talking to people in schools, college and university (context 2).
3. Talking to family members (context 3).
4. Talking to colleagues (context 4)
5. Talking to children (context 5).
6. Talking to Arabic speaking stranger (context 6).
7. While visiting offices, hospitals and market places (context 7).
8. For entertainment (context 8).
9. In teacher-student relationship (context 9).
10. In watching TV programmes (context 10).
11. In listening to radio broadcast programmes (context 11).
12. In reading magazines, story books, etc. (context 12).
13. In reading newspaper (context 13).
14. In writing to close friends (context 14).
15. In writing to family members (context 15).
16. In printing invitations (context 16).
17. For creative writings (context 17).

3.1 Arabic/ other languages and English use by males and females in seventeen different contexts/ domains.

6.6. Arabic/other languages and English use by males in Tabular form:

No.	Context	English	Arabic/ Other MT
1	Talking to people in a locality (context 1).	0%	100%
2	Talking to people in schools, college and university (context 2).	60%	40%
3	Talking to family members (context 3).	10%	90%
4	Talking to colleagues (context 4)	10%	90%
5	Talking to children (context 5).	0%	100%

6	Talking to Arabic speaking stranger (context 6).	0%	100%
47	While visiting offices, hospitals and market places (context 7).	50%	50%
8	For entertainment (context 8).	40%	60%
9	In teacher-student relationship (context 9).	90%	10%
10	In watching TV programmes (context 10).	90%	10%
11	In listening to radio broadcast programmes (context 11).	10%	90%
12	In reading magazines, story books, etc. (context 12).	80%	20%
13	In reading newspaper (context 13).	0%	100%
14	In writing to close friends (context 14).	10%	90%
15	In writing to family members (context 15).	0%	100%
16	In printing invitations (context 16).	0%	100%
17	For creative writings (context 17).	20%	80%

Arabic/other languages and English use by females in Tabular form:

S.No.	Context	English	Arabic/ Other MT
1.	Talking to people in a locality (context 1).	0%	100%
2	Talking to people in schools, college and university (context 2).	50%	50%
3.	Talking to family members (context 3).	10%	90%
4	Talking to colleagues (context 4)	10%	90%

5.	Talking to children (context 5).	0%	100%
6	Talking to Arabic speaking stranger (context 6).	0%	100%
7.	While visiting offices, hospitals and market places (context 7).	60%	40%
8.	For entertainment (context 8).	50%	50%
9.	In teacher-student relationship (context 9).	90%	10%
10	In watching TV programmes (context 10).	90%	10%
11	In listening to radio broadcast programmes (context 11).	10%	90%
12	In reading magazines, story books, etc. (context 12).	40%	60%
13	In reading newspaper (context 13).	0%	100%
14	In writing to close friends (context 14).	20%	80%
15	In writing to family members (context 15).	0%	100%
16	In printing invitations (context 16).	0%	100%
17	For creative writings (context 17).	30%	70%

7. Findings

It has been noticed that the engineering field is densely populated by females as they dominated the numbers within the surveys and the findings of this research. However, regardless of gender most of the results were very similar in terms of language usage within specific situations. The main medium of communication was found to be that of the mother tongue. This was expected, as it is considered to be easier when expressing ideas and feelings to others using terms one has acquired since the beginning of the speaking process. This was also noticed with questions regarding to communication with friends, relatives, children, and strangers as not everyone has acquired or perfected a second language being English or any other. Reading and creative writings were also found to be conducted using one's native language due to mastering the language. Similarly, to invitations, all of the applicants perceived that using Arabic invitations was most relevant due to ensuring others receiving it would be capable of understanding the terms

and information. However, when it comes to entertainment including social media platform, a lot of the applicants showed interest in the English language. Most of the applicants expressed that TV programmes are now seen in the English language due to such entertainment mediums being more interesting and intriguing. Moreover, when referring to the educational factors, a lot of the data showed that there was more room for the use of English. The educational environment is considered to be of a different realm than that of a social environment. More terms were known in the English language making communication more restricted to the use of English. In addition to talking to colleagues in English, the data analyzed states that the majority of communication with instructors at university was conducted in the English language. Such educational and academic factors lead the students to use English more than Arabic whereas social and non-academic settings are perceived in Arabic for more clarity and confidence.

8. Reason for This Data Generation

This is the effect of social change that respondents are having a good attitude towards their Mother Tongue, like they have strong feeling that Arabic and other languages are good, sweet, creative, and very expressive language but they are taking the things in terms of Language Use and Preference they prefer and use much English than their Mother Tongues. The reasons can be because of modernization and westernization of society. Nowadays, youth prefer to watch English movies and listen English songs. They prefer English magazine because it's like their status symbol. They prefer to watch serials online channels like Netflix, Amazon prime, Quicksilverscreen, etc. Limited per cent of males and females do write and read Arabic poetry. Limited creative writing is done in their mother tongue.

9. The twelve different situations considered for evaluation of Urdu and English are as follows:

1. Medium of instruction for children (situation 1)
2. Making social contacts (situation 2)
3. A bilingual Arabic speech community (situation 3)
4. Most ideal medium of instruction at primary school level (situation 4)
5. Most ideal medium of instruction at secondary school level (situation 5)
6. Most ideal medium of instruction at college level (situation 6)
7. For securing jobs (situation 7)
8. Pursuing higher education (situation 8)
9. Communicating with other groups (situation 9)
10. Performing religious practices/activities (situation 10)
11. Welcoming/ departing from guests, relatives, friends, etc. (situation 11)

12. For official purposes (situation 12)

10. Urdu and English preferences by males and females in twelve situations

10.1. Urdu and English preferences by males and females

S.No.	Context	Male		Female	
		E	A	E	A
1	Medium of instruction for children (situation 1)	80%	20%	90%	10%
2	Making social contacts (situation 2)	10%	90%	10%	90%
3	A bilingual Arabic/ other Languages speech community (situation 3)	0%	100%	10%	90%
4	Most ideal medium of instruction at primary school level (situation 4)	10%	90%	20%	80%
5	Most ideal medium of instruction at secondary school level (situation 5)	95%	5%	100%	0%
6	Most ideal medium of instruction at college level (situation 6)	100%	0%	100%	0%
7	For securing jobs (situation 7)	0%	100%	10%	90%
8	Pursuing higher education (situation 8)	100%	0%	100%	0%
9	Communicating with other groups (situation 9)	0%	100%	10%	90%
10	Performing religious practices/activities (situation 10)	0%	100%	0%	100%
11	Welcoming/ departing from guests, relatives, friends, etc. (situation 11)	0%	100%	0%	100%
12	For official purposes (situation 12)	0%	100%	10%	90%

10.2. Findings

Regardless of the students customarily relying, and using their native language, many expressed that they would prefer sending their children to an English medium of instruction. The literature identified a large number of students who are leaning towards learning and having their children being taught in an English medium. In order to examine the students' perception more carefully, students showed that they think an ideal language for primary school is Arabic.

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However, once reaching secondary school, many expressed that the medium should be shifted to English, especially for the transition into college. This was linked to their expectation of pursuing a higher educational degree. The statistical processing of the research findings showed that higher education in specifically language of instruction within an engineering classroom is to be conveyed in English. This clearly links the English language to the outside world in the realm of academia. On the other hand, the study provides a clear understanding that that Arabic language is encouraged when communication is made with other groups, guests, relatives, and friends. This was extended to the workplace. As the findings supported an Arabic-speaking environment in the workplace leading to the Arabic language being the main form of communication to securing a job. Intriguingly, even in a bilingual setting, speeches and communication was preferred using the native language of instruction. The data carries the suggestion that female students were more lenient towards using the English language than the males.

10.3. Reason for this data generation

On one side, respondents both male and female think that Arabic or their mother tongue or first language is sweet, expressive and prestigious language but everybody wants to study English for status symbol, English for science and technology and for progression of society. Only English can provide them good status, respect, prestige and good education and good job with high salary. Language use, language preference and language attitude gets change with the changing course of time by modernization, westernization and commercialization. English become most crucial language of today's society.

11. Conclusion

This study aimed to investigate the language preference between global and local languages in Kuwait. The analysis focused on the usage of Arabic language and other languages with English language in different contexts and situations. The results showed that most students believe that the English language is better when learning or being taught within the classroom. This goes back to the idea of the use of an international language helping students' exposure to a more international based platform. It was clearly noticed that students accepted English as a medium of education and instruction due to the availability or resources and learning material, this is why many students supported English being the main instructional language in high school and college levels.

The students' perceptions shifted when it came to other forms of communication, as the majority emphasized on the use of their native language in non-educational or academic situations. Students felt more secure using their native language when expressing themselves to family members, friends, and strangers. In addition, students were more comfortable reading the news in Arabic. This observation was consistent between both genders and different age groups that participated in the study of data collection, as they both performed better with communicating their ideas and writing as well. A revival of interest was clear to show that the Kuwaiti society can progress with English as a form of communication. However, the data showed that regardless of incorporating the language within the society, adopting foreign ways of life was not supported.

Nevertheless, the data showed an intense support to foreign languages being taught within universities, but conserving traditions and culture was also to be considered in the long run.

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Identity Crisis, Ethical Selection and Ethical Consciousness in Jhumpa Lahiri's *Interpreter of Maladies*¹

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Abstract

Jhumpa Lahiri's short story *Interpreter of Maladies* describes the Indian American couple Mr. and Mrs. Das' visit to the land of their ancestors. Mrs. Das confides in Mr. Kapasi, the car driver and interpreter of maladies, that her husband has not sired the youngest son and seeks for a cure of psychic pain. This paper analyzes its ethical features from the perspective of ethical literary criticism. Specifically, it sees the interpreting of maladies as the major ethical line of the work and tries to decode such ethical knots as ethical environment, ethical choice, ethical identity, and ethical consciousness. Jhumpa Lahiri proposes the ethical burden as a cure for people in modern society in need of malady interpretation.

Keywords: Jhumpa Lahiri; *Interpreter of Maladies*; identity crisis; ethical selection; ethical consciousness

1. Introduction

In 2000, the Pulitzer Prize for Fiction was awarded to South Asian Indian American novelist Jhumpa Lahiri, who won the unanimous recognition of the judges for her collection of short stories, *the Interpreter of Maladies*. Before that, she also won many awards, such as Hemingway Award, New Yorker's Best Debut of the year and so on. Michiko Kakutani of New York Times commented that Lahiri announces herself as a wonderfully distinctive new voice.... [She] chronicles her characters' lives with both objectivity and compassion while charting the emotional temperature of their lives with tactile precision. She is a writer of uncommon elegance and poise...a precocious debut.² The title story, *The Interpreter of Maladies*, also won the O. Henry prize and was selected as the best short story in America in 2000. The critic

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² <https://www.litlovers.com/reading-guides/13-fiction/486-interpreter-of-maladies-lahiri?start=2>

Sebastian Sdb said that “the story reveals how guilt ridden people like Mrs. Das seeks remedy for their ailments in the wrong place” (4). Mridul Bordoloi analyzes the protagonist’s migration dilemma from the perspective of cultural dislocation and home consciousness (28). Other scholars believe that “the interpreter of Maladies” is the author’s diagnosis and analysis of the life problems of Indian ethnic groups (Jin 203). Moussa Pourya Asl suggests that “What is notably absent in the scholarship is a study of the complexities of identity formation and the production of particular forms of subjectivities in Lahiri’s stories.” (3)

Lahiri tells the story of a Das couple (Raz and Mina), who were born in the United States and descended from Indian immigrants, returning to their parents’ hometown India to visit relatives with their three children. Lahiri’s writing reflects the writer’s concern for the Indian ethnic group in the United States and represents the voice of the Indian ethnic literature. “The rise of ethnic literature represents a demand for ethical reconstruction, which is essentially an ethical constitution” (He & Nie 9-10). During their visit to the Sun Temple, Mrs. Das told taxi driver Mr. Kapasi about her own adultery and the birth of an illegitimate child. She confessed her secret for eight years and tried to get a good treatment for mental illness from Kapasi, an interpreter of maladies. However, Kapasi, who can only interpret the physical pain, could not cure her inner pain, just as he and his wife could not get rid of the pain of losing their child. From the perspective of literary ethical criticism, along the ethical main line of "malady interpretation", this essay analyzes the ethical theme of the story by reproducing the wrong ethical choice in the ethical environment, depicting the ethical identity crisis and ethical confusion with the Sphinx factor conflict, and combing the return of ethical consciousness after ethical reflection.

2. The Wrong Ethical Selection

Ethical Literary criticism holds that “literature is essentially an ethical art... The objective ethical environment or historical environment is the basis of understanding, interpreting and evaluating literature” (Nie 2014: 13) Lahiri tells a story of moral anomie and ethical dislocation in essence. By showing modern people’s “psychological diseases”, the author shows his concern for individual living situation. In order to see through the anomie and dislocation of the protagonist, we must first understand the ethical environment of the story. In fact, what readers see is a panoramic picture of Indian American immigrant families lacking love, care and understanding.

As the second generation of Indian Americans, Mr. Das is homesick for India, but he has too much estrangement from his wife. Although they accompany each other, they are like passers-by. At the beginning of the novel, it says, “At the tea stall Mr. and Mrs. Das bickered

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about who should take Tina to the toilet.” (49) As parents, they pass the buck on who should take their child to the toilet. Neither of them is willing to spend a little time on their own, and they do not show any love for their daughter. Finally, Mr. Das mentioned he had taken a bath for her yesterday as an excuse to leave the job to Mina. Even on the way to the toilet, Mina “didn’t hold the little girl’s hand” because she was reluctant to do these things. To a certain extent, this reflects that Mrs. Das did not fulfill her duty of caring for children, and also destroyed the normal human relations. Why are mothers so indifferent to their children? To further understand the reasons behind this, it is necessary to return to the ethical scene at that time, examine the reasons for this behavior from her standpoint in the objective historical context, and make a reasonable explanation from the moral level.

According to Ethical Literary Criticism, we should emphasize “the returning to the ethical scene of history and interpreting literary works from the ethical standpoint of that time” (Nie 2014: 14). Mr. Das and his wife are descendants of Indian immigrants. “The family looked Indian but dressed as foreigners did” (49). Born in the United States, they are proud of their identity. But they are inevitably influenced by Indian culture, most obviously their marriage. Since their parents are good friends, they naturally hope that the two young people will be united, so they got married when they were young. Although they have been educated in the United States for many years, they cannot escape from the traditional Indian arranged marriage. It can be seen from the story that there is not much happiness for the marriage arranged by the parents, but too much helplessness and pain.

At the same time, they have the sense of cultural vagrancy in a foreign country. Their marriage can be said to be a wrong choice for both of them. Due to the hardship of immigrants’ life and the gap between eastern and Western cultures, their life is limited in a small circle. The husband Das works all day and is busy making a living, while the wife Mina is occupied by household chores such as daily necessities. After they are far away from their parents, they have no place to talk about their sufferings and no friends to communicate with each other. The objective external environment foreshadows the protagonist's wrong ethical choice. It was in this objective environment that Mina had an affair with Das’ friend and was pregnant with his child. “She made no protest when the friend touched the small of her back as she was about to make a pot of coffee, then pulled her against his crisp navy suit. He made love to her swiftly, in silence, with an expertise she had never known.” (69) Mina’s indulgence in adultery is obviously an immoral ethical choice, which results in ethical confusion and tragedy. “Once a person is driven by primitive instinct, all kinds of moral norms established on the basis of rationality will be destroyed, and man will return to the era of beasts. This is not the liberation of human nature, but the loss of human nature.” (Nie 2014: 39) when facing the aggression of

Das' friends, Mina does not resist the temptation of desire and also loses her rational judgment that she can't cheat and betray, which destroys the existing moral and ethical norms and leads to the loss of human nature. What is more terrible is that they had an affair with each other and gave birth to their illegitimate son Bobby. He was like the scarlet letter "A" hanging on Hester's chest, constantly reminding Mina of her betrayal, making her feel guilty and guilty forever.

Mina's cheating behavior can be interpreted and analyzed by Sphinx factor. Ethical Literary criticism holds that "in the ethical sense, human being is an existence of sphinx factor, which is composed of human factor and animal factor. The Sphinx factor is the core content of ethical expression in literary works" (Nie 2014: 38).

The so-called human factor is the reason of human being's existence, whose core is rational will, which is reflected in the compliance with ethical order and ethical taboo. The animal factor is human's animal instinct, which is an irrational factor. Its core is natural will, which is reflected in people's desire for different desires. If the human factor controls the animal factor, people will become people with ethical consciousness; on the contrary, if the animal factor overcomes the human factor, people will be more reflected in the loss of ethical consciousness, the lack of morality and so on. Behind Mina's infidelity, it actually reflects the conflict between rational will and free will, and the opposition between human factor and animal factor. "The Sphinx factor is the core of understanding literary works. Different combinations and changes of Sphinx factors will lead to different behavioral characteristics and personality expression of characters in literary works. It forms different ethical conflicts and shows different values of moral education." (Nie 2014: 38) In this story, Mina gradually blurs her rational judgment of life in the long-term tedious affairs of her family life, and her character also changes. Therefore, in the face of infidelity, we can't take moral choice. Human factors immediately lose control in the conflict with animal factors. Free will and irrational will have the upper hand. Mina acquiesces in her betrayal, which leads to ethical conflict, and thus loses her ethical identity in the wrong ethical selection.

3. Identity Crisis and Ethical Chaos

As suggests by Prof. Nie, "Ethical choice is not only the choice of how to be a person in a specific environment or context, but also the construction and confirmation of a person's identity. Ethical choice activities are often determined by people's identity. People with different identities will make different choices, and different choices will construct new identities" (Nie 2020: 77). In fact, readers can see that the ethical issues depicted in the story are actually generated and developed around the constant change of the protagonist's ethical identity. Mrs. Das, Mina, had adultery with a friend from Punjab and gave birth to her

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illegitimate son Bobby, which seriously violated ethical taboos and led to confusion of ethical identity. “The existence of ethical taboo guarantees the existence of family and society” (Nie 2014: 38).

On the contrary, the destruction of ethical taboos will inevitably lead to the chaos of normal ethical order and moral relationship. It is obvious and demonstrated clearly in Sophocles’ *Oedipus the King*. Similarly, the adultery committed by Mina is also a violation of ethical taboos. From the perspective of ethical literary criticism, this is an ethical event with turning point significance, which makes the ethical identity of the protagonists and the ethical relationship between them change fundamentally.

Mina has been suffering from adultery since she gave birth to her illegitimate son Bobby. As she confides to Kapasi, the interpreter of Maladies, “I feel terrible looking at my children, and at Raj, always terrible. I have terrible urges, Mr. Kapasi, to throw things away. One day I had the urge to throw everything I own out the window, the television, the children, everything.” (68) It can be seen that Mina’s inner world is on the verge of collapse. As Raj’s legitimate wife, she gave birth to Bobby with Raj’s friend, which is obviously not allowed by law and ethics. Mina’s behavior not only confuses her own ethical identity, but also confuses her ethical identity in family. Raj had no idea that one of his sons was not his own, but someone else’s son. He had no idea that his wife had an affair with his friend, and that he was the Indian fellow who exchanged photos every Christmas. Mina’s infidelity makes her lose her dream and expectation of life, just in the boredom and pain day after day. “He looked at her, in her red plaid skirt and strawberry T-shirt, a woman not yet thirty, who loved neither her husband or her children, who had already fallen out of love with life” (68). It can be said that the cheating makes Mina fall into a desperate ethical dilemma.

In despair, Mina lost her passion for life. During the journey, she was not willing to care for her children, nor was she interested in chatting with her husband. “She sat a bit slouched at one end of the back seat, not offering her puffed rice to anyone” (53). Along the way, she was just passing the time with nail polish, and even the scenery along the way could hardly attract her attention. When she heard that Kapasi was working as an interpreter of maladies, she changed her indifferent attitude and showed great interest. “Mrs. Das said dreamily, breaking her extended silence. She lifted her pinkish brown sunglasses and arranged them on top of her head like a tiara. For the first time, her eyes met Mr. Kapasi’s in the rearview mirror: pale, a bit small, their gaze fixed but drowsy.” (56) She then spoke enthusiastically with Mr. Kapasi, handed him gum and asked him to talk about the work of the disease interpreter. Mina thinks that Kapasi’s work is “romantic”, “interesting”, “too cool”, and even more

important than that of a doctor. Mina thinks highly of Kapasi's work because, in her opinion, explaining illness can help patients recover. More importantly, she needs to accept the explanation and treatment of mental illness. As a matter of fact, for Kapasi, explaining the disease is "just a thankless occupation" and "he found nothing noble in interpreting people's maladies" (57). He even thinks that "this job is a sign of his failings". (57) Because when Kapasi was young, he was full of ambition, taught himself many languages, and dreamed of translating for diplomatic envoys and religious dignitaries, calming the confrontation between countries and nations, and mediating the disputes that only he could understand the opinions of both sides. But after his parents arranged his marriage, it changed completely. Especially after his first son died of illness and his second and third children were born one after another, the pressure of survival suddenly increased. In order to support his family, he had to drive a taxi, explain diseases and other jobs, and gradually forgot the language he learned when he was young.

Mina's interest and praise in disease interpretation surprised Kapasi. She mentioned the word "romantic" to Kapasi, but her own marriage was not romantic at all. "Her sudden interest in him, an interest she did not express in either her husband or her children, was mildly intoxicating." (59) Kapasi began to look at himself in the rearview mirror, secretly congratulating himself that he put on the gray suit when he went out in the morning. He constantly tells Mina the story of disease explanation, and their conversation seems to be a "secret language" between them. The lunch time he usually looked forward to was a disappointment for him, because even at lunch he was reluctant to be too far away from Mina. Kapasi's intoxication culminated when Mina asked him for her home address. "She would write to him, asking about his days interpreting at the doctor's office, and he would respond eloquently, choosing only the most entertaining anecdotes, ones that would make her laugh out loud as she read them in her house in New Jersey." (61) Kapasi's fantasy of happy communication with Mina in the future stems from his confusion of ethical identity in the family. In the face of the disillusionment of his ideal, the unhappiness of his career, the misfortune of his marriage and the premature death of his son, Kapasi could not get the happiness of his family life, so he had to face life in pain. At the same time, after the death of their son, the Kapasi couple lacked communication and love, and their marriage life was in name only. And Mina's words awakened his sleeping fantasy of the future and made him feel the joyfulness of life. It's the same pleasure he felt a few months ago when he was able to read a French or an Italian sonnet fluently. "In those moments Mr. Kapasi used to believe that all was right with the world, that all struggles were rewarded, that all of life's mistakes made sense in the end." (60)

As the story continues, Kapasi's fantasy and desire continue to ferment, and he has a subtle feeling for this unhappy woman, which actually reflects his confused ethical identity consciousness and his transcendence of ethical norms. Kapasi lacks his wife's warmth at home, and Mina lacks her husband's love too. They feel pity for each other. He led the Das family to visit the temple of Konarak Mountain, watching the wheel of life and appreciating the sculpture. He was especially gratified that Mrs. Das was "very fascinated" by it. "He had never admired the backs of his wife's legs the way he now admired those of Mrs. Das, walking as if for his benefit alone. He had, of course, seen plenty of bare limbs before, belonging to the American and European ladies who took his tours. But Mrs. Das was different. Unlike the other women, who had an interest only in the temple, and kept their noses buried in a guidebook, or their eyes behind the lens of a camera, Mrs. Das had taken an interest in him." (63) Kapasi even longed to be alone with her and continue their private conversation, while he was nervous beside her. He is eager to write to each other about different things in the future. Fortunately, the piece of paper with the address is still in the straw bag. "When he pictured her so many thousands of times away he plummeted, so much so that he had an overwhelming urge to wrap his arms around her, to freeze with her, even for an instant, in an embrace witnessed by his favorite Surya" (65). But when Mina starts walking, Kapasi has no chance to express his attachment to Mina. Kapasi calculated roughly that he would receive a letter from Mina within six weeks. Thinking that the trip was about to end, he didn't want to wait for six weeks immediately. Instead of taking a shortcut, he proposed to visit the hills at Udayagiri and Khandagiri, which was naturally approved by Mina and others. Kapasi's series of wishful thinking behavior and fantasy can be said to be a lack of rational thinking, but also the lack of ethical awareness. Whether Mina's real physical infidelity or Kapasi's inner infidelity impulse, to a certain extent, are the embodiment of their own ethical identity confusion and chaotic ethical consciousness.

4. The Returning of Ethical Consciousness

"The fundamental purpose of literature is not to provide entertainment for human beings, but to provide moral examples for human beings to understand society and life from an ethical perspective, to provide moral guidance for human being's material and spiritual life, and to provide moral experience for self-improvement." (Nie 14) In the story, Lahiri describes the life of Indian American immigrants, depicts the protagonist's wrong ethical choice and chaotic ethical identity, and calls for the return of ethical consciousness. No matter Mina, Kapasi, Das or his friend, they are all "patients" in modern society. They need psychological treatment, help from disease commentators, and return to ethical consciousness through ethical reflection, so as to provide moral guidance for human life. As Madhoo Kamara suggests, "Lahiri's stories are the impressive exploration of the human conditions as it shapes and is shaped by the varying textuality of the human personality" (Kamara 129).

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In the story, Mina confides her secret to Kapasi expectantly, and is eager to seek help from the disease narrator of the same age as her father. But she does not get any explanation and comfort, because Kapasi, as the disease interpreter, only plays the role of explanation and communication between doctors and patients with language barriers. As for how to treat the mental illness caused by derailment, he is obviously powerless. “She did not resemble the patients in the doctor’s office, those who came glassy-eyed and desperate, unable to sleep or breathe or urinate with ease, unable, above all, to give words to their pains” (71). However, Kapasi still decides to help Mina. He thinks that honesty and frankness may be the best strategy. He also needs to ask Mina whether she is suffering or guilty. Mina was disappointed with Kapasi’s helplessness, but when facing his rhetorical question, she was even more intolerable and had a sudden insight. “She turned to him and glared, mustard oil thick on her frosty pink lips. She opened her mouth to say something, but as she glared at Mr. Kapasi some certain knowledge seemed to pass before her eyes, and she stopped” (69). Mina didn’t say anything more, because it was superfluous. She opened the car door and staggered up the mountain. Soon she came to the place where Mr. Das wanted to take a picture, the stone chamber of monks’ hard work. Mina failed in seeking medical treatment, but she resolutely decided to return to her husband and children. This actually reflects that she is already treating psychological diseases. Perhaps, the best way to treat her inner diseases is to recover the family's affection and warmth and reconstruct the family's ethics and morality.

At this time, the Das family was about to take a group photo when they found that Bobby was missing. Mina harshly questioned them, contrary to her previous indifference to the children, which further shows that Mina’s inner world has undergone a huge change. When you find that Bobby is being besieged by monkeys, Mina is very anxious. She asks Kapasi to help save the child. Kapasi quickly drove away the monkey and brought Bobby. Mina quickly bandaged Bobby’s knee wound and took out a comb to clean his hair. At the moment, Mina’s great concern for her son Bobby shows that she has recovered her ethical responsibility and obligation as a mother, and also reflects maternal love and warmth. Just as Mina pulled out her comb from the straw bag, the piece of paper with Kapasi’s address was also taken out and floated away in the wind. However, no one but Kapasi noticed the scene. Indeed, this piece of paper, which once carried Mina’s great fantasy, no longer has any value from the moment when she has no hope of getting psychotherapy. Mina finally got the returning of ethical consciousness with the moral sublimation of self-discovery, and found the universal ethical norms of current life.

Similarly, after experiencing this special short-term emotional desire, Kapasi also realized the true meaning of life. At the end of the story, it says, “knowing that this picture of

the Das family he would preserve forever in his mind.” (74) After this trip to the temple, the Das family transformed from a fragmented family to a complete one, from a lack of warmth, care and understanding to a harmonious family. This is the family life that Kapasi should have. After eight years of suffering, Mina can resolutely return to her warm family. Why can't Kapasi find his happy family? For Kapasi and his wife, as long as they get rid of the pain of losing their children and liberate themselves from the “quarrel, indifference and long-term silence”, they can also find a good way to solve family problems and treat mental diseases.

“Literature is a unique form of expression of ethical concepts and moral life in a specific historical stage, and literature is essentially an ethical art.”(Nie 2014: 11) Through her story writing, Lahiri reflects various diseases and problems in the real life of the descendants of Indian immigrants in the United States, shows the ethical concepts of a specific historical era, reveals the wrong ethical choices of the protagonists in the novel, and depicts the chaotic ethical identity they encounter, as well as the return of the ultimate ethical consciousness. Just as Rani Neutill suggests, “Lahiri’s *Interpreter* does the work of passing on an awakening of loss to others, as an ethical burden of survival” (Neutill 129). It is true that Lahiri’s *Interpreter* provides a good medicine for the patients in modern society to treat their mental diseases.

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Art within Art: Embodying Dance-Drama into the Visual World of Cinema

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A work of art or an art piece is an artistic creation. It is usually regarded as works from literature and music in a wider sense, but these terms also apply to tangible, portable forms of visual art. It includes painting, sculpture, photography, film, etc. Marcel Duchamp (1915) critiqued the idea that the work of art should be a unique product of an artist's labor, representational of their technical skill and artistic caprice. Theorists have argued that objects and people do not have a constant meaning, but their meanings are fashioned by humans in the context of their culture as they have the ability to make things mean or signify something.

Filmmaking is the process of producing a motion picture from an initial conception and research through scriptwriting, shooting and recording, editing, music work, animation and distribution to audience. It broadly refers to all types of creation like documentary, strains of theatre, literature in film or experimental practices. Cinematic images portray a particular world, the way in which objects and their backgrounds are put together for the camera are a crucial part of the aesthetics of cinema. There are many people who stoutly deny the possibility that film might be art. They say that film cannot be art for it does nothing but reproduce reality mechanically (Rudolph Arnheimer, 8).

Film can be seen as combining so many elements of different art forms to make one piece of art. What makes film great and exceed all other art forms is because it combines all of them in the amalgamation of which we call 'cinema'. It cannot be said that it is the best art medium, but the most potent art medium has to encompass the imagination of the person experiencing the art and film sort of gives everything there for you on screen and in your ears. The art of performance has the ability to elevate the written material to a whole new height.

Most traditional Indian performance forms are characterized by distinct modes of embodied knowledge that increase in intensity with the degree of systematization present in their

performative practices and also problematize the mind and body hierarchies that are inherent to most modern schemes of thought.

The instance of Kathakali, the traditional performance form of Kerala, is taken to consider how a repetitive training regimen that inscribes in the young student a comprehensive language and aesthetic of performance is employed to establish a distinctive 'body mind' and a 'body memory' that almost entirely elide the participation or intervention of the conscious mind (Mundoli Narayanan, 131). A performance relies both on the production as well as on the reception end on the presence of the human body and its specific sensorium while it is basically open to integrate all other media. It can thus provide this capacity for translation and thus function as an open, dynamic configuration of medial translations or even more precisely, transmissions.

In this paper I discuss about the Malayalam movie *PuthiyaNiyamam* starring Mammooty and Nayantara and the role that Kathakali plays in the character of Nayantara. I will look at the influence of the Kathakali character in the artist and the traits of the character that she imbibes. Nayantara portrays the role of Vasuki Iyer, a rare breed of female Kathakali artist and the wife of Adv. Louis Pothan played by Mammooty. She always displays extreme anger and inner conflicts of the character and is brooding, agitated and paranoid. She blasts at the caretaker of her daughter's school bus for toughing her the wrong way and makes Louis buy a car to just drop and pick up her from school. Post interval the real reason for the lady's change of heart is revealed. She has been a victim of a gruesome gang rape at the hands of drugged youngsters. The film goes on to show how she wrecks revenge on the perpetrators of the heinous crime with the help of the newly appointed Commissioner of Police. It is then revealed that Louis was informed by their neighbor about Vasuki being raped and that it was him who used mobile software and mimicked the voice of the commissioner and guided Vasuki to murder her rapists, and this is not revealed to Vasuki. The actress portrays the different phases of the character's life convincingly and with grace.

In the movie Vasuki takes up the costume of Ravana of Ravanacharitam. It is being said in the movie that usually a woman doesn't play the role of Ravana. In different re-readings of the epics, it is said that Ravana has got into conflicts with the asuras but sometimes he was defeated by them and had to be vanquished. The actress is seen to have imbibed some the traits which Ravana possesses such as the thirst for revenge. But her thirst for revenge is justified in the story. When she dresses up and puts up an act like Ravana who is seen to slaying the Asuras, she might have felt that she must accept this trait in her own self so as to defeat the asuras in her real life.

It is possible to see this culture of embodiment as one in which it is not an a-priori conceptual knowledge or experience of emotional states or of character states that are then

translated into bodily expression, but where it is the very bodily expressions and experience that constitute the specific emotional state or thematic content, first in the training and then in the performative context. That a person/ mind/ subject will come to inhabit this body, who/ which will inform and invest that body with a greater knowledge of the cultural/ aesthetic associations and supplement the training is thus an unspoken assumption, an assumption most often borne out in practice (Mundoli Narayanan, 135). It is an indescribable, almost ungraspable, presence of something that cannot be taught or trained, but which is still an outcome of that training; something that goes beyond it but is unattainable without it. It is also something that can never be repeated, or imitated, while the trained structures can be repeated and imitated.

From this we are clearly able to understand that the traits of Ravana have deeply influenced Vasuki and unknowingly she has decided to bring about destruction on the youngsters. The fire of revenge in her mind was fueled up due to this mental training and she has mastered up the courage to not to be silent anymore but to kill those people who have killed her soul. It is also being said by theoreticians that in Kathakali there occurs an erasure of the individual's own identity in the training period and the person completely transforms into the character he /she performs. Here Vasuki is into the character of Ravana at the time when her mind is a raging ocean. Even though Ravana is a *rakshasa*, his killing of asuras might have affected her inner mind. She is then seen to be stronger, and with a certain will power to finish off the rapists so that no other women will have to undergo what she has gone through.

A sense of justice is being prevailed in this sequence. She understood that she had to turn herself into a *rakshasa* to kill the asuras. Also, the reference of Kathakali can be seen in the scene where she is being raped. One of the antagonists is seen to wearing the *kireedam* (crown) when he comes in front of her which symbolically represents him as an asura. The notion of an asura can be seen in daily life where people wear a mask and pretend to be heroic in real life where they are really the ones who bring threat to the society. This depiction of asura is also clearly brought out in a musical album titled as *Asura*. Also, in the same scene when the perpetrators exercise their authority over her, different Kathakali faces keep on flickering time and again and in each shot, they have different *bhavas* on the faces. This can be symbolically interpreted as like showing the real face of the person who we haven't seen till now. This is because in Kathakali the real face is hidden with a mask and a different face is being shown to the audience. So, in such gruesome or tragic scenes the intervention of Kathakali *bhavas* kind of indicates that they have finally removed the mask that was being worn until then and their real face has been revealed to the world. This is also being repeated in the scenes where she takes her revenge.

Even though when we say that Ravana-dhahan is the burning of Ravana to symbolize the triumph of good over evil, in the narrative the actress imbibes the character of Ravana and

transforms herself into a *rakshasain* order to defeat the asuras and establish good. This symbolically states that it is sometimes necessary to bring in Ravana so as to destroy evil and it is not necessary to say that only Ram can bring good and peace because in the present world sometimes evil is needed to destroy evil.

Another important feature is that this erasure of identity of the performer becomes even more marked in the case of male actors playing female roles and vice-versa. That even the gender of the performer is effectively erased, and a typological façade of the other gender is assumed in such cross-role situations, that the social embodiment of one gender is suppressed and replaced by a simulated, performative embodiment of another gender (Mundoli Narayanan, 138). We can see that Vasuki portrays a male role which completely transforms her gender identity. She might have felt that she will be able to give justice to herself when she took upon the character of Ravana than being Vasuki herself. So, she suppressed her own self and put on the invisible cloak of Ravana that would help her to accomplish her task without any hesitations or second thoughts. She is then shown to have no regret or guilt in being a part of the murder of three people because a sense of justice prevailed over there.

The discussion about film as an art form did not start from the very beginning of the time when this medium appeared. It was considered as an entertainment or attraction which was divided into different genres. Walter Benjamin (1935) says, “Mechanical reproduction of art changes the reaction of the masses toward art.” But Peter Greenway (1982) was not influenced by this instead he has brought in common characteristics between painting as an art form and the representation of it in *The Draughtsman’s Contract*. One of the specific characteristics of this film is the framing which is related to painting. But in difference to painting it is known that a film is a collective medium. It can effectively embody another art form in it and presents it to the audience and can touch upon their emotions. This is because visual medium always has a certain kind of impact on the feelings of the people because they are able to witness something and feel it rather than imagine what the feeling might be through reading or listening or seeing a painting and then trying to interpret it.

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Analyzing the Effectiveness of Activity Based Teaching and Traditional Teaching Method Through Students' Achievement in Sub Domain Knowledge at Secondary Level

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Abstract

The study was conducted to analyze and dig out the area of the role and impact of ABT (activity based teaching) on students learning in subject of science grade 7th. It was also aimed at to find out the impacts of activity based teaching on learners learning “abilities”, “to determine the achievement of students through lecture based method in science, to determine the achievement of students through activity based method in the subject of Science, to compare activity based teaching and traditional based teaching method through students’ achievement in sub domain knowledge, to compare students’ achievement through activity based teaching and traditional teaching method in sub domain comprehension and to compare students’ achievement through activity based and traditional teaching method in sub domain application”. The findings demonstrate that, ABT provided very excellent outcomes that must be implemented for all the subjects of the school in the classroom and especially for lab. All teachers must be completely aware from ABT, its process and components. Teachers must be motivated and encouraged to apply in the classroom the Activity based teaching method.

Keywords: Teacher role, ABT (activity based teaching), subject of Science, achievement of students and classroom activity.

Introduction

Education is the main element in a society that can bring drastic changes in the norms and values of the members of a society. While explaining the term education we come across that there are two basic aspects of the educational process. These two aspects include teaching on one side and learning on the other. The two aspects of education cannot be separated from each other like two sides of coin. It means that learning is not possible without proper teaching similarly

teaching without efficient learning is fruitless. Analyzing the traditional method of teaching one concludes that these methods are not based on modern psychology which stressed on the active involvement of the learners in teaching process.

The modern psychology findings have given a central role to the learners compared to teachers for effective learning. It has been proved by researchers on the references of psychologist that activity based learning is much closed to learners conscious that stimulates his motivation for effective learning.

Activity based teaching style is a kind of academic method of teaching. Its basic theories contain the requirement that students learning must be based on activities and experimentations. The idea of ABT education is start from common thinking that the students should be active learners instead passive receivers. If a student is given an opportunity, He/she will feel happy and memories for long time. This is such a method that the student mentally and intentionally participating himself actively in activity based learning.

This classroom encourages students to be self – guided to explore an experiment. It provides students flexible and adoptable approaches for learning they need to ready for work place. Unlike the classroom may grow upping today is active learning classroom is going increasingly supportable of the skills students need to develop. Innovation in the classroom is encouraged and nurtured with in open mind set involve and understanding for how we learn.

As understand more about how the mind process retain and recalls information. It is important to design learning environment actively engaged this is important because experts explore that classroom space influences behavior. As teachers try to inspire students with life-long loving learning and desire to everyone do. Findlay ways to develop a critical thinking skills to solve problem independently and then communicate and collaborate on solution the demonstrate grow but understanding how they use or active learning classroom as a tool to further students success, to more students empower the learn to be more engaged and involve in the process of skill development.

Literature Review

Various types of teaching methods have been proposed by different educationist since long ago. Aristotle in his school of thought for the first time introduced a method of dialogue to Conway his message to others. Known philosophers of history including the Greeks, Romans and Muslims have given their expert opinion about various styles of convey knowledge to others. Majority of these educationists have prepared that type of learning in which the learners are actively engaged.

It has been proven by the modern psychologies that learning by doing initiates readiness and motivation which in turn increase interest of learners for accepting new ideas.

Ahlfeldt, et al. (2005), stated that if the teacher just provides all the knowledge related materials to some passive learners, will be the old method. The new educational methodologies is to provide an environment to the students so as to be actively engaged with the materials and with each other themselves. Similarly, as described by Benson and Blackman (2003) that if the students are not actively being engaged in learning it will be a learning in vain. They further stated that the difficult task for an educator is to motivate and encourage students to learn with the help of physical activities, as most of the student due to some psychological factors like the activities. Therefore, the current study is an experiment to introduce the Activity Based teaching and highlight the advantages. The previous experiments had done in Europe and USA which are successful. Researcher tries to smear experiment in Pakistan and especially in rural areas.

About the advantages of learning by doing activity, Petress (2008), determined that the students who are interestingly participating in different activities will be having the following characteristics.

The active learners will always be alert to ask questions because they wanted to clarify themselves.

These students will have the ability to challenge the content, the methods as well as the main ideas.

They will have the capacity to connect the fresh knowledge to the past one.

Also, these learners can compare their learning to acquire various skills.

They will discuss the new learning to others and will always be excited for learning.

While comparing the traditional and modern activity based learning, it can be concluded that learning act of doing is the more precise and beneficial method as compared to the old traditional techniques. The reason being the modern activity based teaching is interesting and according to the needs of individuals compare to single way education of traditional teaching where learners are passive, McGrath and Mc Ewan (2011).

Gleson et al (2011), have given various strategies for learning with activities based method. They stated the following strategies of learning through activities.

Student presentation: In this strategy a specific topic is assigned to the class which is to be researched. Then after field work the topic is presented to the whole class.

Think pair share: In this technique a specific problem is given to the student who are asked to think about the problem alone. The students then share their thoughts with each other and make a report to be shared with whole class.

Case study: In this case the students are stimulated to use their own knowledge to solve a problem.

Puzzles: In this the students are forced to a puzzles situation and they are asked to plan for solving the situation faced by them through their own thinking.

Minute's writing: Here the students are presented with a question and they are asked to write their responses in a short time less than two minutes.

Socratic questioning: The students are encouraged to give answer to specific questions related to a subject.

Activity-based Teaching (ABT)

ABT is a method concentrating on the concept or thought that learners must be involved through activities. In this method the teacher facilitates and guides the students. Several activities and responsibilities can be used and recycled in this kind of platform, allowing schoolchildren to become directly involved and participate in the learning practice, instead of being passive.

The purpose of this method (activity based teaching) for any teacher is to engage learners directly, into a lesson as a result that they come to be a contributor in their own learning. Various traditional methods of education often depend on the educator as an experienced expert who just provided information to learners. In this form of environment, the students were expected to do as they pleased, absorb new information, anyway of any particular style of struggle made on their own behalf. The learners were educated, but there was not of necessity a focus on them being a participant and actively learning in a classroom.

Bell and Kahrhoff (2006) concluded from their research on the related topic with comments that, "All the educators agree on the point that an active learning environment is more conducive compared to a passive one. Various processes through which students can be engaged to build conceptual ideas and understanding the basic skills that will be beneficial for them in future."

The ABT is more effective for obtaining permanent results as concluded by Shah I and Rahat (2014). They say, “After analyzing the information gathered it is now cleared that effectiveness of learning depends upon the method of teaching being employed learning by physical involvement of children give more outstanding results compare to lecture method.”

Fallon et al (2013) conducted a research on activity based approach. They targeted the undergraduate students for their research studies. They concluded that if students are not engaged by the teachers, they will not gain the full advantages of knowledge also that the ABL increases students’ involvement which make the education more interesting and easy for the students. They explain the view that different barriers to the of ABL must be understand and managed properly to get maximum result.

Advantages of Activities Over Other Approaches

Advantages of activities as a method of learning over other approaches. What activity is? How is it used? How it is more useful in teaching? Why is it preferred by teachers over other approaches?

Activity combines these three important elements of teaching-learning process. These are three important aspects:

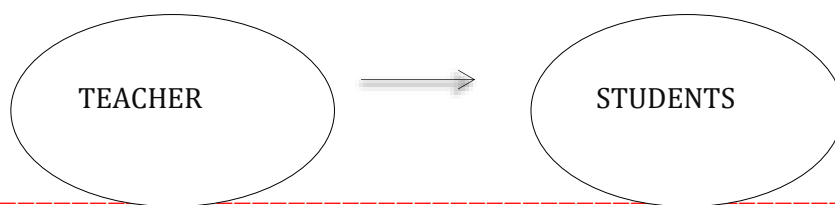
Teacher: Who is supposed to be the knowledge given?

Learner: Who is the knowledge receiver or constructor of knowledge?

Subject’s integration: So, all these are combined. The teacher is taken into account, the learners are learning, and the subject matter, so all these processes are combined.

Learner-Centered Approaches are better than other approaches. Activity is a learner-centered approach. Activity means learning by doing, the knowledge is gain, or is constructed by the students. While learning, doing the activity, this is in his/her own environment. So, the child is very comfortable because he/she is in his/her own environment and is doing activity according to their own piece. This approach tacks into account to four essential elements which are required for learning.

Traditional Teaching Method



Traditional teaching method Figure 2.5

Commonly, the teacher provides information; the class provides content only to the entire classroom and inclines to strain simply on the factual information of the learners. So, it can guess what teacher says and, also the learners listen only. Hence, “the learning procedure is expected to be passive and take very tiny part in their learning procedure.” (Ulrich et, al. 1998.)

Various scholars of education have reached that traditional lecture method has limited effectiveness in teaching and learning procedure. Learners tend to remain inactive and their devotion becomes extinct approximately fifteen-twenty minutes after the academic lecture.

Objectives of the Study

1. To find out the achievement of students through lecture based method.
2. To determine the achievement of students through activity based method.
3. To assess activity based teaching and traditional teaching method through students’ achievement in sub domain knowledge.
4. To compare traditional teaching method and activity based method through students’ achievement in sub domain comprehension.
5. To compare activity based teaching and traditional teaching method through students’ achievement in sub domain application.

Research Methodology

This is an experimental study to investigate the effect of Activity Based Teaching on students’ performance in the subject of science on grade seven students at public sector elementary schools. There were two variables: teaching methodology and students’ achievement. The first one is an independent variable while the second one is the dependent variable.

Research Design

This study is based on an experimental design to define the influence or effects of activity based teaching on students learning outcome. For this study, the subject of general science was taught to 7th. class students at the selected public school for six months. Forty students of grade seven were selected on voluntary basis. These total students were divided into two groups. First group was control group which was taught with traditional teaching methods. The second group was the experimental group that was taught through modern activity based teaching. Before starting the experiment, pre-test was taken from both groups. The score was recorded accordingly.

After completion of the experiment the post-test was conducted, and the result was correlated with the first score.

Based on Bloom 1956 taxonomy of objectives, the first three cognitive i.e., knowledge, comprehension and application ability of the students was analyzed.

Population of the Study

All the students of grade 7 of the govt. boys' schools of Dist. Dir. constituted the population of the study.

Sample

Gay (1996) has suggested a minimum of 15 students in a subject in each group for an experimental study. So, investigators selected 21 students in every group to confirm the inner quality validity of the experimentation. In this method overall sample consists of forty-two (42) students (boys) of 7th grade. Volunteer sampling was utilized to select a school for leading this experimental study. The school headmaster was requested to volunteer cooperation. The students were distributed on the basis of pre-test score in experimental and control groups -- students' score good, average and below average.

Simple random sampling was utilized for the selection of schoolboys in both the control and experimental group.

Control and Experimental Groups Strategy

There were 42 students voluntarily selected the GHS of district Dir (KP) for this investigational experimental study. The overall number of students was distributed into 2 groups equally, experimental and control group. For the determination of this experimental study, there were three groups based on their marks obtained in the pre-test, such as good students, average, and below average. Descending order was used by the help of scorecard, the best (14) students from whom obtained the scorers i.e. From 1 to 14 were considered as the group of good students, and then the next fourteen (14) from 15 to 28 were as average students. And those students, who got score from 29 to 42, were considered below average, Control and experimental group comprised seven (7) students from every group of good, average and below average as per their scores of pre-test.

Good Test Analysis of Pretest

The table display independently the total mean with the standard deviation score of the pre-test of the two groups (experimental, control) in the demonstrate portions of the test the total mean value was 47.903 as well the standard deviation was

it 12.68 8 for the experimental group. There was a minor difference found between the two groups, so the value was not important. A result of the performance of both groups in pre-test was average. The value of significance of both the groups was 0.417 which are more than 0.05; it indicates the significant change between the two groups. The Cohen's d value noted 0.2 which was shown in the study defined constant; to T-test significance displays greatness of influence Cohen's has allied these following phases of the verified effect.

- (1). "Slight if = or < than 0.2"
- (2). Medium if approximately 0.5

- (3). "Large if = or > than 0.8"

Mean		The Standard Deviation		T	Df	Significance (2-tailed)	Cohen's D. Value
Control	Experimental	Control	Experimental				
6.3	5.1	3	3.3	0.346	40	0.187	0.4

Table: Control and experimental groups' pre-test score results in sub domain cognitive ability "knowledge":

The mentioned table shows the standard deviation on the sub part of the cognitive ability "knowledge" through pre-test of both groups (control and experimental). The mean value of control group was 6.3 and Standard Deviation was individually 3.0; As well the mean value was 5.1 and Standard Deviation was 3.3 of the experimental groups. So In both groups "T value" was 0.346, the variation was 40 and the signature was 0.187 which was insignificant. There was no Cohen's D score of both the groups calculated 0.4, it was little than 0.5. That difference was very little. Both the groups looks like equal.

Table: Pre-test values of the two groups (experimental and control) in the sub domain of cognitive ability "Application"

Mean	The Standard Deviation	T	Df	Significance	Cohen's D. Value

Control	Experimental	Control	Experimental			(2-tailed)	0.2
29.713	----	11.4766	----		40		
	32.380		12.6746	-714		478	

The table shows the similarity of both groups (experimental & control). The control group mean was noted 29.71 with Standard Deviation 11.47. While the experimental group mean was noted 32.380 and the “Standard evaluation” was 12.674.

The considered “T value” was 71 using DF of 40. Thaws displays Insignificant

Deferred of both the groups. The little difference was too verified the Cohen's D, value was 0.2. It was slighter than the 0.5; the situation shows that the change was insignificant.

To realize the test scores the regularity of the both groups, The Leavens test was used, which shows that the data was generally divided as well as the performances of experimental group was very nearly related in the pre-test and not deference was studied.

Table Post-test scores in subdomains of cognitive ability "knowledge" of both the groups .

Mean		The Standard Deviation		T	Df	Significance (2-tailed)	Cohen's D. Value
Control	Experimental	Control	Experimental				
13.91	----	4.311	----		40	.000	1.90

Mean		The Standard Deviation,		T	Df	Significance (2-tailed)	Value of Cohen's D.
Control	Experimental	Control	Experimental				
30.18	6.56	13.854	4.341	5.49	40		0.25
	26.66		13.121	845		401	

In the table, the means value in "knowledge" based questions of the experimental group was 6.56 with the standard deviation 4.34, although the mean value was 13.91 with the Standard Deviation value was 4.31 of the control group. The Cohen's D value was considered as 1.90, so it was bigger than 0.5. As a result of these complete statistics show the significant variance of both the groups in the performance.

Table: Post-test scores in subdomains "Application" of the two groups: (experimental and control)

Mean		The Standard Deviation		T	Df	Significance (2-tailed)	Value of Cohen's D.
Control	Experimental	Control	Experimental				
18.94	26.66	4.030	3.363	5.818	40	.000	1.78
	12.28		3.363				

The above table appearances the total mean value in the sub domain of cognitive abilities "application" of the experimental group was it 26.66 also the Standard Deviation be present 13.12, Although the control group the mean value was 30.18 with the standard deviation be present 13.121 in that order. The Cohen's D value was it considered as 0.25. Therefore all these data shows the significant variance in both groups performance.

Recommendations

The following recommendations can be made regarding the findings initiate from the current research:

- 1- The findings demonstrate that, ABT provided very excellent outcomes that must be implemented for all the subjects of the school in the classroom and especially for lab.
- 2- All teachers must be completely aware from ABT, its process and components.
- 3- Teachers must be motivated and encouraged to apply in the classroom the Activity based teaching method.
- 4- Pre-service teachers must be offered more chances for practice to experience activity-based teaching.
- 5- Activity based teaching is necessary it must be the part of training in pre-service as a teaching method.
- 6- The study had been restricted to select some units for the grad 7th the Science subject Textbook. It must be extended for other zones as fine.
- 7- The sample of this study was very partial hence the researcher tackled various critical problems and difficulties for the normalcy of data. In the future, some additional studies would be accomplished in moderately extended areas.
- 8- Experimental studies must be supported to determine the effect of activity-based teaching on pre-service trainers' cognitive, affective, and motor skills.
- 9- The observation was led by a single observer, was engaged in relative ABT. Additional researchers need to be engaged and additional educators' thoughts on the ABT may be considered.

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Development of Morphophonemic Structures in Typically Developing Kannada Speaking Children of Age Range 4-8 Years

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Abstract

Language is the most important aspect in the life of all being. We use language to express inner thoughts and emotions, make sense of complex and abstract thought, and also to learn how to communicate with others. Language acquisition is a hierarchical process which develops from birth to several years of life. Morphophonemic changes are phonological or sound modification that results when morphemes are placed together. The present study focuses on the development of morphophonemic structure among children who are native speakers of Kannada language. The study highlights the need to carry out more research in this area for better understanding of language acquisition among these children in order to develop both assessment and intervention programmes. Presently, the lack of acquisition data has hinged the development of any standardized tests in Kannada. Hence, the present study aims to explore morphophonemic structures in Kannada speaking typically developing children with the objective of analysis the data of among these children across 4-8 years. The result show that these structure start developing by 4years of age. Most importantly as age increases these structures acquisition also increases. By 7-8 years of age most of these structures develop completely. The study also discusses various studies supporting the results.

Introduction

Language is the most important aspect in the life of all beings. We use language to express inner thoughts and emotions, make sense of complex and abstract thought, and also to learn how to communicate with others. When we communicate with native speaker, we

need a good language and pronunciation. So that in English we know about linguistic and its process of learning. Linguistic of morphology is the study of word structure. It seeks to characterize the system of categories and rules involved in word formation and interpretation. When we talk about morphology, it related with Morphophonology. Morphophonology is a branch of linguistics which studies about the phonological structure of morphemes, the alternative series which serve a morphological function and the combinatory phonic modifications of morphemes which happen when they are combined. Morphophonemics may be defined as analysis and classification of the phonological factors which affect the pronunciation of morphemes or, correspondingly, the morphological factors which affect the appearance of phonemes. In Morphophonemics, we basically study interaction between morphological and phonological processes and how they these factors affect each other. Morphophonemic change usually occurs at morpheme boundaries and it involves sounds that are associated with separate phonemes.

Morphophonemic changes are phonological or sound modifications that result when morphemes are placed together. For example, electric changes to electricity (Ingram, 1947). Several rules for morphophonemic change are learned gradually throughout elementary school. One rule, usually learned by first grade, pertains to the regular plural –s (Berko, 1958; Menyuk, 1964). The 5- to 6-year-old has the rule for /s/ and /z/ but not for /Iz/ (Berko, 1958). Will recall that /s/ is used with voiceless and /z/ with voiced ending consonants. In contrast, /z/ is used on words that end with a sibilant sound, such as /s/, /z/, /sh/, and /z/. Nouns ending in -sk and -st clusters may be difficult for some students to pluralize, even in third grade (Stephen M. Koziol, 1973). During the school years the child also learns the rules for vowel shifting. For example, the /ai/ sound is divine changes to an /I/ in divinity. Knowledge of vowel shifting is gained only gradually. The 5-year-old child does not understand the rules (Arlene I. Moskowitz, 1973). It is not until age 17 that most children learn to apply all the rules (Myerson, 1976).

At present very little is certain about children's development of the adult system of phonological representation. Generative theory implies that when Children's speech resembles adult speech, children must be forming and using segmental representation (Noam Chomsky & Morris Halle, 1968; Schane, 1973), but how abstract children's segments are at any stage is unclear.

Chomsky, 1970 has shown that children are still learning vowel shifts a morphophonemic change for such cases as evade, evasive, and evasion into their adolescent years. Segment changes appear, however, even in inflected forms used by pre-school children. For example in (Berko, 1958), children used [s] for the plural morpheme affixed to word forms ending in a voiceless consonants (e.g. bikes) and [z] for word-forms ending in voiced consonants. Berko's data supplies little evidence concerning children's abilities to make segment changes in base morphemes, however on nonsense items where such changes might have occurred (*Bing and *gling), only 4 of 80. Children changed the vowel to form a

past tense (e.g., [ran] or Eg1ae9d]). Using real words, seventeen first graders, but no nursery, schoolers changed ring to rang. Whether children represent-forms such as ring and rang and get and getting as separate lexical items or whether they are aware, of the semantic and/or phonological relationships has not yet been determined. Some writers have suggested that children's segments may be closer to the phonetic level than the morphophonemic level hypothesized for adults--for example, they may at some point represent the various positional-allomorphs of /t/ (see example 2 above) as categorically distinct segments (Chomsky, 1970; Sayin, 1972).

Research on language acquisition in India has been carried out mostly through thesis and dissertation (Sucharitha, Sujatha and Karanth, 1995; Monteiro & Kumaraswamy, 2013; Nitha & Rao, 2010; Radhika & Kumaraswamy, 2010; Rajalakshmi & Rao, 2003; Ranjan & Rao, 2005; Shastry & Rao, 2011). Large scale data in any one language for different age range is unavailable. Hence it is difficult to visualize and describe language acquisition in many Indian languages. Literature review in different Indian languages shows that even though several morphophonemic structures are assessed in typically developing children, few are limited studies were done on morphophonemic aspects in Kannada language.

Kumaraswamy (2019) investigated descriptive analysis of language in Kannada speaking children with Intellectual disability. The result revealed that the usage of enunciative vowel (100%), glide insertion (30%), glide reduction (90%), vowel deletion (75%), consonant cluster reduction (70%) and addition of clusters (90%) in typically developing group of 4-6 years and in subjects with intellectual disability group it can be seen that only enunciative vowels (100%), glide insertion (57%), glide reduction (33%), vowel deletion (67%), consonant cluster reduction (47%), stop insertions (61%), consonant substitution (33%) were used by the subjects. Sruthy, Gupta and Kumaraswamy (2018) suggested that acquisition of morphophonemic structures in Malayalam speaking children with intellectual disability showed poorer performance as compared to typically developing children.

Subba Rao, 1995 evaluated development of Kannada language in 4-6 year old children with mental retardation matched on mental age. The study noted delayed and deviance in development of several language structures. In morphophonemic section, normal (4-5 years and 5-6 years group) showed four (enunciative vowel, glide insertion, vowel deletion and consonant cluster reduction) out of eight in their samples. Subjects with mental retardation of 4-5 years lower mental age group performed better than higher mental age (5-6 years). When both groups were compared, only enunciated vowel structures were found in both the groups in equal percentage. Some structures like glide insertion were found only in lower mental age group.

Need for the Study

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Development of Morphophonemic Structures in Typically Developing Kannada Speaking Children of
Age Range 4-8 Years

The studies reported are more of western studies. In India researches on language acquisition has been done through thesis and dissertation (Sucharitha, Sujatha and Karanth, 1995; Monteiro & Kumaraswamy, 2013; Nitha & Rao, 2010; Radhika & Kumaraswamy, 2010; Rajalakshmi & Rao, 2003; Ranjan & Rao, 2005; Shastry & Rao, 2011). Large scale data in any one language for different age range is unavailable. Hence it is difficult to visualize and describe language acquisition in many Indian languages. Literature review in different Indian languages shows that even though several morphophonemic structures are assessed in typically developing children, few are limited studies were done on morphophonemic aspects in Kannada language. Hence the present study was taken to investigate the development of morphophonemic structures in Kannada.

Aim of the Study

The development of morphophonemic structures in typically developing Kannada speaking children in the age range of 4-8 years.

Objectives of the Study

1. Keeping the current situation review in focus the present study focuses to obtain and analyze the comprehensive language data using natural spontaneous speech elicitation module.
2. The data in Indian language will expand the existing knowledge of language development in typically developing children.
3. Will help us verify the data veracity across linguistic and cultural group.

Method

Participants:

Group-A: 20 Kannada speaking children of aged 4-5 years (10 Male; 10 Female).

Group-B: 20 Kannada speaking children of aged 5-6 years (10 Male; 10 Female).

Group-C: 20 Kannada speaking children of aged 6-7 years (10 Male; 10 Female).

Group-D: 20 Kannada speaking children of aged 7-8 years (10 Male; 10 Female).

Research Design: Krushkal Willis test and Mann Whitney test was used.

Materials: Linguistic Profile test in Kannada (Karanth, 1995)

Procedure: Informed consent was obtained from the participants of all the groups. Each participant was tested individually in a noise free room. Data was collected using natural spontaneous speech elicitation module and picture description task.

Scoring: A score of '1' was assigned for each correct response. Score of '0' was assigned for each incorrect response.

Results and Discussion

The data obtained were subjected to statistical analysis using SPSS-17 software. Statistical test used were Krushkal Willis test. The results of the present study are presented below:

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Table 1: The results for enunciative vowels across age

GENDER	GROUP	NUMBER	MEAN	SD
MALE	A	10	5.00	.00
	B	10	5.00	.00
	C	10	5.00	.00
	D	10	5.00	.00
FEMALE	A	10	5.00	.00
	B	10	5.00	.00
	C	10	5.00	.00
	D	10	5.00	.00

As shown in table: 1, performance of enunciative vowels across age indicated mean = 5.00; SD= .00. The performance of enunciative vowels across age was not statistically significant at 0.05 level of significance.

Table 2: The results for glide insertion across age.

GENDER	GROUP	NUMBER	MEAN	SD
MALE	A	10	.00	.00
	B	10	.00	.00
	C	10	5.00	.00
	D	10	5.00	.00
FEMALE	A	10	.00	.00
	B	10	.00	.00
	C	10	5.00	.00
	D	10	5.00	.00

As shown in table: 2, performance of male group A and B for glide insertion (M=.00, SD= .00) and performance of male group C and D for glide insertion (M= 5.00, SD= .00). The performance of female group A and B for glide insertion (M = .00, SD=.00) and performance of female group C and D for glide insertion (M= 5.00, SD=.00). No gender difference was seen across the age for glide insertion.

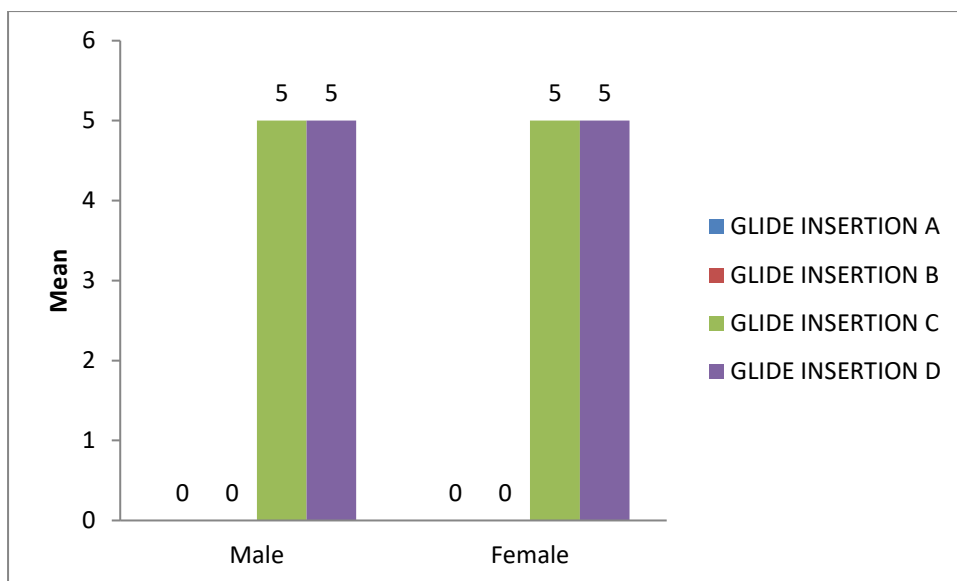


Fig 1: Performance across age for glide insertion.

Results in table 2 and fig1: indicates that, the group A and B had mean value of .00, SD =.00 and the group C and D had mean value of 5.00, SD =.00 for males. The group A and B had mean value of .00, SD =.00 and the group C and D had mean value of 5.00, SD =.00 for females. The performance across the groups A, B and C, D indicated significant differences at 0.05 levels. The groups A, B of males and females performed poorly on enunciative vowels in comparison with the groups C, D of males and females.

Table 3: The results for glide reduction across age.

GENDER	GROUP	NUMBER	MEAN	SD
MALE	A	10	.00	.00
	B	10	4.00	2.11
	C	10	5.00	.00
	D	10	5.00	.00
FEMALE	A	10	1.00	2.11
	B	10	4.00	2.11
	C	10	5.00	.00
	D	10	5.00	.00

As shown in table: 3, Performance of group A (M= .00, SD=.00); group B (M= 4.00, SD= 2.11) and group C, D (M=5.00, SD= .00) for glide reduction in males. Performance of group A (M= 1.00, SD=2.11); group B (M= 4.00, SD= 2.11) and group C, D (M=5.00, SD= .00) for glide reduction in females. The performance of group C and D was more for glide reduction in comparison with group A and B.

Table 4: The results for vowel deletion across age

GENDER	GROUP	NUMBER	MEAN	SD
MALE	A	10	.00	.00
	B	10	.00	.00
	C	10	5.00	.00
	D	10	5.00	.00
FEMALE	A	10	.00	.00
	B	10	.00	.00
	C	10	5.00	.00
	D	10	5.00	.00

As shown in table: 4, performance of male group A and B for vowel deletion (M =.00, SD = .00) and performance of male group C and D for vowel deletion (M = 5.00, SD = .00) for the males. The performance of female group A and B for vowel deletion (M = .00, SD =.00) and performance of female group C and D for vowel deletion (M= 5.00, SD=.00) for females. The performance of group C and D was more for vowel deletion in comparison with group A and B.

Table 5: The results for consonant substitution across age

GENDER	GROUP	NUMBER	MEAN	SD
MALE	A	10	.00	.00
	B	10	.00	.00
	C	10	5.00	.00
	D	10	5.00	.00
FEMALE	A	10	.00	.00
	B	10	.00	.00
	C	10	5.00	.00
	D	10	5.00	.00

As shown in table: 5, performance of male group A and B for consonant substitution (M = .00, SD = .00) and performance of male group C and D for consonant substitution (M = 5.00, SD = .00). The performance of female group A and B for consonant substitution (M = .00, SD =.00) and performance of female group C and D for consonant substitution (M = 5.00, S =.00). The performance of group C and D was more for consonant substitution in comparison with group A and B.

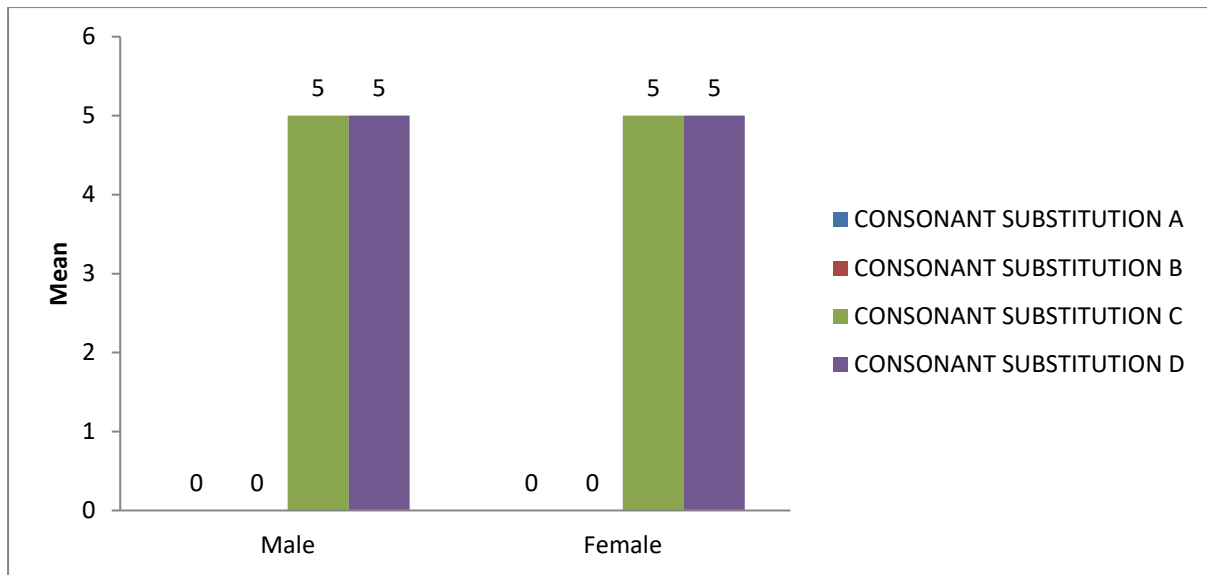


Fig 2: Performance across age for consonant substitution

Results in table 5 and fig 2: indicates that, the group A and B had mean value of .00, SD =.00 and the group C and D had mean value of 5.00, SD= .00 for males. The group A and B had mean value of .00, SD =.00 and the group C and D had mean value of 5.00, SD= .00 for females. The performance across the groups A, B and C, D indicated significant differences at 0.05 levels of significance. The groups A, B of males and female performed poorly on consonant substitution in comparison with the groups C, D of males and females.

Table 6: The results for consonant addition across age

GENDER	GROUP	NUMBER	MEAN	SD
MALE	A	10	.00	.00
	B	10	.00	.00
	C	10	5.00	.00
	D	10	5.00	.00
FEMALE	A	10	.00	.00
	B	10	.00	.00
	C	10	5.00	.00
	D	10	5.00	.00

As shown in table: 6, performance of male group A and B for consonant addition (M =.00, SD = .00) and performance of male group C and D for consonant addition (M = 5.00, SD = .00). The performance of female group A and B for consonant addition (M = .00, SD =.00) and performance of female group C and D for consonant addition (M = 5.00, SD =.00).

The performance of group C and D was more for consonant addition in comparison with group A and B.

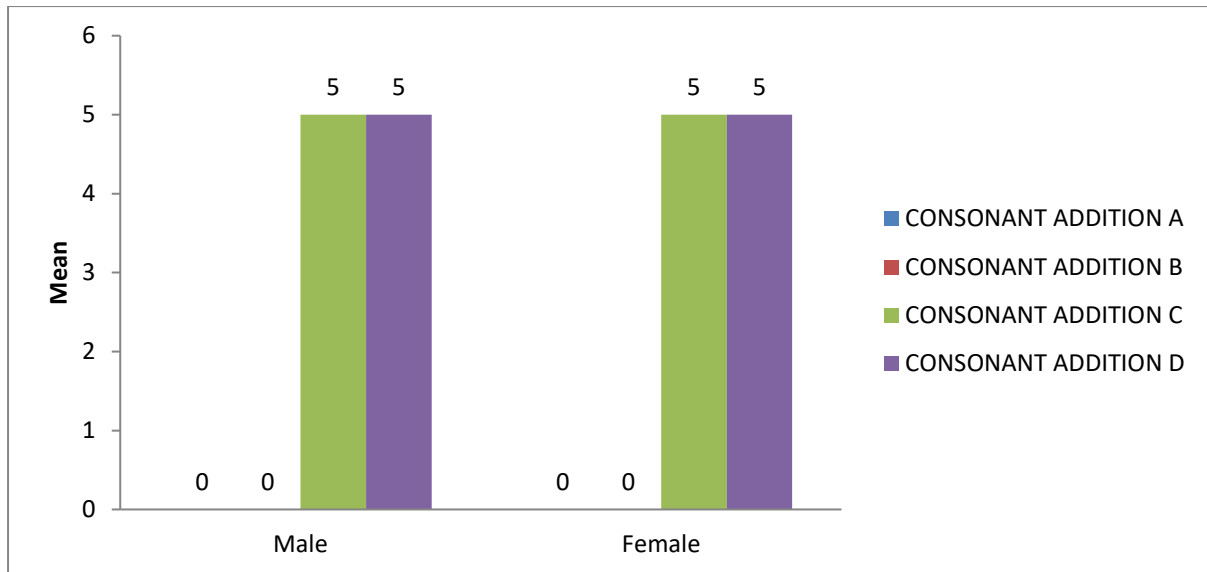


Fig 3: Performance across age for consonant addition

Results in table 6 and fig 3: indicates that, the group A and B had mean value of .00, SD =.00 and the group C and D had mean value of 5.00, SD= .00 for males. The group A and B had mean value of .00, SD =.00 and the group C and D had mean value of 5.00, SD= .00 for females. The performance across the groups A, B and C, D indicated significant differences at 0.05 levels of significance. The groups A, B of males and females performed poorly on consonant addition in comparison with the groups C, D of males and females.

Conclusion

Present study investigated the acquisition of morphophonemic structures across the age and gender. The analysis of speech samples revealed that there was a significant difference in the acquisition of morphophonemic structures across the age with the exception of Enunciative vowels. These results were supported by the study done by Kumaraswamy, (2018). It has been found that Enunciative vowels were used by the age of 4 years. The study also revealed that there was a significant difference in the acquisition of other morphophonemic aspects such as glide insertion, glide reduction, vowel deletion, consonant substitution and consonant addition across the age. Glide insertion were used by the age of 6years. Glide reduction were used by the age of 5 years. Vowel deletion was used by the age of 6 years. Consonant substitutions were used by the age of 6 years and consonant additions were used by the age of 6 years. The study also compared the results across the gender, and it was found to be no significant difference across the gender for the acquisition of morphophonemic structures.

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An Analysis of the Actual English Language Classroom at the Primary Level in Kashmir: Problems and Suggestions

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Abstract

English is considered to be a *lingua franca* because it helps people to communicate with each other irrespective of their cultural backgrounds. English is playing a major role in all the sections like education, medicine, engineering, and business. It is an extraordinarily powerful language. In Jammu and Kashmir, English is introduced as a subject from class 1 in all the government and private schools. Many theories have been propounded by various scholars about the process of language teaching and language learning and, on the basis of these theories, several teaching methods were developed which include Grammar Translation Method, Direct Method and Communicative Language Teaching Method among the contemporary methods of teaching and learning a language. This paper explores the actual English language Teaching Classroom of the government schools at the primary level in Kashmir Valley and discovers what actually happens in the classroom. It will also highlight the teaching inadequacy and will suggest some remedies as well.

Keywords: Kashmir, English language teaching, teaching methods, Teachers, Classroom.

Introduction

English is the language of international communication as it is the only language that is spoken and understood by a majority of the people in the world. It is considered to be a *lingua franca* because it helps the people to communicate with each other irrespective of their cultural backgrounds. English is playing a major role in many sections like education, medicine, engineering, and business. In Jammu and Kashmir, English is introduced as a subject right from class 1, in all the government and private schools. Currently, English is a highly demanded language in the world and particularly in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Everyone dreams to be proficient in English communicative skills and that is why there are hundreds of

English speaking institutes/schools in the Valley that try to inculcate the English language skills in the desirous students.

English is taught as a subject of study in the schools of Jammu and Kashmir and not as a language, and the learning material has been designed in such a way that it should not only develop the English Language skills among the students but also boost their interest in the literature of English. But after passing the middle and secondary school education, the students are still not able to communicate in the English Language, even though they are taught English from class 1 of their schooling.

This paper is an attempt to ascertain the lacunas which prevail during the teaching-learning situations, to study the problems faced in the teaching-learning process and to suggest solutions for the same. Many theories have been propounded by various scholars from time to time about the language teaching and language learning and on the basis of these theories, several teaching methods were developed like the earliest Grammar Translation Method, Direct Method and Communicative Methods among the contemporary methods of language teaching and learning.

Review of Literature

A lot of work has been done in the field of English Language teaching, and researchers are continuously trying to find new Avenues which can become fruitful for this broad domain of English Language Teaching Research.

Awan, A. G., & Shafi, M. (2016) conducted a study in Pakistan in which they found that the students from government secondary school D.G Khan are preferring the Grammar Translation Method in place of the many contemporary language teaching methods. They are more comfortable in using Urdu rather than English while talking to their friends. The study also shows teachers use Grammar Translation Method because they find it more suitable and effective than direct method.

Richards, J.C., & Rodgers, T. (2001) have discussed almost all the methods of Language Teaching and Language leaning starting from the Grammar translation Method and all the present methods with detailed advantages and disadvantages, in their book. The role of the English teachers and the students has also been discussed thoroughly. Richards, J.C. (1996) has discussed the teachers' Maxims while they are teaching. The maxims are actually the principles a teacher develops, on how he is going to teach the students. These maxims reflect cultural beliefs, experience, training of the teachers, etc. Kak and Farooq have also written a paper on needs of English Language Teachers where they have suggested that the studies of English literature should be separated from the field of English Language in the context of Kashmir. They have also suggested special training for the teachers of English Language teaching.

Objectives of the Study

The present paper attempts to analyze the English language teaching in the actual classroom situation in the Government schools of Kashmir valley.

1. The paper will highlight the teaching methodology adopted by English Language Teachers, and their knowledge about the different teaching methods.
2. To explore whether the teaching-learning process is teacher-centric or student-centric.
3. Suggestions will also be made for the problems that act as the barriers for the smooth teaching-learning process for English language.

Methodology

The present study is based on the firsthand experience of the researchers while doing their B.Ed. programme and getting the opportunity to observe the English language teachers while teaching English in the actual classroom.

Four primary schools have been taken for this study from Pulwama and Srinagar, 2 schools from each district. The researchers observed the teachers of classes 4 and 5 in both the districts and a total of 16 classes were observed in which 8 classes were from Pulwama and 4 from each class, and likewise 8 from Srinagar, 4 from each class. Manual notes were taken by the researchers while observing the classes. In addition to the observation, some questions were also asked by the researchers to the teachers of English Language regarding the teaching-learning scenario. The teachers' responses were recorded and later analyzed in order to come to the conclusion.

Analysis and Discussion

During the analysis it was found that the majority of the teachers use Grammar translation method for teaching the students of English. There is no scope for the recent and advanced Language teaching methods. In the actual classroom situation, the teacher was found reading aloud from the English textbook and was followed by the students in the same manner. After reading, the teacher explains the meaning of the text to the students which they are supposed to remember by heart. The teachers were found using Urdu and Mother tongue which is Kashmiri most of the time in the classroom. It was also observed that speaking the English language was not the goal of teaching and learning, and oral practice was limited to students reading aloud the sentences. It was found that children are taught through rote learning. The students are the passive listeners and thus have no active participation in the teaching learning process. There were no lesson-plans which a teacher was supposed to have planned before entering the class and as such there are no general or particular goals to be achieved. The only goal, teachers were found to be focused on, was the syllabus. Speaking English language in the classrooms and students' participation were hardly noticeable. There was no extra learning material in the classroom like phonetic charts or diagrams supposed to be pasted on the walls of the classroom.

Talking about the recent shift from teacher centric approach to student centric approach, based on the observation it can be concluded that the approach is totally teacher centric, as there is no scope of involvement for the students or a role to play.

The teachers were asked two simple questions regarding the teaching of English.

1. What do you know about the different teaching methods of language?
2. Why do you use grammar translation method only?

Regarding the different teaching methods, 75% of the teachers responded that they know different teaching methods and 25% were not having any information about the different teaching methods. But when they were asked to discuss about the recent Language teaching methods, they were not able to speak clearly about any method.

In response to the question of using the Grammar translation Method only, the teachers admitted that they use the grammar translation method because they don't get any response from the students when they use the direct method or any contemporary method of teaching English, because the students don't understand the information conveyed. Most of the students in the government schools were found to be the first generation learners. The teachers also claimed they are given the target to complete the syllabus within a definite time period. The teachers also spoke about the irregularity of the students, not completing the provided homework and thus not cooperating in the teaching-learning process. The teachers claimed that most of the students are not able to read from the textbooks. In spite of the fact that the students taken into observation are from 4th and 5th classes, the teachers are not able to switch to the direct method or communicative method of teaching as they claimed that the children won't be able to cope up.

Conclusion

English language teaching has become a highly demanding field in global world in general, and Kashmir in particular. Better English means the better opportunities for people. People feel proud if they are able to communicate successfully in the English language. It has been always the quest of many linguists and language teachers to find and implement better methods of language teaching in the actual classroom which can develop the language skills efficiently and effectively in the learners. English is being taught as a subject in the government schools of Jammu and Kashmir, and not as a language. Based on the data and its analysis, it can be concluded that government teachers use the traditional methods of teaching and are far away from using the recent methods of teaching English, like the direct method or communicative language teaching method. The approach to teaching in the teaching-learning process is completely teacher-centric. There is no role for the students to play; rather they are mere passive learners. Neither the teachers use contemporary methods of teaching nor the students cooperate to participate actively in the classroom. In conclusion, it can be summed up that the government needs to update the teachers supposed to teach English with contemporary

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Problems and Suggestions

teaching methods by organizing conferences, workshops, seminars and teacher training courses frequently, and to engage the parents of the students as well, so that the goal of teaching and learning English as a language can be achieved efficiently and effectively.

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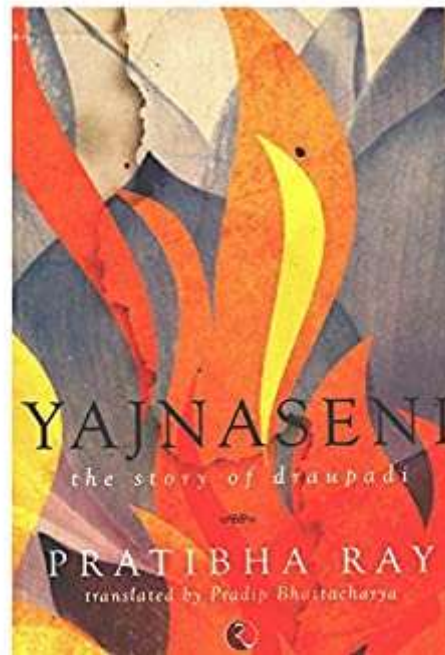
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**Symbol of Valour, *Dharma* and Liberation:
Pratibha Ray's *Yajnaseni***

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Courtesy: https://www.amazon.com/Yajnaseni-Story-Draupadi-Pratibha-Ray-ebook/dp/B015P6AZ4O/ref=sr_1_1?dchild=1&keywords=Yagnaseni&qid=1617507227&s=books&sr=1-1

Abstract

The character of Draupadi or Yagnaseni in the *Mahabharata* shows the subaltern position of women in the society. Her character portrayal is of immense interest to women writers who explore the various dimensions of her personality and study it from a feminist point of view. Pratibha Ray's *Yajnaseni* is one such work that delineates the character of Draupadi from a feministic perspective and establishes her as one of the greatest women characters of time who preserved the dharma, displayed courage, and nurtured feminine liberation. The current research paper aims to study Pratibha Ray's delineation of Draupadi in her novel *Yajnaseni*. The character of Draupadi has been critically examined to establish the fact that Draupadi is a representative of the womankind and womanhood. She is a symbol of valour, *dharma*, femininity, and liberation.

Keywords: Pratibha Ray, *Mahabharata*, Yagnaseni, feminine, valour, liberation, *dharma*.

The core Indian culture is reflected in the myths that form an integral part of the Indian history. It can be said that the thoughts, ideas, and ideologies that govern the Indian way of life have most often been the result of the various myths that provided a pattern and shaped the thoughts of generations. The myths are a reflection of the state of the society during most of the times and also throw light on the gender divide that amounted to discrimination during the era. *Mahabharata*, the greatest epic of the mythical history of our country, is a repository of the true reflection of condition of the society of the age. Interestingly, it stands relevant even today. In the words of Deshpande: “If there is one single work that which has proved to be of the greatest significance in the making of life and thought of the Indian people and whose tradition continues to live even to this day and influence, in one way or another, the various aspects of Indian life, it is the *Mahabharata*”. (199). It is also an account of how the male and the female had different and defined codes of conduct that essentially bordered on discrimination.

Sunal Sharma remarks “every generation writes its own new history” (139). This history is the mirror of the society of that times. The great history and myths of India have given a true picture of the society and always presented woman as the ‘subaltern’ with their position and status clearly defined. And that is why women writers have continued to explore the realms of myth and tried to study the women characters from a feminist point of view. Deshpande’s statement can be considered pertinent in this regard: “...the basic problem is that not only myths have originated with men, their interpretation has also been in male hands.” (87). Thus, women writers have often tried to provide a fresh perspective to the understanding of the woman characters in the mythical history and attempted to voice the anguish that enveloped the lives of these female characters who were always under the constraints of the boundaries defined for them by the conventional patriarchal society of the age.

Pratibha Ray, an Odia writer, is one such writer who has taken up the character of Draupadi or Yagnaseni from the great epic *Mahabharata* and delineated it from the point of female who is not at peace with herself because of the gender discriminatory norms of the age. She has depicted Draupadi as questioning the system of her times. She also highlights the numerous trials and tribulations that became a part of her life after her marriage with great *Pandavas*.

The current paper aims at retelling the story of the female protagonist of *Mahabharata* ‘Draupadi’ from a feminist point of view. It delineates the psychological trouble that disturbs Draupadi’s peace of mind and forces her to interrogate her status in the political and social scenario of the age. The novel in an overt manner articulates the questions and intrigues that disturb Draupadi as she realizes her marginalized position in the society.

The novel is an articulation of the anguish and travails of Draupadi as she sails through her life.

The introduction of the novel presents Draupadi as the epitome of female courage who challenges the male ego and shows her resent for it. The tone of the novel is thus, set. It is going to challenge the established patriarchal set up of the society.

Rishi Ved Vyasa in *Mahabharata* depicts Draupadi as an extraordinary woman with ethereal beauty and whose beauty becomes the cause of the great war of *Mahabharata*. Even Ray describes the beauty of Yagnaseni in the following words: “Thick hair like the waves of the ocean and large entrancing blue lotus like eyes, radiant with intelligence!” (8) But it is not only her beauty that defines her. Ray eulogizes the extraordinary valour of Draupadi in challenging the very construct of womanhood. In the Afterword, Ray remarks: “Draupadi is the challenge of womanhood, the embodied form of action, knowledge, devotion and power. Such a woman who faced torment, insult, mental and emotional dilemma has not yet been on the earth” (400). Thus, Draupadi is defined by her extraordinary external beauty and indescribable strength of character with which she faces every challenge that comes in her way.

Yagnaseni or Draupadi was born for a purpose. She rose from the alter of the fire with the aim to requite the abuse her father had borne. It was vaticinated the Draupadi’s birth was meant to sow the seeds of the destruction of the Kshatriyas. “This woman has taken birth to avenge your insult. She has appeared to fulfill a vow. By her Dharma will be preserved on this earth, Kshatriyas will be destroyed. She will be the destroyer of the Kauravas” (8). As Yagnaseni treads this path of Dharma, she is subject to endless sufferings that create a turbulence in her mind, and she faces it all alone.

Yagnaseni or Draupadi, like any normal girl nurtured the thoughts of getting married to the prince of her dreams, that is, Arjuna. She feels elated at the thought of her marriage with him and she gives in her soul to him. But as *dharma* would have it, she was to become the wife of five *Pandavas* against her choice because as per Yudhisthir, *dharma* was to obey the command of the mother even if it sounded unacceptable or impossible: “Ma, obeying you is our lives ... Let your words be true. We shall all marry Draupadi” (56). Draupadi’s mind rebelled against this very idea: “Did I have no say... Why should I accept the other brothers as husbands? Would that not destroy my *dharma*? The very idea was ridiculous: one woman to live a the wife of five men (56). She questions “Was Sita, not beautiful? But she did not have to marry all the brother of Ram to maintain unity among them” (61).

Draupadi could not put up with the idea of her marriage and her mind strictly opposed this idea that she considered “a whimsical authority”. When Arjun gave his consent to the idea, Draupadi flared up with anger. “I wished I could turn into a searing flame of the sacrificial fire and destroy the world and in it, these five brothers too” (57). She condemns

this idea of *dharma* and the *dharma* of a husband in strong words: “He who with undisturbed heart, could hand over his wife to another man for fear of his own *dharma* being destroyed, might be the most virtuous soul in the world, but he could never be a proper husband for any woman of discrimination” (57). But as fate would have it, it was for her to have five husbands and she “became the subtle thread for keeping the five flowers bound together, whom no one would see; whose pain and anguish no one would know; word of whose torment would reach none” (68). One by one she married all the five *pandavas*; swore vows five times but the only question that reverberated in her mind was, “Was this possible? Was this the truth or self-deception? (69). Draupadi accepted the five *pandavas* as her husband but her heart and soul rested with the third *pandava* ‘Arjuna’ and her mind was in state of constant turmoil when she realized that it was difficult or rather impossible for her to enjoy her marital bliss with Arjun solely. Draupadi had to play five characters with five *pandavas*. She was perplexed: ‘This body of five elements would be the possession of five persons. How would this be possible?’

*The dilemma lies stretching endlessly,
The night somehow always ends. (77)*

She muses ‘Why did God give me so many qualities that all five brothers had found their various inclinations and likes in me? What if I failed to satisfy everyone fully (88). In Draupadi we find a woman who has an interrogating mind. Although she accepts her fate tacitly, yet her mind constantly revolts against the treatment being meted out to her. In Draupadi, there is a quality that she questions the rules of the society that were different for men and women.

She stood up in revolt against the laws of the abode of the Gods, according to which one man might accept as many women as he wished but if one woman married more than one husband, she would be branded a sinner. Who laid down this law? It must be some male God! Otherwise, how could there be such distinction of virtue and sin between male and female? (92)

Her friends would ask her to keep quiet. She would angrily retort “chaste woman! Unchaste woman! In the same way why don’t the scriptures speak of chaste men, and unchaste men?... Have the scriptures prescribed lists of sins only for women?” (94). She was a woman who could understand the discriminatory nature of norms that ruled the social arena during her times.

She would even feel rebellious at Vashyadeva’s narration of her birth. “I was finished. I had offered myself for the happiness of the five *pandavas*. I had surrendered to my husbands, my entire personality and self. I did not have any likes or dislikes of my own. I surrendered myself in the form that any of them wished” (209).

Her existence is marked by poignant episodes of suffering and insults “I am the daughter of king Drupada and sister to Dhristadyumna, king Pandu’s daughter-in-law and the crowned queen of the five *Pandavas*; I am also the mother of the heroic *upa Pandavas*; and yet what insults have I had to bear!” (126)

The irony of Yagnaseni’s life is that she has five husbands but none of them to protect her or to preserve her dignity. The climax of her sufferings is reached when Yudhisthir stakes her in the dice game. She is dragged to the court by Dushyasan. She implores to be spared but in vain. “My elders are present in this assembly. They all were wise and brave men of Aryavat endowed with noble qualities. In my condition is it not shameful to drag me by the hair into this crowded hall? All are silent? Will no one answer my question?” (238). She says that she did not want pity, but she wanted to know that “does it befit the Kuru kings to insult the bride of their own clan? I wish to know: has my husband got the right to stake me after he has already staked and lost his own self?” (238). But the entire hall is silent. Yagnaseni’s questions render the entire court silent with shame. Nobody dares to face her or her questions. With her insult the entire *kuru* clan is insulted.

The verbal retaliation of Draupadi symbolizes the strength of her character. She is not ready to silently succumb to the shameful atrocity that she had been subjected to on account of her husbands’ mistake. She is valour personified. Despite the physical and mental torture that she receives at the hands of brother -in laws, it can be seen that Draupadi does not withdraw herself. Rather she faces the situation courageously and interrogates the shameful act that puts everyone to shame including her five husbands. The shame that was inflicted upon Draupadi becomes the cause of the great war of *Mahabharata*. Yagnaseni is the fire that burns the evil doer and restores *dharma* on earth. Her birth is justified. She represents the strong woman who has the ability to bring down an entire kingdom if her respect is played upon with.

But although she is the medium of restoration of peace and *dharma* on the earth, she is deserted by her husbands finally and for the last time when they do not even turn back to look at her when she is the first one to fall during the *mahaprasthanas*. Her faith on the bond between a husband and wife stands shattered at this juncture. But she is still the strong Yagnaseni, Draupadi or Krishnaa, the woman who represented the real *shakti* that women have been often referred to as since time immemorial.

Yagnaseni or Draupadi is an epitome of femininity combined with immense courage. While on one hand she has desires of the feminine, on the other, she fights for her respect. She faces numerous trials all through her life but none of them could break her. With every insult, she grows stronger and even becomes the strength of her husbands and even the kingdom. She is representative of *shakti* who knows that to preserve one’s respect, when there is no other way but to stand strong and fight the injustice that is meted out. She teaches to the world that forgot to respect femininity and the principles of femininity that: “any woman

irrespective of age, caste, religion, country is worthy of a man's respect, for a woman is formed of *shakti* and without worshipping that shakti Swaroop, none can become a hero" (345).

Pratibha Ray's depiction of Yagnaseni is liberating version. Draupadi or Yagnaseni stands for the entire womankind who have been facing innumerable tortures at the hands of them without any substantial reason. Through the delineation of Draupadi, she frees the womanhood from the shackles that bind her to customs which demean her place in the society. Draupadi becomes the representative of so many women who have been grossly tortured at the hands of the evils that are present in the social arena. Draupadi is liberation. She is dharma. She is femininity with strength.

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Epistemological Narration in Vikas Swarup's *Q & A*

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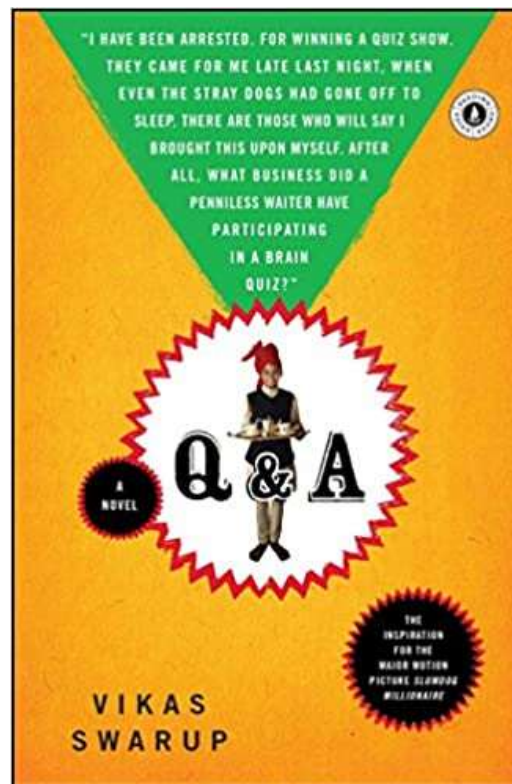
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Courtesy: [https://www.amazon.com/Q-Novel-Vikas-](https://www.amazon.com/Q-Novel-Vikas-Swarup/dp/0743267486/ref=sr_1_1?dchild=1&keywords=Vikas+Swarup+Q%26A&qid=1617595459&s=b)

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Abstract

The present paper discusses epistemological narration in Vikas Swarup's *Q & A*. Swarup recorded the attitude of contemporary youth of Modern India in different ways focusing on the ways youths are experienced with their knowledge rather than education. It demonstrates the agony

of unprivileged people in reaching ambitions. The main focus is to bring the art of virtue and aspirations through epistemology of narration. The contemporary Indian milieu is satirized. It describes the high privilege of long-lasting democratic status. The protagonist tries to confer judicious grades of freedom in win-win situation. Ram accomplishes his ambition through various experiences in modern India. Swarup creates an interesting portrayal of the contemporary social issues.

Keywords: Vikas Swarup, *Q & A*, epistemological narration, friendship, religion, sexual harassment, child labour, women emancipation

Vikas Swarup is a Contemporary Indian diplomat and writer. At present, he serves as a Secretary (West) at the Ministry of External Affairs, India. He is the renowned author of *Q & A*, which was adapted to the Oscar film called as *Slumdog Millionaire*. The film *Slumdog Millionaire* won Oscar award in 2008. Both the novel and the film have been acknowledged all over the world. The debut novel, *Q & A*, with the credit of international best-seller, has been translated into 43 different languages. It was shortlisted for the Best First Book by the Commonwealth Writers' Prize and won South Africa's Exclusive Books Boeke Prize in 2006, as well as the Prix Grand Public at the 2007 Paris Book Fair.

Swarup's debut novel *Q & A* is framed as the epistemological narration of the protagonist. It presents the philosophical study of the traits and limits of the human knowledge. Ram Mohammed Thomas is a penniless waiter in Mumbai, who becomes the biggest quiz show winner in history. The plot of the novel revolves around the mystery of the winning in the quiz show by Ram Mohammed Thomas "His amazing journey reaches its climax when he gets a chance to participate in a quiz named 'Who will Win a Billion?'" (Valiyamattam, 50). Ram Mohammed Thomas, an illiterate slum boy won the competition.

In the quiz arena, the voice of Ram Mohammed Thomas has been equipped with English language. "Here the protagonist Ram Mohammad Thomas speaks in English, but the pathetic thing is that he is dwelling in a biggest slum Dharavi." (Mariyappan, 471). Though the protagonist hailed from slum, he was familiar in English language to converse among the society. It is crystal clear that Vikas has given utmost importance to the English language rather than the culture.

Vikas Swarup expounded the enthusiastic theme of the rags to riches as the prologue of the novel. The problem was raised as the police accused Ram Mohammed Thomas that he cheated in the quiz show. The producers of the show are not ready to pay the amount which would deprive him of the prize. It is only through the lawyer Smita, he proves his innocence by sharing the episodes of his life and travels in India. Smita plays dual role to shield Ram from the critical situation. She was introduced as Gudiya, a slum girl and later part was Smita. Here, Vikas Swarup

symbolizes the character Gudiya as the society and Smitha as the justifier. She is considered to be the only character who believes the philosophical aspects in Ram's life.

Smitha nods her head. "I think that is the key. After all, a quiz is not so much a test of knowledge as test of memory."

"You mean the year I was born? Year number one?"

"No. From Question number one. But before we start, promise me, Ram Mohammed Thomas, that you will tell the truth." (*Q & A*, 18)

The narrator interprets his past life as the answers to the Questions. The strong influence of epistemological narration is based on his experience of knowledge and truth.

Swarup presents each question to the protagonist as a distinct chapter in the novel *Q & A*. It also formed as the reminiscences of the past life. By the way, Ram narrates his experiences. It is through Ram, Swarup carried the plot in telegraphic observance of current India's social structure. The first and the foremost walk off with a prize is the answer to the question *The Death of Hero*. Ram recalls his friend Salim who is the ardent admirer of Arman Ali. He doubles the award in the burden of a priest by interpreting his early life in the Catholic Church. Father Timothy christened him to protect him from civil wars raging in India. Salim is also appreciated for singing Surdas's Bhajan's perfectly.

Masterji is extremely pleased with Salim's progress. "You have now mastered the art of singing. Only one lesson is left."

"And what is that?"

"The *bhajans* of Surdas."

He is the most famous of all *bhakti* singers, who composed thousands of songs in praise of Lord Krishna. (*Q & A*, 95)

Swarup mirrors up the fundamental unity in bringing all the religion together with the double persona Ram Mohammed Thomas and Salim. Both the friends are represented as the social integration in the novel *Q & A*.

Swarup reveals Ram's virtue and responsibility in protecting the women in the Indian society. "Unlike his patriarchal inheritors, he never supports any disobedience against women;

rather he always tries his best to protect them from any danger.” (Biswas,14). In the response of the answer to Pluto, he is reminded of residing with Gudiya and her cat Pluto. Gudiya was saved from her father’s sexual harassment by Ram. Gudiya reveals her identity as a lawyer in return of her gratitude. Swarup elucidates women’s sufferings in upper and lower society. Ram illuminates the existence of women in the upper society through the Tragedy Queen Neelima Kumari, a famous actress who desires to be young and beauty forever. Her strong crave made her to commit suicide. In the same way, he accounts for the life of Nita who was forced by her brother to be prostitute for the sake of money. She had a quest to be freed from her brother by paying 400,000.

In India, young boys are maimed to make money. Sethji is ambitious to make money by transforming the young boys into crippled ones. It is Ram’s plan to escape from Sethji. He also saves Salim to run away from the orphanage and move to Mumbai. Swarup is keen to bring forth both the offence and moral in Ram’s narration. Simultaneously Ram owns the coin to signify that he was going to face two sides of present social milieu in India. To Swarup, it is not only the coin tossed for the choice for the answer but also to find the righteous way to live.

Swarup draws the picture of child labour and lust for money through didactic narration of Ram. Ram was adapted to work under Mr. Colonel Taylor in Dharavi, Mumbai. It was the first time, he experiences urbanized rich lifestyle. Being trusted servant, he was given an opportunity to access his den to deactivate the security alarm. Mr. Colonel is arrested for treason for being a double agent. Ram as a bartender at Jimmy's Bar, is skilled to use the tips by taking advantage of people’s drunkenness. Swarup uses the animal imagery for the drunkards. He also classifies the traits of animals such as horse that drank the most and asses to babble, dogs indulge in arguments, and the pigs vomit after last peg. Through this learning experience, Ram meets some unusual characters by the name Prakash Rao, who tells him all about his Haitian wife and his brother Aravind who died of a heart attack. He confesses his disloyalty of stealing millions of rupees of his brother’s money and caused troubles through the voodoo doll.

“Well then, I don’t see how you can answer the next question without making use of one of your Lifeboats. So here comes question number six, for a hundred thousand rupees. What is the capital of Papua New Guinea? Is it (a) Port Louis, (b) Port-au-Prince, (c) Port Moresby, or (d) Port Adelaide?” The suspenseful music commences.” (Q & A, 146)

Surprisingly, Thomas answers the correct answer and won hundred thousand rupees. The audience cheers him up. Ram got a link when third button of his shirt was missing. He trusted superstitious belief in Voodoo. Swarup projects an irrational sense to highlight the current Indian Societal. A holistic approach of Indian society possesses the blended form of **modern** and irrational.

Swarup portrays the astounding effects of modernization that prevails in India. He also made the Protagonist Ram to encounter the robber in the Western Express, a person who deceives as a soldier. He witnesses the social breakup that is bounded together through various crimes in the traditional society. Though Ram was exposed to negative aspects of the society, he imbibed the prerequisite of life to be the winner. His winning in each question in the Quiz arena means winning a life situation. Ram's virtue is further exposed by lending help to the man, whose son was suffering from rabies bitten by a mad dog by stealing money from the women.

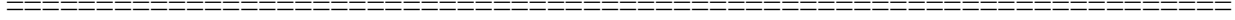
Through epistemological narration of Ram's trait and the way he answered to all the fifteen questions in the quiz arena, Swarup builds psychological intelligence of the character Ram with the interpretation about society. "While in the larger sense Vikas Swarup's novel *Q&A* is a story about character development: Psychological, Educational and Moral" (Gondhali,4). Through the Bildungsroman formation, the protagonist attained a sense of realization. The dichotomies between knowledge of experience and knowledge of education are portrayed. The knowledge of experience is predominant in the path of quiz arena.

Ram is a moving pendulum hanging between the labyrinths of financial and psychological entrapments throughout the novel. Swarup uses the flashbacks techniques to showcase Ram as self-reflexive maturity, self-affirming, self-protecting and self-reliant person in Modern India. Thus, Ram's virtue of his life has brought to light through Epistemological narration.

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Writing Doctoral Thesis/Dissertation and Research Papers by Using the Correct English Grammar

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Abstract

Any research is the systematic investigation of study of materials and sources. The research study helps the society in order to identify the facts by theoretically or experimentally to get additional information and derive to a new conclusion. The outcome of any research is published in the form of thesis/dissertation and research papers. The Thesis should be free from English grammatical, lexical and punctuation errors. Any grammar is the structure and sound of a language. English grammar is important to realize the importance of language which is used in all the thesis and research papers. In the globalization era English language has become a necessity all over the world. The main aspects of written the sentences in research work depends upon its grammar. When the grammar is proper, the sentences make sense. Native English speakers are able to speak and write with proper speak grammatically correct sentences. But for non-native speakers who have to learn the language from its core and whose mother is another language. The Engineering, medical, and law students, though they are good in their subject, often they are not able to write thesis or research papers in good English due to their lack of proficiency in English. This present study attempts to presents some useful suggestions relating to the implementation of the correct usage of English grammar for writing the doctoral thesis/dissertation and research papers for arts, science, engineering, law, and medicines students.

Keywords: English grammar, Non-native speaker, research thesis, dissertation, sentence pattern, Parts of speech.

1. Introduction

The purpose of the research thesis is immensely important to the career progression in the universities or any research institutions. The thesis delivers the results of the research to the interested person ⁽¹⁾. The thesis should begin with a general introduction presenting an overview of the purpose of the study by having the reference to existing research. The

introduction should show why the topic has been chosen for investigation. The formulation of the research problem with the introduction should give a purpose to get a solution to this problem. The objective of the investigation will make an original contribution to the theoretical body of knowledge and also the needs the study of experimental investigation should be mentioned. It is necessary for the research scholars to publish it in a coherent way so that the readers can understand the information. It is necessary for the researchers to avoid the mistakes in English language and grammatical errors in their research manuscripts so that unnecessary delay the publication process can be eliminated ⁽²⁾. English language has a different system of grammatical rules. It is generally felt that Indian scholars have a lot of problems in English language in general and in particular in paragraph writing of English language. That is one of the reasons why the researcher has researched this field. Students commit repeated errors in using the target language. S.P. Corder (1967) proposed the hypothesis that errors are evidence of learner's strategies of acquiring the language rather than signs of inhibition or interference of persistent old habits ⁽³⁾. He claimed that a systematic study of errors is essential in order to discover the learner's built-in syllabus and learning strategies.

2. Need for the Study

Today English language is very important and is an international language in the world. The role of English language can be used to increase the knowledge of the foreign students in their subjects ⁽⁴⁾. It seems worth mentioning that the study of English Errors helps the students in order to learn the target language as 'device the students use in order to learn their subjects effectively. Researchers have provided empirical evidence pointing to emphasis on learners' errors as an effective means of improving language of students. There is a great need for such a study to point out why errors are committed by the students and then we need to bring out few remedial measures to enable the students to improve their language and use English flawlessly.

3. Research Report for Experimental Work on Heat Exchangers

When the title of research dissertation is "**Experimental Studies on Heat Transfer and Pressure Drop in Heat Exchangers**", it is expected that experimental work has been carried out in various heat exchangers for heat transfer and it is observed that pressure drops for single-phase fluid such as water, aqueous starch, and aqueous glycerine solutions of low concentration by varying its weight percentage in step of 2.5 wt%. The dimensionless number groups were evaluated and correlated. The empirical relationships have been found to exist which fit with data well.

4. Research Report Writing Format

A research report consists of research title, introduction, acknowledgments, & table of contents, the main part, result and discussion, or research findings, conclusion, references, annexure, bibliography, etc. The researcher needs to be aware of the purpose of the research. The Research Report Writing is a step by step process. The structure of the main part of the PhD

dissertation and the order is given in guidelines of the Doctoral thesis ⁽⁵⁾. The guidelines and the basic requirement for preparation of the thesis at IIT Kanpur is given in a separate format ⁽⁶⁾. The preparation of thesis/dissertation/report for PhD/M.Tech./M.Phil./MCA students by Veer Surendra Sai University of Technology is given in a standard format ⁽⁷⁾.

5. Thesis Submission

<p>The number of thesis copies to be submitted after completing the research work to the concerned university for a Ph.D. degree student could vary from university to university.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Candidate's Declaration Abstract Introduction Acknowledgement Table of Contents</p>	
Chapter-1	Introduction	
Chapter-2	Literature Review	
Chapter-3	Formulation of the Problem	
Chapter-4	Objectives of the Research Block	
Chapter-5	Experimental Set-up and Procedure	
Chapter-6	Results and Discussion	
Chapter-7	Conclusion and Recommendations	
	<p style="text-align: center;">Nomenclature Greek Letters Dimensionless Number Abbreviations</p>	
<hr style="border-top: 1px dashed red;"/> <p>Language in India www.languageinindia.com ISSN 1930-2940 April 2021 Mrs. N. Karpaha, Dr. A. Selva Balaji, M.D.S. and Prof. Dr. D. Nagarathinam Writing Doctoral Thesis/Dissertation and Research Papers by Using the Correct English Grammar</p>		

	List of Figures	
	Sample Calculations	
	References	

Table-1: Content of the PhD Dissertation submitted at R.E.C. Trichy-15⁽⁸⁾.

6. Ph.D. Thesis Writing in Past Tense with Active Voice/Passive Voice

While writing the research thesis/dissertation, the presentation should be clear, concise, and in correct English. The title of the thesis/dissertation is specific, and it reflects the content. The abstract is brief, and it indicates the purpose of the work. For the doctoral thesis/dissertation for English and other arts subjects, many writers feel that passive voice represents poor writing form, as it allows the object of an action to be the subject of a sentence. It is better to write the thesis/dissertation in active voice. But most of the Science and Engineering doctoral thesis/dissertation are experimental or analysis-oriented and it is expected that the doctoral thesis is written in passive voice with past tense. In these disciplines, research scholars use passive voice which can be an appropriate, sophisticated, and even preferable choice over the active voice ⁽⁹⁾. All the citations are to be written by using the past tense. In order to use passive voice correctly, it is necessary to fully understand, and be able to recognize the difference between passive and active voices properly. In technical thesis writing the focus is usually on what was done rather than who did it. There are several different ways of indicating that an event took place in the past. When we write an engineering text, we can use the simple past, present perfect, present perfect progressive, or the past perfect progressive. All of these different past tenses have slightly different meanings in terms of the chronology - or the order - in which things happened. The present tense is used to express general truths or facts, or conclusions supported by research results.

7. Dissertation/Thesis Writing with Good English

Our mother tongue is used for our daily conversation purpose. We can share our feelings, ideas, and expressions through our own language easily. So, the mother tongue influence dominates us in communicating fluently and effectively when compared with English communication. We study Tamil as a first language and English is our second language. The students as well as the Professors need to make equal efforts for better writing the thesis/dissertation with grammar. A well-written and coherent thesis that puts across the ideas clearly will impress the readers and they will easily accept with this formulated dissertation. Every student has to write dissertation for his research and also academic papers carefully with good English. It is the duty of the professors to go ahead with students who are non-English in

their native language to learn to use correct grammar.

Many research scholars underestimate the importance of English grammar in their thesis write-up ^(10, 11). Many of them are having misconception that having the right data and by representing it in their thesis can lead them in getting their higher degree. But they do not know that how many mistakes are there in their research thesis. The research supervisor or guide cannot use their precious time in reading and correcting the grammatical errors. Therefore, attention from students is needed to present their research data correctly without grammatical errors if the scholars want to get positive feedback from their guide or supervisor. For writing research thesis or dissertation, appropriate grammar, articles, tenses, punctuation, sentence structure, and spelling are necessary. The correct usage of English Grammar is important because it helps the researchers to publish their articles in reputed journals. The structure conveys precise meaning from the writer to the supervisor because of the elimination of grammatical errors from their writing. Some of the examples of the correct usage of the grammar are given below.

8. Correct Usage of English

Rudolf Jaenisch at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology ⁽¹²⁾, the leading US-based researcher working on iPS cells, argues that some papers from Asia are so badly written that the reviewers are facing difficulty to assess. The research scholars' poor English includes not only outright errors of spelling, grammar, and punctuation but also faulty construction of sentences, unidiomatic expressions, no agreement between subject and verb, and odd usage in their research write-up deflects a reviewer's attention from the substance of the paper to its style ⁽¹³⁾. Some of the hallmark writers are expecting a variety of sentence pattern to start. English is the predominant language for research publications in every corner of the world. The usage of grammar should be acceptable, by providing clarity of what one wants to express. Some of examples are described below.

(1) Noun and Verb Agreement ⁽¹⁴⁾:

Noun means 'the name of anything'; but the Verb is used to describe 'an action', 'state,' or 'occurrence' and forming the main parts of the predicate of a sentence, such as 'hear', 'become', or 'happen'. Advice is a noun and an advised is a verb expressed as ⁽¹⁴⁾:

1. a). My guide advised me to start write my doctoral thesis for university submission. (Here *advise* is a verb).
- 1.b). My guide gave an advice to write research article for the publication without grammar mistakes. (Here *advice* is a noun).
2. a). I'm feeling hunger. *Hunger* is noun.
2. b). I'm feeling hungry. *Hungry* is an adjective. (Both sentences are correct).

(3) Difference between "Ought to" and "Should":

3. a. Mother to son, “You ought to stop smoking”. (Moral advice to son). Meaning is *you should stop smoking*.

3. b. Principal to student, “You should stop smoking”. (Here *order*).

(4) *If I was* and *If I were* in sentences ⁽¹⁶⁾:

Many scholars may get confused, and they are unsure, whether *If I was* to be used or *If I were* to be used in sentences. The sentence depends on the scenario that they are using. For most of the sentences that may express what happened, the choice would be “if I was”. For hypothetical situation, they would choose “if I were” which is explained as follows:

If I was rich, I would buy a new house. (May happen)

If I were you, I would have married her. (Hypothetical)

The scholars use “If I had” and “If I had been” to refer to past events.

If I had studied, I would have passed the examination.

If I had not passed the order, It would have been betrayal of public trust: Ashok Khemka (The Hindu, 12.8.2013)

(5) The Difference between “May” and “Might” in writing the sentences:

The word *may* is the present tense and *might* is the past tense.

May is used for possibility of a fact or could be a possibility of a fact.

E.g.: Amirtha may pass her examination. (90% possibility)

Might is used for hypothetical case or when the probability is very rare.

E.g.: If I study well, I might get first rank in university examination. (10% possibility)

(6) The difference between “made of” and “made up of” and “made by” in sentences:

This table is *made of* wood.

The Necklace is *made up of* gold and nickel. (Two or more metal)

This window is made by me.

(7) Difference between *IT’S ME* or *IT’S I*

It is the question about pronoun. The pronoun is whether to use the subject or object case after *is*, *was*, and other forms of the verb *to be*.

In earlier times, grammarians trying to model English grammar on Latin argued that the verb *to be* cannot have an object and insisted on using subject pronouns after it, as in *it’s I* and *was that she?* This habit survives in the common American usage when answering the phone ‘*can I speak to Maria?*’ _ *This is she*.

But what comes after *to be* is not really a subject either. It is a compliment. Modern standard English remains undecided about what to do here but the fact is that most people nowadays say *it's me* and *was that her?* _ This is acceptable usage for everyone except the most formal and traditional. As always you can rephrase things to avoid the problem entirely.

Question: In answer the question who's there?

Answer: You do not have to say either it's I or it's me: you can say simply, 'I am' instead.

Note that if a who - clause follows the personal pronoun; Standard English usually prefers a subject form for example:

Question: 'It's who do the shopping'?

Answer: 'It's me that does the shopping.'

Colloquial English on the other hand, would probably still favour 'me' here, together with various other changes.

(8) Question: Which one is correct? *I want to eat 2 banana*, or *I want to eat 2 bananas*.

Answer: Numbers less than 10 should be written out in words. The correct answer is: *I want to eat two bananas*.

(9) Agreement between Subject and Verb

In S-V-C pattern the Noun is the subject of a sentence that performs the action described in the sentence. If the Noun is singular and the verb is plural, the Noun and verb of that sentence are in disagreement. The rules of English grammar dictate that the Noun and verb must agree with each other in number, i.e., they both should either be singular or plural.

9. a). Singular noun should have singular verbs.

e.g.: *The pen is red.*

9. b). Plural noun should have plural verbs.

e.g.: *All the pens are red.*

9. c). Incorrect: *My friend and guide are attending the conference.*

Correct: *My friend and guide is attending the conference.*

Reason: When two singular nouns refer to the same person, the verb must be singular.

(10) Improper Use of Articles

Use of Article is another difficult area where the research scholars make errors. There are two types of articles in English grammar. They are definite (*the*) and indefinite (*a/an*) articles. It is important to choose the right one to pair with a noun. The rules are different for single, plural, and uncountable nouns. Correct use of articles conveys precise meanings in Engineering.

Deciding whether to use *a*, *an*, *some*, or *the*, or use no article can be confusing. In grammar, for clarity and readability, in English sentences accurate article usage is extremely important. Research scholars who are not comfortable with English tend to use articles incorrectly often. It is important to understand the difference between indefinite articles ('a' and 'an') and the definite article ('the'). They should know when to use which article in their research thesis.

10. a) Incorrect: An European invited me for dinner. (*European* word pronunciation is not started with E. It is started with U).

Correct: A European invited me for dinner.

10. b) The Chennai Silks. (No article in front of a city. But here "The" refers to the store which sells silks, not to Chennai City. So, this is correct).

(11) Nominalization of Verbs

The process of turning verbs and adjectives into nouns is known as nominalization. Also, the Nominalization is the use of parts of speech that are not nouns, such as verbs, as nouns. Such nominalized verbs are also called smothered verbs. A verb with little specific meaning and this weakens the quality of writing.

Incorrect: We had a discussion concerning my bonus.

Here, it is necessary to omit the weak smothered verb and using the verb in its original form makes the sentence crisp. Such a style is preferred in academic writing.
Correct: We discussed my bonus.

(12) Parts of Speech

The parts of speech indicate the words functioning as well as help analyze sentences grammatically. There are eight parts of speech: noun, pronoun, verb, adjective, adverb, preposition, conjunction, and interjection which help us to construct good sentences.

According to the modern grammarians, Determiner is included in the parts of speech and now there are nine different parts of speech.

Examples for Determiners: a, the, my, every, any

The student should have a general idea of the basic grammar rules for sentence structures. It will be helpful to learn about the parts of speech.

(13) Sentence Patterns

There are four basic sentence patterns that are used when putting together a sentence.

Example: *Mr. Biju came with his guide to the university by a car yesterday to submit his thesis.*

Here: Mr. Biju – subject: came – verb: his guide – object: The University – adverb: by a car – adverb: yesterday- adverb.

This sentence is of the pattern S+V+O pattern with three adverbs.

(14) Use of the Adverb “respectively”

Many users misused the word “Respectively” which is an adverb. The adverb respectively means “in the order given”. The term “respectively” can be used for clarity and conciseness.

Original sentence: In air Nitrogen is 79 per cent, oxygen is 20 per cent and rare gases are 1 per cent.

Concise form: In air Nitrogen is 79, Oxygen is 20 and, rare gases are 1 per cent respectively. (This sentence construction is concise and eloquent.)

(15) Correct Usage of Punctuations:

There are many different prepositions in English, and they often have more than one meaning.

The most common grammatical mistakes are fixed by simply adding, removing, or moving a punctuation mark. Everyone needs lot of practice and good number of years of study in English to write the sentences with correct punctuation. There are fourteen punctuation marks used in English (17-21). The important punctuation such as the ‘apostrophe’, ‘the comma’, the ‘hyphen’, the ‘semicolon’, ‘the colon’, the ‘dash’ and the ‘abbreviation’ have been dealt with updated information in this paper.

Research scholars should learn when to use comma and when a colon, semicolon are to be used. Dashes and hyphens are look similar. It is better to avoid of mixing them and check for its consistent. In research thesis writing it is very important to avoid plagiarism. Quotation marks can be used in research thesis even though it is someone else’s words. Check the punctuation in the right time with right place, and properly integrated the quotes in the text. Make ensure that the correct use of apostrophes to form the possessive with singular and plural nouns.

Example:

‘Let’s eat, grandma!’ - Inviting your Grandma.

’Let’s eat Grandma!’ - Consuming your own Grandma.

(16) Lack of Parallelism

In English grammar parallelism also known as parallel structure or parallel construction. Parallelism is achieved in English grammar when similar phrases or clauses that have the same

grammatical structure are used in a sentence. It is used to balance nouns with nouns, verbs with verbs, clauses with clauses, and so on. Parallel structure enhances the clarity of the text and makes the text easy to read ⁽²²⁾.

Incorrect: Arun likes cooking, jogging and to read.

Correct: *Arun likes cooking, jogging, and reading.*

Parallelism is often used as a Rhetorical device:

Examples from Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address about Democratic Country ⁽²³⁾:

..... And that government **of the people, by the people, for the people**, shall not perish from the earth."

(17) Capitalization

Capitalization indicates writing a word with its first letter as a capital letter and the remaining letter in small letters. In capitalization proper nouns are always capitalized. The common nouns such as general names of people, places and things are to be capitalized only at the beginning of the sentence. In academic writing, some of the most frequent errors relate to capitalizing models, theories and disciplines will occur. The research scholars should also make sure that the use a consistent style of capitalization for titles and headings.

(18) Sentence Structure

All the sentences in English consist of two parts: The subject and verb. The subject is the person or thing. The Verb is used to describe 'an action', 'state,' or 'occurrence' and forming the main parts of a sentence. It is always good to avoid common sentence structure mistakes such as fragments and run-ons. The scholars should also try to write sentences of varying length and structure.

Words Choice for Commonly Confused or Misused

There are some types of words that students often get confused or misused.

Accuracy: Accuracy is value i.e., very close to the true value.

Precision: Precision is the measurement of Fitness value.

Alright: Alright means ok. "Are you feeling alright? – Yes. I am ok.

All right: All right – all are correct.

Amount: Amount – Quantity of something.

Number: Number - Numerical value which can be counted.

Anyone: Anyone – Did anyone of you can give the answer? - Any person in general.

Any one: Any one - *Any one of them could win it – one person could win.*

Cost effective: Cost effective – Smart green building materials are cost effective. (No hyphen – It is followed by a noun).

Cost-effective: Cost-effective–Civil Engineers are using cost-effective materials. (Hyphen. The hyphen is used only when the word combination is used as Adjectives).

Council: Council is a decision making body or governing body of a college. (Example- Councillors in Corporation)

Counsel: Counseling is giving advice. (Anna University Counseling)

Relating to: Relating to – Biju showed me all the correspondence relating to the exam.

Related to: Related to - Kumar is **related** to my family.

These are the some of the confused words and similar words we can be derived while writing research dissertation or thesis.

(19) Pronouns

Pronouns are words that take the place of nouns. The characteristic of pronouns is that they can be substituted for other nouns (e.g. *they, it, him, this*). He and him, she and her, are known as personal pronouns. The other personal pronouns are *I* and *me, you, it, we* and *us*, and *they* and *them*. First-person pronouns (*I, we*) are sometimes acceptable depending on the discipline and type of document.

(20) Conjunctions

Conjunctions are words such as *and, because, but, for, if, or, and when*. Conjunction words are used to connect different parts of a sentence. There are different types of conjunctions with different functions and rules.

(21) Ambiguity

This Ambiguity is referred in Tamil literature of Silappathikaram ⁽²⁶⁻²⁸⁾. By seeing the Anklet in the hand of Govalan, **the Pandiya King** ordered, ‘**Hang him not, leave him**’ and bring the Anklet. But the Blacksmith twisted the word by using Ambiguity into, “**Hang him, not leave him**” and bring the Anklet. This is the reason, the Govalan was beheaded. Because of Govalan was beheaded the great Tamil epic *Silappathikaram* was born.

The Pandiya King ordered. ‘Hang him not leave him’. The Blacksmith twisted the word by using a small comma.

2a. Hang him, not leave him’.

2b. Hang him not, leave him’.

(22) Confusion in Preposition ⁽³⁰⁾

A **preposition** is a word to describe the relationship between other words in a sentence. “Pre” is a Latin word, which means “**before**”. Prepositions are words that we use before noun or pronoun in a sentence. It links noun, pronoun, and phrases to show their relationship with other words in a sentence. In this paper problems of prepositions and the traditional methods of common problems and possible solutions in solving these problems in preposition has been

described. Specially, a preposition is a connector. Preposition function is to connect a noun or pronoun to another noun or pronoun in a sentence. Preposition shows the relationship of direction, position, time, and place.

We are often reminded **Abraham Lincoln**'s quotes for democratic country by using three fashionable phrase 'of the people by the people and for the people '.

(23) Spelling

There is a small difference between American and British English in spelling. Although document creation software such as MS Word gives the option to choose an American English. Spelling checking is used in various applications like machine translation, search, information retrieval etc. Spell checking technique comprises of two stages mainly error detection and error correction. Native English speaking editor is to ensure that the research scholar's manuscripts conform to all the guidelines of the target journal.

(24) Proofreading

There are many commercial as well as non-commercial spelling error detection and correction tools available in the market for almost all popular languages. And every tool works on word level with the help of integral dictionary/Wordnet as the backend database for correction and detection. Every word from the text is looked up in the speller lexicon. If a word is not in the dictionary, it is detected by the wordnet that is an error. In order to correct the error, a spell checker searches the dictionary/Wordnet for the word that is most resembled to the erroneous word. These words are then suggested to the user to choose the intended word.

The best way to avoid typographical errors and awkward sentences is to proofread your manuscript thoroughly before submission. Print out your document and proofread each sentence with a pencil in your hand. In proof-reading it is important to check for sentence construction. Although the spell-check tool built into MS Word also functions as an English sentence corrector, it is not reliable, especially if your manuscript contains a lot of scientific language. Check for punctuation by reading out the entire manuscript.

Conclusion

The syllabuses have been in vogue for more than a decade in various arts and science colleges, law colleges, Engineering colleges and medical colleges in India. There were many other studies in other regions too and they made similar recommendations. Some of them even evolved texts to be adopted for achieving these objectives. For example, CIEFL, Hyderabad had prepared a package of materials under the general title "Enrich your English" to be used in 50 hours. It aims at developing a take-off proficiency in reading and writing skills. The focus is on the reading skills though speaking and listening skills are also given due importance". But there seems to be no perceptible impact on the nature of the English courses followed in Law, medical

and, Engineering Colleges. All researcher scholars agree that it will be more effective to teach punctuation, sentence pattern, and parts of speeches, tenses, and usage in the context of writing than to approach the topic by teaching isolated skills. As students revise and edit their writing, teachers can provide grammar instruction and guides the students in their attempts to identify and correct problems in sentence structure and usage⁽³¹⁻³³⁾. Integrating grammar instruction into the revising and editing process helps the scholars to write their dissertation without grammatical mistakes. Simple English grammar mistakes or proofreading errors can detract from the overall quality of their paper. Needless to say, grammatical mistakes can affect your credibility as an author. Here, some common grammatical errors that plague manuscripts and authors described to avoid them. The research scholars can get 100% quality and confidentiality with the above.

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Supporting L2 Proficiency of Visual Learners

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Abstract

The current scenario in teaching and learning of L2 stresses on engaging learners in more activities and task-based oriented methods which follow the constructive approach to learning. Yet teachers are still grappling with the idea of 'activity method' as most school textbooks are pre-designed to meet the requirements of board exams that are tested in written form. It is even more challenging for D¹/deaf children to achieve the required L2 proficiency in the written form as per the assessments of school board exams and this issue needs to be discussed by all stakeholders in the area of school education.

This paper does not intend to debate on whether such children should be taught in their mother tongue (sign language), but it does investigate the methods being used in schools. Research has shown that learning L2 through one's mother tongue during the foundational years of education is a necessary condition. If a child is deprived of any form of language, it can affect his/her cognitive development and slow down his/her academic achievements. Children cannot be denied their basic linguistic right of accessing knowledge in their own language. However, schooling demands that they are able to produce grammatical written forms of English. How can we support the L2 proficiency of visual learners?

This paper addresses the challenges that D/deaf children face while learning the English language in the state of Meghalaya in North East India, while examining a few schools within its capital, Shillong. The discussions are drawn from a research study² that restricts its area to English language learning within the context of Deaf (D) children and Hard of Hearing children (HH). It highlights a few existing practices concerning the teaching of English and discusses a strategy adopted to support English language learning.

¹ profoundly 'Deaf' those children with 100% onwards of hearing loss and since birth

² A Study of English Language Learning of Deaf/Hard of Hearing (deaf) Students in Inclusive Settings at Elementary level, NERIE, NCERT, Shillong PAC funded, 2015-2017.

Keywords: D/deaf; Hard of Hearing; English language Learning, Inclusive Education

Introduction

Hearing loss³ ranges from mild to severe cases, but the consequence of it is one's inability to acquire spoken language in a natural manner. In children with mild cases of hearing loss, the major impact is a delay in the acquisition of spoken language. Typically, most D/deaf children join school quite late in their lives, often by the age of 8-10 years. This is largely due to the inaccessibility of information, especially for those parents living in the rural areas. Children join school with low level language proficiency in both spoken language and sign language. The situation becomes more problematic as most schools adopt the spoken language as the medium of instruction, thereby slowing down the learning process.

Studies on the achievements of D/deaf children under the oral approach indicate that D/deaf children leave school with minimum reading skills and poor speech intelligibility, despite training in this area (Conrad, 1979). There have been many studies (Gregory, 1996) on the achievements of deaf children, several which indicate that D/deaf children of D/deaf parents were more successful academically than those with hearing parents. The failure of spoken language as a method for teaching English is clearly seen by the fact that these children invariably write ungrammatical sentences when asked to.

The process of teaching becomes a kind of repetitive drilling and memorization of words where students not only fail to understand what each word stands for but are also made to memorize where these words must occur in the English sentence structure. When it comes to words that can be presented to the students visually in concrete form, children appear to learn faster. However, not every concept can be presented and explained visually.

Another concern is that D/deaf students differ from one another in the degree of hearing loss and yet, these children are clubbed together in the same classroom, especially with the current movement towards inclusive schools. In such types of classrooms, the oral method still dominates because more focus is given to those children who still have some degree of hearing and the ability to speak.

Hence, this paper is concerned with D/deaf children who are exposed to English (as a second language) only in the form of print materials and this needs serious investigation especially

³ Bench, 1992 classified hearing loss as follows 30dB- mildly deaf, 50/60dB-moderate/partial/hard of hearing, 80dB-severely deaf, 100dB-profoundly deaf and 110-120dB- Totally deaf.

in the context of ‘Inclusive Education’⁴. Since the D/HH cannot hear, they also cannot communicate with their voice, thereby creating a communication barrier between the teachers and the students. This outlook has become a wall that casts a rather cold shadow on the successful learning of such children.

Brief Background

Most schools in the state of Meghalaya, including special schools, use the ‘Total Communication’⁵ method to teach the D/deaf children. Many teachers report the absence of sign language in the classrooms, even in special schools. D/deaf children are largely exasperated because they fail to lip-read, to speak, to write or re-write grammatically correct sentences in the official language of the school. The general opinion of teachers is that since D/deaf children have ‘no language’, they have to invent (gesture-like hand movements) or incorporate foreign signs (American Sign Language) into their teaching. It is disheartening to find that teaching courses (B.Ed. or even B.Ed. in Hearing impairment) do not emphasise sign language as mandatory or even as part of their course. Most of the teachers teaching D/deaf children in the selected schools have no knowledge of sign language and in most schools, it is not even allowed to be used.

Since most children who attend school rarely have any exposure to English, especially the Deaf (with profound hearing loss) children, special schools initiate grammatical categories from class II onwards. It is considered important for these children to develop an understanding of the relationship between graphemes and words. In the absence of sound, a D/deaf child has to learn to connect the alphabet to fingerspellings⁶ and then connect these alphabets together to form a word. In a school that acknowledges the importance of sign language, children are taught fingerspellings alongside the manual English alphabets right from the nursery level and thus, they are exposed to English only in print.

Further, the inability of the children to hear compels the teachers to make use of colours to teach children the difference between a vowel and a consonant in order to help children understand how words are formed. For example, vowels are given the colour blue and consonants are given red or any other colour. Children are able to remember the placement of vowels and consonants appropriately when they are learning to write words. The common practices used to teach grammar are the techniques of using colour-codes to distinguish between different

⁴**Inclusive education:** Provision of quality education for children with disability in the mainstream school and the benefits that they gain from it. In an inclusive setup, D/HH children and hearing children are placed together in a single classroom.

⁵ This method employs the technique of lip-reading, the use of hearing-aid, speech, and sign language based on spoken language (i.e., a literal translation of the spoken form into invented signs).

⁶ Representation of the English alphabets on the hands

grammatical categories, pictures, stories, and structured teaching-learning materials. At the lower primary level, children are taught how to identify objects, proper names, places, and form some sort of linkage to the concept of what is a noun. Similarly, verbs are taught through demonstrations and actions. Since the majority of teachers find it complicated to teach tenses and enable students to use them in a sentence appropriately, their responses also show that children cannot frame grammatical sentences in English on their own.

The challenge of reading and writing for D/HH children is mainly their inability to understand sentence structures in English. They may understand conceptual meanings and the paradigm of sentences, for example, *I am going to the market*, but they fail to understand the need of ‘am’ and ‘the’ required in the structure. In sign language these words do not occur, and the sentence structure in sign language would be ‘MARKET I GO MOV PRES CONT’⁷. Because of such difficulty, teachers find it difficult to enable children to produce grammatical written forms.

Can L2 Proficiency Take Place Visually?

There have been a number of methods and approaches in language teaching that try to address the cognitive process of learning by creating the conditions required for a high quality language learning activity. Psycholinguists have purported methods that focus on the comprehension of a language rather than the production of it. The Total Physical Response method (Asher & Price 1967), developed by James J. Asher is one such method that involves kinaesthetic sensory system in language learning. Kinaesthetic theory believes that there is a positive correlation between a child’s physical movements and his language achievements and thus physical movements become the focus in designing and applying appropriate language teaching technique in a certain topic. In this technique, 20-25 children are grouped together in a spacious classroom and given utterances that require them to physically move in a certain way. Grammatical rules are presented in imperative sentences and the meaning of words is expressed together by physical activities; hence no dictionary is required.

The first challenging task for teachers is teaching D/deaf children how to read. Reading requires two related capabilities, first an individual has to be familiar with a language, and second she/he must understand the connection between that language and the printed word (Chamberlin and Mayberry, 2000).

It is interesting to investigate the possibility of learning and mastering a second language simply through the visual representation or orthography of English. Sound would seem to be most vital to language learning but there are several methods that have been developed to bridge reading of English with sign language, and the most common method is fingerspellings.

⁷ Transcription convention commonly used in Sign linguistics. MOV refers to movement of the hands to indicate the tense.

Fingerspellings (FS) was artificially developed by Dalgarno in 1661 (Kyle and Woll, 1985) and it is still used as a method for teaching deaf students. When D/HH children go to school for the first time, they are introduced to FS alongside the English alphabets. Research has shown that when FS are used to teach reading in deaf schools, it facilitates vocabulary development. Early exposure to FS serves as a critical link between word learning and reading for deaf children (Haptonstall-Nykaza, and Schick, 2007).

Emmorey and Petrich (2012) examine how deaf adult readers interpret English orthographic representations and whether orthographic strategies for deconstructing printed words transfer to FS words and vice versa. They pointed out that, the connection between English phonology and fingerspelling has potential implications for reading instruction for deaf students. For example, FS accompanied by mouthing may provide an added visual phonological link in the *Chaining* technique used by teachers to create associations between English text, signs, and fingerspellings. '*Chaining*' is a technique for connecting texts such as sign, a printed or written word, or a FS word (Humphries and Mac Dougall, 1999-2000). Thus, both good readers and good fingerspellers have the English symbols strongly established in their minds, and fingerspellings act as a supplementary system for retaining and representing English words.

Thus, FS, through a 'Chaining' technique, connects English with the printed form in the absence of sound. Learning to read and learning to speak/sign are two different processes. Learning to speak/sign requires exposure to the environment wherein it is picked up naturally. Learning to read requires formal instruction. There are several theories regarding the involvement of phonology and orthography in word reading. At the initial stage of reading acquisition, when very few written words are known, there is a greater reliance on orthographic skills as the written vocabulary expands (In. Kargin, et.al. 2012). Research reveals that deaf children initially treat fingerspelled words as lexical items rather than a series of letters that represent English orthography and it is only later that they begin to link handshapes to English graphemes (Haptonstall-Nykaza, and Schick, 2013).

Van Staden and Roux (2010) conducted an experimental study on the efficacy of fingerspelling and visual imaging techniques in improving the spelling proficiency of prelingually and profoundly deaf students at the elementary level. They concluded that fingerspell coding may have a dual function in the development of written English. Primarily, it has a 'bridging effect' and it facilitates the retrieval of words from long-term memory. Thus, understanding how children learn and connect to the written form of English still requires in-depth research.

It is understood that early exposure to FS helps Deaf children become better readers. It has been observed that a similar technique is commonly used in deaf schools in Shillong. However, teachers also make use of *colour* to help children differentiate a vowel (presented in blue) from a




consonant (red) and learn how they may be combined to form syllables. This is practiced repeatedly till children have mastered the vowels and consonants and are familiar with connecting in words. This process requires children to memorize the alphabets including their form/colour and formulate words out of a combination of blue and red *coloured alphabets* through visual recognition rather than auditory decoding.













Studies on word-learning abilities in deaf and hard of hearing preschool children indicate that word-learning abilities are related to the size of the children’s expressive vocabulary but not their chronological age. Regardless of the communication modality and the hearing status of the parents, their performance is clearly related to the number of words the children had in their lexicon (Munro, et.al, 2012). Akhtar and Tomasello, (2000) also pointed out that word learning processes are derived from increased knowledge of referential intentions based on frequent experiences of how new words are used by adults in their environment (in. Lederberg et.al, 2013). This discussion requires an understanding of how mapping of word recognition occurs in the *deaf brain* which will not be dealt with in this paper.











Adaptation of the Manipulative Visual Language Tool











The Manipulative Visual Language Tool (MVLТ) was originally developed by Jimmy Challis Gore, a Deaf individual and Robert Gilles (2003), a hearing person. It was originally designed to support the literacy skills of students and develop their grammar and syntax.


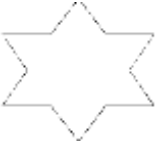
Here the tool has been modified to support D/HH children as per the available materials. Linoleum sheets were cut into different shapes and colours to represent different grammatical categories. It is imperative that D/deaf children have to be familiar with the word meanings and grammatical categories before it can be utilised. Six major parts of speech (necessary for the Primary level) were identified to correlate to the following shapes and colours:

Grammatical Category	Visual Tool Symbols
Nouns All nouns are represented by an EQUILATERAL TRIANGLE and BLUE is the colour code given to them.	
Nouns (person) It is represented by an equilateral triangle with a cut in one side.	
Nouns (place) It is represented by an equilateral triangle with a cut in two sides.	

Nouns (things) It is represented by an equilateral triangle with a cut in three sides.	
Pronouns It is represented by an equilateral triangle.	
Interrogatives Question words such as WHAT, WHERE, WHO, WHY, WHEN and HOW are represented by a pentagon in light blue colour.	
Verbs All verbs, except BE verbs have the shapes of a CIRCLE and is RED in colour	
Is Represented by a single red arrow facing towards the right.	
Was Represented by a single red arrow facing towards the left.	
Are Represented by a double arrow facing towards the right	
(i) WERE: Represented by a double arrow facing towards the left.	
TIME AND TENSE: SIMPLE PRESENT TENSE: Represented by a circle with an arrow inside facing downwards. The small cut on the circle indicates the top of the circle.	
SIMPLE PAST TENSE: Represented by a circle with an arrow inside facing towards the left. The small cut on the circle indicates the top of the circle.	
FUTURE TIME REFERENCE: Represented by a circle with an arrow inside facing towards the right. The small cut on the circle indicates the top of the circle	
PRESENT CONTINUOUS TENSE/ PAST CONTINUOUS TENSE/ FUTURE CONTINUOUS TIME REFERENCE: Represented by a circle with ONE hole inside.	

<p>PRESENT PERFECT TENSE/ PAST PERFECT TENSE/ FUTURE PERFECT TIME REFERENCE: Represented by a circle with TWO holes inside</p>	
<p>PRESENT PERFECT PROGRESSIVE TENSE/ PAST PERFECT PROGRESSIVE TENSE/FUTURE PERFECT PROGRESSIVE TIME REFERENCE: Represented by a circle with THREE holes inside.</p>	
<p>PAST TENSE SUFFIXES: Represented by a circle with an arrow pointing to the left and a hole beneath the arrow. The small cut on the circle indicates the top of the circle.</p>	
<p>BASIC FORM OF IRREGULAR VERB (PRESENT TENSE) Represented by a circle with an arrow pointing upwards and a hole beneath the arrow. The small cut on the circle indicates the top of the circle.</p>	
<p>PAST TENSE OF IRREGULAR VERB Represented by a circle with an arrow pointing to the left. The small cut on the circle indicates the top of the circle.</p>	
<p>PAST PARTICIPLE OF IRREGULAR VERB Represented by a circle with an arrow pointing to the right and a hole beneath the arrow. The small cut on the circle indicates the top of the circle.</p>	
<p>MODAL AUXILLIARIES: Represented by a circle with a square inside.</p>	
<p>ADVERBS: Adverbs are represented by a RECTANGLE with two cuts on each side of the top and the colour code is BLACK.</p>	
<p>PREPOSITIONS: They are represented by a SEMI-CIRCLE and the colour code is YELLOW.</p>	
<p>PLURAL MARKERS: plurals are marked by the shape of an ARC and the colour code is BROWN.</p>	

ADJECTIVES: they are represented by a SQUARE and are GREEN in colour.	
ARTICLES: A: a square with a single cut on the side.	
AN: a square with two cuts on the side.	
THE: a square with three cuts on the side.	
a. DETERMINERS THIS: a rectangle with a hole in the middle.	
THAT: a rectangle with an arrow facing the right.	
THESE: a rectangle with two holes in the middle:	
THOSE: a rectangle with a double pointed arrow facing the right :	
CONJUNCTIONS: they are represented by a parallelogram and are light green in colour.	
1. USAGE: The use of YES, NO and NOT are represented by stars and are white in colour  YES: represented by a four pointed star.	

<p>NO: represented by a five pointed star.</p>  <p>NOT: represented by a six pointed star.</p> 	
<p>PUNCTUATION MARKS: a cut out of punctuations marks are also prepared and they are ORANGE in colour.</p>	

Practicing the Tool in the Classroom

Different materials may be used for this tool, but the shapes and colours should be consistent throughout the elementary level (Class I-VIII). It can be used to enable students to identify grammatical categories and formulate sentences individually or in groups, as per the size of the classroom. The materials should be durable, easy to handle, and the texture should be such that both sides can be differentiated by touch. All the shapes and colours should be pasted on a chart paper with examples of sentence structures along with examples of words along with their grammatical categories as shown in Fig a. and Fig b. for children to validate their group work activities.

The charts should be hung on the classroom walls so that children can familiarise themselves with the different shapes and colours, and what they represent. Explanations can be given in the form simple sentences. Once the children understand the correlation of



Fig a.



Fig. b

shapes and colours, and how they are used, they will pick up quickly. This is evident from the testing of the tools conducted with the children.

This tool can be initiated by associating basic words with shapes/colours, as shown in Fig b. and linked with different grammatical categories. It was observed that once the children had

some understanding of the rules of usage, they were able to form relevant words, construct basic sentences and gradually, even add words of their own when learning about nouns, verbs, adjectives etc.

This discussion on how this tool was used in classrooms is just one illustration of supporting L2 proficiency through the written form. There are many activities that can be devised using this MVLT (Giles and Gores, 2003) not only for teachers of English, but all subject teachers as well.

Teachers must be careful to select words and sentences which are familiar and commonly used in the immediate environment of the child so that he/she can quickly connect these language forms to his/her own understanding and use them meaningfully. This activity of teaching syntax using MVLT may be successful as a one-time activity with given words, but it needs to be used regularly for children to truly grasp the grammatical categories and use them in their own language experiences effectively.

This brings one to reflect on the process of language learning and teaching propagated by several constructivist theories. Such activities for visual learners require repeated attempts to familiarise the child to the process of formulating sentences using shapes/colours in a meaningful way. At present, this paper cannot conclude on how much understanding of syntax has taken place while using this tool, but this tool has been tested only for a noticeably short period.

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Covid 19 and lockdowns - Use of the Language of Religion for Survival - Focus on Elderly Sindhis in Sindh, Pakistan

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Abstract

Language performs different roles, such as a tool of communication, identity development, and transmitting information. Researchers have studied the roles of languages in different contexts. In the wake of the Covid-19 and the new normal many people used language to comfort and console each other against the backdrop of the ensuing lockdowns. While awaiting the Covid-19 vaccine, language became an effective source of security for the pandemic affected world. Against this backdrop this research paper studies how the language of religion and faith helped elderly Sindhis in Pakistan's Sindh province to survive and be resilient during these lockdowns. Qualitative analysis of the purposively collected data from social media and interviews with senior Sindhis in Sindh was used to demonstrate how the respondents used faith-based language to survive the lockdowns. Interviews of 11 senior citizens - aged between 60 and 80 - were analyzed using Harrington's (2010) concept of faith and healing, and National Institute on Aging's concept of social isolation (2019) were used to discuss how humans use their language as a security tool against a crisis. Additionally, Austin's (2005) speech acts theory was used to analyse the research findings.

Keywords: Covid-19, elderly, healing, lockdowns, speech acts.

1. Introduction

Language performs different functions for human beings, such as communication, identity development and transmission of information. In the wake of the Covid-19, language users have

come to discover new roles of human language and one of these roles can be identified as securitizing human beings using the language of faith and religion against the pandemic. Although researchers have explored different functions of human language in different contexts, the role that faith-based language is currently playing in securing human beings against the pandemic-induced social isolation is yet to be explored. During the lockdown, people, especially the elderly, have taken to religious faith and worship as tools to guard themselves against the impending pandemic. Therefore, it is the aim of this research work to bring to light how the elderly in Pakistan's Sindh province are using language as a tool of security while awaiting the Covid-19 vaccine.

In Sindh, the Covid-19-induced lockdown was imposed on 23rd March 2020 (International Crisis Group, 2020) and lifted partially in August 2020 (The News, 2020). During the lockdown period, the vulnerable communities in Sindh, especially the elderly of the lower middle class, suffered more due to social isolation. Their social deprivation and closure of means of income compounded their problems, and they ultimately resorted to their religious practices and faith as a last refuge.

1.1 The Elderly's Vulnerability to the Covid-19

The United Nations (2015) recently reported that the number of older people has increased considerably. According to Klimovan, Valis, and Kuca (2015), the number of the older people is growing faster compared to any other age group. Also, this increasing trend of population has exposed the elderly to increasing economic, social challenges (Klimovan, Valis, Kuca, 2015). One of these socio-economic challenges posed to the elderly is the recent outbreak of the Covid-19 because "the elderly population has been worst affected by both the virus, and the lockdown measures" (Jaarsveld, 2020: 1).

There are about 15 million older people currently living in Pakistan who contribute to about 7 percent of the country's population (Age in Asia, 2019). Similarly, many of these older people are living in Pakistan's Sindh province. Since Sindh lacks a policy for the aged population (Dawn, 2015), "older people [continue to] suffer from both degenerative and communicable diseases due to the aging of the body's immune system" (Age in Asia, 2019). Much like other provinces of Pakistan (Baluchistan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the Punjab), Sindh's "older people are amongst the worst affected in ongoing the Covid-19 pandemic both in terms of morbidity and mortality" (Relief Web, 2020). In this state of affairs, Sindhi elderly are relying on faith factor to guard themselves against the virus and depression.

1.2 Language as a Security Tool against Diseases

The relationship between language and security is not recent, but it has existed since the early years of twenty first century (Liddicoat, 2008). Language has been reported to have delayed the onset of mental disorders, for instance, Klimova, Valis, and Kuca (2017) demonstrated that

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bilingualism might be used as a strategy to delay Alzheimer's disease. Moreover, it has been a norm in medical discourse and media discourse to use war rhetoric with respect to diseases (Hansen, 2018). Also, simple language with illustrations was used to spread awareness about the Covid-19 among Pakistanis of all age groups (UNICEF, 2020). Many of the elderly in Sindh and Pakistan also employed language of religion and religious practices to put off depression and social isolation.

1.3 Theoretical Framework

In this research, National Institute on Aging's (2019) concept of social isolation, Harrington's (2010) concept of faith factor (God) and healing, and Austin's (2005) speech act theory have been used which are discussed here:

National Institute on Aging (2019) suggests that aging does not come alone, it brings social isolation and loneliness among the elderly. Consequently, social isolation and loneliness cause "health problems, such as cognitive decline, depression and heart disease" among the elderly. The institution elaborates the social process of how the elderly are sidelined and cornered in the process of aging. Unfortunately, their social isolation and loneliness increased after the outbreak of the pandemic and the lockdown.

In this phase of social isolation and loneliness, social health (social deprivation) of the elderly Sindhis was also affected. Since many of them were not given basic facilities of health, they took to religious practices as a shield to guard themselves against the Covid-19 pandemic and the depression pandemic. Therefore, in this research the concept of isolation has been linked to the concept of faith and healing to investigate the responses of the elderly Sindhi in the Wake of the lockdown.

According to Harrington (2010), there are four constituents of the faith factor and healing which play an important role in healthy aging. The first of these constituents is going to a church/mosque/temple. Harrington says that going to a place of worship for prayer has "been associated with everything with lower blood pressure, less hypertension, fewer health problems generally in old age, and even overall longer life" (Harrington, 2010: 5). The second constituent of the faith factor and healing is spiritual practices (like meditation) which "reduce stress and enhance health" (Harrington, 2010: 5). This is the reason she says that "virtually all religions encourage or facilitate opportunities for adherents to participate regularly in contemplative activities like focussed prayer and meditation" (Harrington, 2010: 6). The third constituent is faith in God which "can facilitate recovery from serious illness" (Harrington, 2010: 9). Finally, the fourth constituent involves "prayer for another [person which] can change the outcome of disease" (Harrington, 2010: 13).

In this research, the participants performed religious practices/acts using language, therefore, Austin's (2005) speech act theory has also been used to interpret the findings. According to Austin (2005), human beings use language to perform different acts/functions which include commanding, admiring, threatening, inviting, promising, etc. Cartel (2018) extends Austin's (2005) scope of speech acts by adding that there are also liturgical speech acts which enable speakers/writers to perform acts of worship through language. Thus, in this paper the extended aspect of Austin's theory of speech acts has been used.

1.4 Research Questions

This research work has addressed the following questions:

- a. Which practices have been used by the elderly Sindhis as a security tool against the Covid-19?
- b. How language of faith/religion has been used by the elderly Sindhis to perform acts of worship against the pandemic?
- c. How have these acts and practices helped the elderly Sindhis to achieve positive aging during the lockdown (social isolation)?

1.5. Different Religious Adherents' Responses to the Covid-19 Pandemic

Wright (2020) elaborating the Christian response to the Covid-19 pandemic and its effects says that the Christians lamented, complained, stated the case, and left the results with God. Putting the responses within a biblical framework, Wright (2020) looks at God's signs of new creation in the outbreak of the Covid-19. Furthermore, some practitioners of Hinduism in India started worshipping the Covid-19 by creating its statues because they claimed that this would appease the anger of the virus (see Roychowdhury, 2020).

2. Literature review

In this section, the issues related to religious faith, Covid-19, language and healthy aging have been reviewed. The correlation between the elderly in Sindh and their increased vulnerability to the Covid-19 has been studied and discussed elsewhere, however, the elderly Sindhis' use of religion and faith in countering the virus is yet to be explored. It is hoped that this research work has filled up the vacuum by studying how the elderly Sindhis are securing themselves through language that carries religious beliefs.

Religion, especially the faith factor in religion, is linked to health (Koenig and Cohen, 2010). Their medical research focusing on the Eastern and the Western religious traditions demonstrated how the faith factor boosts up immunity mechanisms. According to Griffiths (2010: 1), "In recent years, a variety of Eastern religious beliefs and practices have been adopted by groups in the West and promoted as beneficial for health and spiritual well-being". These research findings

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suggest that religious faith and practices boost up humans' immunity system and thereby improve their health and age longevity.

In addition to religious traditions, folklore has also been shown to have links with healthy aging (Joseph, 2019). In the United States' context using hermeneutic phenomenological method, Joseph (2019: 1) found that Afro-Caribbean American community "used folklore healing practices for health and wellbeing on an ongoing basis". Additionally, Eyigor et al. (2008) in Turkish context discovered through an experimental research that folkloric dance has good impacts on the health of the elderly women. These studies also show that folklore boosts healthy aging.

2.1 The Elderly and Covid-19

The elderly are more vulnerable to the pandemic than any other age group (Pant and Subedi, 2020). Pant and Subedi (2020) have narratively reviewed the elderly's vulnerability to the effects of the Covid-19. Reviewing studies conducted around the world, they set forth that "the risk of severity for the Covid-19 is higher among the elderly" (Pant and Subedi, 2020: 32). This increased vulnerability is due to the elderly's declining immune function and pre-existing health conditions which are rarer among the younger individuals (Nikolich-Zugich et al., 2020). In this way, the older people are more vulnerable to the impacts of the new normal.

In the wake of the Covid-19, "strong social restraint, social distancing, and quarantine measures to prevent the Covid-19 spread have raised concerns about [the elderly's] mental health" (Lee, Jeong, and Yim, 2020: 1). Although these measures might be preventing the spread of the Covid-19, there is need to look after the elderly's wants lest they should plunge into depression and anxiety. Furthermore, restrictive measures might also cause social isolation that would worsen their health problems (Gerst-Emerson and Jayawardhana, 2015). This shows how the Covid-19 and the ensuing lockdowns are causing health issues for the elderly.

2.2 Language: The Elderly's Tool of Socializing during Lockdowns

The elderly's language/discourse reflects their experiences and sufferings (David and Kuang, 2015). This type of socially converging language enables the elderly to assume a sense of social cohesion and establish a close relationship with a listener (David and Kuang, 2015). The language/discourse also reflects the elderly narrator's negative traits of personality (David and Kuang, 2015). Although this discourse might show their negative traits, but it shows how well they are to express themselves and resist social isolation. In the wake of the Covid-19, the elderly in Sindh make use of self-disclosure discourse to demonstrate their faith-based resistance against the pandemic. Also, they use faith to brave the social isolation caused by lockdown.

3. Research Methodology

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In this research, open-ended interviews were conducted for data collection from the elderly living in different districts of Sindh who were aged between 60 to 80 years. Eleven older men were interviewed. Moreover, all of the interviewees were Muslims, and their religion was Islam. Each interview lasted for about 3 minutes. The interviews were conducted using a smart phone in Sindhi language which was the interviewees' first language. The interviews were later manually transcribed and translated into English. The collected interviews were codified, and broader themes were developed. Purposively chosen chunks were taken from the interviews and these were qualitatively analyzed using Nation Institute on Aging (2019), Harrington (2010), and Austin's (2005) concepts.

In addition to the interviews, two online videos were also used for collecting data. These videos were taken from social media websites such as Facebook, and YouTube. In these online sites, the elderly Sindhis' interviews were shared which reflected their religious beliefs and perceptions. Data culled from these videos was also transcribed and translated into English which was also qualitatively analyzed using the concepts of National Institute on Aging (2019), Harrington (2010), and Austin (2005).

Participants' name, age, gender, district of residence and occupation have been tabulated in table 1.

Table 1: Participants' Credentials

Participant Number	Age	Gender	District in Sindh, Pakistan.	Occupation	Academic Qualifications
Participant 1	60	Male	Larkana	Vegetable seller	Illiterate
Participant 2	60	Male	Larkana	-	Bachelor
Participant 3	Almost 80	Male	Larkana	-	Graduate
Participant 4	62	Male	Larkana	Shopkeeper	Bachelor
Participant 5	65	Male	Qambar	Mechanic	Matriculation Pass
Participant 6	76	Male	Ghotki	Landlord	Intermediate Pass
Participant 7	62	Male	Larkana	Vendor	Illiterate
Participant 8	70	Male	Larkana	Cleric	Religious education
Participant 9	Around 62	Male	Larkana	Businessman	Bachelor

Online Videos

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The online videos which were taken from Facebook and YouTube have been described in the following table. See Table 2.

Table 2: Online Videos and their Resources

Online Video Sites	Links to the Videos
Facebook	https://www.facebook.com/100004338815500/posts/1613122048842407/.
YouTube	https://youtu.be/sV4zJKCMEAw.

Due to research ethics, the names of the participants were not mentioned, and they were assured of their confidentiality. Moreover, ensuring the safety of the participants standard operating procedures were followed which included physical distancing, wearing mask, and sanitizing.

4. Research Findings

In this section, research findings have been tabulated and described.

4.1. The Elderly's Language in Response to Covid-19 and Lockdown

The elderly Sindhis' responses, who were aged between 60 and 80 years, have been tabulated, compared, and contrasted in this section. The table 3 contains similarities and differences which were derived by codifying the elderly's responses. See Table 3:

Table 3: Elderly Sindhis' Responses: Similarities and Differences

Themes	Similarities among the participants' responses	Differences among the participants' responses
Mental disturbance	The participants 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, and 11 felt mentally disturbed.	The participants 3, 6, and 10 were not mentally disturbed.
Financial problems	The participants 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, and 9 suffered financial problems.	The participants 3, 6, 10, and 11 did not mention if they suffered financial losses.
Precautions	The participants 2, 3, and 6 took precautions.	The rest of the participants left it to God.
Covid-19: myth or reality?	Almost all participants said that it is real.	Only the participant 8 claimed that it was not real.

Reliance on God	All the participants relied on and called for God’s mercy.	
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The above tabulated data reports on the participants’ mental disturbance, financial problems, precautions, perceptions of the Covid-19 pandemic, and reliance on God’s mercy. Their views are further elaborated here.

The participants 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, and 11 went through different types of mental disturbance during the lockdown. However, the participants’ 3, 6, and 10 responses did not reflect any psychological disturbance because the participants 3 and 6 were satisfied with their precautions, and the participant 10 firmly believed that God would protect him. In contrast, the participants 1, 2, 4, 7, and 9 felt much worried due to the lockdown and its effects. In the social isolation, the participants 4 and 7 also felt ‘terrified’, because they could not foresee the outcomes of the pandemic. Moreover, the participant 4 said that he mentally ‘suffered, the pangs of the pandemic’, while the participant 8 had to cope with ‘troubles’ during the lockdown. Some of the participants’ remarks which reflect their mental disturbances are given here.

i. Participants’ Responses

“It influenced me in a way that it was difficult to go to vegetable market. I was worried and confined because I had to earn for my children. Our only trust rested in Allah” (Participant 1).

“The fact is that we were terrified, worried, and confined to our homes” (Participant 4).

“We were terrified of the government hospitals lest they should inject us poison and kill us and our children” (Participant 7).

“The transactions were closed, and I was confined to my home. Still, I am worried...” (Participant 9).

The above given chunks show that the participants were worried, terrified and disturbed during the lockdown, because they never knew what lay in future for them. In such an unpredictable, difficult situation many of the participants expected that their government would help them, however, their government could not satisfy their expectations, so their unaddressed problems grew into their financial burdens.

The participants 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, and 9 suffered financial problems during the lockdown. The participants 1, 4, and 5 used to work in their shops, but the lockdown disrupted their means of income and their financial problems kept worsening. Moreover, the participant 7 who used to be a vendor became unemployed due to the strict lockdown. The participant’s 2 financial problems increased because prices of commodities were increased five times. Furthermore, the participants 8 and 9 suffered losses in their business which compounded their financial crises. Contrarily, the

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participants 3, 6, 10, and 11 did not talk about their financial issues, however, it can not be assumed with evidence that they survived the crisis. The participants who suffered financial crises, their responses are given here.

ii. Participants' Responses

“The entire country suffered due to it. Children’s education also suffered. The poor faced more troubles, especially because prices were hiked five times” (Participant 2).

“Due to lockdown, I could not open my shop, so it was difficult to earn my livelihood” (Participant 4).

“Yes, I have so far been unable to pay off my debt, we are currently living from our hand to mouth. I have a son who is a laborer so is my other son, but they do not find work regularly. Therefore, my constant thinking plunges me into worries” (Participant 7).

“My business suffered. It was difficult to buy grains and vegetables. Whenever I came out to buy these things, police would stop me. I had huge troubles to face” (Participant 9).

The above given chunks show that many of the participants suffered financial losses during the lockdown which they could not tackle effectively. This further multiplied their problems when their government could not provide them relief.

All the participants, except the participant 8, not only believed that the Covid-19 is a fact but also condemned those who denied reality of the pandemic. For instance, the participant 3 says it is ‘utter ignorance’ not to take the pandemic seriously. In the same vein the participant 4 tells “different pandemics have occurred at different times in different parts of the world. Similarly, this pandemic is also a fact which has physically and mentally affected people”. Additionally, the participant 6 says “it is real, it is not fake, but humans should remain in ablution and offer prayer”. These views confirm that the participants do not believe in conspiracy theories and accept the Covid-19 reality.

These increasing problems intensified their worries that majority of them left their fate to their God. Only the participants 2, 3, and 6 took precautionary measures, while the majority of them believed that God would do better for them. Perhaps, the lockdown, depression, losses and isolation led them to narcissistic scar.

The narcissistic scar, governmental inefficacy, financial problems, and mental disturbance pushed them into a state of utter helplessness. Perhaps, in this state of utter helplessness they saw the light of hope in religion and they turned to their God for mercy and blessing. Many of the participants’ responses also reflect this assertion. When all their doors were closed, they worshipped their God and called for His help. All the participants relied on God during the pandemic, their responses which reflect their faiths are manifested in the following chunks.

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iii. Participants' Responses

“I have got no vaccine. I have left everything to Allah. It is Allah who cures, and He is my Lord (Mola)” (Participant 1).

“With the grace of Allah, everything will be fine” (Participant 2).

“If God wills, they will soon give me appointment” (Participant 3).

“God opened ways for us from some places. God kept blessing us, however, the government helped some, while others who were not helped God helped them” (Participant 4).

“So, this difficult time we passed remembering Allah” (Participant 5).

“Humans should do ablution and offer prayer” (Participant 6).

“We call our Lord (Maalik) and plead Him to guide this ruler (Imran Khan, Pakistan's prime minister) ...” (Participant 7).

“We much invocated and worshiped Allah, so things became somehow better” (Participant 8).

“I called for Allah's mercy” (Participant 9),

All the above excerpts culled from the participants' responses show that they relied on and called their God during the pandemic as they believed that He would help them. The participants 2 and 3 also called and relied on God, however, they also took precautionary measures to protect themselves against the pandemic.

Now the views of the participants 10 and 11 are presented.

The participant 10 was asked by an anonymous interviewer what Corona virus is. To that question, the elderly responded “Our ‘Waris’¹ (The Supreme Inheritor) is Allah and Ali. Corona is not our ‘Waris. The interviewer realizing the elderly's situation said again: “Corona virus, I am talking about VIRUS”. Then, the elderly responded: “Those who have no Waris, Corona is their Waris”. The interviewer told him that he is talking about a virus which is a type of disease. This brief interaction between two Sindhis shows how an elderly is using his faith as a protective shield against the virus through **pragmatic diversion**.

¹ Waris is God's name which is an Arabic word. It means ‘The Supreme Inheritor’. The name ‘Waris’ may have different meanings in different contexts. When it is used by a deprived Sindhi, it means ‘Some one who helps in a difficult time’. The elderly Sindhi uses ‘Allah Waris’ and ‘Ali Waris’ to imply that they will help him in the difficult time. Ali is the first Imam (religious leader) of Shia Muslims and the Sindhi Shias usually use the term/slogan ‘Ali Waris’ in ecstasy or difficulty.

Apart from the participant's 10 response, the participant's 11 response reflects his religious beliefs. He was actually reciting his poetry when his views on the Covid-19 came to surface. He expressed his views by saying:

“O Corona! everyone is talking about you,
May God break your neck,
Because of your tricks, the Ka’ba was closed down,
O Corona your tricks have created chaos in the world!

Follow true path O brother Ahmed!
Finally, this pandemic will come to end,
God, the Provider, will forgive us,
The Corona has made lives intolerable,
O Corona, your tricks have created chaos in the world!

The above piece of verse shows that the Covid-19 which has caused chaos in the world may be brought to end if human beings follow true path of God. This way they will please God Who will then break the neck of the Covid-19.

5. Analysis of the Findings

Here, the findings presented above have been analyzed using National Institute on Aging's (2019) concept of social isolation and loneliness, Harrington's (2010) concept of faith (God) and healing, and Austin's (2005) theory of speech acts.

5.1 The Elderly's Financial Problems during the Social Isolation

Some of the research participants (1, 4, 5, 7, 8, and 9) faced financial problems and business losses due to the lockdown. All these participants suffered losses because their means of income were disrupted during the social isolation period. Besides, during this period of confinement, the participant 2 also suffered as he lamented that the price hike was increased 'five times'. The participant 9 who is a businessman also suffered financially, because his business was affected, and he could not recover the losses. Their responses demonstrated that the Covid-19-induced social isolation/distancing brought about their financial woes which increased their stress and worries.

5.1.1 Rising Stress/Fear/Worries of the Elderly during the Social Isolation

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The social isolation and loneliness during the lockdown caused fear, worry, depression, and sufferings for the elderly. These negative feelings have been associated with increased health problems by the National Institute on Aging. The participants (1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 11) suffered the pangs of social isolation and loneliness during the lockdown. During the social isolation, fears and stress crept into the participants' mind because they felt worried, depressed, and troubled. Similarly, the participant 5 complained that the poor felt more stressed than the rich during the lockdown. The participant 5 also mentioned that the virus is God's will as he wanted to test the people's faith. These mental problems might be weakening the immunity system (American Psychological Association, nd) of the elderly participants and thereby increasing their risk of contracting the Covid-19 virus. Furthermore, in the situation of loneliness the participant 7 plunged into worries and the participant 8 had to face 'troubles'.

Apart from these participants, the views expressed by the elderly Sindhis in online videos reflect their worries and fears which are detrimental to their immunity system. The participant 10 was worried about those who had no Divine supporter because the pandemic will affect these people. Also, the participant 11 discussed the havoc wreaked on the world by the Covid-19 pandemic. Living in social isolation and loneliness he says that "the Corona has made lives intolerable". In this way, different types of people were affected mentally during the lockdown.

5.1.2 Decay of Trust during the Social Isolation

During the lockdown and social isolation, the feelings of distrust also developed among the elderly. The participant 2 and 5 lost their trust of the government because they claimed that relief fund would be misappropriated and the 'promised' help would not be meted out to them. Moreover, the participant 7 refrained from going to a governmental hospital suspecting that doctors would 'poison and kill' him. These feelings emerged in their minds in a socially isolated situation. In the social isolation the elderly felt deprived, and their trust of the government and its promises kept decaying. In this situation of distrust, they turned to their religious practices and put their trust in their God. Therefore, many of their responses demonstrated that they left their matters to their God Who as they trusted would solve their problems and worries.

According to the National Institute on Aging (2019) these feelings of fear, depression, worries, and distrust which emanate among the people who are living in social isolation and loneliness are likely to weaken their immunity system and cause other health problems. Therefore, it might be deducted that the elderly participants living in isolation may have more chances of contracting the Covid-19 virus because their immunity system is being weakened by the negative feelings.

5.2 Religious Faith/Practices: A Way towards Healthy Aging?

Majority of the participants who shared their views were of the opinion that religious practices and faith bring forth healthy aging. Their views have been analyzed in this section using Harrington's (2010) concept of faith (God) and healing.

5.2.1 The Elderly's Faith: God-determiner of Healthy and Diseased Aging

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Due to the lockdown, the participants could not easily go to public places of worship, so they worshipped in their homes. All the participants in this research said that they left it to their God Who would protect them against the pandemic and solve their problems. The participants 1 and 2 believed that their illnesses and losses would be treated and recovered by God. Additionally, the participant 3 believed that his healthy aging was Divine blessing and if God willed, he would soon be vaccinated and protected. Thus, the three participants claimed that the faith in God would obliterate the Covid-19 virus and that healthy aging was a Divine gift. These remarks show that the participants believed that disease and health came from God though the participants 2 and 3 also stressed taking precautionary measures against the pandemic. The participant 3, who was more educated, had even applied for the Covid-19 vaccination in a hospital.

The participants 10 and 11 also expressed their religious faiths with respect to the Covid-19 pandemic. The participant 10 believed that those who believe in God would be protected against the pandemic, while those who did not believe in God would be affected by the pandemic. Similarly, the participant 11 believed that the tricks of the pandemic might be brought to end only if God wills it. Thus, the participants expressed their religious beliefs.

5.2.2 The Elderly's Faith: God-the Helper of the Oppressed

Some of the participants were of the faith that when no one was there to help them, God opened doors of help to them. For instance, the participant 4 said: "God opened ways for us from some places. God kept blessing us, however, the government helped some, while others remained unhelped. So, God also helped these unhelped people". During the lockdown help came to him from unexpected persons so he attributed it to God. This belief that God was caring for and helping him gave him feelings of satisfaction and happiness as reflected in his facial expressions. These feelings 'reduce stress and enhance health'. Additionally, the participant 5 also kept praying God for help during the lockdown.

5.2.3 The Elderly's Religious Practices: A Road to Positive Aging

In addition to the religious faith, some participants resorted to religious practices in the social isolation period. The participant 5 remarked: "We were praying Allah... So, this difficult time we passed remembering Allah". According to the participant 5, praying and remembering God is a religious/spiritual practice which ensures good health. Additionally, praying for another person can also change the outcome of a disease or a loss. The participant 6 also argued that spiritual practices, such as cleaning body and soul by doing ablution, and offering prayer are effective guards against the pandemic. He succinctly said: "humans should do ablution and offer prayer. Small children and the elderly are more vulnerable to it. Man should always purify himself/herself. It is not fake, it is real. Purification and faithfulness are the keys".

The participant 7 also engaged in the spiritual practice of pleading God as he demonstrated: "We call our Lord (Maalik) and plead Him to guide this ruler (Imran Khan, Pakistan's prime minister)". This shows both his faith and his religious practice. It is his faith that God can drive

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away the misfortune, while it is his spiritual practice to ‘call’ and ‘plead’ God. Moreover, the participant 8 did not believe that there is this virus called Corona as he said: “There is no Covid-19 if you remember Allah and offer prayer”. His statement shows that it is his faith that even if there is this virus it can be subdued by the spiritual practice of worshipping God. He also said that his troubles during the pandemic were solved through the religious practice of remembering Allah: “We much invocated and worshiped Allah, so things became somehow better”. Furthermore, the participant 9 also called for ‘Allah’s mercy’ during the difficult time.

5.3 Speech Acts of Worship and Prayer: The Elderly Sindhis’ Approach to Healthy Aging

The collected responses from the participants also show that the participants were performing speech acts of worship and prayer by using religious language. The participant’s 1 responses, such as ‘our...trust rested in Allah’, ‘surrendering everything to Allah’, and ‘He is Allah Who cures’ all are speeches acts in which the participant praises God. Praising God is a type of worship which involves the use of religious language and beliefs. The participant 2 is also performing the act of worship by saying: “with the grace of Allah, everything will be fine”. In this act, he is worshipping by admitting God’s quality of omnipotence through which He can solve all problems. Moreover, the participant’s 3 speech acts, such as ‘this is blessing of my Lord (Maalik)’, ‘if God wills, they will soon give me appointment’, and ‘if Allah wills you will be protected’ show how he is praising Allah’s beneficence, omnipotence, and mercy.

The participant 4 also performs acts of worship by admiring God when he says, ‘God opened ways’, ‘God kept blessing’, and ‘God helped’. These speech acts define God’s greatness and beneficence and thus these are also acts of worship. Also, the participant’s 5 speech acts which include ‘praying God’, ‘remembering God’ are the acts of worship which have been performed using religious language. The participant 6’s ‘do ablution’ and ‘offer prayer’ are two phrases which enable him to perform acts of obeying God by doing ablution and offering prayer which have been prescribed by God for Muslims in Islam. Additionally, when the participant 7 says ‘call our Lord (Maalik) and plead Him’ he is performing acts of praying and worshipping.

Much like the participant 7 when the participant 8 says ‘I remember Allah and offer prayer’, and ‘every misfortune can be overcome by worshipping Allah and reciting Durood (a Muslim prayer)’, he is performing acts of worship. Similarly, the participant 9’s ‘called for Allah’s mercy’ is also an act of worship which he has performed using the religious terminology. When the participant 10 accepts the Lordship of God, he is performing the act of worship by surrendering himself to God. Additionally, the participant 11 is also praising God’s omnipotence and mercy when he says, ‘may God break your neck’, and ‘God...will forgive us’. Thus, the participants performed speech acts in their language.

3. Discussion and Concluding Remarks

Researchers have shown that religious practices and faiths have good effects on people of different age groups (see Koenig and Cohen, 2010; Griffiths, 2010). Malone and Dadswell (2018) also say that religion plays an important role in the process of positive aging. Similarly, the

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participant 3 also said that his healthy aging was due to God's blessing which enabled him to take exercise regularly. Moreover, the religious attendance in worship places creates social cohesion and support among the adherents of a religion which also counter loneliness and social isolation (Rote, Hill and Ellison, 2013). The participant 4 in this research also told that his sense of social deprivation and isolation was overcome by the Divine help which came to him from the Caring and Merciful God.

Increasing age also influences the way a person speaks or performs a speech act. This has been discussed by Horton, Spieler, and Shriberg (2011: 708) who demonstrated that "increasing age, however, was also associated with longer utterances and greater lexical diversity". In this investigation the participants' words, such as 'Allah', 'God', 'Lord' (Mola/Waris/Malik/Qudrat) show lexical diversity in their religious language/discourse. Furthermore, these liturgical speech acts enable the adherents to do worship using religious words (Calvert, 2018). In this way, acts of worship have been performed by almost all the participants who took part in this research work.

According to Harrington (2010), religious faith and practices are essential for healthy aging as they boost up immunity. Since the elderly Sindhis remained helpless and worried during the pandemic isolation, they employed their faiths and religious practices as tools which boosted their immunity against the pandemic. However, it cannot be claimed that the religious practices or faiths are the only solution of diseases. They may have their role to play in healthy aging, while at the same time taking medication and vaccination should not be downplayed.

Finally, it is concluded that the elderly Sindhis suffered many problems during the Covid-19-induced lockdown, however, they managed to overcome these hardships through their religious faith and acts of worship which they performed through their language. Moreover, this research was limited in its scope because only the male Muslims' responses were included. Someone else may focus on the elderly Sindhi women and carry out research on how they use faith as a shield against the pandemic during the lockdown. Also, there is need of carrying out further research from the medical science point of view on how the religious practices affected the aging process of the elderly Sindhis during the lockdown. Thus, healthy aging might be ensured for the elderly Sindhis.

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I Am Beautiful, And So Are You

Aaliyah Siddiqui

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1. The day is yet to come!

The past was deep,
Now, need not to weep!
It's all gone.
Leaving you alone.
But, the hope's in my heart.
For, there'll be a new start!
Because the day is yet to come.
When they'll all return.

Future is yet to arrive,
So you need to survive!
Because, I dreamt of it day and night,
Life's only one!
So just, learn, learn and learn
Because, the day is yet to come,
When, they'll all return.

2. Nights- I

The night was a usual one.
The stars were shining; the moon was up,
But deep down in a man's heart
It made him realize, how badly he was hurt!
The seriousness of the moon was yelling at him
Making his eyes go dim and dim.
He was haunted by an emotional breakdown,
He was counting up all the seconds now!
Then that one thought stuck his mind;
That be dead or alive, no one will mind!
He preferred to leave the Earth,
Rather than regretting his own birth!

3. Nights- II

I once admired the last of the night.
The dawn was up and no one in sight!
Only those birds chirping aloud,
The colours started to appear on the clouds!
The shimmering moon was deep down,
The sky started to wear the sun like a crown.
The pretty morning was getting on
The gloomy still beautiful nights were gone!
Some were up to chase their dreams true,

While many still in their beds waiting for their
'Dreams to come true.'

4. I Am Beautiful and So Are You

I am beautiful and so are you!
I am beautiful, I am not filtered,
I am beautiful because I am real.
I am beautiful, just like the raindrop showers.

I am beautiful and so are you!
Because He created me, and He created you.
That's why we are all beautifully imbued,
I am beautiful and so are you!
Prettier than the stars even more than the rainbow hues.
I am beautiful and so are you!
More than the burgeoning flower even more than the Autumn's adieu.

Look deep inside and experience the eternal beauty of yours
And accept you are beautiful too!
I am beautiful I cry in the pain of others.
Every teary eye, every gloomy face bothers.
We are all beautiful in all our own ways.
No matter whatever others say,
I am beautiful and so are you!
Shining prettier than the sun,
Smiling prettier than the moon.

5. Falling

I remember and always will!
How harsh I was treated when I was ill.
No, the illness wasn't what you could see.
It was something undefined killing me.
Everyday it took me to the depth of an unknown darkness.
Which wanted me to cave in.
I survived.
Just for the sake to thrive,
Thrive into a blossoming flower!
Scenting it's surroundings.
But, I fail,
Miserably I fail.

I keep on trying to come out of this
Undulating strain.
I am afraid of the day I'll give in to
The hole of gloom.
I'm afraid if I'll ever be able to bloom.
Save me before it's too late
Save me from the ceaseless hate.

6. Persona

Do you know about those innumerable nights,
I've cried myself to sleep?

How would you? You never really paid any heeds.

I am tired.

Tired of waiting for that one time.

Someone listens to me.

I'm tired of hiding the real me.

The persona I wear to hide my rears.

Will slowly fade away.

I-

I just want to run away.

I'm tired of listening.

Now, I want to speak.

I want to let my tears gush down

I want to scream!

I want all of this to terminate.

But I guess this is my only fate.

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